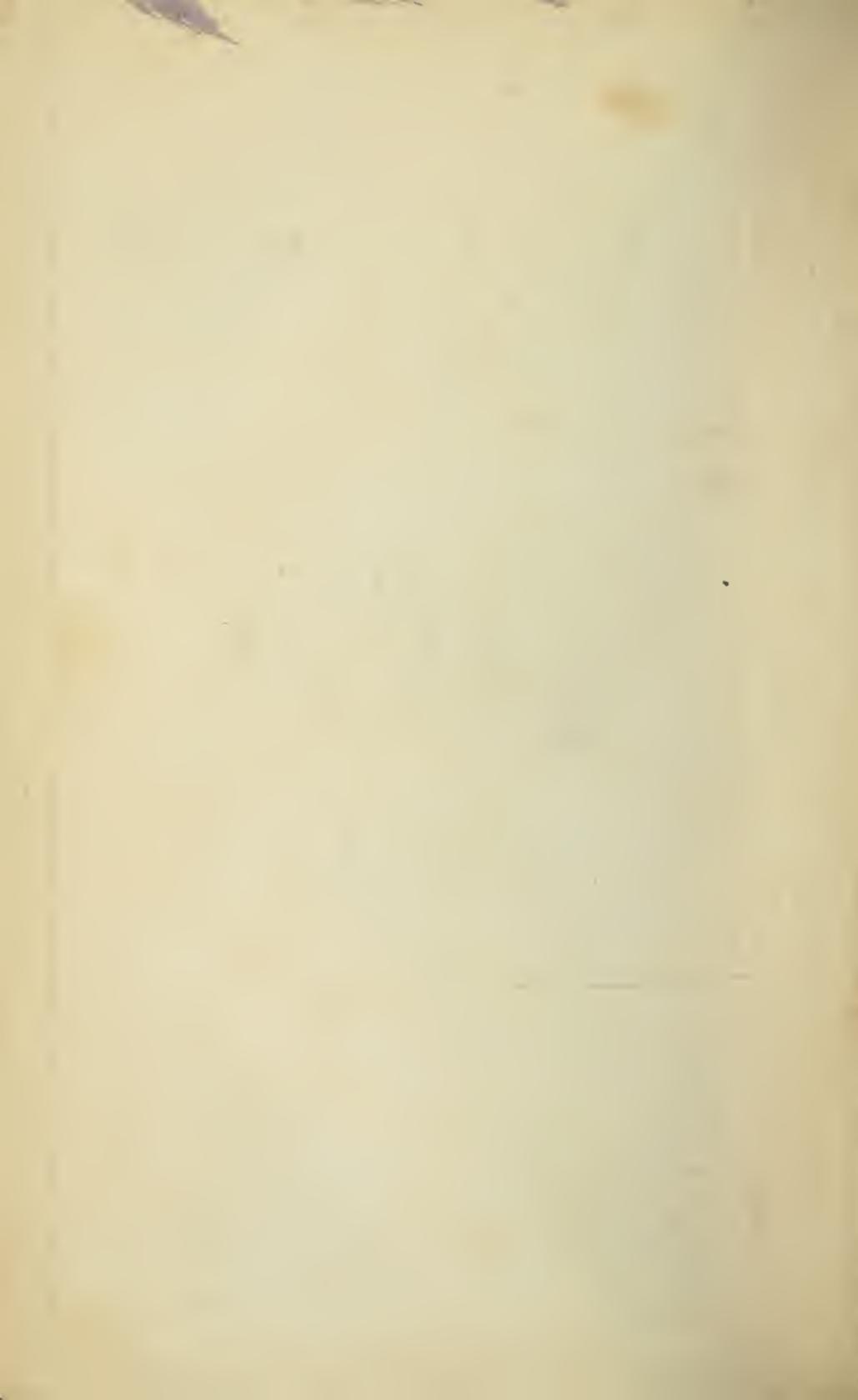
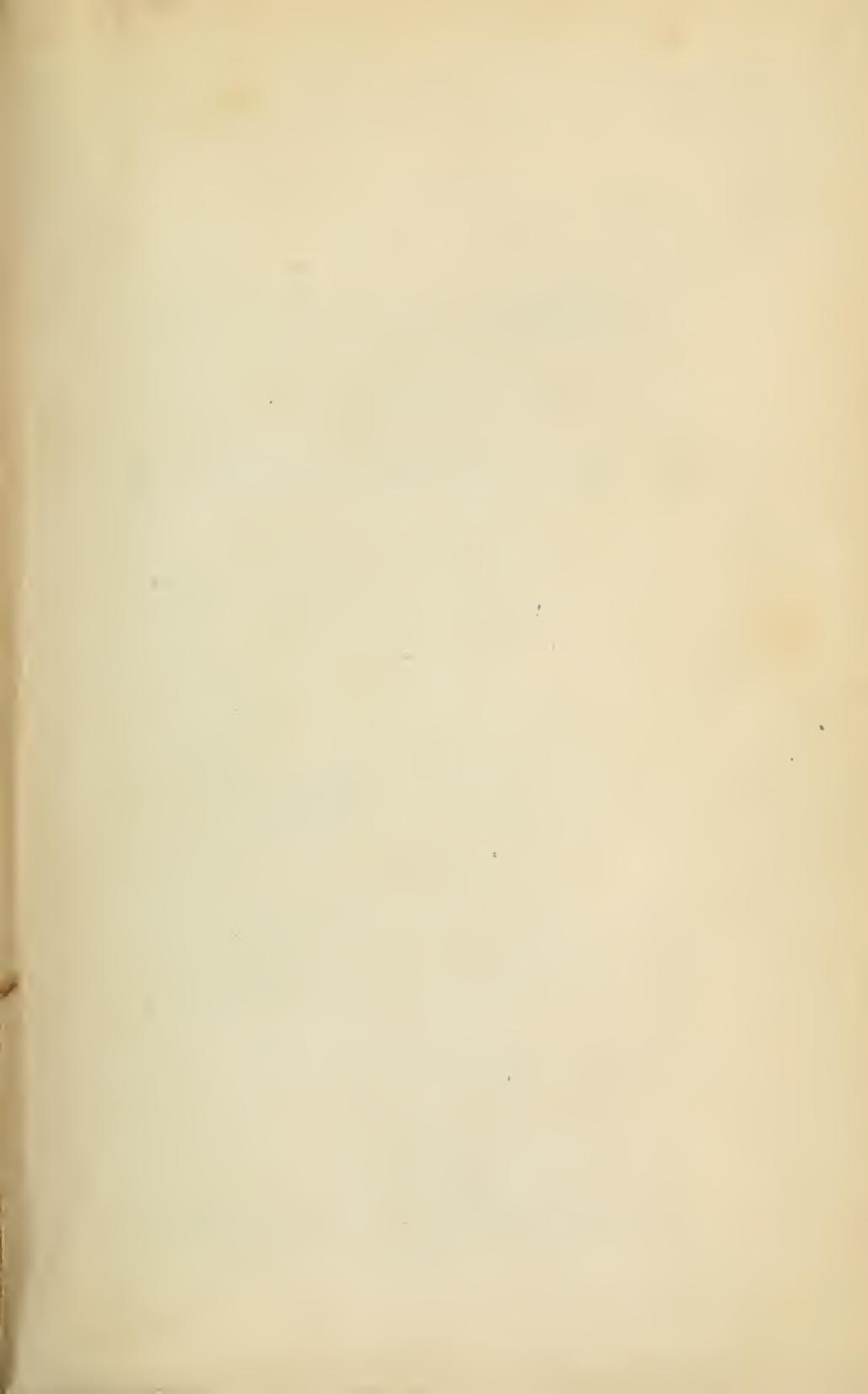
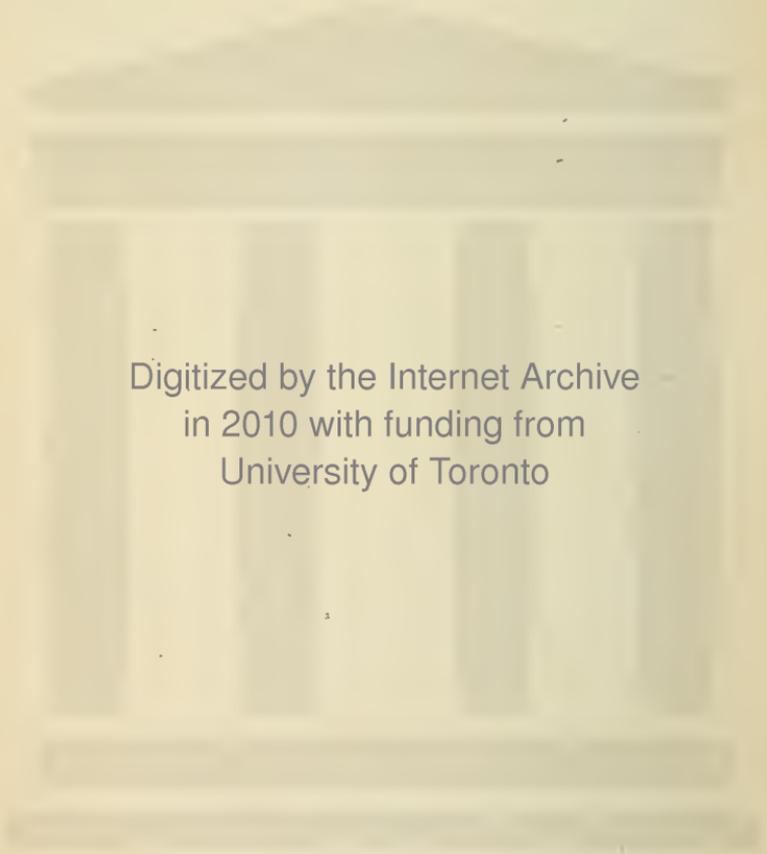




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ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL
HISTORY

PHILOSOPHICALLY CONSIDERED,

WITH REFERENCE TO

THE FUTURE RE-UNION OF CHRISTIANS.

THE FIRST THREE BOOKS,
COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD
TO THE DEATH OF WYCLIFFE.

BY THE REV.

GEORGE TOWNSEND, D.D.

Canon of Durham,

*Author of the Arrangement of the Old and New Testaments,
Scriptural Communion with God, &c. &c. &c.*

ISAIAH xlv. 9, 10.

אֲנִי יְהוָה . . . מִנְּתִי מֵרֵאשִׁית אַחֲרֵית

Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Θεὸς—ἀναγγέλλων πρότερον τὰ ἔσχατα πρὶν γενέσθαι. *Sept.*

Ego sum Deus—annunciāns ab exordio novissimum. *Vulgate.*

I am God—declaring the end from the beginning.

Dedicated to Lord Lindsay.

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CONTENTS

OF

VOL. II.

BOOK THE THIRD.

THE HISTORY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL POWER, FROM THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN TO THE DEATH OF WYCLIFFE, AND ITS PERVERSIONS BY PERSECUTION.

CHAPTER I.

*Progress of the Ecclesiastical Power.—State of the Canon Law.
—From the year 560 to 681.*

	PAGE
The Third Council of Constantinople. Plan of this Book	1
The several novel acts of papal power, the aggressions on the Churches, and the policy of each Bishop of Rome to be pointed out	1, 2
One good effect of the lamentable controversies among Christians was, that certain common truths were now generally believed, and that Paganism was nearly destroyed	2
60. Pelagius I. (560); persuades Narses to punish the disturbers of the see of Rome, on the pretence that separation from the apostolic see was schism, and that schism was a political evil	2
61. John III. (574); commands the Gallican bishops to restore a deposed brother. He is resisted; the controversies in the Church make orthodoxy a political question. Death of Justinian	3, 4
62. Benedict Bonosus (578)	4
63. Pelagius II. (590); the first election of a Bishop of Rome since the union of the Church with the empire, without waiting for the consent of the emperor. Pelagius first urges the argument of the impossibility of the failure of the faith of St. Peter's successors	4
He refuses to communicate with the Bishop of Constantinople till he resign the title of Universal Bishop, which had been conferred by a national synod	6
64. Gregory the Great (604); Plebeians not to be ordained. The bishops of the Church generally noble. Gregory of high rank. He declares the decisions of the four first councils to be of equal authority with the four gospels. He exhorts the Bishop of Ravenna to convert heretics by persecution, that is, by temporal punishments. The Benedictine monasteries established. Gregory writes letters to many bishops, and to the Bishop of Ireland. The worship of God is now celebrated by each country in its own language. Great authority and influence of Gregory. He sends	

Augustine to England, ten years after that most fatal event to the happiness and Church of England, the retreat of Theonas, the Bishop of London, and of Thadlocus, the Bishop of York. Gregory commits the great errors of exempting monks from the jurisdiction of bishops; of interweaving Pagan ceremonies with Christian worship; and of approving the use of images. He compiles the canon of the mass; and is said to be the first to speak of purgatory. Estimate of his character	6—13
65. Sabinian (606 or 607)	13
66. Boniface III. (608); accepts from Phocas the title of Universal Bishop, and declares no episcopal election valid without the papal approbation	13
67. Boniface IV. (615); procures from Phocas the grant of the Pantheon. The rise of Mahomedanism. Conformity to Rome is called the unity of the Church. The deference to the see of Rome by Augustine and Mellitus, the precedent for the subsequent submission of the English bishops and clergy	13—16
68. Deus dedit (617 or 618); claims the power of working miracles	16
69. Boniface V. (625); sends the pall to Justus, Bishop of Rochester. The pall gradually becomes, from having been a token of friendship, a pledge of submission. He establishes the right of sanctuary	16, 17
70. Honorius (640); though condemned for his opinions by a general council, strengthens his authority over England. Wherever the Romish agents now proceeded to convert, they found Christianity had preceded them. The Catholic Church, therefore, was not identical with the Church of Rome. Honorius begins the custom of processions	17, 18
71. Severinus (640); orders the levying of money for the decoration of Churches	19
72. John IV. (642); condemns the Monothelites	19
73. Theodore I. (649); demands that the Bishop of Constantinople be sent to take his trial at Rome	19, 20
74. Martin I. (654); appoints vicars over bishops	20
75. Eugenius (657); confers on bishops civil jurisdiction, with power to imprison	20, 21
76. Vitalian (672); his authority over England confirmed at the Council of Whitby, and the establishment of the Roman ceremonial by Archbishop Theodore; yet Theodore acted independently of Rome in condemning Wilfrid. The useful system of dividing dioceses into parishes is begun in England. The Catholic Church not willing to submit to Rome. Vitalian makes the use of the Latin service general. Ecclesiastical history is little else than the record of the aggressions of the Church of Rome, and the resistance of the Catholic Church to its usurpations	21—25
77. Adeodatus (676)	25
78. Domnus (678); the influence of Rome acknowledged by the emperor Constantine V.	25
79. Agatho (682); commands the restoration of Wilfrid, and desires the emperor to hear his legates as God Himself	25—27
The Third Council of Constantinople	27—33
State of the Church at this time	33, 34

CHAPTER II.

Progress of the Ecclesiastical Power from the Third Council of Constantinople, 681, to the Second Council of Nice, 787.

The ecclesiastical power must be considered as episcopal as well as papal	35—39
80. Leo II. (683); attacks and overthrows the Church of Ravenna	39, 40
81. Benedict II. (685, or 686); requires that the popes, when elected, should be immediately consecrated without waiting for the consent of the emperor	40, 41
82. John V. (686); strengthens his power by conferring new privileges on the monastic orders	41

83. Conon (687); the Emperor Justinian the Second permits the clergy to nominate and elect the popes. The feudal custom of saluting the slipper first used	41
84. Sergius (701); promotes pilgrimages to Rome as a source of revenue. Rejects the decisions of the Quini-sexime Council	42, 44
85. John (705); nature of the papal influence at this time. It divides, but does not yet absolutely govern, England. Case of Wilfrid	44—47
86. John Vll (707)	47
87. Sisinnius (708)	47
88. Constantine (715); entirely subdues Ravenna, and is the first to excommunicate the emperor	48
89. Gregory II. (732); the first to require an oath of obedience from a brother bishop. He dares to promise eternal life to all who obey him, and threatens damnation to the disobedient. The absurd conduct of the Eastern Churches strengthens Rome. Gregory declares himself the temporal prince over Rome and its dependencies. The causes and consequences of this act	48—53
90. Gregory III. (741); image worship established with the approbation of the people. The emperor abandons the government of Italy, and the papal power is proportionately strengthened	53—55
91. Zachary (752); concludes a treaty of peace for the first time as a temporal prince, without reference to the imperial power. Disputes with the Lombards. Virgilius is excommunicated by Zachary for affirming the existence of the antipodes	55
92. Stephen II. (752); died soon after his election. His successor is called	
93. Stephen II. He became a temporal prince in consequence of the weakness of the Greek emperor. The pope from this time ranked among the sovereigns of Europe	57
94. Paul (767); extends the temporal power	58
95. Stephen III. (772); the see an object of ambition to the nobles and princes of Italy. The pope assumes the power of dissolving marriages	58—60
96. Hadrian (795); extends the power of his see over Ravenna, and other cities	60—62
Hadrian the first pope who coins money. The controversy on image-worship, and assembling the Second Council of Nice	62—65
Sessions and canons of that council	66—69
It does not mention the superiority of the pope over the bishops, but the empress saluted him as the first bishop of the world	69, 70

CHAPTER III.

The Power of the Popes, with the circumstances which contributed to the success of their progressive usurpations, from the Second Council of Nice, 787, to the Fourth Council of Constantinople, in 869.

Hadrian continues to extend the temporal dominion of Rome over the cities of Tuscan Lombardy	71
Proofs of respect in one age, are considered in another as proofs of homage	73
97. Leo III. (816); openly disclaims the rights of the emperor, and transfers his nominal allegiance to Charlemagne, who sends him in return the spoils of the Huns.	73, 74
The dissensions in England between the Saxon kings, and the crowning of Charlemagne at Rome, increase the power of Leo	75, 76
He restores a Northumbrian king to his throne. The usurpation of this power a precedent for future similar efforts	76
98. Stephen IV. (817); crowns the King of France, who falls prostrate before him	76
99. Pasehal (824); assumes the right of conferring on the Emperor Louis the privileges of the ancient emperors	77

	PAGE
100. Eugenius II. (827); the allegiance sworn to the Emperor Lothaire is neutralized, by a clause of reservation saving the faith promised to the pope	78
Image worship is decreed by Eugenius against the general wish of the Catholic Church of Christ; and resistance to the Roman see commences in the diocese of Claude of Turin	80
101. Valentine (827); commences the custom of saluting the slipper as a token of homage; and the ceremony of enthronization at the papal installation	81
102. Gregory IV. (844); interferes in the dissensions of France, and is said to have restored Louis to his throne	82
103. Sergius II. (847); resists the power of Lothaire, and appoints the Bishop of Metz, vicar over the Churches of France and Germany	83
104. Leo IV. (855); the first to assume the regal custom of dating his decrees from his accession to the pontificate	84
On the number of witnesses sufficient to convict a bishop of crime (note)	84
105. Benedict III. (858); note on Pope Joan, and reasons for rejecting that story	85
106. Nicholas I. (867); the <i>Dictatus Papæ</i> of Gregory VII. are all to be found in the rescripts of Nicholas	87
The decretals now quoted for the first time—the causes of their reception, and the state of the world at this period	87—90
Kings deposed by bishops before the age of Nicholas I.	91
Nicholas the first pope who was crowned	92
Nicholas claims authority over the Greek emperor	93
The papal authority rested on the right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome from other bishops. Summary account of the origin of the episcopal power over civil causes	94—96
The result of the episcopal authority must have been the existence of many decrees, as well as canons	96
Nature of the false decretals	97
Bishop Hopkins on the decretals (note)	98
Origin of the true and false decretals. Summary of the Prolegomena of Blondel to his <i>Vindiciæ</i>	99—102
Probable author of the decretals	103
Ecclesiastical maxims of the decretals	105
Exaltation of the episcopal, but more especially of the papal power, the chief object of the decretals	106
Original form of the collection	107
Their effect on the universal Church	108
Reasons for the first quoting of the decretals by Nicholas I.	109
Controversy between Ebbo, Hincmar, and Nicholas	110—112
Nicholas declares the imperial laws to be inferior in authority to the ecclesiastical canons	112
Rothade, the Bishop of Soissons, appeals to Nicholas I. against his own metropolitan, Hincmar	112, 113
The forged decretals are appealed to, as decisive of the controversy	114
Submission to Rome was identified with the fear of God	115
Hincmar submits to Nicholas, and Rothade is restored	115
Nicholas declares the right of the popes to receive appeals from all councils—declares the false decretals to be equal in authority to Scripture—and exercises power over various emperors, kings, patriarchs, archbishops, and councils	115—119
Nicholas I. the true founder of the principles which subsequently established the power of Gregory VII.—the <i>Dictatus Papæ</i> (note)	120, 121
Rome corrupted while it preserved the truth: its increasing power	121, 122
The three chief pillars on which the power of the papacy rested, were the right to receive appeals, the right to send vicars or legates, and the right to make the monks independent of the jurisdiction of the bishops—the effects of these three claims to authority	123
107. Hadrian II. (871); the history of the aggressions of popery, and of the resistances to its usurpations, now becomes the history of the civilized world	124, 125

	PAGE
Hadrian attempts to place Louis, the son of Lothaire, on the throne by his own authority	125
Hadrian writes to the Greek emperor, Basilius, to summon a general council—the causes and results of the meeting of the Eighth General Council—the Fourth of Constantinople—its acts and canons—Photius refuses obedience to Rome	125—133

CHAPTER IV.

The general Power of the Churches merged in the Influence of the Church of Rome.—First Council of Lateran.

Resistance to Rome was for a long time as general before the time of Wycliffe—as resistance to arbitrary power may be traced in the history of England	134
State of the world and the Church between the Fourth General Council of Constantinople and the First Council of Lateran, 254 years, favourable to the extension of the power and authority of Rome	135—137
The legal abrogation of the principles of Nicholas, and of the maxims of Gregory, ought to be demanded in the present age by the members of the Church of Rome, from the pope and the bishops	137
The first attempt to regulate the succession of princes is made by Hadrian	137, 138
France, in consequence of the early and constant resistance of its bishops to Rome, has never known the bondage of Spain or Italy	138
Conduct of Hincmar of Laon	139, 140
108. John VIII. (882); the right is now claimed to elect, or confirm the election of the emperors	141
Dissensions in Italy and France	141, 142
Possible origin of the story of Pope Joan	142
Excommunication completes the separation of the long divided Eastern and Western Churches	143
Usurpations over the French Church resisted	144
Nobles are not to be permitted to sit in the presence of a bishop	145
The pope is said for the first time to have presided at a council	146
109. Marinus or Martinus II. (884).	146
110. Hadrian III. (885); decrees that the consecration of the popes shall take place without waiting for the confirmation of the emperor	146
111. Stephen V. (891); crowns the Duke of Spoleto, emperor, on condition that he confirms to Rome the donations of Pepin, and ordains that all decrees of the Church of Rome be irrevocable	147
He asserts the supremacy of Rome over all Churches, and declares the infallibility of his see	148
112. Formosus (896)	148
113. Boniface VI. (896)	149
114. Stephen VI. (898); is said to have dug up and insulted the body of his predecessor Formosus, which, however, was saluted by the images of some saints—note on the weeping images of 1796	150
115. Romanus (898)	151
116. Theodore II. (898)	151
117. John IX. (903); commands the Eastern bishops not to communicate with those ordained by Photius	152
118. Benedict IV. (903); is obeyed by the Gallican bishops	152
119. Leo V. (903) and	152
120. Christopher (904); both died in prison as the result of dissensions and rivalry	152, 153
121. Sergius III. (910); the apostolical succession is traced less easily in the Church of Rome than in other Churches, because of the contentions of its bishops—at this period of its history they overthrew, deposed, and rescinded the ordinations of each other	153

	PAGE
Vice did not at this time injure the papal monarchy	154
122. Anastasius (913 or 914)	155
123. Lando (914)	155
Christ, says Baronius, seemed now to be asleep in the ship of the Church	155
124. John X. (928) ; the first pope who heads an army	156
125. Leo VI. (929) ; Italy secularly ruled by the Italian nobles	157
126. Stephen VII. (931)	157
127. John XI. (936) ; all Europe convulsed by the contests of petty chieftains	157
128. Leo VII. (939) ; the direct temporal power of the popes is at this time much weakened, as the result of the dissensions in Italy—the spiritual power continues till it restores the temporal	158
129. Stephen VIII. (942) ; gives the pall to a boy five years of age, made an archbishop by his father, an Italian noble—he terminates a contest between the nobles of France and their king, by threatening excommunication to both	159, 160
130. Marinus III. or Martinus (946) ; a great patron of monasteries	159, 160
131. Agapetus II. (956) ; the power of bishops now equal to that of kings	160
132. John XII. (963) ; deposed for his vices	161
133. Leo VIII. (965) ; disgraceful convulsions among the influential bishops and nobles at Rome—restores to the emperor the power of nominating the pope	164
134. John XIII. (972) ; the Romans are permitted by the emperor to nominate their bishops, who soon offends them by his pride. The Emperor Otho restores the pope, and adds to his possessions—Otho, the son of the emperor, crowned at Rome by the pope	165
The custom of baptizing bells is said to have now been introduced	165
135. Benedict VI. (974) ; on the death of the Emperor Otho, the opposite faction seize and strangle the pope	166
136. Domnus, or Donus II. (974 or 975) ; transubstantiation not yet known to the Church of England	166
137. Benedict VII. (983)	166
138. John XIV. (985) ; the wretched dissensions continued	167
139. John XV. (996) ; the first instance of the canonization of saints—the canons of the universal Church pleaded by Gerbert in France against the pope	169
140. Gregory V. (999) ; dissensions between the nobles of Italy, the Emperor Otho, and the pope—the spiritual power still maintained	170
141. Sylvester II. (1003), formerly Gerbert, the supporter of the canons of the Church—makes the first public appeal in favour of the crusades	171
142. John XVII. (1003)	171
143. John XVIII. (1009)	171
144. Sergius IV. (1012) ; the resistance of the bishops to the papal authority neutralized by their appeals to the pope	172
145. Benedict VIII. (1024) ; a son of the Count of Tusculum—the apostolic see treated as a family property of the Counts of Tuscany	172—174
146. John XIX. (1033) ; the papal dignity is sold to the highest bidder, yet the spiritual power remains unweakened. First instance of vivification under the ecclesiastical power since the Priscillianists—the canons of Orleans, &c. (note)	175
147. Benedict IX. (1045) ; strange state of the papacy—its power at a distance—its venality at Rome—the first mention of Hildebrand	176
Alberic, Count of Tusculum, makes his son Theophylact pope, at the age of ten years	177
Gratian, Archpriest of St. John, purchases the papal see of Benedict IX.	178
Account of the abbey of Clugny, and the popular religion of this period	178, 179
Hildebrand, a monk of Clugny, assists Gratian to depose Benedict	180, 181
Motives of his conduct	181—183
Effects of the conduct of Hildebrand	183
148. Gregory VI. (1046) ; influence of Hildebrand—triumph over the nobles of Italy	184

Gregory VI. being called to account by the emperor for the mode in which he obtained the papacy, defends his conduct, but resigns the pontificate— —he retires to Clugny, attended by Hildebrand	185
149. Clement II. (1047)	186
150. Damasus II. (1048)	186
151. Leo IX. (1054)	187
Bruno, Bishop of Toul, elected pope—he refuses, under the influence of Hildebrand, to accept the pontificate without the sanction of the Church at Rome	188
His resolution to destroy the power of presentation by laymen	189
Various kinds of real or supposed simony (notes)	189
The more imperious language of the papal bulls now first used (note)	191
The Church of Rome, at this time, a kingdom of this world—its servants fought as secular soldiers	191
Attempt to reunite the East and West	192
The Patriarch of the East anathematized by Rome	193
152. Victor II. (1057) ; approaching triumph of the theocracy	194
Guizot's division of the progress of the Church through the four stages— —imperial, barbarian, ferdal, and theocratic	194
Overthrow of the power of the Italian nobles	195
The Emperor Henry III. appeals to the pope to excommunicate a rival sovereign, Ferdinand, the King of Castile and Leon, and thus strengthens the assumptions of the papacy	196
153. Stephen IX. (1058) ; the election of a pope prohibited by Stephen on his death, till the return of Hildebrand from a mission	197
154. Benedict X. (1058) ; Stigand obtains the pall from Benedict X. who was of the Italian aristocratic party, opposed to Hildebrand	198
155. Nicholas II. (1061) ; council against Berengarius, in favour of transubstantiation, the doctrine which opposes alike, reason, Scripture, and the senses	199
The election of popes given to the College of Cardinals	200
Increase of the power of Rome under Nicholas II.	201—203
156. Alexander II. (1073) ; the nobles of Italy become divided between the Gregorian and imperial parties	203
The temporal triumph of the sceptre or of the crozier over the world, now the question at issue	204
The first plenary indulgence or remission of all their sins, granted to the Normans in Italy who defend the pope	205
Importance and value of England to the papal empire—reasons for the blessing of the pope on William the Conqueror (notes)	206
Stigand deposed as an enemy to the Gregorian party	208
Inflexibility of Hildebrand	208
Visit of Lanfranc to Rome	209
An independent sovereign, Henry IV. of Germany, cited to Rome	210
157. Gregory VII. (1085) ; materials for the life of Gregory VII.—remarks of Mr. Burke on Jacobinism, applied to the papacy (note)	210
Friends and enemies of Gregory VII.	211
Gregory VII., the Napoleon of the Church	211
The Church at this time was one great secular empire, as if Christ had complied with the temptation of Satan, and accepted a temporal and universal dominion	212
Youth of Gregory VII.	213
Discipline of the monastery of Clugny	214
Gregory VII. the monk made emperor—Causes of the success of eminent characters (note)	215
The weakness of states the greatness of Rome—no appeal to the emperors to sanction the nomination of the popes after the election of Gregory VII.	216
State of Europe at this time, of Spain, Portugal, France, Hungary, Norway, Sweden, the North of Russia, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, and Germany	217—222
Rome made the tribunal, by claiming and receiving the power of appeal	222

	PAGE
The equality of bishops and of episcopal Churches destroyed by the papal supremacy	223
Bishops declared to be amenable to Rome	225—227
Gregory requires Spain to acknowledge his authority over the lands recovered from the Saracens	227
Feudal oath to the pope (note, &c.)	228
Abstract or abridgment from Baronius of the chief acts of Gregory VII. towards bishops and abbots, churches and councils, states and sovereigns, from the year 1073 to the year 1085	229—256
Independent, ecclesiastical sovereignty, in every country projected by the pope—origin of the claim to the right of investiture	257
Assumptions of Gregory VII. and the meek language of his bulls (note)	259
Final establishment of the celibacy of the clergy, and of transubstantiation	260, 261
The sacredness and excellence of marriage	262
Progress of the laws in favour of the celibacy of the clergy	263
Providence discoverable in the permission of the evil of clerical celibacy	265
Origin and progress of the doctrine of transubstantiation	266, 267
Providence discoverable in the evil of permitting the establishment of transubstantiation	269
Ecclesiastical and political questions now identified	270
Roman councils under Gregory VII., their acts, results, &c.	275
Prayers in their own language refused to the Bohemians	275
The souls of slaves and sovereigns of equal value before God	276
Power of Hildebrand over England proved by the superiority now implied in the granting of the pall (notes)	277—279
The receiving of the pall by Stigand from Benedict, and not from Gregory or Alexander, one chief cause of the Norman Conquest	280
Origin of the granting of the pall to archbishops by the pope, and history of the pall from the legendary account of Joseph of Arimathea to Thomas Becket	281, 306
Gregory VII. first made the receiving the pall a law of the papacy	293
The language of the popes in granting the pall shows the progressive power of the papacy	294
Stigand refuses to ask the pall from the Gregorian party (note)	294
The papal pretensions increase with the papal power	296
The deposition of Stigand	305
Character and laws of Lanfranc, the successor of Stigand	307
Character of Gregory VII.	307
The sincerity of persecutors more to be dreaded than their hypocrisy	308
This is the curse of Rome, that having been wrong, it will never change	309
Sincerity, cruelty, death, and character of Hildebrand	311
158. Victor III. (1087)	312
Character and conduct of Lanfranc (note)	313
Perpetual encroachments and perpetual resistance constitute the history of papal Rome	314
William the Conqueror jealous of the priesthood	315
159. Urban II. (1099)	316
The pope the umpire between the national parties	317
The truce of God and the first crusade	318, 319
History of Anselm	320—330
Divided allegiance the curse of the pious papist	321
Appeals to foreigners to remedy national, real or supposed evils, worse than the political disease	331
Anselm's resistance to the temporal sovereign encouraged by the pope	337
The constant revision of ecclesiastical laws perpetuate truth, prevent the permanency of error, and enforce the discipline of the Church	338
Character, conduct, and death of Anselm	339, 340
An English national synod commits the crime of enforcing clerical celibacy—apostolical truth is not necessarily united with apostolical authority	341
Excommunication, a political weapon	342
Communion with Rome, identified with subjection to Rome	343

	PAGE
The pope presumes to censure the kings and bishops of England for holding national synods	344
National synods partially supplied the place of parliaments	345
The power of Rome increased by the frequency of appeals	347
Oaths of obedience and allegiance to the pope now exacted from all metropolitans	348
161. Gelasius II. (1119)	348
Disputes of Rome between the Gregorians and Imperialists	349
162. Calixtus II. (1124)	349
Councils at Rome—disputes for precedence between York and Canterbury—triumph of the Gregorian party—question of investitures settled	350—352
The Ninth General Council	353
Retrospect of the period from 969 to 1123	353
Dean Waddington on the disputes respecting investitures (note)	354
The apostolical succession more certain in England than in Rome	355
Political influence of Rome in some respects useful at this time	356
The preservation of the Church of Rome in the dark ages, a less evil than its extinction	357
Possible design of Providence in permitting its continued existence, though at present unreformed, and note from Baronius	358

CHAPTER V.

Increased Power of the Church of Rome over the Catholic Church.—Laws against Heresy.—Origin of Scholastic Theology.—Second Council of Lateran, or Tenth General Council.

163. Honorius II. (1130)	359
The Archbishop of Canterbury complains to the pope against the papal legate	360
Attempt to give the force of statute law, to the canon law	360
Gratian retires to the convent of St. Felix to complete his laborious work on the canon law	361
Cruelty of the populace against real or supposed heretics	361
The intolerance of a heretic-burning mob, worse than the intolerance of a priestly tribunal—the canon laws against heresy are still unrepealed	362
The theology of the primitive Christians, and the difference between the Catholic Christian and the heretic	363
The discussions on theological questions encouraged the right of reasoning and the liberty of inquiry, which the Church now seemed anxious to repress	364
Origin of the scholastic theology, and note from Brucker	364
Mode of quoting from Thomas Aquinas (note)	365
The Aristotle mania of scholasticism, and submission of the schoolmen to the Church. Notes on Guizot and Dr. Hampden	367
Unavoidable collision between reason and authority	368
History and condemnation of Abelard, Gilbert Porretanus, and Peter Lombard	369—372
The scholastic theology ruined spiritual teaching, and strengthened the power of Rome (note from Sir James Mackintosh)	373
The scriptural teachers despised by the scholastics at that time, as the more evangelical or scriptural preachers are despised at present (note from Sharon Turner)	373
The Roman canon laws, the fetters of the Church	374
164. Innocent II. (1143)	375
Anecdote and influence of St. Bernard	375
France under an interdict	376

	PAGE
Arnold of Brescia—the opponents of Rome not always right in their own opinions	376, 377
The Tenth General Council—Second Lateran Council, its canons, &c.	379—380
The power of Rome still increases and extends to Ireland	380, 381
Wars in Italy	382

CHAPTER VI.

The Power of the Gregorian Party in the Catholic Church still continues to increase.—Character and Influence of St. Bernard.—Frequency of Appeals to Rome.—Thomas Becket.—Third Lateran Council, or Eleventh General Council, 1179.

165. Celestine II. (1144)	384
The papal legateship restored to the Archbishop of Canterbury	384
166. Lucius II. (1144)	385
Disputes at Rome	385
167. Eugenius III. (1153)	386
Attempts at reformation before Wycliffe—the efforts of Arnold of Brescia and Wycliffe premature	386, 387
Resistance to the pope deemed to be resistance to God, to Christ, and to the Virgin	387
The power of Rome increased over France, Spain, and England—the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury over Ireland, usurped by the pope	388, 389
The power of Rome increased by the influence of St. Bernard—his character, &c. &c.	389—394
The repentance of Rome to be desired—the deaths of Bernard and Eugenius	394, 395
168. Anastasius IV. (1154)	396
Rome still strengthened by appeals to its authority—its exactions and modes of extorting money	396, 397
169. Hadrian IV. (1159)	398
Ireland granted to England	398, 399
The pall not anciently sent from Rome to Ireland	401
England conquered the people, Rome conquered the clergy, of Ireland (note)	402
Origin of the influence of Thomas Becket	403
170. Alexander III. (1181)	405
Brief review of this pontificate	406
Contest between Henry II. and Thomas Becket	407
Priesthood the blessing, priestcraft the curse of mankind	411
The claims and usurpations of the Church of Rome are always urged under the plea of grievances	413
Ecclesiastics amenable to the canon law alone for civil offences and great crimes	414
The constitutions of Clarendon. The decisions of the Church and State of England against papal usurpation	415
Enumeration of the constitutions of Clarendon	416, 417
Object of Rome in protesting against any secular interference in ecclesiastical affairs	416
If the constitutions of Clarendon had been made permanent, the supremacy of the pope, but not the general ignorance, would have been removed	418—421
Papal unity is obedience to the pope—papal liberty is ecclesiastical exemption from secular control	419
Sermon of the Archbishop of Lisieux at the Council of Tours	419
Buying and selling between the faithful and heretics, prohibited by the Council of Tours	420

	PAGE
Thirty poor outcasts for religious opinions perish in the highways and fields in England (note)	420
There is a time for every thing, and for the removal of the greatest evils	421
The history and sincerity of Becket—meaning of conscience—sincerity no test of truth	422—124
Contrast between the power of the Church at present, and in the time of Becket	424
The assumption of canonization one great cause of papal power—the canonization of Edward the Confessor, and the penance of Henry II.	425—428
The philosophy of the day. The warlike spirit of the times. Emperors, kings, and people implicitly submit in peace to Rome, which resolves to extirpate heresy	429—431
The heretics differed from each other, but not so much as they differed from Rome	431, 432
The Third Council of Lateran—its acts	433—436

CHAPTER VII.

The Power of Rome at its greatest height.—Fourth Council of Lateran.

171. Lucius III. (1185)	437
Origin and progress of the laws against heresy, and establishment of the first courts of the inquisition	437—440
Lucius III. the originator of the inquisition	441
In England the inquisition was not given up to the friars, but remained with the bishops	442
List of real or supposed heretics from the decretals	445—449
Other heretics before the age of Lucius III.	449—452
Definitions of heresy : chiefly from papal writers	452—454
The severe language of the Fathers, and of the canon law, against heresy and heretics is appropriated by the Church of Rome to the rejecters of its own worst heresies—selection of those laws till the time of Lucius III.	454—460
Manner of quoting the Roman canon law, &c. (note)	456, 457
The object of Rome at this time, by extirpating all whom it called heretics, was the centralizing all human power in the papacy (note)	460
The ecclesiastical laws against heresy as severe and persecuting as those against paganism	461
The bull of Lucius III. which established the inquisition	461
Consequences of this bull	463
Difference between the inquisition and the former episcopal tribunals against heresy	464—467
Sketch of the rise and progress of the inquisitional power from Constantine to Lucius III.	467—471
The chief object of the Council of Tours, to prevent opposition to the papal supremacy	471
Becket one of the chief supporters of this object	472
172. Urban III. (1187)	473
173. Gregory VIII. (1188)	473
Scripture perverted by the persecuting papal bulls	473
174. Clement III. (1191)	474
The crusades identified with hatred to heresy	474
The papal supremacy begins to be a question of money	475
Scotland interdicted for the disobedience of its king to the pope	475
175. Celestine III. (1198)	475
Political objection to a papal legate—heresy	476
The papal influence, however, frequently useful to check regal injustice	476
Appeals to Rome in matrimonial causes a chief source of its power	477

	PAGE
Just complaints of King Richard against the papal power	477
Conclusion of the work of Baronius at the year 1198—estimate of his work —the time at which he wrote ; and the beautiful prayer to God with which it terminates	478—482
Baronius concludes his beautiful prayer to God with a painful, and to a Protestant a most mournful and idolatrous prayer to the blessed Virgin— possible grief of the Virgin Mary over such prayers—strange opinion on this point among members of the Church of Rome—one of the most indecent books ever published is dedicated to her glory by the learned Jesuit, Sanchez	482—484
176. Innocent III (1216)	484
Greatness of Rome under this pope	484—490
The various oaths of feudal fidelity to the pope—the oath exacted from John, King of England (note)	487—489
Innocent III. the chief, because the severest, enforcer of the decrees of the inquisition	490—492
Excommunication, &c. of Raymond of Thoulouse	493
Crusades against the Albigenses	494
Sincere piety with demoniacal cruelty and treachery of the crusaders	495
Innocent III. author of the beautiful and exquisite hymn <i>Veni Creator Spiritus</i> —the Holy Spirit invoked by singing that hymn, when the Albi- genses were cruelly and savagely burnt and murdered by the crusaders 496, 497	496, 497
Disputes between Cardinal Langton, John, and Innocent III.	497—501
Langton opposes the pope as every Archbishop of Canterbury and peer of England should still do	501
Avarice of Innocent III.	502
The history and laws of Innocent explain the meaning of the words “Catholic claims” and “justice to Rome,” that they denote only “papal supremacy”	503, 504
The principles of Innocent III. must be rescinded	504
Learning of Innocent, and his labours before and after his elevation to the pontificate	505
His sermon before the Council of Lateran	506, 507
Perseverance in error, and not the former existence of error, is the curse of Rome—its consequences seen in Ireland	508, 509
Causes of the election of Innocent III.	512
His unwillingness to accept the pontificate—his motives and conduct	513—517
The Fourth Council of Lateran, &c.	517—523
The third canon of that council	523—526
This canon was not then made the law of the Church for the first time—it was only a confirmation of former laws, and like them, though it may be for a time disused, it is still binding on Rome	527—529
The arguments against its authority as urged by the Roman Catholic bishops (notes)	529—533
The Waldenses and Albigenses did not deserve the cruelty and wicked murders by which they were persecuted	534—537
Pedigree of the Waldenses—Mr. Faber’s work on this subject (note)	537
Their generally blameless and holy character (notes)	538, 539
Untenable hypothesis of the infidel Gibbon	539
Dr. Gilly’s valuable work, <i>Waldensian Researches</i>	540
Opinions of Turner and work of Mr. Maitland	541
Death of Innocent III. (note)	542

CHAPTER VIII.

The Political Influence of the Church of Rome continued.—Its moral Power begins to decline.—First General Council of Lyons.

	PAGE
177. Honorius III. (1227)	543
The assumptions of Nicholas and the Gregorian policy continued	543
Avarice and cruelty become now more than ever the characteristics of Rome	544
The observance of many of our Church festivals commanded by a Council at Oxford	545
The cruel edicts of the Emperor Frederic enforced by burning, &c.—the persecuting third canon of the Fourth Council of Lateran	545
The papal legate demands two prebends from each cathedral	546
178. Gregory IX. (1241)	546
A political crusade is commanded against the chief religious crusader, the Emperor Frederic, without any charge of heresy—the moral influence of Rome consequently begins to be lessened	547, 548
The war against heresy, however, still continues—the decretals of Gregory IX.	549
The Council of Toulouse and its disgraceful and most intolerable laws against heretics—this is sometimes called the beginning of the inquisition (note).	549—551
The Dominicans appointed by Gregory IX. to be the chief inquisitors	551
The exactions of Gregory IX. and his placing foreigners in the benefices, with his crusade against Frederic, lessen the moral influence of Rome—conduct of many English gentlemen (notes)	552, 553
The peers of England at Merton refuse the supercession of the common law by the canon law, in the case of post-nuptial children	553
The appropriation of the revenues of the benefices to the monasteries, and the consequent poverty of the parochial clergy begin to prevail—the law which enables the bishop to command the owners of the great tithes to endow the vicarages more amply, may still be probably considered a part of the law of England—its enforcement would remedy the evil of the poverty of the clergy (note)	554
England the purse of Rome at this period	555, 556
The parochial clergy the intellectual strength of England—they resist the exactions of the papal legate	556, 557
The pecuniary demands of Rome—manners of the times	557, 558
179. Celestine IV. (1241); wishes to reconcile the imperial and papal factions, but dies	559
180. Innocent IV. (1254)	560
Frederic, the emperor, though not deemed a heretic, deposed by a council under the influence of the pope	560
Synopsis of the Thirteenth asserted General Council—the First Council of Lyons (notes)	561, 562
Exultation of Innocent on the death of Frederic	563
Laws of Innocent against heretics (notes)	564
Appeal of Frederic before his death to France and England against the political autocracy of the pope	565
The empire set up to sale by Innocent	566
The time had not yet come to break off this wretched yoke	571
The papal exactions in England, France, and Ireland begin to excite resistance to the political and temporal, but not to the spiritual power of Rome	572—574
Grossetete resists the institution of an Italian to a canonry in his cathedral	575
A tenth of the revenues of the whole Church of England demanded by Innocent IV.—the demand is rejected by the influence of Grossetete	576
The revenues of the foreign clergy provided for in England by the papal authority, exceed by two-thirds, the king's revenue	576

	PAGE
The opponents of Rome ever were, and will be, the friends of the liberties of the people, and of the privileges of the crown	576
Character, learning, services, and death of Grossetete, 1253 (notes)	577
Death of Innocent in the following year, 1254	578
Character of Innocent IV.—sincerity of error the curse of the Church— Scripture misquoted in the papal bulls	578, 579

CHAPTER IX.

Temporal Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in Europe.— Second Council of Lyons, 1274.

181. Alexander IV. (1261); uninteresting period of papal history	580
The truth of the stigmata of St. Francis affirmed by a papal bull—the monks permitted to supersede the parochial clergy	581
Money demanded for temporal purposes under the threat of excommunication	582
The Archbishop of York excommunicated for refusing to admit Italians into his benefices—the way was being prepared for Wycliffe	583
The papal excommunications begin to be despised by the laity	583
The blasphemous assumptions by the pope, of the power to excommunicate for political causes, in party disputes between a king and his barons, caused the meeting of the knights and burgesses with the nobles and prelates in England; and may be called therefore the evil which was overruled, to the establishment of the representative government and liberties of England	584
Beginning of the decline of the moral influence of excommunications, &c.	584
182. Urban IV. (1264); threatens the German electors with excommunication if they do not elect Conradin to the empire	585
183. Clement IV. (1268)	585
The Gregorian policy continued—all benefices declared to be at the papal disposal—the declaration resisted in France by an edict called the Pragmatic Sanction—this decree the foundation of the former Gallican liberties	586
Murderous crusades—papal excommunications for political offences in the question between the king and de Montfort in England	587, 588
A bull of Clement grants the king the tenth of the English ecclesiastical revenues—Rome feared by both parties in the state, plunders both in town and country, by holding the balance between them	588
184. Gregory X. (1276)	588
Union of the Churches at this time in spite of the papal misconduct	589
The Fourteenth General Council—its chief acts and decrees, &c. (notes) 591—593	
Laws of Gregory X. in the Sixth Book of the Decretals—his death at Arezzo	594

CHAPTER X.

Resistance by the Sovereigns of Europe to the more presumptuous Aggressions of the Church of Rome.—Increased severity of the Laws against Heresy.—Council of Vienne in Dauphiny, 1311.

185. Innocent V. (1276); the importance of the pope's office prevented the election of incompetent ecclesiastics	595
Innocent died five months after his election	595
186. Hadrian V. (1276)	596
187. John XXI. (1277)	596

	PAGE
The Churches of Europe during these short pontificates held councils independently of the popes	596
188. Nicholas III. (1280)	596
The formation of the papacy into a temporal kingdom, and the statute of mortmain in England diminish the papal influence, though the pope now obtains the appointment of the archbishopric of Canterbury (note)	597
The common law still enforced against the canon law	598
189. Martin IV. (1285)	598
The Emperor of the East, Michael Palæologus, excommunicated	598
To question and define the extent of any long established power, implies the diminution of that power	599
The bishops of England sanction the taking away the cup from the laity, and thus begin to supersede the positive commands of Christ	599
The statute "Circumspecte agatis" limits the power of the ecclesiastical courts	600
The murderer of a priest at Padua is fined only one penny—the causes of this injustice	600
190. Honorius IV. (1287)	601
The diverting of the subsidies for the crusades from their object by Honorius lessens the influence of the pope	601
The doctrine of the sufficiency of the Scriptures condemned as heretical	602
Strange mixture of truth and error in the Church at this time	602
Belief in transubstantiation the foundation of priestly influence in the Church of Rome	603
191. Nicholas IV. (1292)	603
The Gregorian policy still pursued, but injuriously to Rome	603
192. Celestine V. (abdicated 1294); Moroni, a hermit, made pope—solitude not the best school for sovereigns	604
193. Boniface VIII. (1303)	605
This pope most distinguished for his talents, accomplishments, knowledge of the canon law, and rigid adherence to the Gregorian principles and policy	605
Austerity was now confounded with piety—Boniface offended by neglecting the general opinion	606
Quarrel between Boniface and Philip of France	606
The Colonnas excommunicated without any charge of heresy, and a crusade declared against them	607
Two swords representing the spiritual and temporal power borne before Boniface	608
Pretensions of the clergy at this time—obedience to the pope preferred to obedience to the statute law of England (note)	608
Impossibility of separating between the papal-temporal and the papal-spiritual power	609
The clergy of England outlawed for their obedience to the pope	609
The King of England acted more vigorously than either Henry VIII. or Elizabeth—the clergy submit	610
The mediation of the pope as a good jurist, but not as pope, between England and France, accepted	610
Imperious bull, "Clericis Laicos" of Boniface against France (notes)	611
His bull Unam Sanctam, &c. (notes)	612, 613
Influence of Boniface weakened by his conduct to France, and assumption of authority over kings and kingdoms (notes)	614—617
Charges against Boniface by Philip of France (note)	617
Capture of Boniface and gross insults offered to him—his death and character	617—619
194. Benedict XI. (1304) ; annuls the acts of Boniface against France and, the Colonna family	619 62
195. Clement V. (1314)	620
Disputes in the Church during the vacancy in the pontificate—an appeal is made uselessly to a general council	620
Promises of the pope elect to Philip of France, and condemnation of the Knights Templars (notes)	620—622

	PAGE
An oath of communion with Rome called by Clement an oath of fidelity	623
The Council of Vienne (notes)	624—626
England was now the treasury of Rome—the sums paid to the papal exchequer from England, &c.	626—628
The pope and the king mutually uphold their several and separate exactions	628

CHAPTER XI.

The first great effort of the Universal Church to limit the usurped Supremacy and Authority of the Bishop of Rome.—Death of Wycliffe.—The great Schism.—Council of Constance.

196. John XXII. (1334)	629
Difference between the study of ancient and modern history considered in relation to prophecy	629
Permanency of the papal system—an Utopian theory	630
Debasement at this time of the common people—the time had arrived when the general ignorance was to be lessened, but Rome never suspected its failings nor its danger	631
Protestantism always existed, before the word Protestant was known	632
Disgraceful and cruel punishments of this period	633
Certain friars found guilty of heresy, and actually burnt for preferring coarse hoods to fine hoods, when coarse hoods were disapproved by the pope	634, 635
Discussions on the poverty of Christ	635
Disputes between the pope and the emperor—appeals to a general council	636, 637
The popes availed themselves of the proper fear among Christians of offending God, and called every enemy of their temporal power by the hateful name of heretic	637
The bulls against the friars for wearing the wrong hoods, published in the year of the birth of Wycliffe, 1324	638
The pope called antichrist, and accused of heresy—his indignation	638
The Church weakened by dissensions, and the way for Wycliffe is becoming more effectually though gradually prepared	638
Falsehood of the assertion that “Gospel light first beamed from Bullen’s eyes”	639
The error of John XXII. on the subject of the beatific vision, destroys the doctrine of the papal personal infallibility (notes)	639
The King of France threatens to burn the pope as a heretic—the pope recants his doctrine	640, 641
The pope himself made the first attack on the papal infallibility	641
The pope, the King of France, and the Emperor of Germany unite in declaring the superiority of a general council to the pope	641
The bishops in England compelled to deny the papal power in their temporalities	642
Case of Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, &c.	642, 643
197. Benedict XII. (1342)	643
The papal power now weakened by its dependence on France	644
Contests in England between the king and Archbishop of Canterbury	644
Benedict dies in the eighteenth year of Wycliffe	645
198. Clement VI. (1352)	645
The papal influence lessened by the opposition of France and Germany; and by the resistance in England of Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln, to the papal provisions	645
The “statute of provisors” enacted against papal appointments to English benefices	648

Contents.

XIX

	PAGE
199. Innocent VI. (1362)	648
The papal power limited by the cardinals	648
The pope mediates in vain between England and France	648
The "free companies" compel the pope to grant them absolution, and to pay them a large sum of money	649
The decline of the temporal influence of the papacy in France and Germany, and the passing of the statute of præmunire in England, prohibiting appeals to Rome in questions of property	650
The mendicant friars appeal to Scripture, and prepare the way for Wycliffe's translation	651
Innocent VI. dies in the 32nd year of Wycliffe	651
200. Urban V. (1370)	651
Character of Urban	651
The Greek Church reconciled for a short time to Rome	651
The last instance of imperial degradation	651
Wycliffe appeals to the pope against his archbishop in the question of his appointment at Oxford	652
Urban V. claims in vain the arrears of King John's tribute money	653
Urban dies in the 46th year of Wycliffe	654
201. Gregory XI. (1378)	654
Conduct of Gregory XI. towards the Florentines—its effects (notes)	654, 655
Gregory XI. publishes four bulls against Wycliffe	656
Account of Catherine of Sienna, the adviser of Gregory XI., and of Bridget	656, 657
State of the government of England at the commencement of the labours of Wycliffe	660
Wycliffe appointed one of the commissioners to the papal court (notes)	661, 662
Complaints of the Commons of England against the papal exactions	663
Wycliffe opposes Rome—the final success of scriptural opposition to popery	664, 665
Nineteen real or supposed errors of Wycliffe submitted to Gregory XI.	666
Wycliffe in his "Trialogus" surnames the pope "antichrist"	667
Transubstantiation the great provocative to infidelity.	667
Disadvantages against which Wycliffe had to contend	667
Bulls of Gregory against Wycliffe	668
The controversy between the Gregorian policy and the national mind of England fairly begun—character of Wycliffe not so bold as that of Luther	669, 670
Events which contributed to the security of Wycliffe	671, 672
Gregory XI. dies in the 54th year of Wycliffe	672
202. Urban VI. (1389)	674
Disturbances at Rome on the death of Gregory XI.—the people insist on the cardinals electing a Roman or an Italian, not a French pope	674
Origin of the schism in which the Gregorian power dies a natural death	674, 675
Sketch of the great schism—joy of Wycliffe	676, 677
The great schism and the Revolution of 1688 compared in their effects upon papacy and monarchy	678, 679
Christian councils must be summoned by princes, not by popes	680
All Christian controversies relate either to faith or discipline, the sufficiency or non-sufficiency of Scripture, and the supremacy or non-supremacy of Rome	681, 682
Wycliffe the upholder of the sufficiency of Scripture—his doctrine, &c.	682, 683
Wycliffe condemned at Oxford	684
Twenty-four conclusions of Wycliffe condemned in the Council of London	685
The Archbishop of Canterbury calls himself by the ominous title of "Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity"	686
Death of Wycliffe, December 30, 1384	687
The question considered, whether Wycliffe retired after his condemnation at Oxford, to Bohemia	688—690
The fatal mistake of Wycliffe that he identified the errors of the Church, with the existence of the Church	690
Why the mediæval period is justly and properly called "The Dark Ages"	691

	PAGE
Wycliffe, his great and unappreciable services, in spite of many errors, to the Church of Christ—neither Wycliffe nor other reformers deserve unmixed approbation	691, 692
The faults of the enemies of Rome, ought to be discussed as freely as the faults of the friends of Rome	693
If Christ were now to come in His glory, all Churches, sects, and parties would confess their mutual errors, and seek for union	693
The martyrs died for the general cause of Christ's Church, and not for their peculiar decisions	694
If they would return to earth, they would endeavour to lessen the mutual hatreds of Christians	694
Christ's dying prayer for the union of Christians cannot have been offered in vain	695

ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL HISTORY,

§c. §c.

BOOK III.

THE HISTORY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL POWER, FROM THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, AND ITS PERVERSIONS BY PERSECUTION.

CHAPTER I.

*Progress of the Ecclesiastical Power—State of the Canon Law
—From the year 560 to 681.*

WE have now arrived at that period when the whole Catholic Church of Christ began to acknowledge more openly, though still very slowly and gradually, the authority of the Church of Rome; to submit to its spiritual ascendancy, and to yield to its usurpation of civil and temporal power. That the manner in which the Bishops of Rome were enabled to impose their yoke upon the Catholic Church may be more plainly traced throughout, I shall still proceed to point out *the several novel acts of power* by which their already conceded influence was consolidated; or by which new aggressions were made upon the privileges of the independent episcopal Churches. I shall survey, as briefly as possible, the principal incidents which occurred in the Churches, and the particular policy of each successive Bishop of Rome, as the connecting

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

links between the councils which were holden from the second of Constantinople, to that of Trent. I may here observe, that the continued controversies among Christians, and the convulsions of the empire which resulted from them, were attended with the good effect of nearly banishing the grosser deeds, and absurder tenets of Paganism, from the empire. Certain immutable principles are always taken for granted, whenever any considerable controversy is proceeding. When the measure called "the Reform Bill" was under discussion some time ago in England, men of all classes took for granted during that discussion, that representative government was a blessing. All their arguments on either side were founded on this supposition. No man imagined that an arbitrary despotism was advisable. So it was in the controversies respecting the divinity of Christ. All the controversialists took for granted that Christ lived, died, rose from the dead, and was more than human. The very existence of Paganism appeared to be gradually forgotten. It was fading away before the agitations which arose from Christianity; and the mind of man was rescued from the belief in the monstrosities of the Pagan creed, and directed from permitted vice to recommended virtue. We cannot deny, that while the surface of the Universal Church was agitated by the storm, there was much piety, holiness, virtue, and Christian hope, in the humble believers who were seeking rest to their souls.

LX. *Pelagius I., died 560.*

From the episcopate of Pelagius, the first Bishop of Rome after the second Council of Constantinople, to Agatho, the Sicilian, in whose time the third Council of Constantinople, the next universal council, was held, nineteen bishops held the see of Rome, and one hundred and six years elapsed. During this time, while various temporal rulers nominally possessed the civil government, the bishops of the city ruled, and rendered still more secure the increasing authority of the see.

Pelagius is memorable for endeavouring to persuade Narses, the general of Justinian, to punish, by the secular arm, the persons who were condemned by the see of Rome. To punish evil, he justly observes, is not persecution, but

justice. *Separation from the apostolic see is schism; and it is an evil.* Schismatics, therefore, ought to be punished by the secular power. The great defect in the argument is the fallacy of the premises—that separation from Rome is schism. He begs Narses to apprehend and banish, or imprison, the disturbers of the peace of the Church. Vivi-comburation had not yet become the general panacea to procure peace, at the expense of freedom of inquiry. The influence of the see, however, in the time of Pelagius, was much weakened among the Gallican and western bishops, by the suspicion of his orthodoxy. He was supposed to be unsound in the faith of the first four councils, because he had refused to sanction the decisions of the fifth. The conclusions of this council were not received in the west, till some time after the death of Pelagius.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

LXI. *John III., died 574.*

The Gallican bishops refused to restore a deposed brother at the mandate of this bishop. *The continued interference of the emperor* in the religious controversies of the day, respecting the person and nature of Christ, together with the perpetual enactment of the laws against heresies, *rendered orthodoxy a political question.* Parties in a state are often formed by the mere expression of opinion by a ruler. One class supports it, and is befriended; another opposes it, and is hated. Rewards, power, influence, rank, and advancement are withheld from enemies and granted to friends; and truth or falsehood are merged in the question as to the actual opinions of the ruler. Papist and Protestant were drawn on the same hurdle to the scaffold in the reign of Henry for opposing the king's opinions. The nation was shocked at the inconsistency: but that particular execution rendered more service to the cause of truth than any other, because it compelled all parties to look to other sources of religious conclusions than the will of an arbitrary ruler. Truth must flourish, where it is protected by freedom, and oppressed by authority. Justinian died in the episcopate of this bishop, suspected, after all his orthodoxy, of the crime of heresy. He had commanded his subjects to agree with

4 *Election of the Bishop of Rome without imperial consent.*

BOOK III. him, or be punished. Justin, his successor, commanded
CHAP. I. them to cease from their disputes. The former emperor per-
secuted; the latter was tolerant.

LXII. *Benedict Bonosus, died 578.*

Nothing very important characterized the episcopate of this bishop. He is said to have died of grief on witnessing the success of the Lombards, whom Narses had now invited into Italy.

LXIII. *Pelagius II., died 590.*

Many delays had hitherto taken place in the elections of the Bishops of Rome, by the difficulty of procuring what was then deemed essential to their appointment—the consent of the emperor. *One of the first results of the success of the Lombards over the power of the Roman see was, the election of the bishop without waiting for that consent.* Though an apology was made for this omission at the time, a precedent was afforded which could not be forgotten. Pelagius was made Bishop of Rome without the consent of the imperial Roman power.—The authority of the Roman see was strenuously enforced by this bishop in two instances. In the course of the controversy respecting the condemnation of the edict of Justinian on the Three Chapters, the Bishops of Istria had objected to the decisions of the Bishop of Rome. Pelagius, taking the opportunity of a suspension of hostilities between the Lombards and the Imperialists, writes to the bishops of Istria¹, and *urges upon them, for the first time, the memorable argument, that as Christ had prayed to God that the faith of Peter might not fail, therefore Peter could not err; and consequently, that as the successors of Peter inherited the privileges of that apostle, they could not err.* To this inference the Istrian bishops were not inclined to defer; and Pelagius, in reply to their objection, confesses, that as St. Peter changed his decision in the course of his seeking after truth, so it was possible the Bishop of Rome might change. But the pretension to infallibility was advanced, and it was not

¹ His correspondence with the bishops of Istria may be seen in Labb. Concil. v. 940, seqq.

forgotten in the progress to greater domination. The Istrian bishops were invited to return to communion with the see of Rome, and thus to preserve the unity of the Church. On their continued hesitation, the more effectual argument of actual force was exerted. The Exarch of Ravenna, Zamaragdus, was requested to punish these episcopal disturbers of the peace of the Churches. He complied with the petition; and sending over his troops to Grado to seize the persons of four bishops, tore them from their refuge in the Church; and imprisoned them in Ravenna, till they conformed to the opinion of Pelagius. The people on their return home refused their communion; and the unity of the Church was again disturbed by their re-adopting their former opinions. Such was the result of the first attempt to govern the Churches of the Catholic Church, by the plea of Roman infallibility.

The *second memorable effort on the part of Pelagius* to maintain the supremacy of his see, was made on the occasion of the re-assumption of the title of Universal Bishop by the Bishop of Constantinople.—The Emperor Leo had conferred this title on Stephen. Justinian had granted it to Mennas, Epiphanius, and Anthemius. It was not therefore novel; neither was it, indeed, a higher title than had already been given to the bishops of the true Catholic Churches in other instances². It was conferred by a council summoned by the emperor at Constantinople, to consider the accusations against Gregory, the Patriarch of Antioch. Pelagius, on hearing of the conferring of the title, nullified by an edict the acts of the council; and commanded his representative at Constantinople not to communicate with the bishop, to whom he had also written in great indignation, till he had resigned the title. The bull on this subject, in the Bullarium Magnum, is probably not genuine, though Baronius, Binius, and others, urge it as authentic and genuine against the objectors to the papal authority³. Whether spurious or not, it is still so ancient that it may be said to show the extent of the papal claims at a very early period; for it certainly existed before the eighth century. It bears internal evidence,

² See Bingham, book ii. cap. ii.

³ See Labbe, Concil. v. 948; Baron. Annual. A.D. 587, § 7. 13—15.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

indeed, of its spuriousness, because the world at this time was not prepared to endure such language as, that a regularly summoned council should be called a conventicle; with many other strange affirmations. *The attempt, however, to condemn a national synod, and to excommunicate a bishop who adopted a title conferred by a council, was made; and it became a precedent for interfering with national synods, which was followed in after-ages with fearful effect, as another foundation-stone of the edifice of papal domination. In the last year of this bishop, the Goths in Spain renounced Arianism, and adopted the faith of the Catholic Church, as it is to be found in the decisions of the first four general councils.*

LXIV. *Gregory I. the Great, died 604.*

A law of Valentinian and Valens, passed in the year 364, had commanded that no plebeian should be ordained. Whether this absurd and iniquitous enactment was obeyed, we have no means of judging. The succession of bishops, however, from that time to the age of Gregory, appears to have been taken from the class whose means had afforded them the higher and more liberal education. They were the companions of princes, the senators and legislators of their day. The Church of Rome had already committed many errors, more especially when it adopted the folly of Gnapheus of Antioch, in rendering undue homage to the Virgin; and to honourable and religious men, whom it dignified with the epithet of saints. Its present ambition, however, was worthy of its greatness, and was devoted to usefulness according to its knowledge, as well as to the enlargement of its authority. Rome had not yet united itself with ignorance, and hatred of the holy Word of God; nor fettered itself by a creed, originally imposed upon it by the authority of an individual bishop. Whatever had been the effect of the laws of Valens and Valentinian, Gregory, the sixty-fourth Bishop of Rome, was of noble rank, wealthy, learned, and religious. Though he was the inmate of a cloister, according to the ascetic notions of his age, he had been sent by Pelagius as an ambassador to Constantinople; and returned to his monastery after the completion of his ser-

vice. He had declined to accept the episcopate of Rome, to which he was appointed after the death of Pelagius; but was compelled to accept it by the entreaties and even the violence of the people. He committed, at his accession, when he presented his confession of faith, according to the custom of the day, to the bishops and patriarchs of the Church, the fatal error, of equalizing the first four general councils with the four Gospels, by affirming that he held them *in equal reverence* with the inspired writings. The interference of the emperor prevented his prosecuting his plans for re-uniting the Istrian bishops to the Church of Rome. He exhorted the Exarch of Ravenna to punish the Donatists, the remnant of whom were living in peace with their Catholic neighbours in Africa; and to convert the heretics by civil persecution; though he protected the Jews, when the Gallican bishops attempted their conversion by force. The providence of God was more peculiarly observable at this time in the establishment of the Benedictine monasteries, as the refuges of learning, and the preservers of the sacred Scriptures, till better times returned to the churches; and Gregory exerted his influence in publishing severe, yet useful rules for the regulation of monasteries in general. He restored discipline among the clergy, and set the example which was more energetically followed by his successor Hildebrand, of writing letters to princes, kings, and magistrates, in order to prevent simony in the churches. He persevered in upholding the unnatural laws of celibacy; and was rejoiced at the conversion of the Lombards to the true Catholic doctrine. Ireland, from the earliest times, had embraced the pure Christianity of the primitive Catholic Church, before the Bishop of Rome had claimed or affected supremacy. The Bishops of Ireland wrote to Gregory on the persecution, to which they were now subjected. He invites them in return to assent to the decisions of the Bishops of Rome respecting the Three Chapters. They had not, however, followed his counsel many years after. *The public worship of God was celebrated till this time in the native language of every country*; but as many foreign nations received the Gospel from papal missionaries, the superstitions which were gradually introduced into the Roman Church, were propagated with it. The monks, who had become the great instruments in giving religious instruction to people

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

who spoke a language different from their own, were often ignorant of the languages of those whom they converted. From this circumstance not only arose the custom of celebrating the services of the Church in Latin, but also many of the signs, gestures, and mummeries which were used to indicate such acts of devotion, as the congregations were required to perform; many of which continue to be still in use. Gregory maintained, on all occasions, the authority of the see of Rome; but his influence rather consolidated than extended its power, as he did not attempt to enlarge it by any new encroachments or usurpations. He restored, however, bishops who had been deposed; and acted as the sovereign bishop of the Church over all whom he could govern. He frequently remonstrated with the emperor; though he acknowledged him to be the ruler over priests, as well as over soldiers. He declared the title of Universal Bishop, which was still retained by the Bishop of Constantinople, to be impious, blasphemous, ambitious, and profane; and rejected the same appellation when it was courteously proffered to him by an eastern bishop. He assumed that title which has ever since been retained by his successors—the *proudly-humble* epithet of “Servant of the Servants of God.”

But the name of Gregory is more especially memorable to the English as the sender of Augustine the monk, to preach the doctrine, and establish the discipline and customs of the Christians of the Church of Rome, among the people of England. Very much is it to be lamented, that the Bishop of Rome authorized his retainer to undertake this mission. Christianity had been taught in this island from the commencement of its career. It was weakest in the eastern part of the Island, to which Augustine was chiefly directed; but it was fully established in the western parts, where seven bishops presided over the Church in Wales. It had, also, been preached with great success in the northern parts of the Island⁴. So entirely, indeed, had it prevailed before the conquest of the country by the Saxons, that many British Christians suffered in the persecution by Diocletian. Three British bishops were at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314⁵. Others were at Ariminum in Italy, where 400 bishops⁶ met

⁴ See Usher's *Primordia*, pp. 781, 782, edit. 1639.

⁵ *Id.* pp. 93. 145. 195.

⁶ *Id.* p. 196.

in the year 360; and there is reason to believe that others were at the Council of Nice⁷, where the limits of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome were accurately defined, and in which Britain was not included. Councils were held in the fifth century in Britain against the doctrines of Pelagius. The religion of the people who were reduced to slavery under the Saxons, was still Christian⁸. Christianity was still tolerated on condition of the payment of an annual tribute; and only ten years before the arrival of Augustine, Theonas, Bishop of London, and Thadioc, Archbishop of York, in the year 588, had retired to the western side of Britain. It is not improbable that they intended to return; for though many, yet not *all* their clergy, had retired with them. Even at the moment of the landing of Augustine, Christianity was not a strange religion in the kingdom of Kent. The Queen Bertha was Christian. A bishop resided in the palace. She worshipped in the Church of St. Martin in Canterbury; and there can be little doubt that, if Augustine had never landed in England, the more primitive Asiatic form of keeping Easter, with the general truths of Christianity, would have speedily prevailed. The greater unanimity which would have resulted to the British Christians from the non-arrival of Augustine with the novelties of the Roman worship, would probably have more speedily effected the conversion of the Saxon pagans⁹.—So it was, however, that the embracing

⁷ Id. p. 195.

⁸ Such, indeed, was the aversion which the Scottish Christians showed to all that came from Rome, that Daganus, a Scotch bishop, refused not only to eat with them, but even to lodge in the same house. Beda, *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. ii. cap. 4. And the same author further declares, that in 633, thirty-six years after the coming of Austin, the British Christians not only rejected all communion with them, but regarded them with unqualified repugnance. Indeed, *to this day*, says our historian, the Britons continue such aversion to the faith and worship of the English, that they will have nothing to do with it, and will not communicate with any of them, more than they will with pagans. *Usque hodie moris sit Britonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum, pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis*

communicare quam paganis.—Beda, *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. ii. cap. 20.

⁹ As for those British Christians who retired into the western part of Wales, and into Cornwall, two of their bishops assisted Wini, Bishop of Winchester, at the consecration of Ceada, Bishop of York. They were probably Cornish Bishops, for it was the Cornish Christians who paid the Saxons tribute, to continue their system of worship unmolested.—Beda, *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. iii. cap. 28.

The Cornish Christians were very numerous, and had kept up their rites and usages till the latter end of the seventh century, when Aldhelm was made Bishop of Sherborne, for writing against them, and for bringing many to the Catholic observance of Easter.—Beda, lib. v. cap. 19.

With regard to those who had fled

10 *Extent of Christianity in Britain at the arrival of Augustine.*

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

Christianity by the Kentish and Western Saxons, must be said to be chiefly owing to Augustine. The Romish writers have ever taught, that the mission of Augustine was a legitimate reason for our acknowledging in this island the papal supremacy; and the influence of Rome has never been banished from among our people. The letters of Gregory, written before Augustine came to England, compel us to believe, that the Bishop of Rome was more anxious to secure the Saxons as his spiritual subjects, than to provide for their welfare; he would otherwise have become the correspondent of the bishops who were already established in the Eastern part of the island. He would have restored their authority, and have endeavoured to extend their influence. But the queen was a French woman. Her chaplain, Luidhard, was of the same nation. Gregory wrote to the mother of Bertha, the Queen, informing her that "he had heard that the English nation would gladly become Christian; but that the

into Wales, the diocesan bishops were subject to the Archbishop of Caerleon as their metropolitan; and though their number and districts cannot be ascertained, it is certain that no less than seven of their bishops met Augustine at the second conference, whom Baronius allows to have been orthodox in their faith, though he accuses them of schism. (Inett, vol. i. cap. i. § xi. p. 12.) But that Austin and his successors were well convinced of their purity of doctrine is evident from their desire of communion with them, and their submission.

The faith and discipline of the Churches in Ireland, and in the north parts of Britain, at the time of Austin's mission, was the same with those of Wales and Cornwall, among which there was reciprocal communion; and if we may credit Beda, the British and Irish-Scottish clergy had done much towards restoring Christianity in various parts of the island at the coming of Austin.—Beda, lib. iii. cap. 4.

About the year 565, thirty years before the coming of Austin, Columba came from Ireland, and converted the Piets of the northern districts of Britain.—Beda, ut supra, and Chron. Sax. Ann. 560. Beda also says that the southern Piets had been converted many years before by Nynian, a British

bishop; and these accounts are corroborated by Asser, with some very inconsiderable difference in the date of Columba crossing from Ireland, which he places in the year 565.—Asserii Annal. Ann. 565. Script. xv. p. 143.

For the account of the conference between Austin and his followers, and the British bishops, and his haughty and threatening language to them, with their firm, dignified, and appropriate reprehension, which the proud missionary received from the Abbot of Bangor in reply, see Beda, lib. ii. cap. 2. Antiq. British Ch. cap. v. p. 359. Conc. Brit. vol. i. p. 103. Wharton's Angl. Sacr. ii. p. 543; from all which it will appear that, notwithstanding the shock which the British Christians had endured from the inundation of the hostile Saxons, the true faith had been preserved in several districts; that, particularly in the isle which Beda so frequently speaks of by the name of Hy or Iona, so famous for its monastery—in Mona, or Anglesey; throughout Wales and Cornwall; in Ireland and Scotland, there was a sufficiently able and fervent remnant of the faithful to have restored the original Church, and speedily to have converted the Saxon intruders, had no mission from Rome been sent to eclipse the zeal and efficiency of the native church.

clergy, their neighbours, did not take charge of them." *The* BOOK III.
CHAP. I.
"becoming Christian" might denote becoming members of the Church of Rome; and the knowledge of the independence of the Archbishop of the Britons at Caerleon-upon-Usk, might have been the cause of his appealing to Augustine, rather than to Dinot (the abbot who subsequently met Augustine), to the Archbishop of the Britons, or to any bishop or priest who had not already acknowledged the supremacy or the primacy of Rome.

Gregory re-urged, in his letters to the Bishop of Constantinople, the argument in favour of his supremacy, from the words of Christ to St. Peter. He wrote letters to the Bishops of Spain and France, of Italy and Africa, urging them to remove abuses and to restore discipline. He accomplished a truce between the Romans and the Lombards; and began *that fatal system which was so contrary to the canons and laws of the primitive Church*—of exempting monks from the jurisdiction and superintendence of their bishops. The monastic orders became, in consequence, the peculiar supporters of the papal against the episcopal power; and every usurpation of the Bishop of Rome was actively and strenuously defended by these vassals of the Holy See. After the Monastic orders, the Inquisitors, and latterly the Jesuits, claim the same privilege. *The Catholic Church never can be at peace till this usurpation be removed*; and all Christians, with the several dioceses of the Universal Church, be restored to the jurisdiction and superintendence of their own diocesans, independently of the Bishop of Rome.

Another evil was inflicted on the Churches by this Bishop. *Gregory permitted the ceremonies of the pagan worship to be interwoven with the Christian service of the true God.* He only changed the names of the objects of their worship. The first teachers of Christianity inculcated the doctrine—that the religion of Christ permitted no compromise with evil. The corruption of Christianity was shown in the timid compliance with custom, fashion, and idolatry, lest the austere truths of religion should give offence. The removal of this temporizing and debasing mode of preaching, or enforcing the religion of Christ, must be also effected before the souls of men can be rendered acceptable to their Creator. The light that was in the converted pagans became darkness

by this permission of evil; and the greatness of that darkness was shown by their speedily relapsing for a time, into the grossnesses of their former religion.—*Another evil inflicted by Gregory on the Catholic Church* was his condemnation of the conduct of Serenus of Marseilles, when he broke the images which the Franks in his diocese had been permitted to retain. Gregory declared that images served the place of books to the ignorant, and were therefore useful, though they were not to be worshipped.—The episcopate of this celebrated bishop is rendered still further memorable by his conduct to the centurion, Phocas, the murderer of his master, the Emperor Mauricius, and the usurper of the imperial diadem. Gregory, on hearing of the success of Phocas, eulogized and congratulated him in the most fulsome terms of praise. His conduct prepared the way for the subsequent more express grant of temporal power, which Phocas made to the successor of Gregory in the see of Rome.—*The memory of this bishop is still further remarkable, as he was the principal compiler of the Canon of the Mass.* He was the first who spoke of the doctrine of purgatory. Many of his writings, which are very voluminous, are still read with respect. In the services of the Church of England are embodied many of the prayers and thanksgivings which he incorporated in his Sacramentary. With much that must be condemned as absurd, superstitious, or frivolous, much is to be found in his labours which entitles him to our homage and admiration. He was surnamed by many “the last Bishop;” that is, the last spiritual ruler of Rome, who aimed at no personal honours for himself. He was the connecting link between the disinterested bishops of antiquity, and the more interested rulers who succeeded him. His name is identified, more than that of any other Bishop of Rome, with the Christianity of England, and the confirmation of the papal authority; and happy would it have been for mankind, if all his successors in the papal see had been as disinterested and well-intentioned as the virtuous, active, zealous monk, with all his faults, fancies, and superstitions. Happy would it be if they had avoided his errors and imitated his virtues— if they had blessed their people as he did, and been renowned like him for unbounded charity, diligence, humility, and blamelessness. Holiness, eloquence, and knowledge were

combined with ascetic devotion. Foolish answers to foolish questions, as in the case of the conversion of the Saxons by Augustine; and dreams and visions, were blended with the highest attainments of his age. Spanheim says, that in compiling the Mass, and other things, Gregory confesses “his departure from the customs of the Apostolic Church¹.”

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

LXV. *Sabinian, died 606 or 607.*

The abject superstition of this age—the natural result of the ignorance induced by the successful invasion of the barbarians—was shown in the mode by which the books and writings of Gregory were preserved, when the populace had been excited by the ungrateful Sabinian, his successor, to destroy them. They only ceased from their attempt in compliance with the request of his friend, Peter the Deacon, when he informed the people that these writings were divinely inspired; for that he himself had seen the Holy Ghost, in the shape of a dove, whispering in the ear of Gregory. Nothing worthy of record is related of Sabinian.

LXVI. *Boniface III., died 607 or 608.*

This bishop is celebrated for assuming the title of Universal Bishop after it had been conferred on him by Phocas, the emperor. This assumption is generally considered to be the great commencement of the papal supremacy. Boniface immediately exercised the power by summoning a council at Rome; and declaring *that no election of a bishop should be deemed valid, unless the Bishop of Rome confirmed the approbation of the people, clergy, and patron, or lord of the city*².

LXVII. *Boniface IV., died 615.*

The Christianity of this period must have been sadly degraded from its originally aggressive, uncompromising opposition to heathenism and evil. Gregory a few years before requested Augustine to consecrate to Christian saints the

¹ Spanheim, cent. vi. p. 357. The churches of Milan, France, Spain, and other places retained their own Liturgies for some ages after, and Gregory

VII. encountered much difficulty in imposing the Roman form upon them.

² Labb. Concil. v. 1616.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

festivals of heathen deities; and though he had requested Ethelbert³ to destroy the idol temples, he afterwards sent Mellitus, who was appointed Bishop of London about the year 604, to command more conciliatory measures. The Saxons, in their various provinces, appear, as Beda shows, to have changed their opinions with much facility from the incipiently paganized Christianity, to the more matured paganism with which it was commanded to symbolize. The river of the waters of life was contracted to a narrow stream, which the rocks of idolatry, the shallows of formality, and the stagnant pool of ecclesiastical usurpation began to make repulsive to the admirer of the purer Word of God.—This Bishop of Rome procured from Phocas the grant of the Pantheon⁴, which had been dedicated by Agrippa to Cybele and the other pagan deities. He made the heathen temple a Christian Church. *He cast out the deified men and women of heathenism, to substitute in their place the deified men and women of a corrupted Christianity.* He sprinkled the place with the water which man had blessed, and called *holy*. He forsook the fountain of living water which God had sent down from heaven, and alone called *holy*.—In the time of this bishop, idolatry began to prevail more and more in the West, and the new curse of Islamism extended itself in the East. Mahomet had seen to what absurd lengths the disputations among Christians were carried; and it is probable that any designing person might now have successfully practised a crafty imposture. The superstitions studied and taught by the monks paved the way for his enterprise. The division of the eastern and western churches served to promote his object. His accomplices were men well qualified for seconding the bold plot. Among the chief of these were Sergius, a Nestorian monk, an excommunicated heretic, who had fled into Arabia embittered with rage against the orthodox Christianity of the day; John of Antioch, who had been exiled for Arianism; Baira, a Jacobite; Abdiah or Abdallah, a Jew; besides Othman and Abubeker, and others of his own tribe and countrymen. This, however, is not the place to discuss the question of Mahometanism; or to inquire into the truth of Mr. Foster's theory, that the Mahometans

³ Beda, H. E., l. xxx.

⁴ See the note of Binius in Labb. Concil. v. 1617.

may be regarded as a Christian sect. It must be sufficient to say, that the extension of Mahometanism in the East, strengthened the Christianity of the West. The influence of Rome was co-extensive with its corruptions; and the Asiatic customs which had prevailed in Ireland, Scotland, England, Wales, and France, began to be more effectually superseded in all these countries by the pertinacious perseverance of Rome, demanding submission to its influence and customs as the Apostolic See, and *denominating conformity to its injunctions, the unity of the Church of Christ*⁵.—The deference paid to the Bishop of Rome by Augustine and Mellitus, became the precedent for still further deference and submission among their successors; till the primacy of Rome became dominion, courtesy vassalage; and journeying to Rome was exacted as a token and proof of inferiority and feudal homage.—The Bishop of Rome sent letters by Mellitus to the clergy, king, and people. They have not been handed down to posterity; and we have, therefore, no proof that they were received as the mandates of a superior. Every bishop, as the member of the one episcopate, which includes the whole government of the holy Catholic Church, is entitled to address letters of kindness, courtesy, and Christian advice, in the same manner to any sovereign or nation under heaven. There is not sufficient proof to convince us, that Baronius rightly informs us of the cause of the journey of Mellitus to Rome—that he might learn from Boniface whether the Church of Westminster had been consecrated by St. Peter *in person*. Ailred of Rievaulx⁶ (whom Baronius calls *Scriptor Gravissimus*), in his life of Edward the Confessor, believes in the descent of St. Peter for that purpose, on the testimony of the waterman who conveyed the Apostle over the river.—We meet, in the time of this bishop, with the first instance of an English bishop proceeding to Rome. He went there to consult with Boniface on some things believed either by him or by his biographer⁷, to be essential to the welfare of the Church. A council was called on the subject of English

⁵ See the letter sent to the Scottish bishops by Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, in Beda's H. E., ii. 4.

⁶ Ap. Decem Script. col. 385.

⁷ Beda, *ibid.* . . . Venit Mellitus Romam, de necessariis ecclesie Anglicane tractaturus.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

affairs. The interference of the Bishop of Rome in the affairs of England, has been uninterrupted from the time of Augustine to the present day. *Augustine was the founder in England of that compliance with the customs of Rome, in which the Romish Church declares, the unity of Christ's Catholic Church consists.* Mellitus, the earliest coadjutor of Augustine, returned to Rome after he had been made Bishop of London; and thus another stone was laid in the fabric of papal power.

LXVIII. *Deus dedit, died 617 or 618.*

The power of working miracles appears from Platina to have been assumed by this bishop. If this be true, the most important step of all was taken to enlarge the power of himself and his successors. No act of temporal authority, or novelty of spiritual usurpation, however, is recorded of him.

LXIX. *Boniface V., died 625.*

This Bishop of Rome continued to exercise superintendence over the missionaries whom Gregory had sent into England, and strengthened the pretensions of his successors by writing to Mellitus, who had succeeded Laurentius, after Augustine, in the metropolitan see of Canterbury; and by sending the pall to Justus, who had been made Bishop of Rochester.—With respect to Justus and the pall, we learn from Beda that Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Ruffinianus were the earliest and most efficient of the coadjutors of Augustine in his mission to England. We read, in the same section, that Gregory, about the year 601, sent a pall to Augustine, with letters, in which the Bishop of Rome, calling him his fellow-bishop and brother⁸, gives him directions respecting the appointment of bishops. In the letter which is given by Beda, we read, that he had sent him what Mr. Soames justly calls the “insidious compliment of the pall,” with authority to appoint twelve suffragan bishops, and to select an Archbishop of York⁹. I must refer to others for an account of the pall, and the causes of its transmission from the Bishop of Rome to such metropolitans or bishops as were in terms of personal

⁸ Lib. i. cap. 29.

⁹ Dampton Lectures, vol. liii p. 150.

friendship with himself, or in communion with his see. It is sufficient here to say that the pall was originally a part of the imperial ornaments, and dress of state. The Emperor Constantine allowed the Bishops of Rome, and other emperors subsequently allowed other metropolitans, to assume this decoration. The Bishops of Rome, *in imitation of the imperial example*, sent to some of their bishops an ornament of a different description, but of the same nature. Eusebius affirms, that Linus, long before the age of Constantine, sent a pall to a brother bishop as a token of friendship or communion. Others relate that Symmachus, A.D. 514, began the practice. Whatever may have been the origin of the custom, it had by this time become a token of consent and approbation from the Bishops of Rome, of the appointment of an episcopal brother. It was a compliment; a pledge of affection; a symbol of identity in faith, government, discipline, opinion, and observance. As the primacy of Rome changed into ascendancy, supremacy, and dominion, the giving of the pall became an indispensable token of superiority, and a badge of slavery; and as all pretensions eventually assume the form of questions of money, the fees which were demanded by the Bishops of Rome, and paid by the bishops who consented to their usurpation over their churches, became one of the most intolerable burthens upon the resources of their respective sees. This bishop continued his claim to dominion upon the now generally admitted argument of the words of Christ to Peter. *He also strengthened the power of his see by establishing, in imitation of the civil law of sanctuary, the right of asylum for accused and guilty persons in churches and at altars.*

LXX. *Honorius, died 640.*

This bishop diminished the influence of his see, by uselessly endeavouring to effect the restoration of Adaloaldus, the Lombard, who offended his nation by his cruelty and despotism. The Lombards preferred Arianism with liberty, to Orthodoxy with slavery. He also offended by embracing the Monothelite heresy, which the Catholic Church subsequently condemned in the next general council. The question was—whether Christ possessed two wills; one human, one divine,—

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

the subtilty was oriental, broached by Theodorus of Palestine, —or whether the human will was absorbed in the divine, so as to be merely an instrument of the divine operation? Honorius, on the usual request being made by Bishop Sergius of Constantinople, who appealed to him for his approbation, decided in his favour; and thus inflicted on the see of Rome the severest blow which their claim to infallibility either afterwards, or before, received. *The Bishop of Rome had never been condemned by a general council till this time.* Britain seems to have been an especial object of attention to the Bishops of Rome, from the day of the mission of Augustine to the present time. Honorius continued the influence of his see in these islands by sending letters to Honorius, the successor of Justus in the see of Canterbury, and to Paulinus, with the palls to each; at the requests of Eadbald and Edwin. He speaks of himself as the inheritor of the authority of St. Peter¹; and assumes the power of permitting the survivor to ordain the successor of the deceased, without soliciting the consent of the Bishop of Rome. No objection was made to this act of usurped authority; and the claim to power over the Church was strengthened by the silence of both bishops. Honorius wrote also to Edwin, King of Northumberland, exhorting him to study² the works of Gregory. *One great argument against the identity of the Church of Rome with the Catholic Church at this time,* arises from the fact—that wherever the Romish missionaries advanced in the West, they found that Christianity had preceded them, with other usages than those enforced at Rome. Christianity had penetrated into Ireland. The Scots or Irish, however, observed Easter in the Oriental, not in the Romish manner. Honorius wrote, requesting them to conform to the custom of his see. They refused obedience to his mandate. The Bishops of Rome eventually, but slowly and gradually, obtained conformity to their decisions. The Scots are said to have complied with the Roman custom in 726. To Honorius several splendid cathedrals owe their origin; and a custom of annual processions round churches to commemorate their consecration was instituted by him.

¹ Beda, H. E., ii. 18.

² Id. ii. 17.

LXXI. *Severinus, died 640.*

He renewed the confidence of the churches in the faith and orthodoxy of the see of Rome, by condemning in council the Monothelite doctrine which had been approved by Honorius. This may be inferred, at least, by the confession of faith of the sixth general council, which approves the decrees of Severinus against the *Ecthesis*, or exposition of faith proposed to his subjects by the Emperor Heraclius; in which anathemas were uttered against those, who maintain the doctrine of the twofold will in Christ. The levying of large sums of money for the decoration of churches, was ordered by Severinus.

LXXII. *John IV., died 642.*

Some Scotch bishops, at this time, consult with the Roman see on the right observance of Easter. John condemns the Monothelites³.

LXXIII. *Theodore I., died 649.*

This bishop proceeded further than his predecessors, by demanding of the Emperor Heraclius, that Pyrrhus, the Bishop of Constantinople, be sent to Rome to take his trial for heresy. The demand was rejected. Not only so; Victor, Bishop of Carthage, wrote to Theodore as his brother and equal; while the high-sounding titles of Father of Fathers, and Universal Pope, were given to the Bishop of Constantinople by his partizans, as well as to Theodore by the orthodox. The attempt at usurpation, however, though rejected for the present, became an irresistible precedent when Rome waxed stronger. The influence of Rome was much increased at this time, by the recantation of his errors by Pyrrhus at Rome, by his being publicly and solemnly re-admitted to communion; and by the sentence of no less solemn excommunication when he relapsed into Monothelitism.—Theodore also excommunicated Paul, the successor of Pyrrhus. The Churches of the East continued stedfastly to oppose the

³ See Ussher's Primord. p. 1161, and the passages there indicated.

decrees and constitutions of the Church of Rome, respecting the celibacy of the clergy and other impositions, as well as the claim to the universal pontificate; and in Italy, the Exarchs of Ravenna, the Patriarchs of Aquileia, and the Bishops of Lombardy and Istria, denied the right of dominion which had been assumed by the Roman see. The Church of France, also, long resisted the growing power and arrogance of the Church of Rome. The conversions of the several states to the Anglo-Saxons, continued with some interruptions ⁴.

LXXIV. *Martin I., died 654.*

This bishop ventured to take another bold step to extend his authority in the Catholic Church. *He appointed a vicar to exercise patriarchal jurisdiction over the provinces which were governed by bishops who had been canonically appointed*, but whose opinions were not approved by him; namely, Macedonius and Sergius, the Monothelite Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem ⁵. The attempt failed, but the Bishops of Rome, to this day, constantly send vicars into churches where bishops, canonically ordained, professing the faith of the first four general councils, exercise episcopal jurisdiction. Martin successfully appealed to the kings of France to send delegates from that country to Constantinople ⁶. They were, however, prevented from proceeding thither. Martin, therefore, wrote to the emperor, condemning the Monothelism which Constans approved. The influence of the see was much increased by the firmness with which he endured the anger of the Emperor, and the Exarch of Ravenna; even to imprisonment, exile, cruel persecution, and death.

LXXV. *Eugenius, died 657.*

The letter ⁷ of this bishop announcing his nomination to the emperor, contained no submission to the imperial edicts, notwithstanding the fate of his predecessor; though he does not appear to have condemned him so decidedly as Martin.

⁴ The progress of these events is narrated by Beda, and from him by all our ecclesiastical historians.

⁵ See Labb. Concil. vi. 20. 26, &c.

⁶ Id. col. 333.

⁷ See Baron. ad an. 655, § 10.

The influence of the see, however, even if he had wavered, would have been upheld by the people, who refused to permit their bishop to receive the letter of Peter, the new Bishop of Constantinople. *An act by which the power of the Church of Rome was considerably increased, was the grant by Eugenius of civil jurisdiction to bishops, with the power of immuring offenders in prison.*

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

LXXVI. *Vitalian, died 672.*

During the long episcopate of this Bishop of Rome, two events took place which materially extended his power over England.—The first was, the Council at Streaneshalch, or Whitby, where King Oswy professed to be so fully persuaded by the now common argument, of the transmission of the power of St. Peter to the Bishops of Rome, and the ability of St. Peter to exclude him from heaven; that he determined to adopt the Roman calculation in keeping Easter, and to reject the advice of Colman, and the Asiatic customs.—The second was the tacit acquiescence of the English in an act of usurpation by Vitalian such as had never been before attempted. Oswy and Egbert had sent Wighard to Rome for ordination as Archbishop of Canterbury. He died at Rome before his consecration. Vitalian wrote to Oswy a letter, full, as the custom was, of quotations from Scripture, so applied as to confirm, apparently by divine sanction, the opinions of the writer on questions of ecclesiastical discipline and Christian faith. He exhorts him as a member of Christ, to follow the rule of the prince of the apostles; both in the observance of Easter, and in all other points which Peter and Paul, the two lights of the world, had given⁸; and informed him that he would send into England as soon as possible, some person who should pluck up the tares in that part of the field of God. It has been fully shown by a living writer⁹, that the faith professed at Rome and in England, was the same in all the great points taught and believed by Christians; the tares, therefore, could only mean the differences in minuter matters, in which all that Rome taught was to be

⁸ In omnibus piam regulam sequi peremitter principis Apostolorum, sive in Pascha celebrandam, sive in omnibus quæ tradiderunt sancti Apostoli Petrus et Paulus.—Beda, lib. iii. cap. 29.

⁹ Soames's Anglo-Saxon Church.

observed. He obliged the queen by gratifying her with a golden ornament in which were some filings of the chains with which St. Peter was bound. Relics, at that day, were invaluable. They were more esteemed than the Pigot, or other costly diamonds are at present by jewellers, ladies, or princes. They were as much esteemed as they were useless.

In the course of the year after the death of Wighard (March 26, 668), Theodore, a monk of Tarsus in Cilicia, was selected by Vitalian for the archbishopric of Canterbury. A more admirable choice could not have been made, both for the interests of England, and the advancement of the Papal ambition. Theodore was recommended to the notice of Vitalian by Adrian, a monk of Naples, whom the Bishop of Rome wished to send to England. He was a man of genius, learning¹, and piety. Having been educated in the Oriental customs, his tonsure differed from that of the Western monks; so that he was compelled to wait on the continent till his hair was grown. As Vitalian doubted whether he was entirely devoted to the Romish customs, he withheld ordination till Adrian had promised to accompany Theodore to England. Theodore was then ordained but deacon, and three months after, bishop. He remained some time in France, and having obtained from Vitalian a general grant of every power, privilege, prerogative, and jurisdiction which had been given to Augustine; and which he judged necessary to promote the good of the Churches in England; he arrived in Canterbury attended by the magistrate whom Egbert, king of Kent, had sent to France to welcome him. Theodore was zealous, fond of power, and attached to Rome. *He established his own authority, and with it the Roman ceremonial.* He extended his power over all England. He refused to recognize Chad as a bishop, because he had been ordained by those who still adhered to the British calculation in celebrating Easter; and demanded that he should be re-consecrated by himself. He held the celebrated Council of Hertford, where he required all the clergy of England to observe uniformly the decrees of the holy fathers; and when they declared

¹ Beda tells us he knew Greek, of which language even Gregory the Great was ignorant. Theodore, he says, was—*vir et seculari et divina literaturâ, et Græce instructus et Latine, probus moribus, et ætate venerandus.*—Beda, Hist. Eccles., lib. iv. cap. 1; see also cap. 2.

individually that they were willing so to do, he produced, it is believed, that body of canons mentioned in the thirteenth session of the Council of Chalcedon, which had been afterwards confirmed by a novell of Justinian. He selected from them ten canons to which he more especially commanded obedience².—He pronounced sentence of deposition against Wilfrid, though this bishop was as devotedly attached as himself to the papal authority. He thus proved himself to be independent of the foreign influence, though he owed to it both his appointment and consecration; and he thus affirmed also the right of the churches to their own self-government, whatever might be the undefined and undefinable primacy of the Apostolic See; which he neither opposed, denied, nor confessed. He summoned another council at Hatfield, in which the Church of England received, as it still does, the first four general councils; and it added to them the fifth, which we may be still said to reject, as the Monothelite opinions have no place among us. *In addition to these acts of usefully employed power, he begun in England that admirable system of parochial division in the dioceses, which had been commenced by Justinian in the East; adopted by Honorius on the Continent; and which have been universally received in England from the time of Theodore to the present day. The builder and endower of a Church was permitted to nominate the clergyman, while the bishop had power to approve or reject the nominee³. Four hundred years before the Norman Conquest, parishes were endowed in England by the owners of the lands, who*

² The ten canons are—

I. The observance of Easter as at present.

II. That no bishop invade the diocese of another.

III. That bishops do not interfere with monasteries—the law which made kings and bishops hostile to the monks.

IV. That monks do not wander unpermitted from their monasteries.

V. That clergymen remain with their own bishops.

VI. That no clergyman officiate without permission of the bishop of the diocese.

VII. That synods be held twice a year—the one peculiar law of safety, and of perpetual reform and vigilance in churches.

VIII. That the ambition of bishops be checked.

IX. That the number of bishops be increased in proportion to the number of the faithful.

X. Certain laws on marriage passed. Beda, H. E., iv. v.; Labb. Concil. vi. 536.

³ See the Preface to Soames's Anglo-Saxon Church, where the origin of parishes is discussed, and the argument rendered applicable to the controversies of the present day; and also his interesting narrative and references from p. 75 to 87, second edition. I hereby beg to thank Mr. Soames humbly, respectfully, and sincerely, for the instruction and satisfaction I have derived from his labours.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

were neither believers in transubstantiation, nor advocates of the infallibility of Rome. So utterly false is the affirmation, that the revenues of the Church in England were originally given by the state; and that the state bestowed them on the members of the Church of Rome.—Theodore may be called the founder of Anglo-Saxon literature. He began in England that cultivation of learning which gradually extended to France, and improved the general civilization of Europe. He rallied learning, zeal, blamelessness, and devotedness around the cause of sound religion. He could not foresee the eventual results of his complying with the error so common to his age—the admission that the Bishop of Rome was vested with greater authority than other bishops. The power of the pope had displayed itself rather in recommending and then ordaining Theodore, than in commanding the English to adopt him. Though he thus far complied with the error of his day, he preserved the independence of his see; and he was not canonized in consequence, as so many inferior partizans of the papal authority were. Though he was an objector to the doctrine of a later age—the necessity of sacramental confession, and declares that confession is to be made to God alone, yet he compiled a volume much esteemed by the Romanists—the Penitential, in which he endeavours to apportion punishments to crimes. His learning had not taught him the true evangelical doctrine—that repentance and penance are not the same; and that God requires only the spiritual homage of the heart as the result of faith in the Atonement; though man may punish offences by fine, penalties, and bodily discipline. Whatever discipline may be thus believed by a Christian to be useful, may be regulated by his own conscience, rather than by the decrees of a Church, or the command of a priest or bishop. No man has exercised a more permanent influence upon the English Church than the archbishop whom Vitalian sent into England; and no event of that period strengthened the gradually encroaching ambition of Rome, so much as the sanction to its usurpations by the virtue, piety, zeal, and character of Theodore.—The contest between the Independent Episcopal Churches and the Bishops of Rome still continued. *The Catholic Church was still unwilling, however it respected in its various dioceses the Church of Rome, to submit to her arbitrary and despotic*

assumptions of authority.—John, Bishop of Lappa, appealed to Vitalian against his metropolitan, when the usual or most frequent reply was given by the Bishop of Rome.—Maurus, Bishop of Ravenna, being excommunicated by Vitalian, excommunicated, as he had an equal power to do, the Bishop of Rome in return. He died possessed of his see, and charged his clergy with his last breath, never to submit the liberties of their Church to the authority of Rome.—The successor of Maurus procured an imperial rescript to exempt his see from all subjection to Rome; and so, indeed, it has ever been. Several superstitious practices owe their origin to regulations made by Vitalian, *and the universal use of the Latin language in divine service was by his command.* Ecclesiastical history is little less for many centuries than the record of the continued attempts at usurpation by the Church of Rome on the Catholic Church; and the continued resistance of the Catholic Church to the demands of the usurper.

LXXVII. *Adeodatus, died 676.*

The power of Rome was increased by the conversion of the Lombards in Italy, from Arianism to the orthodox faith.

LXXVIII. *Domnus or Donus, died 678.*

The influence of Rome was acknowledged at this time by the Emperor Constantine V. Though he called both the Bishops of Constantinople and of Rome by the same titles of honour, as Universal Bishop, or Universal Patriarch; yet he paid the deference which implied submission. He wrote to the Bishop of Rome, on calling a general council to settle the Monothelite controversy. The peace of the empire was broken by the continual discussions of the ecclesiastics; and the pressure of the barbarians, whether the Saracens or others, was rendered more effectual. The Bishop of Rome died before the letter of the emperor was received.

LXXIX. *Agatho, died 682.*

The episcopate of this bishop was characterized by two events which had a permanent influence upon the Catholic

Church. Wilfrid, the Bishop of Northumberland, the firm and zealous advocate, on all occasions, of the papal pretensions, especially at the Council of Whitby, where Colman was rejected by Oswy; appealed to Rome against the sentence of deposition pronounced against him by Theodore. The Bishop of Rome, as was usually done, declared in a council in favour of the appellant. The people of England, with their sovereign, their archbishops and bishops, acted as their descendants did in the reign of the Norman sovereigns, and in the time of Henry VIII.—they despised the papal mandate, and believed themselves to be competent to their own self-government. They proceeded further than this, and imprisoned Wilfrid. Yet the country was convulsed and agitated throughout by the controversy; though neither all the zeal, piety, and honourable activity of Wilfrid after his release, could procure the acknowledgment of the papal authority.—The precedent, however, was not forgotten; and in after-ages the sentence of the Bishops of Rome upon an appeal to their tribunal was more regarded. A second appeal by Wilfrid met with no greater success. He sought papal interference⁴ as a mere experiment. There was a rising deference for the Roman see; and he thought it might serve him. The legal Christian commonwealth, however, which England had now become, (for Christianity was established by law, as the religion of the state and people,) rejected all foreign superiority; though it confessed the Bishop of Rome to be among the most eminent of the sons of God. Wilfrid was subsequently received into much favour by Theodore; but the decision of Agatho in his behalf⁵, was never regarded by the king, the bishops, or the people. Wilfrid, after being ejected from his see, is said to have devoted himself to the propagation of the faith; and at the same time of papal dominion, among the Frieslanders, the inhabitants of Utrecht and of Guelderland. Missionaries from England, Scotland, and Ireland, were also active in Westphalia, Denmark, Sweden, and among the tribes of Germany and other northern nations, in the work of conversion; with a mixture of monkish legends, papal traditions, and a belief in the omnipotence of the hierarchy of Rome⁶. *Agatho*

⁴ Soames, p. 89.⁵ Labb. Concil. vi. 579, seqq.⁶ See Beda, H. E., iv. 13; Eddii Vit. Wilfr. cap. xl.

advanced another step towards absolute power, by holding
papal elections without the imperial consent, and in his
letter he recommends the emperor to hear his legates even as
God himself.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

At this time the third Council of Constantinople was assembled by the emperor, Constantine V., to whom Pope Agatho had addressed a long epistle concerning a controversy in which the higher orders of the eastern and western churches had been contending for fifty years. The circumstances which gave rise to it were as follows. The Emperor Heraclius, during his long war with Persia, had passed some time in Armenia and Lycia, where the Monophysite doctrines were prevalent; and he thought the obstacle to a reconciliation of those sects with the Church was the question—whether Christ, having in one person two natures, had *two wills* also? On his return he consulted Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the subject, whose opinion was, that it was not contrary to the doctrine of the Church to assert that Christ was actuated by one volition only; whereupon, an exposition of faith was promulgated by Sergius, under the influence of the emperor, in which was contained the doctrine of one will; and it was confirmed by a Council at Alexandria, A.D. 633⁷. Among many other eminent ecclesiastics by whom the new theory was supported, were Honorius, Patriarch of Rome, as previously signified; Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria; Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch; with Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, successive heads of the see of Constantinople. Upon Cyrus having had articles prepared, in which the doctrine of one will was distinctly alleged, preparatory to a union of the Severians, a Monophysite sect, with the Church: Sophronius, a monk of Palestine, and afterwards Patriarch of Jerusalem, who happened to be at the time in Alexandria, began a decided opposition to the doctrine; and the controversy was continued with great violence and obstinacy. The attempt of the emperor to put a stop to it by his edict, called *the Ecthesis*, before mentioned, was in vain. Maximus, a friend of Sophronius, roused the African Church on the occasion. Pope John IV. refused to accept *the Ecthesis*; and his successor, Theodore, not only negatived the doctrine, but formally excommunicated

⁷ See Labb. Concil. vi. 953.

BOOK III.
 CHAP. I.

the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Emperor Constans II., by an edict called (*τύπος*) the type, sought to restore tranquillity, A.D. 648, in which silence was recommended without any expression of opinion on the disputed point. That Martin having condemned the heresy in a synod, the first held in the Lateran at Rome, A.D. 649, suffered martyrdom in consequence, has been already intimated; such support was the Church of Rome continuing to receive from persons of the highest rank and station in the empire. Martin not only anathematized the doctrine of Christ being actuated by the operation of one will only, but he also condemned the two imperial decrees—the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius, and the *Typus* of Constans. This decisive conduct of Martin restored for a while the communion between the sees of the East and West, which subsisted during the episcopates of Vitalian and Peter of Constantinople; but the dispute broke out with all its former virulence in the reign of Constantine V., to whom Agatho's epistle on the subject was dispatched; in order to propose a settlement of the question by a general synod. In consequence of which, in the year 680, the emperor summoned the Third Council of Constantinople^s, of the particulars of which I here give a summary in the usual manner.

^s Id. col. 231.

Synopsis of the Sixth General Council.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

	The Third General Council of Constantinople.
Date.	A.D. 680—681. From Nov. 7, 680, to Sept. 16, 681 ⁹ . Eighteenth session.
Number of Bishops.	One hundred and sixty ¹ . The Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem not present.
By whom summoned.	Constantine V. ² , surnamed Pogonatus.
Presidents.	The Emperor, and his representatives ³ .
Why and against what opinions.	The controversy concerning two wills or one will in Christ ⁴ .
Against whom.	The Emperors Heraclius and Constans II.—Popes Vigilius and Honorius.—Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, and Macarius, Patriarchs.—Theodore, Stephen, and Polychronius, Bishops ⁵ .
Chief acts, decrees, and canons.	No canons. Confirmation of the acts of the five General Synods. The Epistles of Agatho read and sanctioned. Macarius heard in defence of Monothelism. Evidence of primitive Fathers read against the heresy. A Confession of Faith agreeable to the Nicene and Constantinopolitan, ratified ⁶ .
Penalties.	Anathema, deposition, proscription. The sentences confirmed in a special edict of the emperor, the clergy being deposed, the nobles proscribed, and others exiled, who refused to conform to the faith. The dead were anathematized. The books of Cyrus ordered to be burnt ⁷ .
Sufferers.	Honorius, Pope of Rome. Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, Patriarchs of Constantinople. Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria. Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch. Theodore, Bishop of Pharan. Polychronius and Stephen, Bishops. Constantine, a monk; with their numerous followers ⁸ .
Emperor.	Constantine V.
Pope.	Agatho ⁹ , not present, represented by legates, two presbyters, and one deacon.

BOOK III. The council assembled in a part of the palace at Constantinople, called the Trullus. It was convened, as the mem-
 CHAP. I.

⁹ Cave, i. 605, and Venema, v. 47, state that the sessions continued till Sept. 16, 681. Du Pin, cent. vii., affirms that the sittings continued from Nov. 680 till Nov. 681. See also, Caranza. Cent. Magd. cent. vii. c. ix. p. 414. Baronius, viii. 541. Mosheim, ii. 194; and Platina's Chronology, who dates the accession of Agatho, A.D. 702, which being at variance with every other authority, can only be ascribed to an error of the press.

¹ The number of bishops present, personally, or by their representatives, is not certain, owing, perhaps, to the length of time which the council continued its sittings; and many who were in attendance at first being called to their respective dioceses before the decrees were signed.

Du Pin, vi. 66, and the Magd. Cent., cent. vii. c. ix. 419, have probably stated only the number present at the conclusion of the sittings, as they agree in the council consisting of 160; while Gesner, p. 512, quotes various numbers from 150 to 289. Spanheim, Sæcul. vii. 1228, fol. Lugd. 1701, sets the members down at 289. Platina, also, in Vit. Agath. the same. Cave, i. 605, agrees with Spanheim and Platina; and Venema, v. 48, says, it is generally thought that 289 bishops were present.

The patriarchs of Jerusalem and Alexandria were unable to attend on account of their provinces being overrun by the Saracens; but each sent deputies.

Legates of Pope Agatho and of the Roman synod attended, the pope sending four, and the synod three.

Baronius, viii. 541, enumerates different numbers according to various authors whom he quotes, and observes, that the Greek annals have 289, as well as Cedrenus and Theophanes; though Photius says, 170; Paulus Diaconus, 150; Theodore Balsamon, 171; and that the last acts were signed by 166.

² Platina in Vit. Agath. says that ambassadors were sent by the pope to Constantine to request that the council might be convened; and that they were kindly received. The synod was called accordingly; and when it met, that the books of the ancient fathers

were ordered to be brought out of the library, out of which were read the opinions and decrees of the early Church.

Zonaras, p. 123, states, that Agatho summoned the council with the assistance of the emperor.

Caranza, p. 602.—*Sacra sexta et universalis synodus sub Constantino, cujusque nutu et voluntate conventus is erat indictus.*

The Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. vii. c. ix. 414; Venema, v. 47; Cave, i. 605; Du Pin, vi. 66, 67; Du Plessis, *Myst. Iniquit.* p. 123; Mosheim, ii. 194, all concur in the council having been summoned by the emperor.

³ The emperor with his magistrates were honoured with the highest seats; but the middle seat was appropriated to the gospels—*eminentiori loco Constantinus imperator cum suis magistratibus positus erat, locus vero medius synodi ex more datus sacrosanctis Dei Ævangeliis super sedem ornatam positus, Christum ipsum representantibus.*—Baronius, viii. 542.

The emperor presided, but not as judge, says Bellarmine—*Interfuit in hac synodo etiam Imperator Constantinus, cum nonnullis viris illustribus, et presedit, id est, primo loco sedit, sed non fuit ullo modo judex, aut formaliter preses, nam nullam sententiam tulit, et ultimus omnium subscripsit, non definiens, sed consentiens.*—Bellarmine, *De Conciliis*, c. xix. ii. 44, edit. Cologne, 1620.

The emperor, on whose left were the legates of Agatho; and on his right George, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the rest of the patriarchs.—Venema, v. 47.

Du Pin says, the emperor presided at the first eleven sessions, and at the last, vi. 66; see also Grier, 114. *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, 123. Cent. Magd., cent. vii. c. ix. 439. Caranza, 592.

⁴ The questions about the two operations and the two wills in Christ, appear to have divided the eastern and western churches in the seventh century. That which implied the unity of will in the person of Christ was the Monothelite heresy, or a simple modification of Eutychianism; the other implied two wills, or energies, har-

bers signified in their acts, by the command of the emperor; and at the request of Agatho, Bishop of Rome. Bellarmine

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

monized in his person.—Grier, p. 114.

Monothelitarum causa concilium habere constituit.—Platina, in Vit. Agatho.

Causam autem præbuit controversia de duabus in Christo voluntatibus et operationibus, quæ ad annos circiter quadraginta sex et amplius, in Ecclesia agitabatur et Ecclesias Orientis et Occidentis non modo turbabat, sed etiam divulserat.—Cent. Magd., cent. vii. c. ix. 419.

⁵ Heraclius, in the year 639, issued an Ecthesis, or decree of faith, forbidding to say that there is but one operation in Christ, lest it should be thought to imply his two natures; or to aver, that there are two operations, as that would imply two contrary wills.—Grier, p. 115.

Constans II. forbade to speak either of one or two operations or wills, for the purpose of giving his favourite opinion the advantage.—Cave, i. 566. 574.

Honorius was created pope in 626; and in 633, he approved of the act of Cyrus of Alexandria, who confirmed by a synodical decree the confession of one will in Christ; at the same time he disapproved of what Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, did, who, at Alexandria, openly accused Cyrus of error, and withdrew from communion with him.—Cave, i. 578. Du Pin, cent. vii. vol. vi. 17.

Cyrus, first Bishop of Phasis, but promoted to the Patriarchate of Alexandria about the year 630, by the favour of the emperor, attached his name to the Ecthesis, or symbol of faith of Heraclius, in 639, in which the emperor enjoined silence on the question.—Cave, i. sæc. Monoth.

Sergius was made Patriarch of Constantinople, April 18, 610, (Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 250,) and in 639, he held a synod, and confirmed the Monothelite heresy by ratifying the Ecthesis of Heraclius, in which year he died.

Paulus was elevated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 641; and in 648 he prevailed on the Emperor Constans to issue an edict called Typus, commanding that silence be observed by all, concerning either the one or

two wills in Christ. Sergius was condemned for heresy by the Council of Rome, A.D. 648, and by a Lateran Council of 649. He is said to have repented of his error before death, in 651. Pyrrhus, Patriarch of Constantinople, having renounced the Monothelite heresy, but re-embracing it, was also condemned by the two synods before mentioned. Upon his having incurred the displeasure of the emperor, he was displaced and retired into Africa; and Paul was raised to the see in his stead, both of whom were Monothelites.

This doctrine is said to have been first broached by Themistius and Severus, and there is a letter of Vigilius, written to the Empress Theodora, in which it is declared that there was but one will in Christ; though Du Pin considers the letter a forgery.—Du Pin, vi. 64, 65. Cave, i. 522. Zonaras, in Canones, &c., p. 123. Baron. Ann. Eccl. viii. 542. Mosheim, ii. 194.

⁶ The definition of the council touching the faith was signed by the legates from Rome on behalf of Pope Agatho; by George, Patriarch of Constantinople; by the legate of Peter of Alexandria; by Theophaues of Antioch; by the legate of the Patriarch of Jerusalem; by the respective legates of the Archbishops of Thessalonica, Cyprus, and Ravenna; and by the deputation sent by the Council of Rome; and by 160 bishops.—Du Pin, vi. 70; Cent. Magd., cent. vii. 453, who say that 162 bishops subscribed.

The preface, or address by which the council was opened, was delivered by Zonaras.

No canons were passed; and for a more copious account of the proceedings than is given in the annexed table and notes, see Venema, v. Cave, i. 605—607. Baronius, viii. 542—560. Cent. Magdeb., cent. vii. c. ix. 420—455, vol. vii. Carauza, 592—618. Mosheim, ii. 198.

⁷ Macarius, who had persisted in an obstinate defence of Monothelism before the council, was ordered to be deposed without hope of restoration, and also that he should be banished.—Du Pin, cent. vii. vol. vi. 69.

The Magdeburg Centuriators say,

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

says the emperor presided, but not as judge. Baronius informs us that the emperor, with his magistrates, held the most honourable place; but the middle seat was appropriated to the gospels. The questions about the two operations and two wills, says Grier, seem to have much disturbed the eastern and western Churches during the seventh century. That which implied *the unity of will* in the person of Christ was termed *the Monothelite heresy*; being a simple modification of the Eutychian doctrine. The orthodox opponents of this declared, that two wills, or energies, harmonized in his person. Moshcim and the Magdeburg Centuriators affirm, that there were legates at this council, not only from the Bishop of Rome, but also from the Synod of Rome, by which the Monothelite heresy had been previously condemned¹.

Little more is to be said concerning the acts of this council than what has already been briefly mentioned in the preceding synopsis. On account of the obstinate defence of the Monothelite opinions made by Macarius, it is said by some, that the council required that he should be deposed without hope of restoration; and also, that he should be banished. On this point the Magdeburg Centuriators say, that the emperor asked the assembly, whether Macarius should be restored upon repentance? To which the synod replied, that he so violently maintained his opinion, that he ought not to be restored. The doctrine of two wills, as explained in the epistle of Agatho, after a long and patient investigation, was established; and the heresy of those who supported a contrary opinion was unanimously denounced.

Neither at this council, nor at that summoned by Jus-

that the emperor enquired of the judges if Macarius, upon repentance, should be restored? But that the synod replied, that he must not be restored, since he still maintains his opinion so violently.—Imperator per judices querit, an Macarium liceat in propriam sedem restitui, si abjecto errore veram sententiam amplectatur? Sed synodus respondet, Non posse eum restitui, cum adhuc mordicus defendat suam opinionem.—Cent. vii. c. ix. 441. Venema, v. 49.

⁸ Macarius, banished, deprived, and deposed without hope of restoration.

Theodorus, Sergius, Honorius, Cyrus, Paul, Pyrrhus, Polychronus, and Peter, anathematized.—Caranza, 598; and all the preceding authorities.

⁹ Honorius, with the others, was certainly condemned; and by the legates from the Bishop of Rome, as well as by the deputies from the Synod of Rome; there being no distinction drawn between his guilt and that of the other Monothelites.—Van Espen, iii. 424. Moshcim, ii. 194. Cent. Magd. ut supra.

¹ Upon all these points, see the notes to the tabular synopsis.

tinian at Constantinople, in the year 553, were any canons respecting the discipline and rites of the Church, nor the morals of the clergy, enacted; it will be proper, therefore, in the present place, to mention that a council was convoked in the year 691, as a supplementary synod to the fifth and sixth, for the purpose of passing such decrees as the good government of the Church might seem to require. In consequence of its being held as a sequel to the fifth and sixth general synods, it received the name of the *Quini-sextum*. It is called by the Greeks the *Sixth Trullan Council*, from its having met in the Trullus palace at Constantinople. It passed 102 canons, many of which oppose the practices, the discipline, and the authority of the Church of Rome, the encroaching power of which is distinctly objected to by name; and several of these enactments are directly levelled against its customs. Sergius, the Bishop of Rome, refused to acknowledge the canons on this account; and Baronius, Binius, Allatius, and other servile defenders of the Roman hierarchy, call it a pretended council, though it was attended by the papal legates who subscribed to all its decrees, except those which were against the encroachments of their Church².

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

Numbers of national and provincial synods were held in many cities of Asia and Africa during this period, as well as several of importance in Italy, France, Spain, and Britain; in many of which, particularly the British, which have been collected by Spelman and Wilkins, the innovations and corruptions of the Romish Church are strongly censured. The surrender of the Emperor Constantine to Pope Agatho, of the tribute or tax which had been demanded by all preceding emperors for confirming the election of every pope, is an important fact connected with this age; and though it was a custom which succeeding emperors were unwilling to yield, the popes fiercely resisted the imperial demand till their object was fully confirmed.

The advantages resulting to the Saracens from the controversies of the Christian Church at this period, afford a sad demonstration of the evils of theological disputes. The Church was torn asunder by vain and useless quarrels, and

² See Spanheim, p. 392, seqq.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

the apostacy of Mahomet began to take its unopposed possession of the world. The religion of the Arabian impostor, under Abdalmelech, rapidly spread westward through Africa to the Atlantic, and the Christian Churches were made desolate. Syria and Armenia, with the greater part of the East, suffered under the same affliction. Constantinople, though for the present it successfully defended itself, was repeatedly and fiercely assailed; and the superstition and folly which now began to be too much substituted for apostolical purity and simplicity by the monastic orders, may be imagined from the fact, that while the Scriptures were gradually becoming less known to the people, and less frequently referred to by the clergy, as their best authority; and while the provinces of the East were thus uniting under the Mahometan apostacy; the most learned of the monks and of the clergy were seriously engaged in discussing the proper mode in which the heads of ecclesiastics should be shaved. Synods were held in Spain, Italy, Gaul, and Britain, for the discussion of this supposed important topic. The members of the Latin or Roman Church were distinguished by the tonsure of St. Peter. Those of the East adopted the so-called tonsure of St. Paul; while the Irish clergy were derided by both the West and East, as wearers of the tonsure of Simon Magus. The darkness of the night of Europe began to deepen. Genius, learning, and literary energy seemed to have perished utterly, on the outside of the walls of monasteries and convents; while within them, though one part of the employment of the monks consisted in transcribing the works of the ancients, the books of Scripture, or the writings of the orthodox fathers, few and rare were the lights whose beams shone forth upon the world. The superstition which gave to the children of the Church the routine and stone of the monastery, instead of the doctrine and the bread of life, daily gained strength. Architecture was the only art that flourished. Ignorance and priestcraft were establishing their irresistible and hopeless despotism; and that despotism ruled by terror among its friends, by the relentless persecution of its enemies, and by a slowly matured system of imposition, fraud, and error; which has not even yet ceased to fetter the reason, or to terrify the souls, of the greater portion of the Catholic Church of Christ.

CHAPTER II.

Progress of the Ecclesiastical Power from the Third Council of Constantinople, A.D. 681, to the Second Council of Nice, A.D. 787.

ONE hundred and six years elapsed from the sixth general council held at Constantinople in the year 681, to the seventh held at Nice in 787. The see of Rome during this period was ruled by sixteen bishops. I shall continue to mention the several novel acts of power by which each enlarged the authority of his own see, and of the episcopal influence generally.—We must not, however, confine our notion of the gradual increase of ecclesiastical domination obtained by the Church of Rome alone. The ignorance and barbarism which followed the invasion of the several tribes that overrun the Roman empire may be said to have divided the more active and thoughtful portions of mankind into the two great classes of soldier and priest. The monasteries were the places of education—the retreat of the learning which remained—the refuge of the fainting literature of antiquity. The establishment of the Benedictine monasteries at that peculiar period (A.D. 529), when their founder retired to Monte Cassino, and made the care of education one great object of his institution, has been justly considered a most providential departure from the mere asceticism¹, the solitary piety, and comparative uselessness, of the heremetical or monastic life. The clergy and bishops were educated in these retirements. Their knowledge was power. Their ambition, their ascendancy, their desire to promote the good

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

¹ Upon the services rendered to literature by the order of the Benedictines, see Mabillon, *Tractat. de Studiis Monasticis*, 4to, Ven. 1715, where the subject is learnedly and honestly treated.

of mankind, their humble devotion to the cause of Christianity, (though they continued to add their unscriptural changes of the former faith,) were alike promoted by and founded on that best instrument of all power—intellectual superiority. They alone were acquainted with the art of writing. They alone could manage political correspondence; frame useful laws; and soften the harsh collision and hatred between the more refined and self-indulging conquered Romans, who had been the victims of their own sybaritism; and the sterner, hardier, self-denying conquering barbarians, who had been propelled by necessity, restlessness, enterprise, or dissensions, from their native seats, to invade and possess the provinces of Rome. *The ecclesiastical power, therefore, of this period was not wholly papal, it was episcopal and conciliar, though it began to be principally papal;* and the Bishops of Rome may be said to have done or commanded few things, for which a precedent could not be found in the actions of their episcopal predecessors.

Within the period, for instance, of the sixth and seventh general councils, we read of the first deposition of a sovereign. Childeric the Third had become, in France, unacceptable to his rude people. The active and ambitious Pepin was preferred as their sovereign. The Bishop of Rome was consulted, whether the weak prince should continue to rule, or the energetic subject wield the sceptre. The reply of Zachary was not a decree, but an opinion. *This opinion, however, had the force and influence of a sentence of arbitration;* and Childeric was deposed. *This became the precedent for subsequent acts, on the part of the Roman pontiffs, of the positive deposition of princes.* Previously, however, to this decision of the Roman bishop, Vamba, a Spanish king, when he supposed himself to be dying, had received the last sacrament, and been clothed, according to the superstitious custom of the age, in a monastic dress. He recovered from his illness. The Council of Bishops at Toledo in 681—the year in which the third Council of Constantinople was held—decided that he could reign no longer. They made the cessation of the royal power, which was, of course, supposed to continue through all sicknesses, and recoveries from sickness, till death; dependant on their own opinion. Fleury calls

this, deposition. Mr. Hallam regards it as an abdication; and suspects ² a fraudulent contrivance between the Council of Toledo and the successor of Vamba. Whichever it might be, the fact remains the same. A king ceases to reign, who would otherwise have retained his power; because the bishops taught his subjects that they could no longer tender him their homage. Religion was the plea. Their own influence was the cause of the withdrawalment of their obedience by the people.

Neither of these precedents, however, appear to Mr. Hallam to have been the commencement of the deposing power which was subsequently exercised so fearfully by the Bishops of Rome. He considers the deposition of Louis le Debonair, who had undergone, when in a state of imprisonment, a public penance; to be the real origin of this power. This event took place after the seventh General Council in 844. If Mr. Hallam, therefore, does not assign the origin of the greater secular power of the Church to either of these events, much more will he not regard the edicts of Justinian, as I have done, to be the true commencement of the ecclesiastical power. Mr. Hallam, the author of the History of the Popes ³, and the author of the History of Popery ⁴, with some others, place the commencement of the temporal power of the popes at a later date than this edict of Justinian. They begin that power from the several concessions made to it by the princes of Europe. These, however, are rather effects than causes. My wish would be *from causes to trace effects* as they gradually concentrate the ecclesiastical power, from time to time, until actual despotism was established. Mr. Hallam acknowledges, that as *the egg contains the bird, or the acorn the oak* ⁵, so the principles of papal power before the seventh century contained the axioms and dogmata of Bellarmine. Dean Waddington observes, that while the entire ecclesiastical body was exceedingly aggrandised, *the seeds were sown* from which the disease (of papal usurpations) was afterwards engendered; but time was required to give

² See Hallam's Middle Ages, ii. 220, note. Labb. Concil. vi. 1225.

³ "The Power of the Popes, or an Historical Essay on their Temporal Dominion, the abuse of their Spiritual

Authority, &c. from the French," 8vo, 1838.

⁴ One vol. 8vo, Parker.

⁵ Middle Ages, ii. 228.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

them efficacy⁶. Mr. Hallam, and the other authorities here alluded to, have each given a very *general* account of the origin of papacy. I give *no general account*. I wish to show the actual aggressions which became precedents for temporal usurpation, until the popes, by these continual accessions of moral strength, obtained sufficient courage to act as princes. The manner in which I have conducted the inquiry has been to examine the progress of the ecclesiastical power, of which the episcopate of Rome was regarded only as a section, to the promulgation of the code of Justinian. No point of time, I believe, can be fixed upon at which so many circumstances combine, to supply a firm foundation for the structure of ecclesiastical dominion as the date I have chosen. The Romish hierarchy of that time was able to discern the advantages which were possessed by the ecclesiastical powers of the empire. From that time it seems to have become the established policy to lose no opportunity of increasing the power, which was implied in the very name of Rome. *The many new privileges which Justinian bestowed on the clergy, in addition to those before enjoyed, could in no other patriarchate or province be exercised so free from all control as by the pontiff of old Rome.* The grant of civil jurisdiction over monks and nuns was no where else an authority so absolute, or turned to so much advantage, as in the hands of the undisputed head of the Western Church. The trusteeship of the estates of prisoners, of minors, of persons insane, of foundlings, of stolen children, of women helpless and oppressed, and of orphans; which, with many other such trusts, had been conferred on the clergy; necessarily invested them with much power over public property. The superintendence, also, of public morals, the providing for the unfortunate, and various other administrations of the civil law were, at this period, thrown into the hands of the clergy; and in such an uncontrolled pontificate as that of Rome, formed a broad foundation of temporal power. Judicial authority, so far as it had been conceded to episcopal courts, was, comparatively speaking, of small account in other provinces under the disunited and contentious patriarchal sees of the East; but by the changes and circumstances which were

⁶ History of the Church, 8vo, chap. xiii. p. 224, and note.

taking place in the Western world, it became of great value to the hierarchy of Rome. All bishops were honoured by the Justinian code with exemption from oaths, and from appearing as witnesses. In criminal cases they were also made the judges of the clergy; and to them appeal might be made in all civil proceedings; but it was *the extensive jurisdiction which the unsettled state of the West served to confer on the Bishop of Rome, which made these privileges great means of secular strength, in addition to his other extensive authority.* After the incursion of the Lombards, the influence of the emperors over the ecclesiastical power of the West, gradually became more and more feeble. The Gothic dynasty in Italy, as long as it lasted, was not willing to provoke the anger of the Church, by interference with either its claims or its customs; and the superiority of knowledge possessed by the spiritual authorities, gave them great advantages in all negotiations with the rude government of the invaders. After the re-conquest of Italy by Justinian, friendship with the Church was a policy necessary to establish and maintain the exarchal governorship. Rome, Naples, Liguria, and the southern parts of Italy, depended chiefly on their own resources for protection; and the patriarchs were naturally looked up to by the people of those states as their princes. The elements of secular power were certainly not yet entirely consolidated. Though, as citizens, the popes were nominal subjects of the emperors, yet, upon the estimate fairly taken of the judicial power, the territorial possessions, the administration of revenues, and the great popular control possessed by the Roman see, at the date which I have selected; it is hardly sufficient to say of the temporal power of the papacy, with the many peculiar advantages with which geographical position and moral circumstances favoured the ancient imperial see; that "*the tree was in the seed, or the bird in the shell,*" till the times of Pepin and Charlemagne. Rather might it be said, that the one was now widely branching, and the other ravenous for prey.

LXXX. *Leo II., died 683.*

Upon the advancement of Leo II. to the pontificate, he was in no respect indifferent to the example of his predeces-

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

sors, in strengthening the power of the holy see. In the letter of the Emperor Constantine, which confirmed his election, he styles him "The most holy and blessed Archbishop of Old Rome, and Universal Pope;" and desires that "he will send without delay an apocrisarius or nuncio, to reside in the imperial city, who, representing him, might act there in his name."—In his letters to the metropolitans of the West, Leo condemned Honorius, his predecessor, as a heretic. The adulation of the emperor increased his power. *The independence of the Church of Ravenna, which had often proved a check to the usurpations of the Roman pontiff, became next the object of attack.* Leo obtained an imperial edict which extended the authority of the see of Rome over the bishops of that province; and immediately prohibited all the Churches of Ravenna from commemorating the anniversary of Maurus, a late primate there, who had resisted the encroachments of Rome; and whose charge to his brethren when at the point of death, was to preserve the freedom and integrity of their province; on which account he had been honoured as the tutelary saint of the exarchate. The Bishops of Ravenna were now required to repair to Rome to have their elections ratified, and to receive ordination from the pope⁷.

LXXXI. *Benedict II., died 685 or 686.*

Benedict was elected within a few days after the death of his predecessor in July, 683, but on account of the imperial decree which had been granted to Agatho, by which the confirmation of the election of popes by the emperor was given up, having been resumed; a delay of twelve months within a few days elapsed before the ordination of the new pope, which took place June 26, 684. *This circumstance was made a plea for increasing the papal power.* Constantine complimented Benedict by sending him the hair of his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, which the pope is said to have received, attended by the Roman clergy and the army. This ceremony is reported to have been borrowed from an ancient pagan custom, of dedicating the hair first cut from the heads of young persons to some deity; and those to whom it was

⁷ Labb. Concil. vi. 1243, Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 254.

dedicated became thereby adopted as parent. Thus, the two young princes were to honour and reverence the pope as a father⁸. This was esteemed a high mark of distinction, and in favour as he was with the emperor, Benedict did not fail to make it the means of some more decided advantage. The delay which had taken place in his own ordination, afforded him the opportunity of pointing out to the emperor the evil which might arise to the Church, by continuing the custom of confirming the election of the pope by the imperial edict. He begged, therefore, that the emperor would permit to the Prince of Apostles and his Church; *that every pope, as soon as elected, might be ordained by his spiritual brethren.* Constantine, without hesitation, complied with the demand; and immediately issued an edict to the clergy, the army, and the people, to declare his determination. Baronius, in reference to this proclamation of the emperor, says, "Thus did the good and pious Constantine, out of the great regard and veneration he had for the Prince of Apostles, set his Church at liberty."

LXXXII. *John V., died 686.*

Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and a great part of Africa were now severed by the Saracens from the empire, which was weakened also by ecclesiastical divisions. The monastic orders in the midst of the general weakness increased in power. John V. foresaw that they were destined to become effectual instruments in subjugating the surrounding nations to papal dominion; *he took them, therefore, as much as possible under his peculiar protection,* and bequeathed large sums at his death to the monastic institutions⁹.

LXXXIII. *Conon, died 687.*

The indulgence which Benedict II. had obtained from the Emperor Constantine, that the election of the Bishop of Rome might be confirmed by the clergy and people, and ordination immediately take place, seems to have been superseded for a time; for the confirmation of the election of Conon was referred to Theodore, the Exarch of Ravenna.

⁸ See Baron. A.D. 684, § 7.

⁹ Labb. Concil. vi. 1266.

The privilege, however, having once been obtained of exempting the election of the Bishop of Rome from the imperial sanction; the resumption of the confirmation was but a temporary interruption to the papal claim of freedom from the imperial interference¹. *Justinian the Second, the present emperor, commanded that the clergy should nominate and elect the popes*, which election should be approved by the magistracy of Rome, by the heads of the people, and by the army, who were each to sign the decree of his election, which was to be sent thus signed to the exarchs; and the magistrates, people, and army were to publicly declare their assent by acclamations, and saluting the new pope by kissing his foot. When this ceremony was first introduced is not ascertained; but twenty-four years after this time, we read that the same Emperor Justinian kissed the foot of Pope Constantine upon their meeting at Nicomedia. At present the presumption had not been carried so far as to require all who approached the papal throne to perform this act of submissive homage. During the short time in which Conon enjoyed his dignity, he obtained from the emperor two rescripts, by which certain taxes paid by estates of the Roman Church in Sicily and other parts were reduced; and at his death, he, like his predecessor John V., left thirty pounds weight of gold to the monks and clergy.

LXXXIV. *Sergius, died 701.*

Sergius was compelled, in spite of the imperial decree which exempted the Bishops of Rome from the power of the exarchate of Ravenna, to procure from the exarch a confirmation of his election for one hundred pounds weight of gold, before he could secure to himself possession of the see. Pilgrimages to Rome to visit the shrines of St. Peter and St. Paul, were now extolled as proofs of great holiness. The Romish emissaries were zealous in promoting them as a source of great emolument and homage to the papal throne. Ceadwalla, King of the West Saxons, as Bede informs us, ardently desired to be baptized at the tombs of the apostles, and to die at Rome; having learnt that from the place where these tombs stood, the entry into heaven was

¹ See the note of Binius upon the election of Conon, in Labb. Concil. vi. 1289.

open to all mankind. He went accordingly, and was baptized by Sergius on the eve of the festival of Easter, in the year 688, dying, as he had desired, a few days after receiving the holy rite, on the 20th of April². He was buried in the Church of St. Peter at Rome, where Sergius caused a stately monument to be erected to his memory, with an epitaph, giving an account of the motives of his journey to Rome, with his name, quality, and age. *Sergius increased the power of the popes by rejecting with success the decisions of a large council.* In the year 691, Justinian II. convened the Quini-sexturn Synod as before mentioned, at which ninety-two canons were passed to restore the decayed discipline of the churches. The second approved the eighty-five apostolical canons which this council received; but which Sergius refused to acknowledge, because Pope Gelasius had rejected them as apocryphal. The XIIIth canon condemned a practice commanded by the laws of the Roman Church, that the clergy abstain from marriage intercourse³. The LVth canon of this council forbade the practice of fasting on Saturdays, as practised by command of the Church of Rome. By the LXVIIth⁴, the laity as well as the clergy were commanded to abstain from things suffocated, and from blood; and by the LXXXIInd, it⁵ was forbidden to paint Christ in the figure of a lamb, or in any other than that of a man.—Displeased with these five canons, but especially with the XIIIth and LVth (respecting fasting), the Bishop of Rome declared the council to be null and void. A copy of the proceedings signed by the emperor, by the four patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, by his own legates, and by all the bishops of the synod, was dispatched to him for his sanction. This he refused to hear read. This conduct the emperor regarded as arrogant and presumptuous; he therefore dispatched his chief sword-bearer, Zachary, to Italy, with an order to apprehend the pope, and convey him prisoner to Constantinople. The soldiery, a body of whom had surrounded the palace, were ready to protect him from violence, on seeing which, the sword-bearer threw himself at the feet of the pope, and begged his protection. The soldiers desired to assure themselves by a sight of his holiness, that he

² Bede, H. E., v. 7.³ Labb. Concil. vi. 1148.⁴ Id. col. 1172.⁵ Id. col. 1177.

BOOK III. had not been secretly carried off from the city. During these
 CHAP. II. proceedings the sword-bearer of the emperor sought safety under the pope's bed; but after the rage and zeal of his partizans had been appeased by the appearance of Sergius, the messenger of the emperor was suffered to quit the city without further vengeance, than the insults of the army and people.

The emperor, by repeated acts of tyranny and cruelty, had endangered his throne; and the hatred he had incurred prevented him from taking revenge on Sergius, and those who had mutinied in his cause at Rome. Callinicus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, had been ordered to be put to death; and Leontius, a patrician, incited by Callinicus, and certain monks, usurped the title of emperor. Leontius having made Justinian his prisoner without opposition, carried him in triumph to the Circus, and after cutting off his nose, banished him. At the same time his two favourite ministers had been seized and burnt alive. Justinian being thus deposed, Sergius died before his restoration.

Berctuald, or Brightwald, at the death of the celebrated Theodore in 690, on the recommendation of Sergius to the Saxon kings of England, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, being the first Englishman who enjoyed that dignity. *Theodore, before his death, had succeeded in establishing the ceremonies of the Romish Church throughout England and Scotland; and thus extending the moral and political as well as the ecclesiastical influence of the pontificate.* The northern nations were also converted by Wilbrod, an Englishman, who was ordained by Sergius to proceed as a missionary among them. Christianity became identified there with the form in which it was taught at Rome, and to be a Christian was now to be a Roman. But the grosser corruptions of Romanism had not yet begun.

LXXXV. *John VI., died 705.*

Few events strengthen a government more than an unsuccessful rebellion. The Church of Rome had now obtained so much power, that though it was not able to claim absolute independence of the civil or imperial authority, it began successfully to resist the attempts made to rule it, contrary to

its own will. When the intelligence of the election of John VI. arrived at Constantinople; the imperial usurper of the day, Tiberius Apsinarius, commanded the Exarch of Italy to proceed to Rome, and expel the new pope from his see. As soon as the exarch made his appearance, he found the Italian soldiery, who were devoted to the pope, assembled from all parts ready to resist any attempt which might be made to depose his holiness. The gates were closed against the officers of the emperor. To prevent any act of violence being committed on them, the clergy and friends of the pope were compelled to interpose; and those who came to put in execution the imperial mandate, were suffered to depart without an encounter. *These repeated instances of successful opposition to the civil power, prove the high degree of authority which the popes were at this time prepared to assert.*

The power of the Bishop of Rome, however, at this very time, though he was thus enabled to defy with impunity the emperor of the East, was neither regal, imperial, sacerdotal, nor supreme over the Churches of Christendom. *It partook, indeed, of the nature of all; but it was only conventional, except in its immediate neighbourhood, where it was political as well as religious.* The devout Christians of the age were willing to examine its decrees, to receive its letters or mandates with kindness and respect, and to defer to its authority when they were satisfied that it deserved their homage.

The nature of the papal influence at this time, however, is best shown by the manner in which the appeal of an English bishop to the see of Rome was now received by the pope; and his decisions in the case of that appeal entertained by the Church and sovereign of England. Theodore, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had died in 690. Before his death a reconciliation had been effected between him and Wilfrid, who had been expelled from the see of York, and banished in pursuance of the sentence of a council pronounced by him. Theodore wrote to Aldfred⁶, King of Northumberland, in favour of Wilfrid, who restored him in consequence to the see of York. On being reinstated, he claimed the revenues of Ripon also, on a plea of their having been made over to him by Agatho. He refused, moreover, to conform to the system

⁶ See on Aldfred, Thorpe's Lappenberg. Hist. Anglo-Saxons, i. 187.

followed by all the other English bishops. These indications of a wish to oppose the Church and the court, caused the king again to depose and banish him. He appealed to Sergius, who ordered that he should be restored to his see, and to all the possessions he had ever enjoyed. Aldfred neglected the decree of Sergius and abided by his own. Theodore had recommended Wilfrid, also, to the King of Mercia, from whom he now sought protection, and was kindly received. The see of Lichfield soon became vacant, to which he was inducted, and which he held till 702, when charges were brought against him before another council, five miles north of Ripon, at which King Aldfred, Archbishop Berctuald, and nearly all the Bishops of England were present; and by which he was unanimously deposed. Wilfrid went to Rome to complain in person to the pope. The king and the archbishop considered his appeal from them and their council, to the pope and his council, to be an aggravation of the offences before brought against him. He is acquitted by the papal council, and returns to England with letters from the pope to the Kings of Mercia and Northumberland, and also to Berctuald. The archbishop received him kindly, and promised his intercession. Kenred, King of Mercia, on whom he next waited, at the recommendation of Ethelred, who, in his absence, had resigned his palace for a monastery, showed him every attention; and sent two envoys with him to the court of Aldfred, begging in his behalf the Northumbrian king's attention to "the writings of the Apostolic see." Aldfred received them with civility, and told the envoys he would willingly have embraced any opportunity of serving them on their own account; but "as for Wilfrid," says he, "concern not yourselves about him and his affairs. . . . What I myself and the archbishop approved, and almost all the bishops of England decreed, I never will alter for *what you call the writings of the Apostolic see*." Aldfred died very soon afterwards. Berctfrid, regent of the kingdom, caused a council to be called on the affair of Wilfrid, at which all the bishops of the heptarchy, with many abbots and nobility, were present. Berctuald presided, and presented the letters of the pope in favour of Wilfrid. The judgment of the pope and his council was very warmly censured and opposed by

⁷ Edii Vit. Wilf., cap. lv.

John of Beverley, and by most of the bishops present. Ælfrida, abbess of Streneschall (Whitby), sister to King Aldfred, highly esteemed for her sanctity, appealed to the synod on behalf of Wilfrid. The regent declared that Aldfred on his death-bed had vowed the restoration of Wilfrid if he recovered; and charged him, in case of his death, to see it performed. These considerations caused the bishops who opposed Wilfrid to relax; and it was at length agreed that he should hold the see of Hagustad (Hexham), with the abbey of Ripon, in possession of which he died four years afterwards.—The particulars of the charges against Wilfrid are not stated; but from his first deposition, and what followed; it may be plainly inferred, that his offence was the wish to substitute the papal for the English discipline, and thus to establish the authority of the popes over the English Church. He had been supported by *four papal decrees*, which were uniformly rejected during the struggle which lasted nearly forty years. The evidence furnished by this affair sufficiently proves, that at the commencement of the eighth century, though much of the Romish form of worship had been introduced, the government of the English Church was quite distinct; and owned no supremacy above itself and its kings⁸.

LXXXVI. *John VII., died 707.*

This pope is said to have been of a more timid character than the Bishops of Rome generally were. He neither rejected nor accepted the canons of the oriental council which were sent him by the restored emperor, Justinian II. He is said to have placed pictures both of the fathers and of himself in the churches. The power of the Church was increased in his time by the restoration, by the Lombard, Aribert, of certain possessions in the Cottian Alps.

LXXXVII. *Sisinnius, died 708.*

Died twenty days after his election. He purposed, if he had lived, to have rebuilt the walls of Rome.

⁸ Dr. Lingard, in his History of the Anglo-Saxon Church, has endeavoured to give another turn to the subject; but that which is here stated, is the view of nearly all English writers.

LXXXVIII. *Constantine, died 715.*BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

Constantine increased the power of the popes by overcoming the last attempt of the see of Ravenna to maintain its independence. He induced the emperor to reduce its bishop, Felix, and his people to submission, by representing them as enemies and rebels to the Prince of Apostles. Pompous titles at their commencement, often denote the possession of power, though their long continuance is often compatible with the utmost degree of weakness. Anastasius informs us, that the extermination of the people of Ravenna, in the attempt to enforce obedience, was a "just judgment of God."⁹ In 710, this bishop was ordered, or invited¹, by the emperor to a personal interview in the city of Nicomedia. On this occasion the emperor prostrated himself on the ground and saluted the pope's foot, thus performing the highest act of homage. The precedent was followed in after-ages, and became the usual mode of expressing the veneration exacted by the Roman bishops. *This pope was the first who ventured to exert that boldest act of authority which was the precedent and cause of so much evil.* The Emperor Philippicus, who succeeded Justinian II., was a Monothelite. Constantine excommunicated him immediately on his election. Onuphrius commends the action, and eulogizes him as the first bishop who ventured openly to resist an emperor. He commanded that the name of the imperial heretic should not be used in any public or private writing; and should be razed and defaced in all charters, and on all coins. The peculiarities of the Church of Rome began, therefore, more especially to appear in the reign of this bishop—intolerance and cruelty, with spiritual usurpation at Ravenna, the assumption of high titles, descriptive of the most arrogant pretensions, and the exercise of a rebellious influence against the civil ruler, under the pretension of zeal for spiritual truth, manifested by ecclesiastical resistance.

LXXXIX. *Gregory II., died 732.*

This bishop increased the power and authority of his see by being the first to require an oath of obedience from a

⁹ Labb. Concil., vi. 1394.¹ In capite sese prostravit, pedes osculans pontificis. Ibid.

Christian bishop. Winfrid, the Englishman, who was made the legate of the pope for the conversion of the northern nations, when he was consecrated bishop at Rome, took the name of Boniface, and swore obedience to the Bishop of Rome. In his letters to Charles Martel, and to many of the Germanic states, Gregory calls Boniface "the Apostle of Germany²." He commands all persons to whom his letters come, to attend to the instructions of Boniface; promising to those who obey him, eternal life; and to those who refuse obedience, eternal damnation. *This kind of language was subsequently used with great effect, as the sanction to every expression of the will or opinion of the Roman pontiffs.* The churches, the bishops, the monks, and the clergy were, at this time, most amply endowed by the piety, the devotion, and the superstition of the age. Their power increased with their wealth. The Bishop of Rome was more wealthy and more powerful than any other. Gregory first received from Ina and Offa, Kings of the West Saxons and Mercia, the Romish or Peter-pence, which was only abolished by Henry the Eighth³. England was always regarded as the exhaustless well of the papal wealth, as it will again be if it return to its ancient yoke. In 726, Boniface appealed to the pope for his decision, among other matters, on the two following questions—First, whether sons or daughters offered up to God by their parents, and placed in monasteries, may, when of age, quit the monasteries and marry? Secondly, whether men whose wives are incapable of conjugal duty, may marry others? To the former the pope answers⁴—The children so consecrated must observe celibacy, and live continently, whether it is their own choice or not. To the latter—It is lawful, if the husband cannot refrain, for him to marry: the decision in the former case being in direct contradiction to Scripture⁵; and in the latter, denounced with anathema by the Council of Trent⁶, and consequently, under the curse of the Church of Rome at present.

² The correspondence of our countryman, Boniface, has lately been published by Dr. Giles, in one vol. 8vo.

³ See Cowel's Law Dict., in v. Peter-pence; Spelman's Glossary, in v. Romescot.

⁴ Edit. Serar. cxxvi., edit. Wurd. xxiv.

⁵ St. Chrysostom, Hom. ii. in tit. i. 6, Opp. xi. 739, edit. Benedict.

⁶ If any one shall say, that matrimony confirmed, not consummated, is not dissolved by the solemn profession of religion, let him be accursed. Conc. Trent., sess. xxiv. can. 6.

If any one shall say, that clerks in

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

The absurd taste of the Greck emperors for dogmatical controversies, and *the unfortunate part they incessantly took in them, may be justly regarded as another of the chief causes of the power of the Bishops of Rome, and of the Churches of the West*⁷. The unscriptural and unapostolical use of images had long prevailed among other corruptions in the Churches of Christendom. The practice is forbidden by the Giver of revelation, because He will be worshipped in spirit and truth, to such extent, and in such manner, that the only appeal which shall be ordained by Him to the senses of man, shall be by the sacraments alone. The worship or the homage paid to images, was now justly brought into disrepute by the victories of the Mahometans; who were in some measure regarded in the days of their success, as they have since been by a modern author⁸, rather as a corrupted Christian sect, than as heathens and pagans. The devotion to images, therefore, began to be opposed in the Eastern Churches; Leo III., the emperor, declaring himself the head of the opponents, and publishing an edict to the empire condemning the custom. This edict was disregarded. The emperor summoned the council called *silentium*, and in pursuance of its decisions, issued another edict by which the veneration of images was unequivocally condemned. Germanus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had defended the use of pictures and images, and who refused to comply with the imperial decree, which commanded their removal from the churches, was deposed, and his dignity transferred to Anastasius. Gregory retaliated by excommunicating the emperor, and absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance. A synod at Rome, in opposition to that of Constantinople, sanctioned the worship of images. When Leo found that this idolatry could not be otherwise prevented, he ordered the images to be cast out of the churches, and broken to pieces. The decree of the emperor was sent to Scholasticus, the exarch of Ravenna, with orders to publish it in Italy.

holy orders, or regulars, having solemnly professed chastity, may contract matrimony, who perceive they have not the gift of chastity, though they have vowed it, let him be accursed.—Conc. Trent., sess. xxiv. can. 9.

⁷ Power of the Popes, &c., p. 12,

where the conduct of Leo the Isaurian and Gregory II., with the defence of Gregory by Bossuet, are amply discussed.

⁸ Forster's Mahometanism Unveiled, 2 vols. 8vo. London.

When it was proclaimed in Ravenna, the people rose in defence of the images, and attacked the soldiery. The homage paid to images was universal; and the Bishop of Rome did but defend and support the popular opinion against the imperial decree. As the emperor, too, had published an edict requiring the payment of a poll-tax about the same time, the Bishop of Rome was regarded as the defender of the united temporal and spiritual interests of Italy⁹. Notwithstanding the convulsions which attended these disputes in Italy, the emperor refused to rescind his decree. He even ordered the Bishop of Rome to be apprehended and brought to Constantinople, that he might be prevented from stirring up the people of Italy to rebellion, and resistance to his edict. The exarch was commanded to put the order in execution. Finding that the pope was too well guarded by the people to effect his apprehension secretly, the exarch made an open attempt to obtain his person. The king of the Lombards, perceiving that this struggle between the emperor and the pope was in favour of his designs upon Italy; sent a strong body of troops to prevent the pope from falling into the hands of the exarch. Gregory supposed that the disturbances which had taken place in the exarchate, would induce the emperor to desist from enforcing his decree in Italy. A new exarch, however, was appointed, with peremptory instructions to publish the edict in all the cities of Italy, and especially in Rome; and to threaten those who did not comply with it as rebels and heretics, and deal with them as such. The pope was sure that the multitude were ready at a word openly to revolt, and he no longer hesitated to condemn the exarch as a heretic. The people were inflamed with the persuasion that their religion was at stake; and that the emperor, instead of being its friend, had become its enemy. They threw off all subjection. To make the insurrection as formidable as possible, the pope wrote to Luitprand and all the Lombard dukes, exhorting them to continue stedfast in the Catholic faith, and to league against the emperor; who was represented as not content to renounce Christianity himself, but meaning to force all his subjects to abandon it also. The struggle was con-

⁹ Want of room compels me to omit the convulsions of Italy consequent upon this dispute between the emperor and the pontiff, the capture of Ravenna by Luitprand, the appeal of the Pope to the Duke of Venice, &c.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

tinued by attempts on the part of the pope to overcome the authority until the year 732, when he died¹.

This pontiff still further extended the power of his see, by asserting, "that Rome, its dependencies, and the adjacent countries, were in his power, as a temporal prince, by the gift of the people²." An author cited by Bower, asserts that under Gregory, "the Romans shook off the yoke of the Eastern empire, saluted him their Lord, and took an oath of allegiance to him; that Gregory accepted the sovereignty which they of their own accord offered him; and thus was he happily raised, not by arms, armies, or intrigues, but by the free choice and affection of the people, to the station and rank of a prince³." Bower, who has discussed at length the conduct of Gregory towards the emperor, closes his remarks with saying, "that the popes having from the beginning made it their study to extend by all means, even the basest, their jurisdiction and power, the history of the popes may be justly styled a history of papal usurpations and encroachments on the liberties of mankind⁴."—The author of "The History of the Power of the Popes," defends, with Bossuet, the conduct of Gregory; and affirms with Baronius that he preserved the empire over Italy, to the emperor. Whatever may have been the motives, or the prudence, or the conduct of Gregory, it is certain that the power of the see of Rome was increased by this bishop, in consequence of the rash manner in which Leo the Isaurian attempted to enforce his decrees. The excommunication of that emperor by the pope was regarded as an act of virtuous zeal in defence of public liberty; and *the ecclesiastical usurpation, therefore, was strengthened by the popular approbation.* The sentiment afterwards sanctioned by Baronius, that "Gregory had left a noble example to posterity by teaching the people not to suffer an heretical prince to rule over the Church of Christ⁵," was now generally approved; and the alienation of the Italians at this time from the em-

¹ This controversy, and indeed the whole historical question, is well treated by Spanheim in his *Historia Imaginum*, § 5, p. 86, 8vo, Lugd. Bat. 1686.

² Spanheim, Wright's edition, 8vo, Cambridge, p. 408.

³ *Hist. Neapol. lib. v. p. 94*, ap. Bower.

⁴ *History of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 291.

⁵ *Ubi autem eundem neque verbis scriptivse a cœptis potuit revocare, neque beneficiis continere quin in deterius laberetur, tempus advenisse ratus, ut securis ad radicem admove-retur arboris infelicis, Apostolica auctoritate, "Succidite eam," clamat. Quo tonitru excitati fideles occidentales mox desciscunt penitus a Leonis Im-*

peror was so complete, that many authors have assigned to the pontificate of Gregory II., the re-establishment of a form of the Roman republic. In 730, a short time previous to the death of this pope, and apparently without his concurrence, the Romans formally erected themselves into a republic; though it was especially subsequent to the year 731, and down to 741⁶, that is to say, under the pontificate of Gregory III., that the expressions "Republic of the Romans," "Republican Association," "Body of the Roman Army," were accredited phrases⁷. The pope was considered as the head of this rejuvenescent republic; and *no power is so great as that of an ecclesiastical despot supported by the populace, under the name and pretension of the supporter of the public liberty*. The soldiers refused to obey the emperor at the expense of the pope. The populace supported him. The religion of the age was identified with veneration for his person and office, and few controversies, therefore, strengthened the power of the Bishops of Rome so much as that; in which, contrary to the usual custom, the truth was to be found with the Eastern, and the error with the Western Churches⁸.

XC. Gregory III., died 741.

The weakness of the emperors enabled Gregory III. to

perio, Apostolico Pontifici inhærentes. Sic dignum posteris idem Gregorius reliquit exemplum, ne in Ecclesia Christi regnare sinerentur hæretici Principes, si sæpe moniti in errore persistere obstinato animo invenirentur. —Baronii Annales, in an. 726, vol. ix. p. 99.

⁶ See Anastasius, in Greg. II.

⁷ Ibid. — *Reipublica Romanorum, Compages Reipublicæ, Corpus Christi deletum exercitûs Romani.*

⁸ The Emperor Philippicus, and John, Patriarch of Constantinople, commenced an open rupture with the Roman Church by the removal of images from the church of St. Sophia. The controversy had previously for some time slumbered. It now burst forth with greater vehemence. The Councils of the East and West were violently opposed to each other. The council, called by the Greeks 'Silention,' passed an edict which condemned all use of images. Gregory II. in revenge excommunicated the Emperor Leo,

and absolved all his subjects from their oath of obedience, as the promoter of iconomachy. By a Roman synod, the worship of images was approved as a custom of Christ and the Apostles. This extraordinary defence of image-worship by the high authorities of the West, greatly increased former superstitions. Instead of the people being taught to search the Scriptures and obey the Gospel, they were enjoined to obey the decrees of the Romish Church, and to pay implicit obedience to the pope; and the doctrine now preached was the supremacy of the successor of St. Peter, the worship of images, invocation of saints, the torments of purgatory, masses for the dead, celibacy, confession to priests, traditions, relics, and many other superstitions.—The subject of which a sketch is given above is treated at great length by Molanus, *De Imaginum adoratione*, 1627, on the one side, and by Spanheim, in the work already quoted, on the other.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

cement the power which the Bishops of Rome had now acquired as the *real*, though not even the nominal heads of the Roman republic. Though the government of Rome was but the shadow of a republic, the Italians loved to present themselves under this title to the sovereigns of Europe, as a mode of ranking themselves in the list of independent states. Gregory III. sent two ambassadors to the mayor of the palace, Charles Martel, to invite him to declare himself in favour of the Roman republic against the emperor of the East⁹. The popes did not fill in person the office of first magistrate of this republic. They left the insignia of its power to a prefect, a duke, or a patrician. On taking possession of his see, Gregory III. avowed his zeal for image-worship, and dispatched two several legations to Constantinople, to remonstrate with Leo and his son Constantine, who from the year 720 had been made a partner in the empire; both of which failed in convincing the emperor that such worship was taught by Christ or his apostles. The pope summoned a council at the tomb of St. Peter, which was attended by ninety-three bishops; who issued a decree for the establishment of image-worship "agreeable to the ancient practice of the Apostolic Church;" and excommunication was fulminated against "all who should thenceforth presume to pull down, destroy, profane, or blaspheme the sacred images." The emperor sent a fleet to bring the rebels to Constantinople; but the fleet was wrecked in the Adriatic before it reached its destination¹.

We may observe here, generally, that *the weakness of the emperors, and the consequent power of the popes, at this time, arose from the abandonment of the provinces of Italy by the imperial sovereign.* The emperors kept no garrison in Rome; and the Eternal City, continually menaced by the Lombards, solicited more than once through the organ of its dukes or its pontiffs, but in vain, the protection of the exarch, and the power of the emperor. The Byzantine historians of this period scarcely ever speak of Italy. One of them, Theophylactus Simosata, wrote the history of the empire from the

⁹ Baronius ascribes this embassy to Gregory II. Bossuet removes the mistake.—Def. Cler. Gall. p. ii. lib. vi. c. 18. Apud Power of the Popes, p. 18;

to which add Labb. Concil. vi. 1472.

¹ Vit. Greg. III. auctore Anastas. ap. Labb. Concil. vi. 1463.

year 582 to 802, without once naming Italy, Rome, or the Lombards. Deserted by their master, the Romans of necessity attached themselves to their pontiffs, who were generally Romans, and thus merited such attachment. Fathers and defenders of the people, mediators between the great, heads of the religion of the empire, the popes united in themselves the various sources of authority and influence which are conferred by riches, benefactions, supposed virtue, and the high priesthood².

XCI. *Zachary, died 752.*

The view which has been taken of the weakness of the Greek emperors, and the consequent power of the Bishops of Rome, is confirmed by the circumstance that Zachary was the first pope who was consecrated without the confirmation of the civil power³. *He concluded, also, a treaty of peace with the King of Lombardy without any reference to the imperial government.* His personal authority appears to have been very great. The King of the Lombards invaded the exarchate, and the exarch implored the pope to interpose in behalf of the country. Zachary undertook a journey to Pavia for the sake of a personal interview with King Luitprand, who complied with his entreaty in favour of the exarchate. On the death of Luitprand in 747, the Lombards deposed his son Hildebrand, who had shared the throne from 736, and raised Rachis, Duke of Friuli, to the throne. Rachis entered the territory of Rome, and after taking several fortresses, laid siege to Perugia. The pope immediately set off for the camp of Rachis, and not only won him over so far as to induce him to restore the places he had taken; but by expostulations on the vanity of human grandeur, and the danger to which he exposed his soul in the future world, by aggressions on the holy estate of St. Peter, so affected his mind, that he resolved to lay down the insignia of royalty, and become the inmate of a monastery⁴. In the year 752, Pepin dispatched emissaries to the pope with a request to

² Power of the Popes, p. 19.

³ His immediate predecessor, Gregory III., on his election wrote to the exarch, requesting that it might be confirmed. He was the last who did

so.—See Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 257.

⁴ Labb. ii. 1491; Baron. Annal. A.D. 750, § 1, 2.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

have his answer to the question—"Who best deserved to be styled king, he who possessed the power, or he who was only possessed of the title?" The answer of Zachary was favourable to the ambition of Pepin; but whether the Bishop of Rome intended his answer to be considered a decree, as Bellarmine affirms, or as an opinion, as others believe, need not be discussed⁵. *The personal influence of Zachary may be said to be among the causes of the greatness of the Roman pontiffs.*

The God of nature and the God of revelation are but one and the same being. The demonstrations of truth by science, therefore, never can clash with the discoveries by revelation. Zachary gave a lesson to all theologians to avoid confounding the opinions of their age with undoubted physical truths. It was generally believed, at that period, that there were no antipodes. The Bishop of Rome excommunicated Virgilius for affirming the contrary proposition.

XCII. [*Stephen II.*], died 752.

A presbyter, named Stephen, was chosen as the successor of Zachary, but he died four days after his election, without receiving consecration.

XCIII. *Stephen II.*, died 757.

The power of the Bishops of Rome was enlarged by Stephen II. more extensively than by any of his predecessors. The pope, from this time, became a temporal prince, ruling as an earthly sovereign over cities, towns, and provinces. Yet his becoming so was not the result of unprincipled ambition, as many historians would have us believe; but the consequence of the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed by the weakness of the Greek emperors, to whom the Bishop of Rome still professed a nominal subjection. Astolphus, the successor of Rachis, took possession of Ravenna, and drove from that city the officers of the emperor.

⁵ Childeric was succeeded by Pepin, according to Gratian—*quia fuit tanta potestati inutilis*: and the word *inutilis* is interpreted by the Gloss to be—*mollis effeminatus, et mulieribus deditus*.

On the transfer of the kingdom of

the Franks to Pepin, see the note of Binius in Labb. Concil. vi. 1493; Baron. Annal. A.D. 751, § 2.

⁶ As this pope did not receive consecration, he is not numbered among the Roman pontiffs.

He then turned his arms against Rome. The Bishop of Rome applied to the emperor for assistance. Constantine Copronymus, the emperor, requested the pope to negotiate with Astolphus, and if he was not successful with him, to apply to Pepin, the King of the French⁷. The pope accordingly, after a vain attempt to influence Astolphus, proceeded in person to France. Pepin received him with all respect and homage. The Pope conferred on the king and on his sons the title of Roman patricians, which Charles Martel had previously borne. He solemnly anointed Pepin, Bertrade his queen, and his two sons, Charles and Carloman; and pronounced a blessing on all the French nobles who attended the ceremony. Pepin, in return, took a solemn oath to protect the Church of St. Peter; and to cause Ravenna, and the other cities which Astolphus had seized, to be restored. As Pepin was neither their sovereign nor their possessor, but thus promised to be their recoverer,—there is no improbability in the history, that when he had obtained them from Astolphus, he required him to yield the exarchate; and the other cities, not to the Emperor, but to the pope; and that, when Astolphus violated this promise, Pepin, upon receiving a letter of pressing entreaty and adjuration for aid from the Bishop of Rome, took possession of the disputed territories, and ceded them in perpetuity to the pope. When ambassadors from the emperor thanked Pepin for re-conquering the disputed provinces, he replied, that he had gained them for St. Peter, and not for the emperor. The cities thus obtained by the pope were Ravenna, Bononia, Imola, Faventia, Romandiola, and many others; and *from that day to the present the pope has ranked among the sovereigns of Europe as a temporal prince*⁸.

The real power of the pope at this time was founded upon the most superstitious belief that he possessed all the authority which Christ could give to his Church and its ministers. He appeals to the celebrated “Thou art Peter⁹,” and tells Pepin that he shall be deprived of the kingdom of God, if he

⁷ Joannes Silentiarius a Constantino, cum legatis Pontificiis rediit, narrans imperatori placere ut ipse ad regem proficiscens quantum precibus atque auctoritate proficiscere posset, expectaretur, se itineris ab illo securitatem

impetraturum.—Sigonius, Hist. Regn. Ital. lib. iii. p. 77, edit. Franc. 1591.

⁸ See the correspondence between Stephen and Pepin and his sons, in Labb. Concil. vi. 1630, seqq.

⁹ Id. col. 1639.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

does not comply with his petition, or rather command—that he would oppose Astolphus. He does not, however, omit that kind of flattery which was generally so adroitly administered by the popes, in conjunction with their ecclesiastical fulminations. He tells the French that they are the first nation under heaven, and therefore they are commanded to deliver the Church of St. Peter from its enemies ¹.

XCIV. *Paul, died 767.*

This pope enlarged the power of his see by obtaining from Desiderius, whom the Bishop of Rome had been the principal means of raising to the throne of Lombardy, various other cities and territories in addition to those which had been secured after the subjugation of Astolphus. He complained of the delay of Desiderius to Pepin and his sons: and because the union of Pepin might possibly have diminished his influence, he contrived to prevent an intermarriage between their children ². The monks of the East who had refused obedience to the edicts of the Greek emperors respecting images, were at this time nearly annihilated by the severity with which they were persecuted. The opinion of any ruler, in fact, was the law to his people; non-agreement with that opinion was treason and heresy, and both were punished with relentless and cruel death.

XCV. *Stephen III., died 772.*

The greatness of the see of Rome was now increased by its having become an object of ambition among the nobles and princes of Italy. All who contended to obtain it, were desirous, whether as candidates or possessors, to extend and uphold its authority. On the death of Paul, Toto, the Duke of Nepi, forced his brother Constantine, who was a layman, into the apostolic chair. With numerous friends well-armed for the purpose, he compelled the Bishop of Palestine, by threats against his life if he refused, to qualify him; who, in consequence, ordained him subdeacon and deacon on the same day,

¹ "Declaratum quippe est, quod super omnes gentes quæ sub cælo sunt vestra Francorum gens Apostolo Dei Petro prima extitit."—Labb. Concil.

vi. 1641.

² *Id.* col. 1676, and the following pages, which contain his correspondence with Pepin respecting Desiderius.

and by him, with two other bishops, the Sunday following he was created a bishop. Stephen's first effort afterwards was to gain the sanction of Pepin, who was then engaged in a war with Aquitaine, and unable to attend to papal affairs. In the mean time, as might have been expected, Rome was thrown into a state of popular tumult; in which Duke Toto, of Nepi, and Constantine, were thrown into prison. A party, during the disturbance, brought forward a Lombard monk, named Philip, and with the usual acclamations, elected him pope in the room of Constantine. The clergy and heads of the people declared this to be no less scandalous than the attempt to impose Constantine on the Church. Philip was, therefore, deposed, and Stephen the Third chosen ³. *Stephen enlarged the power of his see by requiring from Desiderius the fulfilment of the treaty of Pavia, by which certain cities were to be resigned to Rome.*—When he was endeavouring to evade their surrender, a grand embassy from the kings of France, the two sons of Pepin, arrived at Rome to assure the pope that they were resolved to secure him in the quiet possession of all that their father had conferred on St. Peter and his successors. The Lombard king, finding upon this that he could not break the league between France and Rome by any collusion with the pope; caused proposals of marriage to be covertly made between his daughter and Charlemagne, and also between his son, and the sister of the two kings of France. Charlemagne was already married, and the pope rightly and justly refused his sanction to the proposed union. Bertrade, however, the mother of Charlemagne, was anxious to promote the alliance; and Charlemagne, therefore, consented. The pope was resolved to exert all his influence to prevent this connexion, and two legates were dispatched with all haste to use prayers, and threaten anathemas and eternal torments if his admonition was disregarded. But Queen Bertrade having resolved on the marriage, in order to gain the consent of the pope, made a journey to Rome, and was received with the highest marks of distinction, as the dowager queen of Pepin, and the mother of the two French kings. To overcome the opposition of the pope to the marriage, she stipulated that, before the daughter of Desiderius proceeded

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

³ See Anastasius, ap. Labb. Concil. vi. 1704; Baron. A.D. 767, § 5.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

to France, her father should give up the places he had held from the apostolic see; and solemnly engage to live in peace with the pope and his subjects. The places in dispute were consequently delivered up to Stephen before Bertrade left Italy; and all other terms required by his holiness for the security of his temporal possessions settled. The marriage took place, and *the same unholy assumption of power to dissolve the bands of marriage*, contrary to the laws of God, which eventually cost the Bishop of Rome the loss of his best province—England, *now proved another foundation of his increasing dominion*⁴.

XCVI. *Hadrian, died 795.*

The temporal power of the see of Rome attained still greater height under Hadrian, than under any of his predecessors. Charles, afterwards called “the Great,” or Charlemagne, ascended the throne of France four years before Hadrian obtained the pontificate. The early attempts of this prince to infuse a military bias into the minds of his people; his energy and activity, his great attachment to Christianity in the form in which it then prevailed, pointed him out to the Bishop of Rome, as the sovereign who would be most effectually able to protect the newly obtained possessions and privileges of the see, against any attacks either of the Lombards or of the emperors. Hadrian consequently endeavoured to ingratiate himself into the favour of Charles. When Charles, with an inconsistency and injustice which form one of the few blots in his character, sent back to the King of Lombardy his daughter, to marry whom Charles had divorced his wife; Hadrian positively refused to support Desiderius, and dispatched messengers to France to inform its sovereign, of the attempts of the deposed queen and her father to foment a civil war in France. Desiderius consequently marched against Rome, intending to take the city by surprise. Measures of defence had, however, already been concerted. Charles promised the assistance of a powerful army. The people of the country flocked to the assistance of the pontiff, and the enterprise was defeated. The influence of the fear, which the

⁴ See Labb. Concil. col. 1717; Baron. A.D. 770, § 8.

Bishop of Rome was able to impress upon the minds of his opponents, was remarkably shown in the conduct of Desiderius. He attempted to negotiate with the pope. Hadrian refused to listen to any proposals for peace till every territory, place, and town, which had previously been ceded by Pepin to Rome, had been given up. This decision was enforced by the sentence of excommunication and denunciation of heavenly vengeance on all who should move against St. Peter and the Church. Three bishops were sent with this threat, and *the king was so deeply impressed with the apprehension of divine wrath, that he immediately withdrew his army to Lombardy.*

A singular circumstance took place at this time, which, in a superstitious age, was assigned to the peculiar interference of the Almighty in behalf of his servant the pontiff. When Charles arrived at the Alps on his march from France to the assistance of the pope in Italy, he found the passes so strongly guarded by the French officers who had joined his opponents, that he resolved to return home in despair. The night, however, before he thus intended to give up his enterprise, the Lombard troops were panic-struck, and left their posts without any apparent cause, in the utmost precipitation and confusion. Charles instantly marched on to Rome, received the surrender of Verona, and many other cities on his way, and made a splendid entrance into the Eternal City. After performing his devotions to St. Peter, and assisting at the festival of Easter, he still further added to the real or supposed grant of Pepin to the pope, many other territories and provinces⁵.

⁵ Anastasius mentions Corsica, Sardinia, Liguria, Sicily, Venice, and Beneventum. (See the passage in Labb. Concil. vi. 1738.) This, however, was impossible. Sicily was not in the possession of Charles, neither was Sardinia. Venice acknowledged at this time the Greek emperor. Beneventum was an independent dukedom, which was not ceded to the popedom till 1047; and the act of cession at that time by Henry the Black makes no allusion to the donation of Charles. Neither did the Bishops of Rome pretend at this time to govern either of

these places. The truth is, that the donation of Constantine, in which allusion is made to the argument, Tu es Petrus, which was first urged by Leo in 440, is a forgery. The donation of Pepin in 753, never existed in an authentic form, neither does the deed of its renewal in 754. Anastasius, who wrote a century afterwards, is the first who relates their contents. Hadrian, in his letters to Charles, 789, certainly alludes to the donation of Pepin; but he speaks of it as an act unfulfilled.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

The greatness of the pontiff was still further increased by the ultimate annexation of Ravenna to the see of Rome, by the decision of Charles; after seven years petitioning and remonstrance on the part of Hadrian against the Bishop of Ravenna; who claimed the privilege of executing the office, and possessing the power of the exarchs. The fact is striking, as it illustrates the general pretensions of the bishops of the age. Hadrian was the first pope who proved his rights as a temporal sovereign by that act of authority, which is always considered to be demonstrative of royal or supreme power. In the course of the last six years of his pontificate he coined money. Some of his coins are still extant. We must, however, observe, that the Dukes of Beneventum, and others, did the same with the consent of the emperors.

The tumults, confusions, councils, exasperations, and endless mutual persecutions which were caused by the Iconoclastic controversy at this time, and during the preceding century, are the disgrace of Christians, and if it were possible, of their religion. I have purposely avoided any detailed account of the proposers, admirers, and executors of that great wickedness of the Christian—the relapsing into the worship of images—the representing Him whom no man hath seen at any time, as an old man with a globe in his hand; the identifying the homage which the soul should pay to God alone, with the mental satisfaction which is derived from gazing on the sculptured or painted form of a beautiful woman in the representations of the Virgin Mary; or the confounding the devotion of the affections of the heart, with the associations derived from the images of real or supposed saints; which now led to the calling of the second Council of Nice; in which the violation of the second commandment was sanctioned by the apostolic succession, and by the whole Christian Church, if that Church is indeed to be considered as being represented by a general council.—The apostasy was not, it is true, universal, though it was so general that it became the duty of every individual Christian to consider, whether his duty to God and to Christ, permitted him to continue a member of his wandering Church.—The pious Israelite fled with horror from the cherubic calves of Bethel and Dan to worship in Jerusalem. The pious Christian was

justified in turning with no less contempt and horror, from human forms of wood, stone, and canvass; to worship in solitude, or in the wilderness.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

From the changes which were thus prevailing in the West, we turn to the state of affairs in the East. Constantine VI. died in 775, and left Leo IV., who had reigned already with his father twenty-four years, in possession of the throne. His reign after this was prolonged only five years. Constantine VII., his son, was only nine years old at his death. The empire was consequently committed to the government of his mother Irene, as regent. Irene shrunk from nothing which could further her own designs, among which were the establishment of image-worship and the monasteries; which her husband and his father had entirely, and with great cruelty suppressed. The patriarchate of Constantinople became vacant by the death of Paul, A.D. 784. Tarasius, her secretary, was as zealous in the cause of image-worship as herself. She determined on putting him, though a layman, into that holy station. This being in direct violation of the canons of the Church, required more than ordinary stratagem and fraud to carry into execution. He was ordained on Christmas-day, 784⁶. She wrote to the pope to make known to him the introduction of Tarasius into the episcopate, and also her design to summon a general council for the restoration of images, at which she invited his holiness to be present; using the flattery and exclusive titles which the Bishops of Rome either adopted or desired. The other three patriarchs were also addressed in an equally flattering style by Tarasius on his promotion. The pope, in his answer to Irene, applauded her design for the restoration of images in the churches, the worship of which his holiness takes this opportunity elaborately to defend. With regard to the ordination of Tarasius, he complains of its being uncanonical, and therefore he "*dared not approve of it but upon condition that he undertake to restore the ancient practice of the Catholic Church*."⁷

The council, according to the summons, met in July, 786 but the officers and men of the young emperor's guards had

⁶ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 264. ⁷ Baron. A.D. 784, § 7.
He retained his see till 806.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

served under Constantine Copronymus, and Leo VI., and were zealous Iconoclasts. Surrounding the church, therefore, where the council met, they threatened the patriarchs and bishops with death as idolaters, desirous to bring the memory of the good and religious emperors, Constantine and Leo, to dishonour; as enemies to the empire, the Church, and, if they persisted, to God Himself. Alarmed at this bold declaration, the council desisted proceeding, and the members retired home. Irene was not, however, to be deterred from her purpose by this military insurrection. The force which opposed her design was disbanded, and the city garrisoned with legions of Asiatic troops. Yet as the Iconoclasts were strong in Constantinople, she thought it prudent to decline holding the council there, and it was convened in the following year at Nice in Bithynia.

*Synopsis of the Seventh General Council.*BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

Council VIII.	The Second Council of Nice.
Date.	A.D. 787. September 24th to October 23rd ⁸ .
Number of bishops.	Three hundred and fifty ⁹ , or three hundred and seventy-seven.
By whom summoned.	Constantine VII. and Irene, at the instigation of Tarasius ¹ .
President.	Legates from Rome ; Tarasius of Constantinople conducted it ² .
Why and against what opinions.	Against the decrees of a council held at Constantinople in 754, at which were present 338 bishops, who unanimously decreed that images were not to be worshipped, nor to be erected in churches ³ .
Against whom.	The bishops of that synod.
Chief decrees and canons.	The worship of images solemnly decreed at the seventh session. Twenty-two canons passed as hereafter enumerated ⁴ .
Penalties.	Deposition—separation—anathema.
Sufferers.	Many of the bishops of the former council recanted. None especially condemned.
Emperor.	Constantine VII. Irene, regent.
Pope.	Hadrian, not present ; but represented by two legates, Peter Vicedomus and Peter Hugomeus.

⁸ Most writers concur in dating this council in the year 787, and this date is satisfactorily corroborated by the circumstances under which it assembled ; though Caranza (p. 670) says it met in the year 780 ; Gesner, vol. i. p. 562, and vol. ii. p. 121, says, A.D. 788, ut Sigebertus annotavit. That a council had been assembled at Constantinople

in the year 786 by Constantine and the Empress Irene, which had no sooner met than it was dispersed by the insurrection of the Iconoclasts, supported by the army ; and that the emperor and his mother Irene, after disbanding the insurrectionary forces, and collecting bodies of troops from the eastern provinces, summoned the council to

The Council had Seven Sessions.

I. The confessions of those bishops who had signed the decrees of the former council in 754, against the worship of

Nice the following year, is a fact on which most historians are agreed; and Van Espen, vol. iii. p. 413, with some others, state the sittings to have commenced September 24; see Cave, vol. i. p. 649; Platina, in *Tabulâ in Vit. Hadr. I.*; Grier, pp. 121. 127; Du Pin, vol. i. p. 309, vol. vi. p. 134; Zonaras, p. 210; Magd. Cent., vol. viii. p. 587; Howell, vol. i. p. 46; Baronius, vol. ix. p. 391.

⁹ The number of members is variously stated. According to Du Pin, vol. i. p. 309, and vol. vi. p. 134, the archbishops and bishops present were 250, and of priests and monks, 100. Ethingerus, *Synop. Canon. Apostolorum, &c.* (Wittenberg, 1614); and Zonaras, in *Canon. &c.*, p. 210, each write 367 members. The oppressions of the Saracens prevented the patriarchal sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem from being represented; see Bellarmine, de *Conc. e. v.* vol. ii. p. 8; Caranza, p. 683; Cave, vol. i. p. 649; Platina, in *Tabulâ in Vit. Hadr. I.*; Gesner, vol. i. p. 562; Cent. Magd., vol. viii. p. 589; Howell, vol. i. p. 47; Venema, vol. v. p. 200; Baronius, vol. ix. p. 409.

The Magdeburg Centuriators state that 318 bishops subscribed the anathema against those who denied that images are to be worshipped and held in honour, vol. viii. p. 603.

Van Espen states that the oriental patriarchs sent legates to the council:—"Ad tempus prefixum convenire et legati Adriani Papæ, et trium patriarcharum orientalium, scilicet, Alexandrini, Antiocheni, et Hierosolymitani, et ultra tercentum Episcopi, cum pluribus Abbatibus."—vol. iii. p. 417.

¹ "Accedente hûc divino zelo et nutu Constantini et Irenes fidelissimorum nostrorum Imperatorum."—Baronius, vol. iii. p. 96.

"Indicta fuit auctoritate Imperatorum Constantini et Irenes Constantinopolium. Igitur ad jussionem Imperatorum Episcopi in unum congregati sunt Nicææ."—Van Espen, vol. iii. pp. 417—420.

"Jussu Imperatoris."—Baronius, vol. iii. p. 102.

"Imperantibus piissimis et Christodeditissimis Dominis nostris, Constantino cum matre sua Irene."—Baronii, vol. iii. p. 1.

Tarasius advised the emperor and dowager empress to summon the council.—Baronius, vol. ix. pp. 394. 409; Cave, vol. i. p. 649; see also Caranza, pp. 676, et seq.; Cent. Magd., vol. viii. c. ix. pp. 611. 615.

² Vicedomus and Hugomeus held the first place as papal legates; see Du Pin, vol. vi. cent. viii. p. 133; Cent. Magd., vol. viii. p. 588; Grier, p. 127.

Gibbon says that the papal legates were only casual messengers, and he affirms Tarasius to have been president.—Milman's edit. vol. ix. p. 164, and note 79.

"Adrianus Papa per legatos suos præsedidit."—Bellarmine, de *Conc.* vol. ii. p. 3.

Van Espen declares that Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, presided, vol. iii. p. 420, and considers the legates from Rome only as ordinary members. He further states that the empress presided at the sitting at which the decrees were confirmed, p. 426.

Tarasius, under the favour of Irene, who was the chief mover in the affair, presided over the synod.—Venema, vol. v. p. 199; see also Baronius, vol. ix. p. 394; Baronius, vol. iii. p. 3.

The struggle for precedency between the eastern see of Constantinople, and the see of Rome, was severely contested about this time, and it continued to increase in violence on the part of Rome, as the progress of the Saracens was weakening the eastern empire. Gregory II. had some time before excommunicated the Emperor Leo, and deprived him of the allegiance of his subjects in Italy and the West, on which subject Baronius seizes the opportunity of recording what has ever since remained a maxim of the Roman Church—*Gregorius reliquit exemplum, ne in Ecclesiâ Christi regnare sinecentur heretici principes.* (vol. ix. p. 99.) The

images, were received; but their admission again into their former places postponed until they had reduced their con-

contention, therefore, about precedency in the second Council of Nice, as found in the several writers, arose from the desire to give Rome the preference; though there is abundant evidence of Tarasius having presided, according to usage, in his own city.

³ According to Caranza, the council was called against those who opposed images in the churches, and who cast them out—"celebrata contra eos qui imagines in Ecclesiis damnant et ejiciunt." p. 676.

"Adversus eos qui Imaginum hostes, seu Christianorum accusatores erant."—Balsamon apud Howell, vol. i. p. 47.

Sancti namque Patres adversus imaginum impugnatōres convenerunt principis jussu.—Baronius, vol. ix. p. 409.

The emperor summoned this council because he was angry at the decision of one which had met in the year 754, by which images were forbidden to be retained in churches.—Binusius, vol. iii. pp. 4. 96.

Not so much, say Venema and Du Pin, to investigate truth, as to confirm the worship of images.—Venema, vol. v. p. 200; Du Pin, vol. vi. p. 134.

The first Bishop of Rome who took up the cause of image-worship in a peremptory manner, was a Syrian who took the name of Constantine, and who preceded Gregory II. He set the first example of reducing the secular sovereigns below the pontifical power, by the deposition of the emperor Philippicus, in consequence of his having commanded images to be taken down in the churches of the empire; and his successor, Gregory II., acted up to the same despotic spirit in his conduct to Leo III.

⁴ In the first session, held in the church of St. Sophia, after declaring the cause for which the synod was summoned, the letter of the empress Irene and the emperor was read, by which their consent was given to the assembling of the fathers.

The second session was opened by the reading of Pope Adrian's letter to Irene and Constantine, in which he elaborately defends image-worship; and in Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea presenting himself, confessing his error in having been before an opponent of image-worship.

In the third session, after much objection, Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea was admitted a member of the council, upon reading a retractation of his former faith, and his profession in favour of the worship of images. The former council, A.D. 754, which forbade images, was then rejected.

The fourth sitting was devoted to extracting authorities from Scripture and the Fathers which favoured image-worship. After which, Euthymius, Bishop of Sardis, in the name of the council, read a profession of faith, including, with the articles concerning the Trinity, praying to saints, to crosses, to relics of saints, and to their venerable images; and closing the action of the day by a laudatory address in honour of images and relics.

Session V. Several anathemas were passed against Iconoclasts, who were represented as having done the same work of heresy which Nebuchadnezzar had committed in taking away the Cherubim from the mercy-seat; and after citing some other instances of sacrileges, the bishops commanded images to be restored, and some to be brought into the church in which they were assembled, that they might honour them.

Session VI. Some further acts of the former council held against images were condemned, particularly that in which it had assumed the title of *The Seventh Holy General Council*, which it was contended was contrary to the usual law of councils, since it had been disapproved of by the Bishop of Rome, and numerous other bishops, many of whom had anathematized it.

Session VII. It was defined what sort of homage should be paid to images, that they may be kissed and revered, that incense and wax-candles may be burnt before them, and that it is to be believed that the worship paid to them passeth to the object they represent.

In the Greek editions of this council, by Anastasius the library keeper, it is said that the twenty-two canons were passed at the seventh action or session of the members; and that an eighth session was held in Constantinople after leaving Nice. The acts of the synod,

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

fessions to writing, and given proofs of sincere penitence. A discussion arose whether they should be received or not? It was at length determined that they should be⁵.

II. The bishops bring their written confessions. Hadrian's letter to Constantine and Irene read, in which he defends the worship of images; and hints that the Roman Church had the tradition from St. Peter. This letter is approved by the whole synod.

III. Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea, openly condemns his error in having signed the former decrees, and declares that he believes images ought to be venerated. The Oriental bishops do the same, and are admitted into their former dignities. The first six general councils received. The letters of Tarasius and the answers read. The Council of 754 condemned, and anathema pronounced, signed by 318 bishops.

IV. V. Passages from the Scriptures and the writings of the fathers, adduced in proof of the truth of the opinion that images ought to be worshipped.

VI. The decrees of the former Council at Constantinople on the same subject discussed one by one, and declared to be refuted. Decided that the worship designated *Latria*, is not to be given to images, that belonging only to God and Christ.

VII. The decrees of the first six councils approved. A symbol of faith composed. All heretics whatever anathematized. The worship of images solemnly decreed; and those who do not receive this decision anathematized. The worship prescribed is external, such as prostration of the body, incense, burning of lights, kissing and veneration, but not adoration.

and testimonies in behalf of images, having there been read before the emperor and empress, the lords and the people, the great lords and the people received them with acclamations again and again repeated.

The acts of the council being brought to Rome, were there copied and sent to Charlemagne, who appointed a board of bishops to examine them, by whom a treatise was composed to vindicate their own Church in the rejection of images; and to refute the proofs alleged by the Council of Nice in favour of

their new creed, and mode of worship. The chief of this episcopal commission was Alcuin, of York, then the tutor of Charlemagne, who was most probably the author of the Caroline Books. See Du Pin, vol. vi. pp. 134-140; Venema, vol. v. pp. 200, 201; Van Espen, vol. iii. pp. 418-427; Baronius, vol. ix. pp. 394-407; Binius, vol. iii. pp. 1-104; Cent. Magd., vol. viii. pp. 590-610; Cave, vol. i. pp. 310, 311; Labbe, vol. viii. pp. 39-590.

⁵ Labb. Concil. vii. 99.

VIII. Seems to have been a meeting for the purpose of receiving the ratification of the emperor, and sending synodical letters. Twenty-two canons were also issued.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

I. Confirms the ancient decrees and anathemas of councils, with the other penalties of deposition and suspension.

II. That none be ordained bishop without being examined whether he knows the Psalter, the Gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the canons; and if he be competent to instruct the people in their duty to God and their neighbour.

III. Elections of bishops made by princes null, but to be made by bishops.

IV. V. Against taking money to excommunicate, and against simony.

VI. Renews the fifth canon of Nice for holding synods, provincial and diocesan, twice a year.

VII. Orders relics to be introduced into churches.

VIII. Forbids admission or baptism to Jews unless they were sincere in their conversion.

IX. X. Orders worship of images. That clerks be not admitted into churches without the assent of the bishop.

XI. That stewards be placed over churches and monasteries.

XII. Forbids the goods of monasteries to be given away, or sold, improperly.

XIII. XIV. XV. Relate to the ordering and repairing of monasteries.

XVI. Relates to the vestments of bishops and other ecclesiastics.

XVII. Forbids the building of chapels, &c. without sufficient funds.

XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. Relate to the internal economy of monasteries, and the conduct of the inmates.

Not a word is mentioned of the superiority of the Bishop of Rome over other bishops.

In this council the legates of the pope were treated as chief personages, though Tarasius, by the empress's will, undertook the conducting of the different sessions. He had been raised from the laity to the patriarchal dignity, contrary to all rule and precedent, for the sole purpose, as before intimated, of supporting her views. She was desirous of re-

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.

taining power in Italy; and the Bishop of Rome having taken such a strong and formidable position, her policy was to conciliate him by all means in her power, so as to secure as far as possible his co-operation. She, therefore, paid him the respect of naming him president of the council, under the appellation of the *first bishop of the world*. He was written to by the synod, and signed the decrees and canons, although they conveyed no greater authority to him over other prelates than he had before; but the empress's admission, prompted by her ambitious designs, was a sufficient basis for further encroachment when opportunity offered.

CHAPTER III.

The Power of the Popes, with the circumstances which contributed to the success of their progressive usurpations, from the Second Council of Nice in 787, to the Fourth Council of Constantinople in 869.

THE pontificate of Hadrian continued eight years after the Second Council of Nice¹. *Ever intent on enlarging the authority of his see, Hadrian still further increased its power, at this time, by availing himself of the continued friendship of Charles.* In the year 787, Arichis, Duke of Beneventum, organized a conspiracy with the Greeks, and with certain Lombard princes, to banish the French from Italy. Charles became acquainted at an early period with the intrigue, and hastened for the third time to Rome. The Duke of Beneventum, finding his design discovered, sent his son Romald, or Romuald, on an embassy to Rome, with ample presents and many promises of implied submission for the future. Charles was disposed to believe and to forgive. Hadrian is said to have diverted him from his purpose, and to have persuaded him to revenge the conduct of Arichis by laying waste the dukedom. Many cities were taken, and Beneventum itself was only spared on condition that Grimoald, another son of the duke, with many of the nobles, should be delivered up as hostages². Of the cities thus taken, Charles surrendered Aquinum, Alpinum, Capua, and, if credit may be given to the letters of Hadrian, several other cities in Tuscan Lombardy, to the Bishop of Rome. Capua, however, with some cities in Campania, were restored to Grimoald, who had consented, and was faithful to his engagement, to repel every attempt made by the Greeks to

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

¹ I have inserted a tabular view of the Second Council of Nice, though its decrees were not received in the West; and though it is not universally considered a general council.

² Baronius, ann. 787.

BOOK III.
 CHAP. III.

drive out the French from Italy. Though the pope thus lost Capua, and some of the cities he had obtained, for a time, yet the authority of his see over the churches of the West was strengthened by the very loss itself; for these cities were but the price of the treaty by which Grimoald opposed Irene on behalf of Charles, and the young emperor of the West. Their union would have been the weakness, their disunion was the strength, of the pontificate³.

Though Charles was incessantly engaged in war, he devoted much attention to religion. Hadrian, about this time, transmitted to him the acts of the Second Council of Nice. On perusing them, Charles expressed much astonishment at the ignorance of the Greeks, at their proceedings in making image-worship an article of the Christian faith, and condemning all who did not worship them. He himself undertook the confutation of the council and its doctrines, in a work comprising one hundred and twenty heads of accusation, which are comprised in four parts, called "the Caroline Books," published in the year 790⁴. His work severely reprehends the conduct of the synod; and it no less sharply rebukes the empress, the primate Tarasius, and other individual members for their blasphemously imputing to the holy apostles, a practice repugnant to the sacred Scriptures. Hadrian undertook to answer the Caroline Books, and to defend the proceedings of the council; but the Gallican bishops in a council subsequently held at Paris, pronounced his answer to certain things *quite absurd, incongruous, and deserving of censure*, in which judgment Du Pin agrees. At this time, however, religion was politics; Hadrian took care, therefore, to assure Charlemagne, in his preface, that though he defended the synod "for the sake of maintaining the practice and traditions of the Roman Church," yet he was not on terms of friendship with the emperor, "though he might," he says, "approve his conduct with

³ See Art. de Vérif. les Dates, iii. 766.

⁴ The imperial book was printed in 1549, 8vo (without name of place or printer), under the following title, "Opus industrissimi viri Caroli Magni contra synodum que in partibus Græciæ pro adorandis imaginibus

stolide sive arroganter gesta est." It also finds a place in the collection of Goldastus, entitled, "Imperialia decreta de cultu imaginum in utroque imperio, tam orientis quam occidentis, promulgata," p. 67, 8vo, Franc. 1608; see also Cave, Hist. Lit., i. 634.

respect to images." The decrees of this council were opposed throughout England as well as France.

Hadrian died December 25th, 795⁵, having presided over the see of Rome nearly twenty-four years. Charles ordered prayers to be offered for the peace of his soul, through all parts of his own extensive dominions. He sent also liberal presents with a letter to Offa, King of Mercia, requesting that the same requiem might be performed throughout the British Churches. In this letter he expressed his great affection and friendship for the deceased pontiff. It was during the episcopate of Hadrian that Offa had undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome to atone for the crime of having treacherously murdered Ethelbert, King of the East Angles. All those acts of deference, affection, or goodwill on the part of these temporal sovereigns of Europe, became the precedents for similar tokens of respect and distinction being required by future popes from successive rulers of the same countries. *These proofs of respect were subsequently interpreted to be acts of homage; and every act of royal courtesy served to strengthen the claims of the see of Rome.*

From the death of Hadrian to the next œcumenical Council, a period of seventy-four years elapsed, in which time twelve popes successively presided over the see of Rome, all of whom increased the power of their see.

XCVII. *Leo III., died 816.*

The next day after the death of Hadrian, Leo was elected pope⁶, and ordained on the following. He immediately wrote to Charles, and sent *the keys* with the standard of the city of Rome, desiring him to dispatch a lord of his court to Rome, to receive in the name of the Roman people his oath of allegiance. He thus intimated that the emperor was no longer their liege lord and sovereign, but that their obedience was transferred to Charles⁷. When two powerful rulers are united, the power of each is increased. Charles, in return for *this first bold act by which the Bishop of Rome openly disclaimed subjection to his ancient sovereign*, expressed great

⁵ Pagi, A.D. 795, § 1.

⁶ Baron, A.D. 795, § 40.

⁷ Ep. Alcuini, No. lxxxiv., edit.

Quercit. ; Marca, De Concordia, iii. ii.
§ 9 ; Cointii Annal. ad an. § 26.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

satisfaction at the homage and fidelity professed by Leo. He immediately remitted to Rome vast treasures and presents—the spoils of Ringa and other cities of the Huns, who were now totally subdued. This wealth Leo employed in beautifying and enriching the churches of Rome, and in building the magnificent banqueting room in the Lateran—the *Aula*, or *Basilica Leonina*⁸.

The authority and power of the see of Rome were increased by three events in the time of Leo, all of which are dwelt upon with much eulogy by those who assert the supremacy of the see of Rome over the churches and sovereigns of the earth. They were these—the mission of Kenulph, King of Mercia, in the year 796; the crowning of Charles, and saluting of him as *The Great*, and emperor of the Romans; and the restoration of Eardulf, after his deposition by his subjects, to the kingdom of Northumberland.

In 796, Kenulf, King of Mercia, sent an abbot to Rome to congratulate Leo on his accession to the dignity of the apostolic see. He commanded his ambassador to entreat the pope to restore the metropolitan see of Canterbury to its ancient jurisdiction, which Offa, the late King of Mercia, had greatly dismembered, by withdrawing from it certain dioceses; and by causing their bishops to acknowledge the Bishop of Lichfield, for whom he had obtained a pall from Hadrian, as their archbishop. This misunderstanding, which was likely to cause a schism among the prelates of England, was satisfactorily ended by Leo acceding to the request of Kenulf⁹.

In 799, Paschalis and Campulus, two nephews of the former pope Hadrian, used Leo with great violence. He repaired to Charlemagne to solicit his protection. At the same time Grimoald, Duke of Benevento, to whom Charlemagne had restored his territory on the death of his father, had allied himself with the Greek forces, with a design to recover Italy from the French. These disorders caused Charles once more to proceed to Rome. The two conspirators against the pope were sentenced to banishment, and the peace of the country was restored.

The circumstance now occurred by which the pontificate

⁸ Pagi, A.D. 796, § 7, 8.

Anglo-Saxons, translated by Thorpe,

⁹ See Lappenberg's Hist. of the i. 239.

of Leo was rendered as memorable as any which had preceded it. On Christmas-day in the year 800, before a full assemblage of the clergy and nobles of Rome, in the grand Basilica of the Lateran, the pope, by his own authority alone, placed a brilliant crown on the head of the king, who was saluted by the people of Rome as their emperor, by the title of Charles Augustus, Emperor of the Romans¹. The holy unction was then received by both Charles and his son; and *Baronius and Bellarmine both allege this act to be indisputable proof of the supreme and unlimited power of popes, over all the princes and kingdoms of the earth.* It was in this instance, as in nearly all the other events which united to strengthen the dominion eventually claimed by Rome, that the act of power exercised by the pope was the result of the circumstances of the day; and not the declaration of any abstract right. The claim to supremacy followed the isolated, though ultimately, numerous acts of authority, and did not precede them. Where sovereignty is granted by the people, or obtained by military conquest, the claim to rule precedes the deeds of tyranny: where sovereignty is slowly and gradually usurped, all is mildness and assumed gentleness, till the mask may be thrown aside, and the chains of despotism be rivetted. Gratitude to Charles for his protection, the consciousness of safety from the resentment of his Greek sovereign, with the undefined and undefinable dignity of the spiritual headship, founded on the submission of so many churches and cities to the ecclesiastical usurpation of the pontiffs; were sufficient to justify the aspiring bishop to crown the successful protector of his person, his see, and his possessions.

The next great act of power recorded of this pope is the restoration of Eardulf, King of Northumbria, who had been deposed and expelled his kingdom by his subjects in the year 808. The account is given by Eginhard, secretary to Charlemagne. "The King of the Northumbrians," he tells us, "by name Eardulf, being driven from his kingdom and country, came from the island of Britain to the emperor, and having acquainted him with the affair he came upon, goes to Rome, and is restored to his kingdom by the legates of the pope, and our lord the emperor." Baronius informs

¹ Baron. ad an. § 3, seqq. Pagi, ad an. § 8, seqq.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

us, that the emperor being conscious of his own want of authority to restore Eardulf, but knowing also that the pope possessed this power, sent the deposed prince to Rome, to be by him restored to his kingdom and dignity. This strenuous advocate of the justice of the claims of the papacy to dominion over the churches of God, requests us to observe, from this history, the great regard which the English paid to the pope. It is, however, very uncertain whether the Northumbrians paid any regard whatever, on this occasion, to the united request or direction of the pope and of Charlemagne. It seems, indeed, much more probable that they convinced the papal legates, that it was beyond the authority of both emperor and the pope, to interfere in ordering the affairs of their kingdom. Had the restoration of Eardulf been actually effected by the joint mandate of Leo and Charlemagne, some one of our historians would have noticed the transaction. None of them have done so. Matthew of Westminster, on the contrary, affirms that Alwold, who drove Eardulf from the Northumbrian throne, died after a reign of two years, and was succeeded by Eandred, who reigned thirty-two years². The chronicle of Mailros states, that after the expulsion of Eardulf, Northumberland continued many years without a king; and William of Malmesbury and Harpsfield say, that the kingdom of Northumberland continued involved in the utmost confusion and anarchy from the murder of Ethelred in 794 to the year 827, when it became subject to Egbert³. These evidences seem to signify that the interference of the pope and emperor did not influence the English people, though *the usurpation was a precedent for future efforts.*

XCVIII. *Stephen IV., died 817.*

Two years before the death of Leo III., Lewis le Debonnair succeeded his father Charlemagne as emperor of the West⁴. The first act of Stephen IV. was to require from all

² Matth. Westm. Flores Hist. Angl. p. 152.

³ Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 1, c. iii.; Harpsf. Hist. Eccl. sæc. viii. c. 21. An examination of the genealogical tables of the kings of Bernicia

and Deira appended to Lappenberg's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, shows that the story is of a very dubious character.

⁴ See Pagi, A.D. 814, § 26.

Romans an oath of obedience to this emperor. The pope set out immediately afterwards to France in order to confer with him personally. *Lewis did homage to his holiness by meeting him on the road, dismounting from his horse, and falling prostrate three times before him.* The pope then dismounted, and after raising the emperor from the earth, thanked the Almighty for being granted to embrace a second King David. On the Sunday following he crowned the emperor and empress at Rheims with magnificent diadems of gold, enriched with jewels which he had taken with him from Rome. The emperor in return lavished presents of great value on the pope; and bestowed on St. Peter, says the annalist, a village on the borders of France, to be for ever enjoyed by his successors⁵. These events strengthened the influence of the pope over France, at that time the most powerful state in Europe. Stephen died suddenly, after presiding only seven months over the see of Rome.

XCIX. *Paschal, died 824.*

In 822 Lothaire was made King of Italy. In the year following he was crowned at Rome by Paschal, with the greatest solemnity on Easter day, at the tomb of St. Peter, and received with the title of Augustus. *Paschal assumed the right of conferring on the emperor the same power over the Romans, and the city of Rome, which had been exercised by the ancient emperors.*

C. *Eugenius II., died 827.*

The power of the popes increased like that of the ocean when encroaching on the land. Slowly and imperceptibly advancing, it defies the attempt to mark accurately its exact encroachment at any one moment of its progress. We know its restlessness; but we only then perceive the demonstration of its might when we see the removal of landmarks; and the substitution of barren sand, shells, and sea-weed, for the rich foliage and pleasant field. Eugenius seemed to have lessened the power of his see by the circumstances which followed his

⁵ See Pagi, ad an. § 8, and the passages there given from Theganus and Eginhard.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

election. Hadrian had conferred on Charlemagne, in gratitude to him for protection and rich endowments, the right which had been claimed by Odoacer in 483, of confirming the election of the popes. He exercised the supreme authority, either by himself or his delegates. He received homage from the Bishops of Rome. They were subjected to his sceptre. The very possessions they obtained from him were justly considered to have been granted only in feudal ownership. The civil dissensions of France weakened the power of the sovereign. The unanimity, the superstition, the ignorance of the people of Italy—the talents of the popes—the decline of the Eastern empire, strengthened the temporal as well as religious (for it was more than ecclesiastical) power of the Bishops of Rome. The popes, however, did not avowedly throw off their feudal obedience to the successors of Charlemagne. They endeavoured only to evade compliance with the terms of their own treaties; and, as usual, they eventually succeeded, though in many cases they failed in the attempt⁶. Paschal, the predecessor of Eugenius II., had dispensed with the confirmation of his election by the emperor. Eugenius attempted to follow his example. Lothaire refused to submit to the evasion, and came to Rome to exact the usual homage. He published a constitution which acknowledged the authority of the pope in subordination to that of the emperor; and decreed the right of appeal from the pontifical to the imperial tribunals⁷. He exacted, also, an oath from the Romans to be faithful to himself and his successors; *but he consented to a clause of reservation, which it was soon found neutralized all his precautions. Obedience was pledged to the emperor, saving the faith promised to the pope.* Though Eugenius, as it is said, concurred with the demands of the emperor, the mere circumstance that the son of the emperor was compelled to appear in Rome to enforce submission, was only another proof of the increasing power of the popes.

The pontificate of Eugenius is, however, more peculiarly

⁶ The history of the demands of the kings of France to govern Rome, and the pontiffs, and to confirm the elections of popes, the evasions of their demands, the partial compliances, and the eventual exemption of the popes

from all acknowledgment of a superior in ecclesiastical elections, may be read in the works of De Marca and Baronsius.

⁷ Ap. Pagi, ad an. 824, § 3.

memorable than any other of the long train of ecclesiastical rulers. *In this pontificate the first instance was given of resistance by the pope to the wish of the Universal Church; and in this pontificate, also, began that resistance to the authority of the see of Rome,* which, though for a time overpowered, and apparently subdued by severe and unrelenting persecution, may be said, in its consequences, to have ended in the Reformation; and which will still proceed till it has accomplished the overthrow of popery, the restoration of the see of Rome to its ancient Catholic purity, and the general unity of Christians, as the long predicted one fold under one shepherd.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

The worship, and even the bowing down before images, as inducing the mind to rest on the external rather than on the spiritual, on the visible rather than the invisible, and thus defeating the great design of revelation, is expressly forbidden in the Scriptures. The churches, therefore, and their more pious members, were deeply offended by the attempt to compel submission to this wicked innovation on the Catholic faith. In the pontificate of Eugenius, the last and greatest effort was made by the Universal Church to procure the rescinding of the decrees which enforced this practice. Ambassadors were sent from Michael, Emperor of the East, to the emperor Lewis and the pope, to propose that a synod should be assembled in France. The proposal met the approbation of Lewis, and a council was consequently summoned to meet in Paris in 825. By this council it was decided, that "the images were not to be broken nor cast out of the churches; but they were not to be served, nor worshipped." Bishops were sent from this council to Eugenius, together with a letter from Lewis to entreat his compliance with the decision of the Gallican bishops. The pope, however, refused to comply with the conclusions of the council. He would listen to no terms of compromise. The worshippers of images had refused to assist at the council⁸. The pope opposed his own obstinacy to the will of England and France, to the whole of the churches of the East, to the

⁸ Nec inter suos familiariter de his disputare quæ spectant ad fidem Catholicam, et ecclesiasticam disciplinam, nisi impetrata ab ipso Romano Pontifice licentia, et impertita ab ipso auctoritate.—Baron. *Annal.* an. 824, vol. ix. p. 743.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

letters of the emperors, and to the most respectful remonstrances of the Gallican bishops; and it thus became evident from that day to the present, that union could only be preserved with Rome at the expense of submission to unscriptural decrees.

At this period flourished Claude, the celebrated Bishop of Turin. He had been promoted to the government of that see about the year 819⁹, by the emperor Lewis. He was probably present at the Council of Paris which condemned the worship of images, as most of the bishops of France and Germany were there; and among them Agobard, the Bishop of Lyons, and Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, who was one of the deputation employed in conveying to the pope the decisions of the council, and with both of whom Claude must have been well acquainted. The diocese of Turin consisted of two parts, the city of Turin and the adjacent territory; and that part of the valleys of the Cottian Alps which were occupied by the Valdenses, whose ancestors had probably left Italy for Piedmont before the incursions of the Teutonic tribes, prior to the breaking up of the Roman empire, under the persecutions of the third and fourth centuries, which extended from Aurelius to Decius and Dioclesian¹. Turin and its dependencies were devoted to the worship of images. The other portion of his diocese which had preserved the purer and simpler faith of the Catholic Church from the earliest antiquity of the apostolic age, to which they are traceable, and whose faith had been confirmed and established by Vigilantius, the antagonist of Jerome², were encouraged in their resistance to the decisions of Eugenius by their diocesan. The purer faith of this age is demonstrated from

⁹ See Cave's *Historia Litteraria*, vol. ii. p. 16, col. 2. The general date is 817. Cave does not speak decidedly. Circa ann. 819, a Ludovico Imp. ad *Ecclesie Taurinensis præsulatum* promovebatur. A valuable account of Claude, with a critical disquisition respecting his writings, is given by Maillon in his *Vetera Analecta*.

¹ I must beg the reader to refer to the admirable work of the deeply learned Faber, the ornament of the present age, for satisfaction on the subject of the Valdenses; and still more to the labours of my excellent friend

Dr. Gilly, my brother at Durham, and my early and dear associate.

² Vigilantius was a native of Lyons in Aquitaine, and is shown by Mr. Faber to have been the originator of the term Leonists, by which the people of the valleys were known. A volume entitled "The Life and Times of Vigilantius," has lately been published by Dr. Gilly, in which the few particulars which have been preserved respecting that individual, are collected and examined with great care and skill by the author.

the still remaining works of Claude of Turin. They might have been appealed to upon all the great points of our religion, such as justification by faith, and other important truths of the pure faith of Christianity, by a Lutheran, or a member of the Church of England³. The Christian religion ever teaches the same doctrines. It does not change to please either zealots, reformers, or usurping pontiffs. All have their faults, and the inspired teachers alone are perfect. Yet the one uniform truth of the faith of Christianity, both in doctrine and discipline, was maintained by the Waldenses. The Church in the wilderness was preserved. The promise of Christ that a visible permanent Church should be preserved, as a witness of the truth, was fulfilled in their instance. Errors they had⁴; but the errors of the Church of Rome were heresies, theirs did not affect the essentials of the Christian religion; and the Church of the Cottian Alps resisted the progressing corruptions of the Church of Rome, and defied its power till it conquered by patience under tribulation, and by the endurance of the most severe persecutions which ever afflicted a society of Christians.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

CI. *Valentine, died 827.*

Among the honours paid to the Pontifex Maximus at Rome, one was the saluting of the imperial slipper. Gratian resigned the title. The power which it implied was assumed by the Bishops of Rome long before they assumed the title. *Valentine revived the custom of saluting the slipper as the general token of homage.* Gorgeous ceremonies at courts imply strength or weakness, according to the circumstances of the hour. The magnificence of the Greek emperors is well shown by Gibbon to have been but the disguise of the latter. *At this time the ceremony of inthronization was first introduced at the installation of a pope;* and the homage of the attendant senate, nobility, and clergy was paid in the form of prostration, and salutation of the slipper, amidst the acclamations of the people. In the present instance these ceremonies denoted increasing power.

³ See the extracts in Mr. Faber's work on the Vallenses and Albigenses. ⁴ See the conclusion of Mr. Faber's work.

CII. *Gregory IV., died 844*⁵.

The adoption by this pontiff of the cause of the rebellious sons of Louis le Debonnaire, is said to have caused the failure of the attempt made by their father, to crush the treason. The power of the Bishops of France at this time, was shown by the condemnation to public ignominious penance, of the emperor Lewis. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, commanded his sovereign to make a public recitation of his crimes, among which were, the marching of his troops in Lent, and the convocation of a parliament on Ascension-day. The monarch submitted to the sentence, and refused to receive the homage of the nobles till he had been canonically absolved. The pope claimed to be superior to the very bishops by whom these penances were appointed. *Baronius affirms that Lewis regained his throne by the pope's authority.* Bossuet discusses the question in his defence of the liberties of the Gallican Church.

CIII. *Sergius II., died 847.*

Sergius was ordained on the day of his election. This was resented by Lotharius, who had now succeeded his father, Louis le Debonnaire, in the throne of the empire. He resumed the right of the crown, which claimed to confirm the election of a pope before his ordination. He probably desired to humble the pontifical power, which had shaken the throne in the preceding reign. His son was, therefore, sent with an army to chastise this insubmission to his authority. The young prince, attended by many bishops and persons of distinction, advanced within nine miles of Rome, giving up the country through which he passed to the pillage of his soldiers. On being met by the nobles and magistracy of Rome, he was conducted to the pope, who welcomed him to the Vatican. He was led to the door of the church, and there met by his holiness, who ordered the door to be closed. The prince was then informed that he would not be permitted to enter unless he gave assurance that *he came as a friend and for the good of the state.* The reply being satis-

⁵ Baronius, following several ancient historians, supposes that he died A.D. 843; but that the true date is as above stated, is clearly shown by Pagi, A.D. 843, § 5, 6.

factory to the pope, the doors were re-opened; the royal retinue was admitted; the election of Sergius was ratified; and it was required only that the electors should act more regularly for the future. Previously to leaving Rome, the prince was crowned, and anointed with great pomp, as King of the Lombards. Many Bishops of Italy thought this a favourable opportunity for laying complaints before the king, respecting the many acts of tyranny exercised by the popes over them and their sees. A council was consequently summoned, at which Sergius was cited to appear, who, according to Anastasius, answered the complaints against him with so much wisdom and prudence, as to confound and silence his opponents⁶. Before the councils were dismissed, Drogo, Bishop of Metz, a son of Charles the Great, moved that an oath of allegiance to the young king, Louis, should be taken by the pope and the Roman nobility. This Sergius very sternly opposed, declaring that he would neither take the oath, nor suffer the Romans to do so. It was at length agreed that they should take an oath of allegiance to the Emperor Lotharius, which acknowledged him their liege lord, while it denied to the King of Italy all power over them, except in the emperor's name⁷.

Observing the sway which Drogo had obtained in the church, as well as the estimation in which he was held by the emperor, *Sergius appointed him Vicar of St. Peter, over all the churches of France and Germany*. The Bishop of Metz, however, knowing the jealousy of the Gallican bishops of the papal encroachments, exercised no authority over them or their churches in consequence of his appointment⁸. Louis renewed, while in Italy, the imperial edict which required that the election of the pope should be confirmed by the emperor before ordination. Near the end of the pontificate of Sergius, the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the suburbs of Rome, were plundered by the Saracens, who entered the Tiber with a fleet, and carried off many prisoners, and much treasure; but neither this calamity, nor the firmness of the emperor, materially lessened the power of the pontiff.

⁶ Anastas. in Vit. Sergii II. ap. Labb. Concil. viii. 1793.

⁷ See Anastas. apud Baron. A.D. 844, § 9. Pagi, ad an. § 5.

⁸ The letters from Sergius to the

bishops of Gaul and Germany, by which he conferred this dignity upon Drogo, are given by Sirmond, and from him by Pagi, A.D. 844, § 7.

Leo increased the influence of his see by the great veneration which was paid to his private character. He fortified Rome, built that part which is called *the Leonine city*, and laboured eight years for its general prosperity. The son of the emperor having been created King of Lombardy, came to Rome to receive the pontifical sanction to his appointment; though the pope had been compelled to wait two months for the imperial sanction to his own election to the pontificate. *Rome was now the general refuge of the scanty literature of the age.* In the year 853⁹, Alfred, afterwards King of England, when only four years old, was sent from England by his father Ethelwolf, to be educated under the superintendance of Leo. Happy would it have been for mankind if the continuance of this union had been possible.

*Leo demonstrated the power of his see by becoming the first to date his ecclesiastical decrees, and the decisions of a council, from the year of his pontificate, instead of dating them from the year of Christ*¹. Anastasius, Bishop of Aquileia, was deposed by a council after he had been excommunicated by the pope. He declared that the pope had no authority over him or his see. The council is said to have been held in the seventh year of the most holy and universal Pope Leo. *The precedent of assuming a regal prerogative was set, and it was never laid aside.* The bishops of the Church of England, in conformity with an act which soon became an universal or very general custom, adopt the same mode of speaking in legal instruments to the present day.

⁹ Pagi, ad an. § 26. Sim. Dunelm. col. 120 and 139; Ethelr. Rivall. col. 359, ap. Twisd. Decem Script.

¹ One of the most celebrated decrees of this pope respected the number of witnesses necessary to convict a bishop of crime. So little dependance, however, can be placed upon the traditional documents relating to this period, that the several copies of the letter to the bishops of Britain in which this decree is contained, differ from each other in the sanctions on which the decree is founded. Leo ordained that no sentence of condemnation be passed on a bishop, unless in the presence of twelve of his brethren, and on the evidence of seventy-two approvable ("idoneos testes") wit-

nesses, who shall swear to the truth of their charges on the Holy Evangelists. In the common copies of this decree, these words follow—Sicut nobis B. Sylvester tradidit et R. S. tenere videtur ecclesia. This expression is not to be found in the Roman edition, nor in the MS. of the Vatican. The decree, therefore, depends for its authority on the sanction of the will of Pope Leo alone. The decree, however, is to be found in the Canon Law, 2 q. 4. It further ordains, that if any bishop, even so accused, shall plead his cause in person at Rome, none shall presume to pass sentence upon him.—See Labb. Concil. viii. 31, and Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 264.

CV. Benedict III.², died 858.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

The power of the see of Rome was increased by the firmness of the electors of Benedict, who persisted to reject his rival

² I proceed at once from Leo IV. to Benedict III. I do not insert in the list of popes the celebrated Pope Joan, because the existence of such a person does not rest upon any contemporary evidence, but only on the authority of a mutilated MS. of an author who lived two centuries after this period. Some useful lessons, however, may be derived to the students of history from a brief consideration of the circumstances connected with the possible origin, long reception, and eventual rejection of the strange story. The history of Pope Joan may be briefly told.

In the year 746, Winfrid, the venerable apostle of the North, laid the foundation of the great Abbey of Fulda, or Fulden, which long continued to be the most renowned seminary of learning in Germany. In this monastery, it is said, a young woman became a student, disguising her sex, being passionately attached to an Englishman, an inmate of the monastery. In company with her friend, she is further said to have studied in several universities, and finally to have settled at Athens. She left Athens after the death of her companion, and proceeded to Rome, where her great merits, as displayed in public lectures, especially on theology, and her learned disputations, elevated her to the pontifical chair. During a solemn procession on her way to the Lateran, in the public street, near the Church of St. Clement, she died suddenly after giving birth to a child; since which time very peculiar precautions are taken to prevent the occurrence of such a scandal; and certain monuments which commemorated the event, have been not long removed from public observation at Rome.

Such is the story. It obtained

credit through five centuries from the time it was first published to the world by Marianus Scotus, a monk of Fulda*, about the year 1083, to the time when it was questioned by Onuphrius Panvinius about 1566, in his notes to Platina†, who however credited the narrative, and dedicated his book to Pope Pius V.

I shall only observe that the history is not supported by any contemporary writers, and it is principally on this very satisfactory ground that Bayle‡, Blondel, and Panvinius, with their protestant successors, have rejected it. Lupus Ferrariensis, Ep. 103, to Benedict III.; Odo, in his Chronicle; Regino, in his Chronicle; the Annals of St. Bertin; Hincmar, Ep. 26, to Pope Nicholas I.; Photius, lib. de process. Spiritus Sancti (a bold impugner of papal tyranny, traditions, image-service, and delusions), and Metrophanes of Syria, lib. de divinitate Spirit. Sanct., were all contemporary writers of this period. They omit all allusion to the story, and declare that Benedict III. succeeded Leo IV. On the authority of the contemporary omitters of the story, all later writers, with few exceptions, have regarded it as a fable. No author has pretended to assign a probable cause for the story. I think it not impossible that Marianus Scotus may have imagined that it reflected honour on the monastery of Fulda, and therefore he invented it, or received it from the traditions of his brother monks. From Marianns it was copied into the Chronicle of Martinus Strempus Polonus, the Dominican, in 1277, though it is wanting in many MSS. of these authors. The account was foisted into Sigebert's Chronicle, written in 1112, for it is not found in the original

* Cave's Hist. Litteraria, vol. ii. p. 144.

† See the notes to the account of Pope John VIII., the name given to the traditionary Pope Joan, by Platina. I refer to the 4to edition of

Platina, printed at Cologne, p. 134, where Onuphrius Panvinius' arguments are given at length.

‡ Articles — Papesse — Polonus — Blondel.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

Anastasius, the deposed and excommunicated Bishop of Aquileia. Anastasius was supported by the envoys from the emperor and a strong party of the people, who conducted him to the Lateran palace, where, having placed him on the

copy of that work at Gemblours⁴. From these obscure sources it was handed down from author to author⁵.

The possible origin, long reception, and eventual rejection of this narrative prove to us the facility with which histories and events may have been forged and interpolated at this time—the invalidity of the defence of historical circumstances on accumulative evidence, the candour of Protestant writers, who are not anxious to res their opposition to the Church of Rome on any other foundation than that of truth; and the undoubted wisdom of a course opposite to that which has been too generally adopted by the Church of Rome. The advocates of that Church have too frequently defended every opinion or tradition which has been received through many ages by their Church. The long reception of a proposition, however disputable or questionable, has been generally considered as a sufficient reason for retaining it against all arguments. Let them learn from the History of Pope Joan, that they may sometimes wisely question the truth of allegations which are defended by a long train of honourable, learned, orthodox, pious, zealous defenders of their Church. They may believe that eminent historians, archbishops, bishops, and other writers worthy of every respect (such are those who have affirmed the truth

of the narrative of Pope Joan), may still have been in error on other disputable subjects. If they will receive those propositions only which rest on satisfactory evidence, instead of a supposed infallible traditionary authority, many opinions might be rejected, and a solid foundation be laid for union on the basis of truth.

The question relating to the supposed statue of Joan, the causes of its removal, and the story of the precautions which have been adopted by the electors of the pontiffs, to prevent the occurrence of a similar event, may be seen in the authors to whom I have already referred. I would add to them Pagi's Notes on Baronius. The explanation given by Mabillon of the *Sedes Stercoraria* is this—that in a part of the election of the popes, he was taken to a perforated porphyry chair, and then raised from it to continue the procession. The words were then uttered from the psalm—"suscitat de pulvere egenum, et de stercore erigit pauperem." The chair hence obtained its ignoble appellation. The custom is now discontinued. Pagi, A.D. 853, § 14, seqq. A satisfactory note upon the same question, in which the evidence on both sides is carefully weighed, is given by Gesler, ii. 20; and the literary history of the enquiry may be seen in Walch, Bibl. iii. 548, 549, seqq.

⁴ See Butler's Lives of the Popes, note a, vol. vii. p. 236, July 17.

⁵ Milman's note, 130, on Gibbon, chap. xlix., tells us that one hundred and fifty witnesses, or rather echoes of the story, may be produced. A list of authors who have defended the story may be seen in Part II. of an anonymous History of Popery, 2 vols. 4to, published about the middle of last century. The authors of that book strenuously contend for the truth of the story, and affirm that Marianus Scotus was not the first who mentioned it, but that Radulfus Flaviacensis, who lived 930, also refers to it. There is a long treatise on the subject also in

the fourth volume of the Harleian Miscellany, entitled, "Pope Joan: a dialogue between a Protestant and a Papist, manifestly proving that a woman, called Joan, was Pope of Rome, against the surmises and objections made to the contrary by R. Bellarmine and Cæsar Baronius, Cardinals; Florimundus Ramondus, N.D.; and other Popish writers, impudently denying the same, by Alexander Cook, 1625. Reprinted." It would be difficult to answer some points in this treatise, if the absence of contemporary evidence were not considered a sufficient refutation of the story.

pontifical throne, he not only ordered Benedict to be stripped of his dignities, but to be unmercifully beaten. The imperial envoys threatened the bishops with death if they did not perform on Anastasius the ceremony of consecration, rather than consent to which, they declared themselves ready to suffer death. The envoys perceiving that neither terrors nor rewards would induce the bishops and clergy to accept Anastasius, he was at length expelled from the palace. Benedict, who had been dragged to prison by the partisans of Anastasius, was then brought from his place of confinement and ordained. Ethelwulf continued with his son Alfred in Rome twelve months, during which stay he was lavish in his presents to the holy see, for which the monks bestow on him high commendations³.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

Michael, Emperor of the East, also sent an embassy to Benedict on his election, with presents of great value.

CVI. *Nicholas I., died 867.*

The pontificate of Nicholas I., surnamed the Great, was one of the most remarkable in the long list of the papacy. This Bishop of Rome exercised that same authority over bishops, kings, emperors, and states, which has ever produced despotism when received with submission; or civil wars and general convulsions when it met with resistance. The twenty-seven dictatus which Binius has collected from the pontifical epistles of Gregory VII., and which are regarded as the maxims, or principles, on which the power of the Church of Rome was founded, in those ages when the thunders of the Vatican were feared throughout Europe, are to be found, in principle and substance, in the Rescripts of Nicholas, and are engrafted from thence into the Canon Law. This was the pontiff who first quoted, as authentic, the decretals which, though now generally or universally considered spurious, were received for many centuries as the gospels of the Roman Church. It will be necessary, therefore, very briefly to consider the causes of their general reception, and the state of Europe at this time.

All government is founded upon opinion, and opinion is only the general influence of the reception of a mass of con-

³ Pagi, ad an. 855, § 9.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

clusions, or inferences, derived from facts, circumstances, or principles. The government of the nations of Europe and the East, at this time, was not so much papal as ecclesiastical. The resistance to the papacy in every quarter, hitherto prevented the uniform ascendancy which it subsequently attained by means of these decretals, which were first adopted by Nicholas. This ecclesiastical government was founded on the opinion, that the power of the Almighty to inflict both present and future evil, or to bestow either present or future good, was delegated in some mysterious manner, to the pastors and servants of his churches. The consequence of this opinion was, the profoundest veneration for the ecclesiastical power in general, amounting almost to the belief in, and a desire for, a Theocratic government⁴. This opinion was of slow growth. It may not be imputed to the facts and circumstances of usurpations and acts of power exercised either by bishops or popes alone; but to the mixture of the truth of the original and pure Christianity, with that desire of the human mind in all ages, and under all circumstances, to please and to propitiate the Deity, which appears even in the most vicious minds, inventing apologies to justify to themselves the very crimes in which they revel or indulge. These, with other facts and circumstances arising from the blending of the remembrances of the early miracles which established Christianity, with the difficulty of perceiving the boundary between faith and error, when doubtful opinions were proposed by ecclesiastical authority; combined to give that power to the episcopacy which preceded the power of the papacy; and which now began more evidently to fade away before the genius of Nicholas; and which was entirely eclipsed by the more lofty aspirations of Gregory.

It will be useful to look at the state of the Christian world, and to see, also, the actual instances of the exercise of the ecclesiastical power by the bishops of different countries about this time.

The full exercise of papal authority in the present day, in the midst of the unrepealed pretensions of the Church of Rome, is prevented by two things—the divisions of opinion

⁴ See *History of Popery*, p. 4, 8vo, if its statements had been supported London, 1838. A most useful book, by the required references, which would have been more valuable

respecting the duty of submission to its authority among legislatures, whether they be monarchical or democratical; and the no less marked divisions of opinion, also, among the people of the various nations; which is becoming more and more, among all nations, the tribunal to which all legislatures must be subject. In the age of Nicholas, the several legislatures of Europe and of the East, were not identified with the will of the people, but with the will of the prince, chieftain, warrior, or successful soldier, whom ancestry, war, stratagem, or ambition had placed at their head. The people were uniformly ignorant of the art of governing, and the refinements of literature. They were consequently dependent for all that portion of their influence which did not arise from military prowess or extravagant expenditure, upon the wisdom and knowledge of the priesthood. The ascendancy of the priesthood followed. The warfare between Nicholas and the episcopal order was a contest for ecclesiastical supremacy, both aiming, unconsciously perhaps to themselves, at temporal dominion.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

The states of Europe were so divided and harassed by internal dissension, that, while the friendship of the bishops was essential to the repose and peace of the people, and their alliance was consequently courted by all parties; opposition to their power was deemed blasphemy, and none dared to interfere with them unless they contended with each other, and desired the approbation of the laity for their defence.

In England, the Northmen or Danes were infesting the coasts, or depopulating the country. They had gained a footing in East Anglia. They were conquering Northumberland. They were alternately attacking every assailable portion of England, from the Tweed to the Thames. Wales and Ireland were victims to the same plague. Little opposition to bishops, or to Rome, could proceed from tribes who were struggling for existence, and who suffered in common with their episcopal and monastic guides.

In France and Germany, the empire of Charlemagne, forty-four years having elapsed since his death to the time of Nicholas' advancement, had become divided into five sovereignties, each jealous of the other. Of these LOUIS II. had succeeded to the empire in the year 855. LOTHARIUS, one of his brothers, had the kingdom of Lorraine. CHARLES,

his other brother, had the kingdom of Provence. CHARLES the Bald, their uncle, had the kingdom of Neustria or Normandy. LOUIS, their other uncle, had the kingdom of Bavaria. No resistance to papal influence could, therefore, be expected in that quarter.

In *Upper Italy*, independent towns, owning no individual as their superior, were jealous of each other, and anxious to secure the favour of the Bishop of Rome. *Middle Italy* was their own. *Southern Italy*, depressed by the oriental barbarians, who had ravaged so many provinces, was prostrate in its ecclesiastical affairs before the see of Rome.

Venice had but a nominal existence, and was sheltered only from the pirates of Istria by the difficult and shallow marshes of the Lagunes.

Spain was bowed down by the Arabs.

The East was governed by the Emperor Michael, a rash, drunken, ferocious, cruel, and profligate boy. There was no balance of power, no union of states, no general coalitions of princes and nations bound by one cause against a common enemy, or interested in forming one common treaty of war, commerce, or defence. All was anarchy; and the influence of the churches, which unavoidably partook of the general degradation, but which retained the inextinguishable, though pale and glimmering light of truth, till better days should come, was the only hope of Europe and of the world.

In this state of things, then, and for many years which preceded it, the authority of the bishops became irresistible. We meet with many examples of their possessing power long before the days of Nicholas; and many instances are recorded in which the bishops, and not the pope only, exercised their power as the heads of the people, in reprovng, exalting, or condemning their temporal sovereigns, without the sanction of the Bishop of Rome.

A council, for instance, of all the kingdom of Spain at Toledo, in 633, consisting of seventy bishops, made many canons, the last of which *defends the king against rebellion*; at which it was also decreed, that wicked kings, who live in great sin, should be excommunicated⁵.

In 682, the bishops of Spain again assembled in council at

⁵ Can. lxxv. ap. Lab. Concil. v. 1723.

Toledo, and took upon them the power of determining the succession of the crown. Vamba, the king, was deposed, and after performing sentence of penance, was compelled to retire to a monastery. Ervigius was immediately raised to the throne. On this occasion the bishops made the following decree: "We have read this act, and think it right to give it our confirmation; wherefore, we declare that *the people are absolved from all obligation and oath by which they were engaged to Vamba*; and that they should recognize for their only master, Ervigius, whom God has chosen⁶."

A council at Saragossa passed a canon in 689, that when kings died the queens should lay aside their civil habits, and be placed in a monastery⁷. The dominion of the papacy was rejected by the Church of Spain about the year 708, which Binius alleges to have been the cause why the Saracens conquered it afterwards⁸.

The bishops of France reprov'd their kings, and deposed them in their councils without consulting the Bishop of Rome.

Louis the Pious having recommended a reform in church discipline, gave great offence to the ecclesiastical authorities, who were desirous to promote the influence of the episcopal power. His three sons, Lotharius, Pepin, and Louis, each of whom reigned over an independent kingdom, were excited to revolt. A council was summoned by Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, in 833, to take into consideration the state of the empire, the result of which was, the deposition of the Emperor Louis, who was obliged by Ebbo to make a public confession of his crimes. He was, however, afterwards restored, and those who excited the rebellion were punished⁹.

At a council of bishops and priests held at Aix-la-Chapelle in 842, the question was submitted—"Whether Charles the Bald, king of Neustria, and his brother Louis, king of Bavaria, might, or might not, divide the empire of their brother, Lothaire, between them?" After enlarging on the crimes and misgovernment of the emperor, the synod de-

⁶ Fleury, lib. xl. § 29, tom. ix. p. 61. Labb. Concil. vi. 1221, can. 1. xiv. auct. anonymo, ap. Marq. Freheri Corpus Franc. Hist. ii. 463, fol.

⁷ Can. v. ap. Labb. Concil. vi. 1314. Hanov. 1613, Art. de Vérif. les Dates,

⁸ Baxter's Church History, p. 202. i. 557.

⁹ See the Vita Ludovicii Pii, cap.

BOOK III. clared that the protection of God was withdrawn from him :
 CHAP. III. but before sanctioning the occupation of his realm by his
 hostile brothers, a public vow to govern it according to
 the will of God was required. The decision was then de-
 clared:—"Receive the kingdom by the authority of God,
 and govern it according to his will. We council, we exhort,
 we command you so to do¹." In pursuance of this decree
 the government of several provinces was immediately and
 permanently given up to Charles and Louis, a portion of the
 empire being still retained under the sceptre of Lothaire till
 his death.

At the Council of Savonieres ("apud Saponarias"), A.D. 859, a complaint was presented by Charles the Bald against Wenilo, Archbishop of Sens, which contains the following remarkable declaration of the power which the episcopacy at that time exercised:—"By his own election, and that of other bishops," says the appealing monarch, "and by the will, and consent, and acclamation of the rest of my subjects, Wenilo, with the other bishops and archbishops, consecrated me king according to the tradition of the Church, and anointed me to the kingdom with the holy chrism, and raised me to the throne with the diadem and sceptre. After such consecration and regal elevation, I ought to have been degraded by no one *without the hearing and judgment of the bishops by whose ministry I was consecrated to royalty, who are called THE THRONES OF GOD!* In them God sits; by them He makes known his judgments; and *to their paternal corrections and penal authority* I was ready to subject myself, and am now subject²."

Such was the power of the bishops in several countries when Nicholas was elevated to the pontificate. *The authority and power of the see of Rome did not lose influence under the circumstances of this miserable period.*

Immediately on the election of Nicholas, the Emperor Louis, who had left Rome, returned to assist in the ceremony of his consecration. We do not read that any pope prior to Nicholas was crowned on his accession to the popedom³. *That ceremony, however, was performed at the installation of*

¹ Baron. Annal. A.D. 842, § 1, seqq. see also Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 165.
 Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 163. 538. Baron. A.D. 859, § 26.

² Can. iii. ap. Labb. Concil. viii. 679; ³ Labb. Concil. viii. 251.

Nicholas. The emperor was present and assisted at the service. The pope afterwards went to Quintus, near Rome, to visit the emperor, who met him on the road with a pompous retinue. At their meeting *the emperor dismounted, and performed the office of page to his holiness*, by attending him the remainder of the distance on foot, and leading his horse by the bridle. The same act of reverence was paid on his return by the emperor attending on foot, and performing the same menial office ⁴.

The Emperor Michael, soon after the elevation of Nicholas to the dignity of pontiff, was addressed by him in a style of more than papal imperiousness. Ignatius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the son of a former emperor, had been deposed; and the celebrated Photius, a layman of illustrious family, and in high repute for learning and talents, had succeeded him in his dignity. The high rank of the two rivals caused no small disturbance in the city and provinces between the friends of each; and the new pope seized the opportunity of exercising his authority over the disputants. Nicholas dispatched two legates to Constantinople with letters, one of which was to Photius, who had written to inform him of his elevation; the other to the emperor, in which he expresses himself very angrily at the deposition of Ignatius, without any prior consultation of the apostolic see. He censures, also, the appointment of a layman in defiance of the canons, and of the decrees of the Roman pontiffs. He intreats the emperor to restore to the Roman see the patrimonies of St. Peter in Sicily and Calabria; with the authority and jurisdiction which his predecessors had exercised over old and new Epirus, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, both Dacias, Mysia, Dardania, and Prævalis, and that he will give up to the Roman pontiff the ordination of the bishops of Syracuse ⁵.

In another letter to the emperor, written in 867, in answer to one in which Michael complained of the treatment he had received from the apostolic see, the pope tells him that on no occasion has he used him ill; but that he had only admonished him for the good of his soul, as it was incumbent on him to do. In proceeding to answer the emperor's reproaches, he

⁴ Labb. Concil. viii. 252.

subject in Labb. Concil. viii. 268, and

⁵ See the correspondence upon this and the following pages.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

styles them "blasphemies against God and St. Peter." The emperor, in reference to one of his former letters having used the expression, "we commanded you;" the Bishop of Rome at this professes great indignation. The words "we pray," "we entreat," "we exhort," "we beg and conjure," he tells the emperor, and not the imperious expression *we command*, were used by former emperors in addressing popes⁶. *These authoritative reproofs to an emperor came from one just sprung from the lowest rank in the Christian ministry to the summit of ecclesiastical dignity.* This struggle for power, and the wonderful incidents and contrasts of fortune connected with it; the plots, disasters, escapes, and circumventions; the mutual treacheries, with their temporary and alternate advantages and disadvantages, and the inveterate envy and malice which it has entailed on the nations of Christendom for the last thousand years, and which are yet operating with little mitigation of their original rancour, form altogether a history unequalled as a subject for philosophical and religious contemplation. Its details, however, are too voluminous to be sufficiently abridged on the present occasion, as arguments concerning the evils of schisms among Christians.

I have already mentioned some acts of power exercised by the bishops of various churches at and before this time. I shall briefly survey the origin of their power, that we may better understand the controversy which cannot be said to be even yet decided between the bishops and metropolitans of England and France on the one side; and the popes of Rome on the other. The whole question of papal jurisdiction may be said to rest on the right of appeal to the pope, as the final judge of causes and persons from every part of the Christian world.

First. At the commencement of the establishment of Christianity, all Christians, whether converted from among Jews or Gentiles, and whether lay or clerical members of the churches, were equal. They were tried, if they offended, by their brethren, and by the pastors of their churches.

Secondly. They were commanded, also, not to go to law.

Thirdly. But when disputes arose among them, they were enjoined to refer such disputes to their own society.

⁶ Ep. viii. Labb. Concil. viii. 293, seqq.

Fourthly. But they sometimes were compelled to dispute with their Pagan or Jewish neighbours.

Fifthly. Before the emperors became Christian they appealed to the public law, or they suffered patiently.

Sixthly. The emperors became Christian.

Seventhly. The Emperor Constantine granted the Christian bishops and churches power to give to their decisions the validity of law.

Eighthly. But these decisions were confined to—1st, Spiritual matters. 2ndly, Temporal matters brought before the episcopal tribunals. 3rdly, Civil questions in which both parties were clerks, and even then liable to appeal.

In 398, Honorius granted to *all litigants* who wished it, the choice of bringing causes before the bishops of the province in civil matters only; and in 408, he decreed that the sentence of the ecclesiastical power might be executed without appeal to the civil authority, but the episcopal tribunals had not permission to order coercive measures to be put in execution against laymen.

In 452, Valentinian III. decreed that clerks, by their own consent only, should be judged on secular complaints before the archbishop. This decree was confirmed by Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius. Marcian also enjoined that plaintiffs who were so disposed, might bring their causes before the prætorian prefect, rather than the archbishop.

Justinian still further enlarged the sphere of ecclesiastical authority. First, He enacted that, in civil suits, the monks and other ecclesiastical persons should go before the bishop of the diocese; and within ten days, if either party were not satisfied with his decision, the civil magistrate might be appealed to, as equal to the bishop, or as his assistant judge. Secondly, That in criminal causes, the sentence pronounced by the temporal judge must be sanctioned by the bishop. Thirdly, He exempted all bishops from lay jurisdiction.

This power became further increased by the following grants of Charlemagne. First, That there should be no appeal from the decision of a bishop by either of the two parties who brought any cause before him, also that the bishop might have the right of imprisonment, called the *jus carceris*.

Secondly, The exemption of the whole clergy from civil jurisdiction.

Thirdly, That if the judges and magistrates do not obey the bishop, he shall appeal to the king; and the bishops, counts, and judges were commanded to act in concert for the maintenance of peace and justice.

In addition to this judicial power, which was extended to the episcopacy *generally*, many bishops had large territorial possessions attached to their sees, in which they administered justice.

Throughout this progressive increase of the general episcopal power, the see of Rome, as the seat of empire, partook of the general increase of authority, together with advantages which gave it a much larger proportion of the power than any other see. About the time of the accession of Nicholas, the distribution of ecclesiastical power among the other parts of Christendom, had seemed to counterbalance the influence of the Roman Church, and to prevent its injurious preponderance⁷.

The consequence of all the gradual accumulation of decisions in the questions and causes which were brought before the churches and bishops, must have been this: that long before any canons, even those which we have sufficient reason to believe were the laws of the churches founded by the apostles, were committed to writing, there must have existed a large mass of decrees made by the principal bishops in every part of the world⁸. Of these, many were committed to writing; many were preserved by memory longer than others. As the empire began to be oppressed with the weight of its barbarian ravagers; as it was the interest of many to misrepresent the decrees; as various bishops, as well as the Bishops of Rome, would be desirous to extend their authority by traditionary and unwritten laws, which would

⁷ The increase of papal power within the Church was balanced in a great measure by the general augmentation of episcopal authority and influence which accompanied it. The entire ecclesiastical body was much aggrandized, but in such measure that the head did not immediately exceed the proportion of the principal members. The power of the bishops in the time of Charlemagne, under the name of

their independence, was boldly and commonly asserted.—Waddington, i. 424, note, 2nd edition.

⁸ Fuerunt mores usu ecclesie recepti ab initio, priusquam in jus scriptum redigerentur. Et qui formulas a se scriptas apostolorum nomine venditarunt, iudicio suo usi sunt, quid ab Apostolis profecto censeri par fuit, &c.—Thorndike's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, p. 176, fol. Lond. 1674.

be written for the first time when they were disputed, as all these causes would operate with increasing power, according to the increasing power of the churches, we cannot be surprised at two circumstances which have excited the curiosity of the few students who are interested in the history of these ages. One is, the publication of the canons and decretals which rest not on sufficient authority to induce us to receive them as authentic and genuine records; the other, that a collection of canons and decretals should be palmed upon the world, the whole or the greater part of which should be false, spurious, and unworthy of credit. Neither can we be surprised that in an age of ignorance, the superstitious and false, while they were questioned by the few; should be eventually received as of equal value with the more authentic, till the criticism of a more enquiring age discovered the fraud. What might have been thus anticipated has taken place. The more genuine canons have been considered in a previous portion of this work⁹. The false decretals must be regarded as the chief foundation of the extravagant assumption of the Gregories, Innocents, and Bonifaces of the ensuing centuries. It will be necessary, therefore, to consider their origin, their nature, their objects, and some particulars which first brought them into notice, and stamped them, though with counterfeit and temporal, yet with undisputed and continued authority¹.

The decretals purport, then, to be authoritative decrees and letters of the earlier Bishops of Rome, recorded in the pontifical book of Pope Damasus². *The principal topics among them all are the authority of bishops, and chiefly of the Roman see; the supremacy of St. Peter, and therefore of the Bishops of Rome as his successors, and the dignity of*

⁹ In the Latin Church, we read of the *Vetus Canonum Latinorum Editio*, which was superseded by the collection of Dionysius Exiguus in the beginning of the sixth century. The Church of Africa had its canons as well as the Church of Spain, which latter were collected by Isidore of Seville; and, in 790, Pope Hadrian presented to Charlemagne a collection of canons, composed of the collection of Dionysius Exiguus, and the epistles of several popes.—See Butler's Essay on the Canon Law, Works, vol. ii. p. 120;

Van Espen, vol. iii. p. 1. De Antiquis Canonum Codicibus.

¹ The last writer who has submitted to the world the result of his researches into the authenticity and genuineness of these decretals, is Bishop Hopkins of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Vermont; in the United States of America. The title of his work is, "The Church of Rome in its Primitive Purity, compared with the Church of Rome at the present day."—Republished in London, 1839, Rivington.

² See Bishop Hopkins, p. 49.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

the Church of Rome as the mother and mistress of all churches. If they are genuine, the testimony of antiquity might be said to support those demands of the Church of Rome which have ever been considered most objectionable by the churches of the Catholic Church, both in the West and East. If they are neither genuine nor authentic; if they can be demonstrated by the most impartial enquirers, the most learned antiquaries, and the most critical examiners into ecclesiastical history³, to be fraudulent; we may not only reject them with justice, but we may rightly call upon the Church of Rome to reject them also, and to become again, *as it once was, the apostolical episcopal Church, co-equal with the other apostolical episcopal churches of the earthly kingdom of Christ.*

In the early ages when Christianity was spreading from nation to nation, many questions relating to the discipline of the newly established churches may be conceived to have arisen, and in difficulties of this kind it was frequently necessary to appeal to some primitive apostolic Church for instruction. The preceptorial replies, in which questions of importance were answered from these highest sources, were regarded as authority equivalent to the canons of the Universal Church; and in 494, a synod was held in Rome, under Gelasius, which decreed that the epistles of instruction which that apostolic see addressed to provincial churches, should be held as of equal authority with the canons⁴. In the East,

³ "If the decretals are genuine," says Bishop Hopkins, "they would be entitled to great weight in settling the antiquity, if not the divine right, of this your fundamental doctrine. But here, brethren, is the difficulty. These decretal epistles are forgeries, and admitted to be so by all your own enlightened men. For proof of what is here asserted, I refer to the extracts below, where you will find that although Binus and Turrian wrote in defence of them, the great mass of your eminent scholars united in their condemnation. The language of your famous Labbe is particularly strong. 'They are so deformed,' saith he, 'that no art, no paint, whether white or red, can disguise them.'" Mirum est viris doctissimis Turriano, Binio, et quibusdam aliis in tanta eruditionis ecclesias-

tice luce probari potuisse decretales illas epistolas, a quocumque, seu Mercatore, seu Peccatore fabricatas, et antiquis Romanæ urbis pontificibus circiter annum Christianæ epochæ octingentesimum suppositas: adeo enim perspicacibus viris deformes videntur hoc saltem tempore, ut nulla arte, nulla cerussa, aut purpurissa fucari possint. Eas omnes, saltem plerasque earum repudiavit eruditissimi quique tractatores Catholicæ—Baronius, Bellarminus, Perronius, Contius, Antonius Augustinus, Lorinus, Sirmondus, Ducæus, Petavius, Marca, Bossuetus, ut alios modo, sive antiquiores, sive recentiores, silentio obvolvam.—Observatio Philip Labbe, ap. Mansi Concil. i. 86.

⁴ Ibid. p. 87. Antiquo juri universalis ecclesie assensu roborato succes-

the ancient sees of Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Antioch, Alexandria, and others, had been founded by the apostles, and from these the oriental churches might derive information when necessary. *In the West, Rome was the only Church which claimed apostolical descent*; and from having been for a long time unrivalled as the metropolis of the western world, as well as the ancient seat of empire, its preceptorial epistles or decretals were necessarily extended far and wide⁵. The veneration with which they would be received, contributed much to promote the influence produced by the subsequent attempt to forge documents of this description. *The value of the preceptorial epistles of Rome throughout the Latin Churches was also enhanced by the fact, that none of the canons of the four first general councils were extant in the Latin language.* Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, were in the eastern empire. The canons of the Universal Church which were decreed at synods held in those cities, were therefore all recorded in the Greek language; and it was not till after the Council of Chalcedon, in the year 451, that we read of a Latin translation of the canons. This was called the Priscan Version⁶. Another translation was that of Dionysius Exiguus, who attached to his volume some of the ancient decretals; and the true decretals being thus joined with the canons of the Universal Church, contributed much to bring the whole collection into general esteem, as equivalent in value to the canons themselves with which they were accompanied; independent of the decree of that Council of Rome by which they had been so pronounced. But after the time of Charlemagne, the power and influence of the popes acquired such a height, that their decretals, without further sanction or confirmation than their own authority, were regarded as paramount, and

sit *Jus Novum*, quod ab anno 836 publicari cœpit, et adnente Nicolao I. et cæteris Romanis pontificibus, paulatim usu invaluit per occidentes provincias.

Ibid. p. 89. Riculfus autem, a quo publicatum fuisse docet Hinemarus, Ecclesiam Moguntiacam tenuit ab anno 787 usque ad annum 814, et sedem Apostolicam devote coluit; ut testis est auctor præfationis ad Benedicti Levitæ collectionem. Quod fortasse illi epistolarum interpolandarum

desiderium iniecit, ut labantem Romanæ Ecclesiæ auctoritatem in Gallis restauraret.

Ibid. p. 90. Contenderat tamen Nicolaus literis ad Universos Galliæ Episcopos datis 865, ut decreta illa reciperentur, e magno conatu Gallicanorum Episcoporum argumenta repulerat.—Waddington, p. 467, note.

⁵ See Gieseler, i. 333, et seq.

⁶ Id. 333.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

even more to be consulted than the canons themselves, which they threatened almost to supersede ⁷.

The Spanish Church towards the end of the sixth century, possessed a collection of universal and provincial canons, in the Latin language, which Isidore, Bishop of Seville, (a disciple of Gregory the Great, highly reputed for extensive literary attainments and great historical research,) was at much pains to complete, with the addition of many important decretal epistles of the Roman Church up to the year 636 ⁸. Isidore acquired fame by this, the most valuable collection of Latin canons and decretals; and his name, in times when there were few capable of discriminating, and fewer, certainly, disposed to inquire deeply into such a fraud, might be prefixed to a collection without much danger of detection. So much for the true decretals, especially those compiled by Isidore of Seville.

That Isidore of Seville could not be the author of the decretals in question, is fully demonstrated by the celebrated Blondel. The work of this writer on the decretals is regarded as one of the most elaborate, profound, and decisive efforts of criticism ⁹. It is proved in his "Prolegomena" to the work:—

1st. That the collector of the decretals was not any Bishop of Spain prior to the year 760.

2nd. That it is not probable that the person by whom they were collected was a Spaniard.

3rd. He shows it to be very probable that a Germanic Frank, or a Gallic Frank, was the collector of the decretals.

4th. He endeavours to ascertain by whose counsel the name of Isidore was prefixed to the collection of decretal epistles, and concludes, after examining a long train of corroborative evidence, that the name of Isidore *Mercator*, or *Peccator*, was placed in the title of the collection by command of the emperor, Louis the Pious, and his son Lotharius, after the year 829.

5th. He shows, by many arguments, that the subject of

⁷ Waddington's History of the *Sancta Veteri Romana Ecclesia adversus sinceræ antiquitatis parachuractas*, Church, chap. xxi. p. 467, note (a).

⁸ Gieseler, vol. i. p. 333; vol. ii. 65. &c. Per Davidem Blondellum, Cata-

⁹ It is entitled, "*Vindicie pro* launensem," 4to, Geneva, 1635.

the epistles is not suited to any age but that in which they are supposed by him to have been written.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

6th. That the anachronisms respecting the consuls and their consulships are evident proofs of imposture. By canvassing the dates of the true papal epistles recorded in the annals of Baronius, and comparing them with the chronological indications, or consulates, he has fully detected and exposed numerous discrepancies; by which the spurious and fraudulent character of the decretals is rendered unquestionable.

7th. The adoption of the Vulgate edition of the Scriptures, which is constantly referred to, is made another proof of their being forged, and consequently that decretals professing to bear date long before the time of Jerome, must have been written after his time.

8th. The sameness of style in which the whole of the epistles are written is made a proof, also, that they could not have been written by the various authors whose signatures they severally bear.

9th. He proves by their use of certain most objectionable expressions, the great improbability that they could have been written by the early Bishops of Rome.

10th. He shows that they refer to many authorities after Isidore, which are cited as having flourished before him.

11th. Anachronisms committed by the author of the Pseudo-Isidorian epistles throughout, from the first epistle of Clement to the pontificate of Gregory the Great, are traced and exposed.

12th. He produces evidence that none of the ancient writers to whom the decretals are imputed, transferred into their own writings opinions and passages borrowed from these supposed decretal epistles.

13th. That there is no proof of any of those ingrafted in this collection having been known till the year 830.

14th. The false decretals are supported by none of the ancient fathers.

15th. All who have received these epistles as the work of the early Bishops of Rome lived after the year 830.

16th and 17th. He then examines the testimonies in favour of and against the authenticity of the epistles.

Though these pretended early records are now acknow-

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

ledged by the Roman Church to be spurious, the following additional evidences of that spuriousness may yet further satisfy those who have no means of consulting Blondel, and the other authorities from which they are condensed, of the treacherous foundation on which the claim to infallibility has been principally raised; and how desirable it is that the power and authority which owe their existence to this source, should cease to be asserted, when the title on which they rested has been so long resigned.

Though a great portion of these decretal epistles are ascribed to the ancient pontiffs of the Roman Church, from Clement, A.D. 90, 100, to Siricius, A.D. 385—398, all writers until the year 830 are silent concerning them.

Dionysius Exiguus, who with great care and diligence collected the constitutions of the early bishops of the apostolic see, does not mention them.

The fragments of councils, pontiffs, fathers, and authors, more recent than the time of Isidore, which are found scattered throughout the decretals, at once declare them to be counterfeit.

The style of the epistles, which is wholly barbarous, abounding in solecisms, and marked by the same uniformity of diction, is a fact which sufficiently proves that they were all drawn up by the same hand.

No heresy of the first three centuries is noticed by them, and they are silent also, concerning the Gentile persecutions of those ages during which they profess to be written.

Though these decretals are asserted to be the writings of the Roman pontiffs, nothing confirming them is found in the Roman registers, and it is highly improbable that laws concerning Rome and Italy should be unknown there, and be brought from Spain or Gaul¹.

With respect to the real author of the decretals, Blondel endeavours to prove that a man of the name of Isidore, a Spaniard, brother to Eulogius of Cordova, was driven into exile from his country by the commotions of the ninth century; and that some impostor assumed the name of Isidore, to induce the ignorant to believe, that these feigned epistles were rescued with difficulty from the barbarians, and brought from Spain as an invaluable treasure into Germany.

¹ Blondel's Prolegomena, Dissert. i. sect. iv.

Others attribute the work to Riculph of Mayence, who lived in 814, and from the Gallo-Frankish and Longobardic idioms which the spurious productions contain, Blondel has made it appear that many of them were from the pen of a German-Frank². Benedict Levita, and Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, both of whom flourished when they were first brought forward, not only affirm them to have been brought from Spain by some impostor, but to have been first published by Riculph. This is also said to be proved by certain records of the Church of Mayence. Yet this account cannot be depended on, as there are allusions in the real or spurious epistles of Urban and John III. to the synod of Paris, which was held in 829, fifteen years after the death of Riculph. Blondel, therefore, after much laborious research, attributes the work to Benedict Levita, who, about the year 850, compiled Three Books of Capitularies, and inserted among them in various places portions of these forged decretals³. Cave believes it probable that they were either forged by Riculph or collected by him, and afterwards reduced by Benedict Levita, with some additions, to their present form; and that his object was to defend the authority of the Roman see by fictitious testimonies, purporting to be deduced from a pretended antiquity. But, whatever may have been their origin, they do not descend below the pontificate of Pope Deus-dedit, or 614. Two reasons may be assigned for this: one, that they might thus be more feasibly imputed to the venerable Isidore of Seville, who died in 636; the other, that if they had referred to times nearer the date of their publication, they might have been more easily shown to be forgeries, even in that uncritical age. The whole collection of Isidore contains, in addition to the pontifical epistles, the order for holding a council, a version of the apostolic canons, and the decrees of many synods, both Greek and Latin, which are found in almost all the collections of councils⁴.

² Certe hominem fuisse Germano-Francum ex Gallo-Francorum et Longobardorum idiotismis recte notat Blondellus, ex Ecclesiæ vero Moguntinæ serinio, idque Riculphi cura primum prodiisse, diserte testantur hujus fere temporis Scriptores Benedictus Levita,

et Hincmarus Rhemensis, quorum hic de Hispaniâ allata fuisse refert, impostoris, ut videtur, fraude hallucinatus. —Cave, Hist. Lit., ii. 22.

³ Baluzii Capitularia, i. 803.

⁴ See Cave, Hist. Lit., ii. 22.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

Baronius, who must be regarded by the friends of the Church of Rome as a competent authority, while he defends very cautiously some parts of them, assigns the first importation of the decretals from Spain into France and Germany to Isidore *Mercator*; and believes that their authority was asserted as early as the year 865, and that the Gallic bishops complained during that year to Pope Nicholas, that causes were removed, by virtue of the decretals, from the proper tribunals, that is, provincial synods, to Rome ⁵.

It is obvious, says a modern writer ⁶, that their compiler, whoever he may have been, was highly dissatisfied with the actual constitution of the Church. What displeased him most was, that any spiritual person, especially a bishop, should be liable to deposition, or even accusation; and he seems to have made little distinction between the spiritual and secular tribunals in this respect. He says, in his preface, that many evil disposed persons had ventured to bring complaints against and to oppress priests and bishops; that with a view to mitigate this abuse, the fathers of the Church had passed several ordinances, but as these decrees had fallen into disuse, it had been enjoined upon him by eighty bishops (of Spain) to collect and republish them. He further observes, that Isidore (so called) contemplated the absolute irresponsibility of bishops is clear from the letter he has given under the name Pope Anaclet ⁷. "The judges ought not," says he, "to be harassed with calumnies and accusations, for if every crime committed were to be punished in this world, the divine tribunal would be quite ousted of all jurisdiction." Again, "Christ went in his own person (not by deputed authority) to expel the priests from the temple (!); whence it follows, that the chief priests, that is, the bishops, can be judged by God alone, and not by human judges, and that their honour ought not to be called in question by *men*, who are of evil conversation, but rather that they should be borne with, by all the faithful." And further on, he says, "No man abandons his servant to the judgment of a stranger, why then should God do otherwise? If any one stretches

⁵ Baronius, ad ann. 865.

⁶ Schmidt, i. 671, et seq.

⁷ Quoting Labbe, Conc., i. 514. 521.

forth his hand against a prince, he is held guilty of treason⁸; how then should he not be equally guilty when he doth the like against the apple of God's eye⁹?" BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

In the third letter, under the name of Anacletus, he says, that "it often happens that the people are afflicted with evil pastors as a punishment for their sins, in order that they may be overtaken by swifter destruction." The following is a general rule which he lays down, also, in the course of the same epistle. "When a teacher and pastor of souls falls away from the true faith, he must therefore be called to account by the faithful, but for mere evil conversation and manners, he must rather be borne with by all than judged of any, for God alone hath power to sit in judgment upon the rulers of his Church." Thus no secular person was allowed to be competent to bring any charge against an ecclesiastic, because they are not of his order, not "his peers," nor was any but a bishop competent to prosecute a bishop, and even then, so many conditions as to the testimony requisite are introduced, as to render it almost impossible to effect conviction¹.

Metropolitans had hitherto been the customary authorities over bishops. To free the suffragans from all control, the chief aim of the decretals appears to have been to annihilate their jurisdiction. *In order to succeed in the degradation of the metropolitans, the power of the pope was exalted.* Among other things it was maintained, that no metropolitan ought to interfere in the affairs of his subordinate bishops except in the presence of all. If he do otherwise, he is to be admonished, and if he be incorrigible and disobedient, his contumacy is to be brought before the apostolic see, *where alone cognizance of the case may be taken, where all episcopal decrees for judgment are to be terminated, and which is competent to punish his offence, and to strike terror into others similarly disposed*².

The proposition which the decretals chiefly seek to establish is this, that a definitive sentence against a bishop can only be pronounced by the pope³; and consequently, every

⁸ Læse Majestatis.

² Epist. I. Hygini, id. coll. 567.

⁹ Qui enim tetigerit vos, tangit pupillum oculi mei.—Zech. ii. 8.

³ Id. apud Opuscula Hinemar. Rhem.

¹ Epist. II. Stephan. a. d. 734.

ii. 581. 321.

BOOK III.
CHAP III.

means are employed to promote appeals to his holiness. All greater and more difficult causes, it is maintained, must be determined by the pope in person⁴. Among these he includes the *deposition* of bishops, and even, as it seems, their *translation*⁵. Because, also, the power of metropolitans was exercised chiefly in summoning and presiding over provincial councils, it is asserted, that the right to convoke councils belongs exclusively to the pope, and that no council is valid which had not been either assembled or confirmed by papal authority⁶. The ordination of bishops had always been a part of the office of the metropolitans, and in order to weaken their authority in this privilege, the decretals insisted that it must always be exercised in the name of the pope⁷, by all the bishops of the province; in order, as it is alleged, that nothing against the welfare of the Church may be effected by the tyrannical power of one person⁸. "For the apostles commanded," as the epistle declares, "that the holy see should protect, defend, and liberate the bishops; inasmuch as it was by the disposition and appointment of the same apostles, under divine authority, that bishops were established; so it should be for all future time, that by this holy see, to which all their causes and jurisdictions were reserved, as the last resort, they (the bishops) should be protected against all vexations of perverse men⁹."

Du Pin and Van Espen, popish authors, confirm the conclusions of Blondel, and honourably record their testimony as to the character of the decretals.

The supposed epistles of the early popes, says Du Pin, were totally unknown to Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine, Basil, and the primitive fathers.

They are compiled of a medley of passages extracted from fathers, councils, letters of popes, canons, and imperial ordinances, says the same eminent writer; and he continues to remark various anachronisms and proofs of spuriousness, in which he follows Blondel.

Van Espen, in the second part of his commentary on the canon law, discusses at some length the question respecting these decretals. He enquires whether they are true, or false,

⁴ Labbe, Concil. coll. 518. 529.

⁵ Id. coll. 614, Epist. Calisti.

⁶ Id. in Præf. col. 6.

⁷ Auctoritate Apostolicâ.

⁸ Epist. II. Anaclæt. id. col. 521.

⁹ Epist. II. Sixti, id. col. 557.

forged, and spurious. Not only Gratian, he says, but Bur- BOOK III.
CHAP. III.
 chard of Worms, Ivo, and all others, for seven centuries, received them ¹.

The beginning of the preface, says Van Espen, is read thus: "Isidorus *Mercator*, a servant of Christ, to his fellow-servant and father in the bond of faith, greeting." Many, proceeds the author, believe with Petrus de Marca, that it was at first written "Isidorus *Peccator*," because formerly the most solemn manner was, that bishops, for the sake of humility, subscribed themselves *peccatores* ².

The Pseudo-Isidorian collection has undergone, says Gieseler, many alterations, and hence is seldom found uncorrupted ³. This is the case even in the only complete edition of it ⁴. Some inquiries concerning its original form are to be met with in Ballerini ⁵. It consisted of three parts—1st. Sixty-one *Epistolæ Decretales* of the popes of the first three centuries, from Clement to Melchiades. Two of these, from Clement to James, were in existence before: fifty-nine Pseudo-Isidorian. 2ndly. Canons of councils chiefly from the genuine Isidorian collection. 3rdly. Decretal epistles from Sylvester to Gregory the Great; of these, thirty-five are Pseudo-Isidorian, the rest mostly from the Isidorian collection. Many of the decrees are taken from the *Liber Pontificalis*, and as their object is to give credibility to the work, they must be left out of the question in determining the object of the imposture. Spittler shows from Blascus, that such impositions were by no means uncommon in that age ⁶.

That this was not the first instance in which a stratagem so full of guilt and mischief had been resorted to in support of the inordinate pretensions of the Bishops of Rome, is proved by the following occurrence. Eunodius, Bishop of Ticinium (A.D. 511), writing in defence of the synod of Palma, called together by Theodoric to decide the dispute between Symmachus and Laurentius, first asserted that *the Bishop of Rome was subject to no earthly tribunal*. After-

¹ Van Espen, Comment. in Jus Canoniceum, iii. 454, 455. edit. fol. Lovan. 1753. The whole of this dissertation is worthy attentive perusal.

² Van Espen, ut supra, p. 452.

³ Gieseler, ii. 65, note 1.

⁴ J. Merlini *Concilia Generalia*, under the title, "Pontificum ab Apos-

tolis usque ad Zachariam I. Isidoro auctore." Paris, 1523, fol. (reprinted Colon. 1530, fol. Paris, 1535, 8vo.)

⁵ L. c. p. iii. c. 5. 8. Spittler, l. c. s. 221.

⁶ Blascus, l. c. cap. 15. Spittler, l. c. 43. 252. Gieseler, ii. 65, note 1.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

wards, to give this principle an historical basis, *forged gesta* of former popes were put forward; and instances in proof of this illicit practice are given in Gieseler⁷.

It is impossible to relate the pernicious effects which have resulted from these frauds, during the long period of their asserted authenticity, when there were none to question the sacredness of their character. They were the principal cause of a total change in the system of ecclesiastical polity by which the Universal Church had been governed. This was effected by three chief means.

First. By making bishops responsible to the pope only; and by exempting them from any accusation, except of one against another, and by no appeal being final except to the holy see.

Secondly. By making the right to summon provincial councils an exclusive prerogative of the pope, and thus by the overthrow of metropolitan jurisdiction, extending his power over every province.

Thirdly. By the total exemption of the pope from being amenable to any human tribunal whatsoever; and by this declaring him free from responsibility except to God⁸.

The necessity for holding provincial councils was in effect abolished, by appeals to Rome being suffered to set aside whatever they had decreed. The course of justice was disturbed, and its efficacy done away by the concentration of all spiritual authority in the irresponsible Roman hierarchy. More effectually to subdue all churches to this state of subjection, the acquiescence of the episcopacy in the objects of the *Decretales Epistolæ*, was obtained by relieving them from all secular jurisdiction, as well as from metropolitan control. Yet the authority of the bishops generally is, with some inconsistency, upheld to a degree which appears to clash with the power of the Bishop of Rome. The decretals are, therefore, represented by two parties in opposite views. Some say they were written to uphold the power of the bishops; others, that they were written to uphold the power of the pope. How are these two opposite opinions to be reconciled? Both theories are defensible from the nature of the decretals. It is probable that the compiler, whether Riculph,

⁷ Vol. i. p. 339, notes 15, 16.

⁸ See Waddington's History of the Church, p. 223, note.

Benedict Levita, or Isidore *Mercator* (or whoever else might put together the genuine and spurious documents of which the book is composed), did so with a view to *please the two great parties whose interests it was the design of the work to serve*, and thus to gain rewards from both. BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

The reception or non-reception of these epistles and edicts, and the reception or non-reception of the principles derived from them, may be considered as the one great criterion by which the papist who advocates the loftiest pretensions of the papacy, may be distinguished from the catholic of the Church of Rome, who adheres only to the opinion that the Bishop of Rome must be regarded as the centre of unity. The more particular arguments by which Du Pin further demonstrates the spuriousness of these celebrated decretals, are worthy the attention of every student. They are, however, too long to be enumerated in this place, neither is it, indeed, necessary to dwell much further upon them. The decretals (I wish I could add the principles founded upon them) are now rejected by common consent. They are no longer quoted with approbation, even by those authors who are most favourable to the claims of the court of Rome. The strictest papist who would defend the maxims which they advocate, seeks for other sources of his argument than this, which for many centuries established the greatness of Rome, and ruined the ancient discipline of the Universal Church of Christ.

We are now, then, to consider the causes for which *these decretals were quoted for the first time by Nicholas I.* The first quotation of them by this Bishop of Rome is the reason why we discuss the subject in this place. We must consider the circumstances under which the Bishop of Rome and Hincmar of Rheims, the great opponent to his claim to universal supremacy, both referred to their authority⁹.

The Gallican bishops had been increasing their authority in temporal affairs from the time of Charlemagne, whose successors, from their jealousy of each other, often appealed to the clergy for support, and thus afforded the opportunity for the further exercise of episcopal power. The synod of Paris, in 826, declared that princes had long mixed too much

⁹ Van Espen, iii. 455.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

in ecclesiastical affairs, and that the clergy took unbecoming interest in secular matters; and at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, the evils of the time were attributed to these mutual encroachments¹. When the sons of Louis the Pious rebelled against their father in 833, Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, was active in exciting that rebellion, and in assisting at the synod by which Louis was deposed². On the subsequent restoration of the king, the authors of the conspiracy were punished; and Ebbo is said by some to have been deposed for the part he took in that rebellion, while others affirm that he resigned. These contrary opinions may be reconciled by the probability that when he saw his deposition unavoidable if he did not resign, his chorepiscopi advised resignation, and he consented.

Ebbo was succeeded in the archbishopric by Hincmar³, a noble Gaul, educated in the monastery of St. Denis, near Paris, and appointed Archbishop of Rheims in 845. In 848 Hincmar took an active part in the synod which condemned Gotteschalch⁴. In the year 853, a synod was held at Soissons, in which he procured the confirmation of his own election, and the deposition of the presbyters who had been appointed by Ebbo after his resignation or expulsion from his see⁵. About this time, Theutberga, wife of Lothaire, king of Lorraine, had been induced, by threats and intimidations, to confess herself guilty of the crime of incest, at the instigation of the

¹ Waddington, p. 240, note. Labb. Concil. vii. 1580, seqq. 1591.

² See Gall. Christ. ix. 34, edit. fol. Paris, 1751. Ebbo, Rhemensis Episcopus, suasione coepiscoporum, seipsum judicatum episcopatu indignum, eo se abdicavit.—Baron. ad annal. 835, vol. ix. p. 333.

³ Gall. Christ. ix. 39. Ebbo died 13 kal. April, 851; and was succeeded by Hincmar, who was elected in the council holden at Beauvais, in May, 845.

⁴ See Gall. Christ. id. col. 42. Gotteschalch taught the doctrine of predestination; viz. a predestination to life and death. He comprehended his tenets in several articles extracted from the writings of Augustine; and presented a formal profession of it to the council of Mentz in 848. On this account he was first punished by public scourging, and then confined in prison for the remainder of his life, a term of

twenty-one years, by Hincmar. *Cruelty and persecution were episcopal as well as papal offences.* Gotteschalch taught also, the death of Christ for the elect only, and the impotence of free-will towards holiness, without preventing and co-operating grace.

The opposers of these tenets were learned and numerous, among whom may be mentioned Rabanus, Hincmar, Haymo, and Erigena; and among the supporters were Remigius, Bishop of Lyons, Lupus, Abbot of Ferrara, Ratramnus, Prudentius, and other eminent scholars.

The most complete history of this important controversy is furnished by Archbishop Usher in his work, "*Gotteschalki et Predestinatianæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ historia, una cum duplici ejusdem confessione, nunc primum in lucem edita.*" 8vo, Hanov. 1662.

⁵ Labb. Concil. viii. 80.

king; who was desirous to obtain a divorce from her, in order that he might marry one of his mistresses. By an edict of a council held in 860, she was consequently condemned to public penance and a separation from her husband⁶. Three years afterwards, Hincmar was present at a council at Metz in which the marriage of Lothaire with Waldrada, his mistress, was discussed. The synod was condemned by Pope Nicholas in another synod summoned by him at Rome, to which city Theutberga, the divorced queen, had repaired, and made her case known to his holiness⁷. In the same year, Hincmar, in his office of archbishop, deposed Rothade, Bishop of Soissons, in pursuance of an act of council⁸. Rothade appealed to the pope⁹, and Hincmar summoned a second council, by which his deposition was confirmed, and his appeal to the pope censured. Hincmar distinguished himself by a long and able defence of the acts of the council against the asserted right of the pope to annul them. Rothade, after resisting a third summons by Hincmar to appear before a council of his province, and persisting in his appeal to the pope; was imprisoned to await his sentence. Hincmar then ordained another bishop in his room. The pope inferred from the proceedings in France, that the dignity and privileges of the apostolic see were disregarded. He therefore wrote to Hincmar to require the restoration of the deposed bishop within thirty days, and to desire both Rothade and Hincmar to appear personally before him. In case of neglect on the part of the archbishop, a threat of suspension from mass was to be put in execution against him and all the bishops, who had acted with him in council on that occasion. Hincmar and his threatened coadjutors sent Odo, Bishop of Beauvais, with the acts of the council. They required him also to justify the judgment they had given, with a request to Nicholas that he would confirm it. This greatly increased the anger of the pope, who expressed surprise at their having presumed to judge and depose one who had appealed to the apostolic see; and in defiance of the appeal, appoint another in his place. He declares himself deter-

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

⁶ Labb. Concil. viii. 739, seqq.

condemned.

⁷ Id. col. 764 for the proceedings of the council of Metz, and col. 766 for that of Rome, in which the former was

⁸ Id. viii. 736. 761.

⁹ The form of appeal is given by Baronius, A.D. 863, § 81.

mined not to bear with such infringement of the rights of the pontificate, which to his last breath he avows himself resolved to maintain. He commands that Rothade be forthwith set at liberty, and his journey to Rome be no longer impeded, or the sentence which disobedience and obstinacy deserve, will be renewed against Hincmar and all the bishops of the council. *In this remonstrance Nicholas protests that the imperial laws are inferior in authority to the canons; and consequently, that the state ought to be ruled by the Church, and emperors and princes by the pope and ecclesiastical authorities*¹. The issue of this contest may be said to involve the entire temporal as well as spiritual supremacy of Rome. The doctrine laid down by Nicholas in this dogma, proves that he discerned the mighty consequences which awaited the success of this openly declared usurpation. He perceived the submission of the Gallican princes to the ecclesiastical power of France; and that he had only to subdue Hincmar, the leading churchman of the West, whose influence was dangerous to the claims of Rome, to obtain entire ascendancy over the churches and states of France, Spain, Germany, and the other kingdoms of the western empire.

In a letter to Rothade, therefore, after dismissing the Bishop of Beauvais, the pope encourages him, in defiance of all opposition, to persist in his appeal to the apostolic see. The bishops of France, finding his holiness inflexible, upon receiving his reply to their despatch, met in council at Verberie. The council was attended by the king. It was there determined, rather than come to an open rupture with Nicholas, to release Rothade and permit him to go to Rome. By this concession, however, the bishops did not remove the anger of the Vatican; and by a further justification of their measures, which was drawn up by Hincmar, the rage of Nicholas was rather increased than pacified. The pope in all his expostulations had reproached them with acting in opposition to the canons; and Hincmar was desirous to prove to his holiness, that it was Rothade, and by implication the pope himself, who had violated the canons of Sardica, by encouraging the appeal to Rome after condemnation of the bishop by a council of his own province; that all that

¹ See Labb. Concil. viii. 775, and history of these transactions is detailed in the following pages of this work

the canons allowed the Bishop of Rome to do was, to order re-examination to be instituted in the province, and to send legates to be present at the new trial.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

Hincmar then adds, that Rothade, being at liberty, might proceed to Rome to prosecute his appeal as soon as he pleased; but if his holiness should think proper to reverse the sentence which the council had recorded against him, after his case had been fully investigated by his metropolitan and his brother bishops, then not only would provincial but even national synods be of no further use; and further, that the greater offenders, when so condemned, would appeal to Rome that their sentence might be annulled. With regard to himself, he assured his holiness that if their decree were rescinded, he should decline to sit in judgment, in future, on any transgression of the ecclesiastical laws. He would only take upon himself to admonish, and if his admonitions were not regarded, he would then leave the matter to the decision of the apostolic see.

At length, Rothade made his appeal to Rome, and deputies were sent by Hincmar and the French bishops to witness the character of the proceedings, without having any commission either to bring charges against Rothade; or to vindicate the transactions of the French bishops, by whom he had been deposed. The result was, that after having performed divine service on Christmas-eve, 864, the pope entered the reading desk, and having read the memorial of Rothade, declared him worthy of his episcopal dignity, and ordered him to resume it.

Charlemagne having extended to metropolitans the right of imprisonment in case of contumacious resistance to their authority, Hincmar possessed this privilege, which he defended, as well as the acts of the three several councils which he had held on the affair of Rothade. He therefore refused to comply with any of the pontifical commands, as regarded his own appearance, to plead before the apostolic see in justification of what he had done and sanctioned; and replied to the constant threatenings of excommunication, by appealing to the universal canons².

² The facts and observations contained in this account of the dispute between Nicholas and Hincmar, or rather, the Gallican bishops for whom he conducted it, are reported at large in Baronius, from the years 863—865. The nature and importance of the controversy could not be conveyed by

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

It was *under these circumstances that the forged decretals were first heard of in any ecclesiastical controversy*³. The one question between Hincmar and Nicholas, or in other words, between the bishops of all Europe and the pope, was this: If a bishop exercised his power over his clergy and people, and one whom he condemned appealed to the pope, had the pope authority to hear the cause by summoning the parties to Rome? or had he only the right to send a legate to the province or diocese in which the question arose, that it might be reheard by his deputy, as an impartial assessor, whose distance from the scene of contention preserved him from prejudice, fear, or favour?

Hincmar and the Gallican clergy contended against the claim of the holy see, and *Nicholas appealed to the false decretals as decisive of the controversy*. Hincmar affirmed that the instances of papal power produced from them by Nicholas were irrelevant, or doubtful⁴, but he and the bishops of Gaul did not deny their authority. They maintained that, as they were not found in the usual books of canons, the appeal to Rome which they enjoined, could not be affirmed on their authority alone, against the precedents which sanctioned the decisions of cases by the churches and bishops in the provinces in which offences occurred⁵.

The pope, however, prevailed in the controversy by that perseverance which has hitherto been found, in all ages, to be one of the most powerful weapons of the papal see; and Hinc-

fragments given as notes; and the whole is far too long to be introduced on the present occasion; but as a portion of ecclesiastical history, it contains much interesting matter for contemplation, which ought to be understood by every one who is anxious to become acquainted with the leading events and conspicuous characters of the age which it concerns.

³ Ex his vides, Lector, perspicuè satis, Nicolaum de illis loqui epistolis Romanorum pontificum, quas Isidori collectio continet, Clementis scilicet et aliorum, qui tempore persecutionis Romanæ ecclesiæ præferunt, usque ad Sylvestrem papam, quas non ob eam causam esse rejiciendas optime docet, quòd non sint cum aliis scriptæ in corpore Canonum. Ceterum hæc illis ad eò esse Romanam ecclesiam ostensurus, ex receptis in corpore Canonum epis-

tolis Romanorum pontificum testimonium petit, ad probandum quod nititur, nimirum, graviore causas judicio apostolicæ sedis definiendas esse.—Baronius, Annal. vol. x. p. 280, where Nicholas quotes the decretals.

It is also enjoined that the decretal epistles be received by all, and they are affirmed to be of greater authority than the apostolical canons.—Ibid.

⁴ The canons of the French Church in the time of Hincmar did not contain the decretals of Isidore. The command to appeal to Rome is not found in the early canons of Nice, Antioch, and of the Universal Church; which uniformly attribute the power of deciding causes respecting bishops, to synods of the provinces in which the cases originated.—Van Espen, iii. 475.

⁵ Van Espen, iii. 455.

mar rescinding his double sentence on Rothade, in 865, restored him, in compliance with the injunctions of the pope⁶, to his dignity. In the year following, Hincmar presided at the third council of Soissons, and restored Wulfade, and the presbyters who had taken part with Rothade⁷. All this was done at the command or urgent desire of the pope. Hincmar was anxious to avoid disunion. The peace of the churches was supposed to be identified, in that age, *with union with Rome. The pope, as the successor of St. Peter, was regarded with a veneration which neither vice, weakness, nor ambition appeared to lessen; nor virtue, talents, nor accomplishments to increase.* The abstract principle of religion, considered as “the fear of God,” included homage to the authority of the principal bishop of the West; and the popes, and their numerous adherents, had sedulously, through many centuries, inculcated this belief.

From the time when Nicholas had recourse to the decretals in his attempt to encroach upon the power of the metropolitans, their importance became established; and until the great controversy which produced Protestantism, they were used as vouchers for any new claim that any pope chose to assert, without their legitimacy being disputed.

In consequence of the compliance of Hincmar with the decision of the Bishop of Rome, which the circumstances of the time only rendered imperative on the Rhemish metropolitan, Nicholas sent the imperious and insolent Arsenius⁸, Bishop of Orta, in Tuscany, into France, to restore Rothade to his see. He was the bearer of letters to Charles the Bald, Hincmar, and the bishops. The chief object of these letters was to affirm his right, as the successor of St. Peter, to receive appeals from national as well as provincial councils; and of confirming or annulling their decisions as the apostolic see

⁶ The papal proceedings connected with the restoration of Rothade are collected by Labbe, viii. 783, seqq. Rothade, however, was compelled to confess his error and implore the forgiveness of his metropolitan, before he was permitted to obtain restitution of his privileges.—See Du Pin, de Antiq. Eccl. Disciplina, p. 239.

⁷ Ibid. col. 808.

⁸ Ughelli Ital. Sacra, i. 735, edit. Coleti. The whole history of this pontificate, the controversies between Nicholas and Hincmar, and Nicholas and Photius, the conduct of the bishop of Orta, Arsenius, and the question of the false decretals, and their origin, are well worthy the attention of the student, and deserve to be made the subject of a separate volume.

should think fit. He maintained this privilege as the exclusive right of the see of Rome by virtue of the false decretals, which he affirmed to be equal in authority to the ancient canons, and even Scripture. He there tells the Gallican bishops that they could not have been eligible to try Rothade, inasmuch as he had, from the time of his deposition, announced his appeal to the Roman see; and he declares all appeals from *superior to inferior* tribunals to be null and void. To Hincmar he proceeds to say, that as he did not come in person to accuse Rothade at Rome, he must either acquiesce in his restoration, or be cut off for ever from communion with the Catholic Church. Hincmar submitted; and his submission in the present case was a most fatal event to the cause of the independence of the metropolitans, bishops, and churches of Spain, France, England, and Germany; for the false decretals became the chief portion of the canon law; and gradually obtained the same authority on the continent, and in England, which an act of parliament possesses at present over the subjects in this empire⁹.

Though so much has been said of this Bishop of Rome, we cannot understand the extent of his influence in Europe, nor the nature of his claims to supremacy, unless we still further consider the positive acts of the exercise of his power.

Nicholas exercised positive authority over emperors, kings, patriarchs, metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, and councils; or, in other words, he presumed to attempt to rule in every part of Christendom over every native legislature, and every civil and every ecclesiastical authority, which is entitled to give laws to nations.

He exercised authority over emperors. He rejected an appeal made by the emperor Louis in favour of two archbishops who had been deposed by the mere sentence of Nicholas. The letter of the emperor was even treated with contempt by the pontiff. Louis proceeded with an army to Rome to revenge the insult. The emperor, seasonably for the pope, was suddenly taken ill of a fever, and the emissaries of Nicholas were careful to seize on this opportunity of working on his superstitious fears. This produced the desired

⁹ To the references already cited from Labbe's Councils, add Baron. A.D. 865.

effect; and Louis sent his empress to invite the pope to a conference, which ended in his marching back without executing his purpose¹. BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

Nicholas despised also, as we have seen, the authority of the emperor of the East, in the matter of Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople.

In his reply to the letter of the emperor Michael in 867, which complained of the treatment he had received from the Roman pontiff, Nicholas tells him that he did but "admonish and rebuke him for the welfare of his soul." We have seen that when the emperor, in one of his letters to Nicholas had used the phrase "we commanded you," the pope expresses much displeasure; and reproves Michael by reminding him that "we pray," "we entreat," "we exhort," would have been much more becoming than *we command*².

He governed or influenced kings. Writing to the Bishops of Lorraine, he says, that Lotharius had dismissed Theutberga and married another wife without waiting for the judgment of the apostolic see, to which he had promised to submit. He therefore desires, that the king may be summoned to appear before them and his legates to plead his cause in person, on pain of being cut off from communion with the faithful³. He dispatched Arsenius, Bishop of Orta, on a mission to Lotharius, to inform him that he must dismiss the mistress he had married, and take back his wife, or he would that instant pronounce sentence of excommunication against him. The king thought it advisable to submit; and the legate obliged him to swear that he would break off all correspondence with Waldrada, and treat Theutberga as his lawful wife. The same oath was taken in the king's name, by order of the legate, by twelve of the chief nobles of the kingdom⁴.

Lotharius, in 866, in a letter to Nicholas, styles him "The most holy, most blessed, and angelic lord Nicholas, sovereign pontiff, and universal pope:" he begs that he be not excommunicated; and declares that he will be subject to none but God, to St. Peter, and to his most holy lord and father, pope Nicholas⁵.

¹ Bower's Lives of the Popes, vol. iv. p. 297, et seq.

² Baron. ad ann. 867, n. 83.

³ Nichol. Epist. 23.

⁴ Annal. Bertin. et Metens. ad ann. 865, 866. Nichol. Epist. 58.

⁵ Baron. A.D. 866, § 38.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

In one of his insolent letters to the same king, "we command thee," says Nicholas, "by the apostolic authority, not to suffer any bishop to be chosen for Treves and Cologne before a report be made to our apostleship ⁶."

He wrote generally to the kings of France in a haughty, imperious, and even threatening style ⁷. His object was to raise the Church above the State. With that view he taught the novel doctrine that *subjection is not due to bad princes*; and he left every bishop to determine whether his prince were good or bad, a lawful prince or a tyrant.

He interfered to influence the succession of kingdoms. On the death of Charles, king of Provence, brother to the emperor Louis, he sent Arsenius to settle, according to his desire, the succession of the kingdom ⁸.

Nicholas was no less presumptuous in his conduct to patriarchs. When Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, was expelled from his see to make way for Photius, he appealed to Nicholas. The pope declares his unalterable resolution of supporting Ignatius as the legitimate patriarch. He exhorts the emperor to disown the blasphemous letter he had sent him, and order it to be publicly burnt; otherwise he will excommunicate the author of it in a council of all the bishops of the West, and cause the letter to be fixed to a stake and burnt to his shame and disgrace in the sight of all the nations of the world that flock to the tomb of St. Peter ⁹. In retaliation for this load of insult, Photius summoned a council at Constantinople, before which he charged the pope with numerous distinct heresies, and the sentence of excommunication was retorted upon him. The pope, however, succeeded in restoring Ignatius to the see for life; and Photius was deposed and banished. The conduct of Nicholas to Hincmar of Rheims, has been already mentioned.

Neither was this Bishop of Rome less insolent towards archbishops, and to the Provincial councils over which they presided, or at which they had assisted. The archbishops, Theutgand of Cologne and Gunther of Treves, were delegated by king Lothaire, and the bishops who had been present at a council of Metz, to proceed to Rome and deliver to the pope the acts of that council, which had sanctioned Lothaire

⁶ Gratian, Dist. lxiii. c. 4.

⁷ Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 865.

⁸ Id. ad ann. 865, 866.

⁹ Nichol. Epist. 9—16.

in divorcing his former wife and marrying another. The pope asked the two archbishops if they still abided by what they had done? They answered, that "what they had signed with their hands they would not deny with their lips." The pope dismissed them, and caused the acts of the Council of Metz to be read before a council which was then sitting in the Lateran palace, by which Theutgand and Gunther were without further ceremony deposed. The bishops complained to the king, and to the emperor his brother, of the gross treatment they had received as the representatives of their king and a national council. They also signified that the deposing of metropolitans without the consent of their princes, and of other metropolitans, was a novelty in the Church; and it was not only a breach of the fundamental canons, but an encroachment on the prerogatives of princes, as well as an insult offered to the king of Lorraine, whose deputies they were. The menaces of the pope, however, prevented all hope of redress ¹.

Nicholas cited also, by his own authority, John, archbishop of Ravenna, to appear before him to answer complaints of having deposed certain bishops of his province without the knowledge of the apostolic see, which claimed jurisdiction over it. The archbishop disregarded the summons, and sentence of excommunication was passed upon him. Not intimidated, the archbishop resolved to maintain the independency of his see; and set out for Rome, accompanied by several persons of distinction from the emperor Louis, for that purpose. But the pope gained over these attendants, together with many of the people of Ravenna; and the see became, from that time, without any further resistance, as it now is, entirely subjected to Rome ².

Such were some few only of the acts of power by which this ambitious pontiff governed or influenced the states and churches of Christendom; we cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that the decretals were so generally received. Neither can astonishment be excited that we should be able to select, from his numerous epistles, a mass of dogmas or rescripts which became established rules for guiding the conduct of all his successors.

¹ Baron. A.D. 862, § 38.

² Anastasius in vita Nicolai pape.

Between the LVith and LVIIth epistles of Gregory the Seventh, we find twenty-seven maxims, called *Dictatus Papæ*, which have been ascribed to that pope³. Whatever may have been the origin of the actual collection of the twenty-seven maxims, it is certain that they are not only to be found in the letters of Gregory; but that they may be, and for the most part have been, collected by Cochlæus, from the rescripts of Nicholas. *I regard this bishop, therefore, as the real founder of the future power and influence exercised by Gregory VII., who made the extension of the supremacy of Rome, his passion and sole study. Gregory, like Nicholas, quoted the false decretals. These celebrated twenty-seven sayings condensed the presumptions and pretensions of the see of Rome, into one brief code of papal aphorisms. The lightning which Gregory the Seventh darted upon the emperors, princes, bishops, churches, and states of Europe, was prepared in the thunder-cloud which the magician Nicholas I. gathered in the darkened sky of Christendom*⁴.

³ *Bini Concilia, &c.* vol. iii. pars ii. p. 297, fol. Col. Agrip. 1618.

Pagi justly observes, that they have no connexion with the epistle which precedes, or that which follows them; and endeavours to prove them to be supposititious.—Pagi, A.D. 1077, § 8.

Baronius refers them to a council at Rome, held in the year 1076. [Baron. *Annal.* xi. 475.] Pagi is not satisfied with this authority, and endeavours to prove that they are spurious from the silence of the enemies of Gregory, from the twenty-third maxim, and from other arguments. The latest writer on the subject, who, though anonymous, will be considered as a sufficient authority by many, the editor of the *Roman Catholic, or Dublin Review* (xii. 316), rightly informs us that the development of the principle, that the Bishop of Rome, as head of the Church, was necessarily superior to kings and princes, is to be judged by the letters of Gregory, in which all the circumstances of the particular cases are detailed. He has omitted, however, to observe, that the twenty-seven maxims have been deduced from those very letters by the friends and not the enemies of the Roman Church; that they, as well as the rescripts of Nicholas, have been incorporated into the

canon law, which has been for a thousand years, the chief legislator of the Church of Rome; that these maxims have been regarded by Baronius and his admirers as undoubted axioms; that they have never, even to this hour, been denied, repealed, or objected to, by the authorities of the Church of Rome; that it would have been heresy worthy of the stake to have rejected them; and, therefore, unless they are formally and officially denied by the authority which has adopted them, or unless they are rejected from the code of laws, of which they have been so long considered a component part, we are justified in regarding them as the fundamental maxims of the policy or pretensions of the Church of Rome.

⁴ To prove this point, I had collected and appended to the twenty-seven maxims of Gregory, as they are given by Baronius (and which I subjoin here), parallel dogmata extracted from the rescripts of Nicholas, and the places where these several dogmas are found in the canon law. The collation of these documents sufficiently justified the affirmation that Nicholas was the founder of the active supremacy which the see of Rome exercised over emperors, kings, metropolitans, bishops, states, and churches; and that the

Here, then, I conclude the pontificate of Nicholas I. From this time to the council of Trent, the papacy was the chief ruling power among the nations of Europe. *It corrupted while it preserved the truth.* The Church of Rome was not an unmixed evil, till the day when it endeavoured to prevent the universal diffusion of the Scriptures committed to its care, in common with the other churches of Christendom; and when its canon law, as we shall see, justified and commanded the extreme severity of the faggot and the stake, as a fitting punishment for those who read the sacred pages without its own permission; or dared to use their reason so far as to judge of truth by evidence; or to question the authority of a church, which enforced its *absurd* additions to the creeds by treachery and cruelty. The occasional weakness of the papacy is by no means inconsistent with this view of its established dominion. The government of England has continued to be a monarchy both before, and after, the time of the Conquest to the present day. The changes of dynasty, the weakness of some princes, the childhood of others, the gradual

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

Gregories, Bonifaces, and Johns of a subsequent age, acted only on the principles, and pursued the policy of Nicholas. I omit them, however, as unnecessary to the elucidation of the subject. I. The Roman Church is founded by the Lord alone. II. The Roman pontiff alone is by right called universal. III. He alone can depose and restore bishops. IV. His legate presides over all bishops in council, though inferior in degree, and can pass sentence of deposition upon them. V. The pope can depose the absent. VI. We ought not, among other things, to dwell in the same house with those whom he has excommunicated. VII. It is lawful for him alone, as circumstances require, to make new laws, to build new churches, to change a chapter to an abbey, and, on the contrary, to divide a rich see, and unite a poor one. VIII. He alone can use imperial honours. IX. All princes are to kiss the feet of the pope only. X. His name alone may be repeated in churches. XI. It is the chief name in the world. XII. It is lawful for him to depose emperors. XIII. It is lawful for him to transfer bishops, as circumstances may require, from see to see. XIV. In any church he desires

he may ordain a clerk. XV. One ordained by him may govern another church, but not in hostility, nor must he take a superior degree from another bishop. XVI. No synod ought to be called *general* except by his command. XVII. No chapter nor any book to be held as canonical without his authority. XVIII. His decision is to be withstood by none, but he alone may annul those of all men. XIX. He can be judged by no one. XX. None may dare to condemn such as appeal to the apostolic see. XXI. To him must be referred the greater causes of all churches. XXII. The Roman Church never has erred, nor ever will err hereafter, as the Scripture witnesseth. XXIII. The Roman pontiff, if canonically ordained, is without doubt made holy by the merits of St. Peter, as, by Eusebius, Bishop of Pavia, it is confessed; also, as is contained in the decrees of the blessed Pope Symmachus. XXIV. It is lawful to accuse, subject to his command or permission. XXV. Without assembling a synod, he can depose or reinstate bishops. XXVI. He is not to be esteemed a catholic who dissents from the Roman Church. XXVII. He can release the subjects of his enemies from their allegiance.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

encroachments of the barons of former ages, and of the representatives of the people in later ages, and even the brief usurpations of the long parliaments of Cromwell, of his son, and of the council of state; do not prevent us from speaking, in general terms, of the monarchy of England. *So it is also with respect to the ecclesiastical power of the papacy.* The churches of Christ, throughout Christendom, were as much subdued into one monarchy under the dominion of Nicholas, as the kingdoms of the Heptarchy (or octarchy), or the counties of England which composed them, were subdued by William the Norman. The principles of the gradually formed domination of the Bishop of Rome, were completely developed in successive pontificates. The long succession of bishops who followed Nicholas were either weak or powerful, energetic or timid; but whatever they were, the papal monarchy was from this moment unchangeably the same. The history of the papacy is nothing else, from this period, but a narrative of continually increasing power, originating in the belief of the people in the principles now developed. Christianity was identified with the papacy. Kings and their subjects united in the conviction of the earthly omnipotence of the priesthood, episcopate, and papacy. The divine power was with all, but the highest earthly manifestation of that divine power resided at Rome. The people appealed to the ecclesiastical power against the real or supposed despotism of their sovereigns; and the kings of the earth dared not exercise the tyranny which had characterized their unconverted ancestors. Sovereigns were protected against the caprice and rebellion of their people, when they acknowledged the superiority of the common power of the Church. The influence of the ecclesiastical papacy was rendered resistless by three sources of legislative authority, which were so ordered, that the power of Rome established itself in the heart of every country, and prevented the formation of any system of laws independent of its own policy. Because our duty to God became identified with obedience to the principles of the papacy, whatever supported the papacy was supposed to be pleasing to God; whatever opposed the papacy was declared to be hostile to God. The support of the papacy was held to be religion, devotion, piety; and therefore to those who believed it, peace of mind and zeal

for Christ. To oppose the papacy was heresy, wickedness, irreligion, infidelity, infamy, mental reproach, and general abhorrence. Because no one action or duty of civil life can be entirely separated from religious motives, and a desire to please God in all things; therefore, the adoption of any political party, the espousing any political question of war or peace, the claim to a throne, or the increase of popular liberty, became right or wrong, religious or irreligious, in that proportion only in which the papacy was pleased or displeased. The Bishop of Rome, like all other human beings, was pleased or displeased, as the power, wealth, supremacy, and interest of his see was increased or diminished. The three chief pillars on which the maintaining this superhuman elevation reposed, were the three claims of the *right to receive appeals* from all other courts, whether spiritual or temporal; *the right to send judges* into every country under the name of legates or vicars, who should hear causes; and *the right to establish in every land a body of ecclesiastics* who should be subjected to, and swear obedience to, the papacy alone; while they remained independent both of their ecclesiastical or civil rulers. The first of these assumed privileges, constituted the tribunal which suppressed and kept down the struggles made for liberty or truth, by subjecting them to the judgment of a foreigner; and which, in all ages, was especially injurious to the English or Saxon nations, because their ideas of liberty were derived from the will of the people; and the ideas of liberty entertained by the foreigners, were derived from the will of the prince. The *second* suppressed the struggles for liberty and truth at home, by subjecting domestic controversies to the will of a foreigner, who judged all questions by the same criteria. The *third* divided, and therefore weakened, the efforts of the people to obtain domestic government, by maintaining in the heart of every country an ecclesiastical monastic army, at the disposal of the foreign enemy. This was the triple chain with which force and strength bound the Prometheus of the English nation to the barren rock of popish supremacy through so many ages. These were the fetters which made every bishop and every prince of Christendom exclaim in vain, like Prometheus, to the powers which were above them all; to witness the degradation which they, as gods, suffered from an usurping god, who governed, by the

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

thunder of the banishment from Olympus, the opponents of his unjust pretensions. The remainder of the history relates only the continued efforts to obtain dominion on the part of the popes; the no less continued resistance of bishops, churches, and princes, and the infliction of interdicts, excommunications, and anathemas, which were only then effective, when nations submitted to the intolerable usurpation. From the time of Nicholas I. to the period of the Council of Trent, all was encroachment and resistance, enlarging the creeds, abridging the commandments, and making God Himself not incarnate to teach truth, suffer, and submit to the Herods and Pilates of the world; but incarnate to teach falsehood, to inflict suffering, and to make the Herods and Pilates of Europe and of the East, the victims, the slaves, and the vassals of him who, though of the earth, earthy, sat in the highest place of the bloodstained Church of God, boasting himself that he was God.

CVII. *Hadriun II., died 872.*

The principles upon which the supremacy of the Church of Rome was founded being thus developed, and its power having been thus exerted over the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of mankind, we shall find that the remainder of the history, both of the civil and ecclesiastical power, out of Italy, is only the recapitulation of the perpetual resistance on the part of princes and bishops, to the continued pressure upon them of new claims, usurpations, doctrines, decrees, and privileges by the pontiffs; till the last, so called, general council, which confirmed the pretensions of the Bishops of Rome to universal dominion over Christians. This council did not cease to sit till the Church of France had established its right of self-government, provided it maintained a limited deference to Rome, and remained in communion with its bishop; nor till the Church of England had revised the whole body of its faith, discipline, and laws; and established its right to self-government, without any submission to the Bishop of Rome, and without expressing any desire to remain in communion with his Church. It will only be necessary to keep in view the effects which the principles laid down in the false decretals and rescripts of Nicholas, exercised upon the laws

and happiness of nations. The vulgar mode of regarding history as a succession of the picturesque incidents of wars, battles, sieges, victories, treaties, customs, and manners, has more charms for the common mind; and less for the philosopher and student of the government of the world by the providence of God; than has the survey of the influence of true or false principles upon human happiness: but the opinions of the monk in his cell, or the teacher in the church, gradually leaven, and then govern society, till they become embodied in the forms of armies, ambassadors, and revolutions. The whole history of Europe, from the day of the rescripts of Nicholas, and their adoption by Hadrian, his successor, is one continued detail of the results of their adoption by the pontiffs; and of their rejection or reception by kingdoms, rulers, and churches.

Hadrian maintained the policy of Nicholas, though not with equal energy. He endeavoured, after the eighth general council, to exclude Charles the Bald from succeeding Lothaire in the government of the empire, which he wished to confer on Louis, the son of Lothaire. He commanded the nobles, on pain of anathema and excommunication, not to support Charles. He proclaimed that the holy see was in favour of Louis; and that the arms which God had placed in his hands were prepared for his defence. *This is the first attempt made by a pope to set a prince on a throne by his own absolute authority.* His threats were in this first instance ineffectual. Hincmar and his coadjutors had secured possession of the throne for Charles before the legates of Hadrian had arrived; and though menaces were used to compel abdication, the king and Hincmar repelled them with so much firmness that the pope desisted, though with no small reluctance⁵.

The schism in the Church of Constantinople, caused by the contention of Ignatius and Photius for the see, was still raging. On the accession of Hadrian to the pontificate, envoys from the emperor Basilius were dispatched to Rome with the acts of a synod which had been held by Photius against Pope Nicholas. The death of Nicholas occurred previously to the arrival of the deputation; and they were delivered to Hadrian. The pope caused the contents of the de-

⁵ Fleury, lib. lii. sec. 8—22.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

crees to be examined by scholars well versed in the Greek tongue. He then assembled a council at Rome, which, in the presence of the envoys from the East, decided that the acts of the Council of Constantinople, by Photius and the emperor Michael, against the authority of the Roman Church, should be committed publicly to the flames. Photius was also condemned and anathematized, unless he submitted to the decrees of Pope Nicholas, and all who refused to communicate with Ignatius were excommunicated. The book containing the decrees sent from Constantinople, was then trodden under foot by the pope and bishops of the council, and with anathemas and curses consigned to the fire.

We are now brought to the next great council which is regarded as a general council by the Church of Rome, though not by the Oriental Churches which are not in communion with Rome. It is called the Fourth Council of Constantinople, and the eighth Œcumenical Council. Upon this occasion, Hadrian, acting upon the now more generally, though not universally, acknowledged assumption, that the Bishop of Rome was the head of all bishops, and the Church of Rome the mistress of all Churches, ventured to usurp a power which had been unknown to the boldest of his predecessors. He wrote to the emperor Basilius ⁶, requiring him to summon a general council at Constantinople ⁷. To destroy the influence of Photius, then fully established in the patriarchal dignity of the imperial city, and to uphold that of Ignatius in this council, whose cause had become identified with the interests and greatness of the Bishop and Church of Rome, Hadrian had the boldness or the presumption to draw up a declaration of subjection, obedience, and veneration ⁸ to the see of Rome, which he commanded his legates, the Bishop of Ostia, Stephen of Nepi, and the deacon Marinus, to submit to the emperor and to the Oriental Bishops, that it might be signed by all before they could be permitted to take their seats in the council. This novel and unheard of ⁹ requisition excited surprise: but the declaration was translated into Greek, and

⁶ Pagi in Annal. Baron. iii. 681.

⁷ The words of the letter were, "Volumus, per vestræ pietatis industriam, Constantinopoli numerosum celebrari concilium."—Pagi, ut supra.

⁸ Legatis suis libellum tradidit, quo

omnes ad subjectionem, obedientiam, et reverentiam Romanæ sedis obligabantur, qui vellent synodo interesse, &c.—Gesner, de Conciliis, 12mo, Wittbergæ, 1601.

⁹ Pagi, iii. 681.

after some hesitation subscribed by the supporters of Ignatius. BOOK III.
CHAP. III.
The supporters of Photius were necessarily excluded, and the attendance at the council was consequently small. This very circumstance, however, elicits the approbation rather than the censure of the historian who records the transaction. Twelve bishops only attended the council at its commencement. Their number slightly increased as its acts proceeded. The historian, Anastasius, remarks upon the subscriptions to the tenth act of the council, that, as the friends of Photius were not permitted to be present, and those only were there who favoured the opposite party, the people must not be scandalized at the paucity of the attendance; for the words of Christ were applicable to them, "Fear not, little flock." Every act of folly, usurpation, and dominion, every new pretension as well as every new opinion, was thus defended, not only in the letters of the popes and bishops, but also in the general and historical writings of the age, by texts of Scripture forcibly torn from the context, and thus violently compelled to supply the place of arguments. The practice in question is not confined to the Church of Rome.

I subjoin a synoptical table of the circumstances of the eighth council, as usual. I remark only that the rescripts of Nicholas were confirmed, and the twenty-seven maxims of the papacy irrevocably strengthened by various canons, which gave the sanction of a real or supposed general council, both of the East and West, to the pretensions of the Bishop and Church of Rome. These canons became another component part of the general canon law, and as such governed the Universal Church.

Synopsis of the Eighth General Council¹.

Council IX.	Fourth of Constantinople.
Date.	A.D. 869 ² .
Number of bishops.	The number attending varied, from the first session at which were present not more than seventeen; at the last meeting there were one hundred and two ³ .
President.	Bahanes; but the legates of Rome were treated with high respect ⁴ .
By whom summoned.	Basilius, the emperor ⁵ .
Why and against what opinions.	To restore Ignatius to the see of Constantinople, and to depose Photius.
Against whom.	Photius and his followers.
Chief decrees and canons.	Ten sessions, and twenty-seven canons. The seven General Councils approved. All heretics anathematized. Image-worship confirmed. That proper honour be paid from princes to bishops. For other acts of the council, see the following particulars and notes ⁶ .
Penalties.	Anathema—condemnation ⁷ .
Sufferers.	Photius. The bishops he ordained. Those who adhered to his cause.
Emperors.	Basilius, of the East. Charles the Bald, of the West.
Pope.	Hadrian II., not present, but represented by three legates—Donatus, Bishop of Ostia; Stephen, Bishop of Nepi; and Marinus, deacon ⁸ .

¹ There are four councils which are denominated the Eighth General Council. The first in 861, in which Ignatius was deprived at Constantinople. The second in 869, under Hadrian II., at Constantinople, when Ignatius was restored. The third in 880, which the schismatics esteem the VIIIth, in

which Photius fraudulently regains the see. The fourth, that of Florence, in 1055.—Binius, vol. iii. p. 813.

² Binius, vol. iii. p. 813; Venema, vol. v. p. 476; Petrus de Marea. *De Concordia*, &c., vol. i. p. 7, note, edit. 1788; Cave, vol. ii. pp. 1. 47. 79; Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. viii. p. 962;

I. The twelve bishops who had suffered in consequence of their fidelity to Ignatius were cited. The emperor's exhorta-

Du Pin, vol. vii. p. 92; Platina in Tab. dates it 914; Gesner places this council after that of Rome under Hadrian II. in 871; see vol. i. p. 603; Cent. Magd. vol. ix. p. 426, also place it after the Roman synod in 871.

³ Binius, vol. iii. p. 813, says 102 bishops were present; Platina in Tab. ut supra, says 300. Not more than 12, together with Ignatius and the legates from Rome, and the oriental patriarchs, were present at the opening, but they increased to 102, or 110. Venema, vol. v. p. 447; Pagi in Annal. Baron. vol. iii. p. 681.

None were admitted who would not subscribe the libel sent by the pope, and the Photian Bishops were excluded. Cave, vol. ii. pp. 47—79; Van Espen, vol. iii. p. 447; Du Pin, vol. vii. p. 92.

⁴ The emperors were present neither to preside nor to determine, but to preserve order. Imperatores Augusti, una cum pluribus patriciis, viris clarissimis præsto fuerunt, non ad presidendum, vel aliquid decidendum; sed potius ad tuendam synodum, omnemque inordinationem ab ea propulsandam, qua intentione alii Imperatores aliis Ecumenicis conciliis interfuerunt.—Binius, vol. iii. p. 816.

His peractis Bahanes famosissimus patricius et præpositus, qui in synodo iudicis et cognitoris munus gerebat.—Binius, vol. iii. p. 818, who says, p. 821, that the emperor presided.

Platina in Tab. says, that Donatus and Stephen, bishops, and Marinus, deacon, presided in the name of Hadrian.

Præседerunt vero Legati Papæ. Imperator quidem nonnunquam adfuit, etiam præsidere dicitur, sed honoris causa, et tanquam *defensor* ecclesiæ.—Venema, vol. v. p. 477.

Hic primo synodus exegit a legatis Romanæ sedis literas, quibus notam facerent potestatem suam, ut præside- rent in synodo.—Caranza, p. 746.

⁵ Hanc sacrosanctam synodum Hadrianus Pontifex indixit, Basilius vero imperator auxilio et opera sua promovit.—Binius, vol. iii. p. 813.

Platina says, that Hadrian allowed it to be held.—In Vit. Adriani Secundi, p. 310, edit. 1645.

Ipsæ tamen Basilius, ipsa synodus, et alii testantur, eam *jussu et auctoritate* imperatoris esse coactam.—Venema, vol. v. pp. 476, 477.

Missis ad Basilium literis, jussit papa, ut generalis celebratur synodus, cui legati sui præsideant, et in qua cuncta synodi Photianæ exemplaria igni comburentur. Paruit mox Basilius Imperator, et synodum Constantinopolitanam, vulgo Ecumenicam VIII., convocavit, in qua per legatos plenissime dominatus est papa.—Venema, vol. v. p. 448.

Ejus (Hadriani) auctoritate indictum a Basilio concilium C. Politanum IV. anno 869, quo Photius ejusque fautores diris devoti.—Marea de Concordia, vol. i. p. 7.

Cave, vol. ii. p. 79, says, that it was summoned by command of Basilius.

Potitur imperio solus Basilius, pius quidem princeps, qui tot scelerum atque etiam erroris Iconoclastarum pertusus, tot malis ope generalis concilii medicinam facere constituit. Quamobrem synodum VIII. omnibus patriarchis indixit.—Van Espen, vol. iii. p. 477.—Basilio Deo amicissimo imperatore nostro, qui universalem synodum congregans.—Concilia, vol. viii. p. 977; see also Du Pin, vol. vii. p. 92.

⁶ Quid vero *decem* actionibus sit peractum enarrasse nihil attinet. Illud in genere notetur, imaginum cultum religiosum fuisse stabilitum, et episcoporum dignitatem ac auctoritatem fuisse mirifice elevatam, supra quamcunque civilem, can. XIV. "Qui divina gratia episcopalem sortiuntur dignitatem, ordinem cœlestis hierarchie referunt in terris: quare merito sancimus, ut digno in honore, tam a principibus, quam a cleris omnibus, habeantur." Canon XXII. definit—"Neminem laicorum, principum, vel potentum semet inserere electioni vel promotioni patriarchæ, vel metropolitæ, vel cujuslibet episcopi." Photius, quod notasse suffecerit, vi in synodum ductus, silentium tenuit, et synodum ac Romanorum pontificum decreta constanter recusavit; quare depositus est, anathemati et diris devotus, scripta ejus, et in favorem ejus, sunt flammis tradita. Conditio quoque sunt, pro

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

tion read, and also Hadrian's epistle. The definitions of the Oriental patriarchs concerning the deposition of Ignatius, which agreed to his condemnation previously; and the libel containing an anathema against the Iconomachs and Photius are approved. The legates of Constantinople had not arrived.

II. The bishops who had been ordained by Methodius and Ignatius, but had fallen into the error of Photius, acknowledged their lapse, and brought a libel of supplication. They were, with the consent of the synod, received again into communion by Ignatius. The presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons were also received.

III. The archbishops of Ancyra and Nice refused re-admission because they would not sign the libel from Rome. Afterwards were read the epistles of Basilius, Ignatius, and Hadrian.

IV. Two Photian bishops, Theophilus and Zachary, were with difficulty admitted to the synod, who also affirmed that Photius and themselves had been received by Pope Nicholas and the Oriental patriarchs; but were convicted of falsehood by the Roman as well as the oriental legates, and were thrust out of the council with disgrace. The epistles of Nicholas were read, in which he says, "That no man ought suddenly to be raised from the laity to the sacerdotal office, which is contrary to the decrees of canons, and ought not to be defended from the examples of Tarasius and Ambrose."

V. Photius having been forcibly brought to the council refused to answer any questions, and was in consequence condemned.

VI. The Photian bishops summoned, and the letter of

more, aliqui canones ecclesiastici, qui Græce extant *quatuordecim*, sed ex versione Anastasii *viginti septem*.—Venema, vol. v. p. 478; Van Espen, vol. iii. p. 447.

In octavo Concilio Œcumenico, fidei definitiones quæ a septem conciliis œcumenicis precedentibus confectæ sunt, iterum renovatæ et confirmatæ fuerunt.—Van Espen, vol. iii. p. 448; Concilia, vol. viii. pp. 974—1145; Du Pin, vol. vii. p. 92; Caranza, p. 745; Cave, vol. ii. p. 79; Gesner says, that there were ten sessions, vol. i. p. 604; Venema, "in decem actiones distincta," vol. v. p. 476.

⁷ Blande rogatur (Photius), ut se

justificet circa sibi objecta: respondet hypocrita, *Justificationes meæ non sunt de hoc mundo*: suadet ut penitentiam agat qua solvatur anathemate, at ille pertinaciter tacet, et sic e conspectu se subducit. Quibus confectis, synodus anathematis telum in Photium contorsit.—Van Espen, vol. iii. p. 447.

⁸ Hadrian II., see Caranza, p. 754; Binius, vol. iii. p. 813.—Cuncta hic acta sunt ex nutu papæ, et decreta secundum mandata legatis ab ipso data.—Venema, vol. v. p. 477.

No mention is made of the pope in the canon, which restricts appeals to metropolitans and patriarchs.—Venema, vol. v. p. 478.

Pope Nicholas read, which contained the condemnation of Photius. They were exhorted by the emperor to confess their error; but being obstinate, seven days were allowed them for consideration, although the Roman legates urged condemnation.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

VII. Photius summoned to give his answer, but he obstinately refused so to do. The bishops were then called in, but all efforts to induce them to sign the libel sent from Rome were unavailing. The pastoral staff was taken from Photius, and he and his followers anathematized.

VIII. The writings of Photius, and the acts of his council against Pope Nicholas and the patriarch Ignatius, burnt by the emperor's command. Iconomachic bishops introduced, convinced of error, confessed, and were received. Anathema pronounced against all Iconomachs.

IX. The legate of Alexandria was present, who confirmed the former acts, they having been read to him. Many who had been brought forward as false witnesses against Ignatius, being penitent, were received, and the false legates whom Photius had caused to sign the acts of his synod were examined.

X. The acts signed, and twenty-seven canons read which related to ecclesiastical discipline. The principal ones are, *the Third*, which requires that the same adoration be paid to our Saviour's image as to the Book of the Gospels; because, as our salvation is to be obtained by the words contained in that Holy Book, so in images we learn by the features and colours what the Scripture teaches by the letters; and therefore they ought to be honoured according to ancient tradition, with worship, corresponding to the original; and as we honour the Gospel and the figure of the cross, so ought we to honour the images of the Virgin Mary and the saints. It ends with an anathema against those who do not. Also, *the Fifth*, that no man shall be promoted from the laity to the episcopal dignity, unless he have passed one year as reader, two years as sub-deacon, three years as deacon, and four years as presbyter.

The Tenth, that none separate from the communion of his patriarch until he have been condemned.

The Fourteenth, which provides for the honour of episcopacy, by enjoining the bishops not to meet great men and

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

princes at a distance from their churches, or to alight when they meet them, or to prostrate themselves before them.

The Seventeenth consists of three parts,—That patriarchs have power to summon their metropolitans. That Bishops be not prevented by princes from coming to these councils. That it is not necessary for the celebration of councils that princes be present, because the sacred canons never sanctioned it except at general councils. It renews the sixth canon of the first Nicene Council.

The Twenty-first. That all honour and respect be paid to patriarchs, especially to him of Old Rome, and next after, to those of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; that it is unlawful to attempt to turn them out of their sees; that all who dare to write anything or cast any obloquy against him shall be condemned; and if a prince attempt to depose him, he shall be excommunicated.

The Twenty-second. That bishops shall be elected by bishops alone, without any interference on the part of princes and great men, who are to ratify the bishops' choice.

The Twenty-third forbids the exercise of authority by a bishop in any other church than his own.

The Twenty-sixth settles, that appeals be made to the metropolitans, and after that to the patriarch; and in the decision of the case the provincial bishops and neighbouring metropolitans are excluded⁹.

After this, some Bishops of Constantinople complained to the emperor that their Church was made too subject to that of Rome; and they wished to retract their signatures which had been given to the libel sent by Hadrian. This they found it difficult to do. An ambassador from Bulgaria came to Constantinople, and the emperor summoned the Roman legates, together with Ignatius, and the deputies of the other patriarchs. The envoy inquired to what Church they were to be subject? The legates claimed their obedience to Rome; but neither the emperor nor Ignatius gave their consent to this. In consequence of the dispute concerning this question, a schism took place between the eastern and western churches, which has never yet been healed.

⁹ See Labb. Concil. viii. 1126—1144.

Though the pope was not present, every respect was paid him in the persons of his legates. He had professed himself desirous of doing justice to Ignatius, who had been deposed; but the real object he had in view was to obtain authority over Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly, and Sicily, all of which had been removed from his jurisdiction by the emperor Michael and Photius. He had demanded that they should again be subjugated to his authority, but he did not succeed: and he disguised his anger under the semblance of justice to an oppressed patriarch.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

CHAPTER IV.

The general power of the Churches merged in the influence of the Church of Rome. First Council of Lateran.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

HADRIAN lived two years after the fourth Council of Constantinople. His success in compelling the bishops of that council to sign a declaration of their deference to the Bishop of Rome, emboldened him to proceed still further in his attempt to enforce the principles and decrees of his predecessor Nicholas. As we may now, for the reasons I have already mentioned, consider the maxims of the papacy as fully developed; I shall only show, as briefly as possible, *the manner in which the Bishops of Rome attempted to compel the submission of states, monarchs, churches, and bishops, to their half human, half divine dominion.* I shall mention also, at the same time, *the degree of the resistance offered to their demand of supremacy over the universal Church, in every succeeding period.* Those students of history are much mistaken, who imagine that Wickliffe was the first reformer, or that Luther was the founder of the Reformation. Resistance to Rome was as general and as uniform, though it was overpowered for many centuries, as resistance to arbitrary power and political tyranny may be traced in every page of the history of England. Wickliffe followed in the train of the Hincmars and other Bishops, whether of France, Milan, Ravenna, Constantinople, or elsewhere, who dauntlessly opposed the Bishop of Rome; and Luther was but the voice of the mind of Europe, which had bowed down with indignation under the pontifical yoke. The iron sway of the Norman kings of England suppressed the passionate ardour of the English, for the more free institutions of their Saxon ancestors. The establishment of our now common privileges, of taxation with representation, and the participation of the mass of the

community in political power, is but the conclusion of the uniform demands of our ancestors, that their laws should be enacted with their own consent alone. The temporary suppression of the will of the people could not change the principles of liberty, nor prevent the eventual triumph of its advocates. So it was with the Reformation. The *mass of events which is comprised under that name*, some of which were most objectionable, was but the termination, in a large portion of Europe, of the continued and uniform resistance to the domination of the Bishop of Rome. That resistance was suppressed, and burnt out in Spain, Italy, and many other places. It will, however, again revive even in those countries; and Rome must change, in spite of her own laws, or be deserted by the most strenuous advocates of her supremacy.

The events of the period which intervened between the eighth Council of Constantinople, and the first of Lateran, may appear at first sight to be inconsistent with this view of the establishment of the papal supremacy. It extended through two hundred and fifty-four years, and included fifty-nine Bishops of Rome. It commenced with the attempt of Hadrian to extend over France, Bulgaria, Constantinople, and the East, the arrogant decrees of Nicholas; and the successful resistance to those decrees. The most earnest friends of the pretensions of the Church of Rome are compelled to adopt the most eloquent severity of language to describe the times which followed. Popular ignorance was then darkest. Pontifical wickedness was intolerable. The Bishops of Rome having obtained the authority of temporal princes, were regarded as temporal sovereigns. The power of the clergy and people to elect their bishop was superseded. Sometimes, as we shall see, the pope was elected by the influence of a courtesan; at other times by the barons of the neighbourhood. The sovereigns of Germany were solicited to destroy the despotism of the petty chieftains; and the election of the pontiffs remained with them, till another Nicholas under the influence of Hildebrand resisted the secular authority. *True religion is granted to prevent superstition.* The end of the world was supposed to be near. The desire to please God, and to meet the Judge of the world with joy and not with grief, was identified still more with profound homage to the bishops and servants of God; and neither the absurd prac-

BOOK III.
 CHAP. IV.

tices, the mutual dissensions, nor the profligate lives of many, could lead the unreflecting and superstitious crowd to separate from the communion of Rome. While they condemned and resisted, they venerated and trembled at her authority. The principles which had been slowly and gradually taught by the predecessors of Nicholas and Hadrian had become the religious creed, as well of the thoughtful as of the ambitious and careless ; and the conduct of Hildebrand, who refused to grant to the emperors the privilege of receiving the pledges of political fidelity made by the bishops, whom they had endowed with the wealth of provinces, and entrusted with power equal to their own over their subjects, was approved by the masses of his contemporaries, as the proof of faith to Him, who required the bishops of His Church to suffer rather than to rule. Thousands were found who doubted the prudence of this policy on the part of Hildebrand ; but all were unanimous in believing that some kind of power, superior to that of princes, was entrusted by Christ to the Bishops of Rome, for the benefit of the Universal Church. This power was not capable of definition, and was, therefore, of uncertain limit. All the actions of man may be included under religious sanctions in one sense, for all are moral or immoral. When the power of deciding upon morality or immorality was granted to a human being who claimed divinity because he was an ecclesiastic ; and who, being human, was governed by human motives, by which, unconsciously to himself, he decided on the lawfulness of all actions ; it then became evident that politics became religion, and religion became politics. Because, too, the king and the peasant are equal in the sight of God, and as immortal men are equal in the sight of the servants of God ; it became evident that kings and emperors were liable to be subjected to ecclesiastical censures and their consequences, no less than the meanest of their subjects. Thrones, crowns, and sceptres were, therefore, to be made subject to the papacy. The theories of ecclesiastics became the foundation of the international laws of Christendom ; and the axioms propounded by the bishops, and the pontiff at their head, were gradually matured into a code of resistless despotism. Nicholas anticipated Hildebrand ; and the intermediate follies, dissensions, and weaknesses of the see of Rome, had no other effect on its power, than the usur-

pation of Cromwell, the profligacy of Charles II., or the folly of James II., had upon the power of the English monarchy in the days of Trafalgar and Waterloo. The claims of ecclesiastical power were, it is true, sometimes dormant, but they were at length made influential to the overthrow both of liberty and truth throughout Europe; and the solemn lesson is given to princes and states, that the *temporary obsolescence or oblivion of the demands of churchmen*, as the possessors of a divine right to govern the consciences of princes by their authority, is not a sufficient security against their revival, and the consequent retrogradation of mankind. *There is not, there cannot be, any security against the return of the evils that are past, but that which, I again and again repeat, must be granted by Rome, and demanded by the adherents to its communion, the solemn and legal abrogation of the principles of Nicholas, and the maxims of Gregory.*

I deem a knowledge of the facts involved in the *continued enforcement* of their authority by the Bishops of Rome over sovereigns and states, and over the churches and bishops which unitedly constitute the true Catholic Church, together *with the resistance* which was so generally made to the exercise of that authority, to be so important to the development of the reasoning with which I shall conclude this essay; that I shall proceed, as briefly as possible, with the survey I have begun, and notice the principal results which the maxims of Nicholas had upon the happiness and peace, the religion and liberty of the world.

The first attempt of papal ambition to regulate the succession of princes, was made by Hadrian after his successful effort to influence the attendants at the eighth reputed general council at Constantinople. It was, however, unsuccessful. Upon the death of Lothaire II., king of Lorraine, in 869, his uncle, Charles the Bald, was called to the throne by the nobility and the bishops. Hadrian declared that the brother of the deceased monarch was entitled to the crown. He threatened excommunication to the adherents of Charles; and commanded Hincmar of Rheims, who had crowned him, to support the opposite party. Charles, however, had obtained the throne of Lorraine, and had secured the friendship of his brother Louis of Bavaria. Thus strengthened, he

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

resisted every attempt of Hadrian to depose him. Though the Bishops of Rome now claimed authority over the princes and sovereigns of Europe, their power was fully acknowledged only when it became the interest of the contending states to appeal to, or to submit to his arbitration. His authority was believed as a principle of religion ; but it had not become an influential principle, independent of the will of some one of the parties who sought his support. Charles the Bald had consulted the ecclesiastical authorities, when his ambition prompted him to dispossess his nephew. He hesitated to expose his dominions to the possibility of invasion by his neighbours, by venturing to act in hostility to the decisions of the pontiffs. He was too weak to make the attempt. When, however, he believed that he was sufficiently strong to despise this evil by the decision of the bishops and nobles of Lorraine, and by the alliance of his brother, king of Germany ; he then ventured to resist, and summoned the pen of Hincmar of Rheims to defend his opposition to the pontiff. The controversy between the two parties elicited the opinions of the Gallican bishops, and nobles of the day. Two letters had been sent from the pope to the king, two to the nobles, two to the ecclesiastical authorities, and two to Hincmar individually ; on the crown having been disposed of to Charles the Bald, without the consent of Hadrian. Hincmar writes as if commissioned by all the parties to give a general reply. He says, “the conduct of your holiness is quite unprecedented ;” “Charles is no usurper, no tyrant, names which your holiness is pleased to bestow upon him ;” “they say to me, you must tell the pope that he cannot be both king and bishop ;” “all are shocked at the terms of perjury and tyranny in your letter ; and say what it would serve no good purpose to let you know : but I must inform your holiness that the king is determined to maintain, at all events, his claim to the kingdom of Lorraine, and that no censures nor excommunications will divert him from it¹.” Their united resistance was successful, and *France, principally in consequence of this early opposition to the popedom, has never been so entirely the vassal of Rome as the provinces of Italy and Spain.*

This, however, was not the only instance in which the pon-

¹ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 558.

tiff was successfully resisted by the sovereign and Bishops of France. Carloman, in the same year, rebelled against his father, Charles the Bald, and was taken prisoner. The pope interfered in behalf of the traitor. He wrote to the king to release him from prison; to the nobility, to forbid them to bear arms against the rebel on pain of excommunication; to the bishops, to declare all their proceedings null till his legates had inquired into the affair on the spot². Carloman, however, was condemned to death, though the sentence was commuted to loss of sight instead of loss of life. Even this was in opposition to the injunctions of Hadrian.

Neither was the pope more successful in attempting to subdue to his supremacy the Bishops and Councils of France. Hincmar, Bishop of Laon, the nephew of Hincmar of Rheims, was charged with appropriating to himself the proceeds of a benefice which the king had granted to a clerk named Luido. On refusing to restore them, the king ordered the cause to be tried by the civil law, or in a court composed of laymen. The bishop refused to submit to the decision of laymen, and was supported in his refusal by his uncle, the Archbishop of Rheims. In spite of this he appealed privately to the pope against the general conduct of the king in this affair; and more especially against the appointment of a person named Nortman, to another benefice in the gift of the king. A council was called at Verberia³ by the king, at which Hincmar of Laon attended. Perceiving the judgment of this council to be against him, he appealed to the pope, and requested permission from the king to proceed to Rome. The king refused his consent, and for a short time imprisoned him. Other complaints were subsequently laid against Hincmar, who was deposed by a council of bishops notwithstanding his continued appeals to Rome. Their sentence was pronounced with reference to the Council of Sardica. Hincmar of Rheims, with the bishops, was willing that a legate from the pope should be present in the province in which the alleged offence had occurred, as an assessor in the cause; but they would not sanction the appeal in person to Rome. This degree of usurpation was not finally established till a subsequent age. Hadrian, on hearing of the appeal to his jurisdiction by

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

² See Ep. xxix. xxx. ap. Labb. Concil. viii. 929, seqq. ³ Id. col. 1527.

Hincmar of Laon, commanded by letters that he be permitted to appear at Rome. Charles, to whom the letter was addressed, had again recourse to the pen of Hincmar of Rheims, whose letters are still extant. Hadrian had sent his letter by Actard, the metropolitan of Tours. The letter was written in that peculiar style of command, blended with milder expressions, and with quotations from Scripture made applicable by his imagination to the purpose, which characterized the mandates and bulls of Rome. "Where," says Hincmar in his reply, "did he who dictated the letter brought us by Bishop Actard, find it written, that a king, who by the laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, is the avenger of crimes; can be commanded by apostolic authority to send a criminal to Rome, who has been legally convicted and condemned? I wrote to you formerly, and now write to you again, lest you should forget that we Franks, come of a royal race, are not the vicegerents of bishops, but lords and masters of the world." "We, therefore, entreat you never more to write such letters to us, or to the bishops and lords of our kingdom, that we may not be obliged to treat with contempt both the letters and the bearers." "When what the holy see writes is agreeable to Scripture, to tradition, and the laws of the Church; we are willing to embrace it. If it interferes with these, know that we are not to be frightened into it by menaces of excommunication and anathemas⁴." The bishops of the council answered a letter addressed to them at the same time in the same manner; and Hadrian, finding that his demand of submission was premature, apologized for the imperious style of his letters, throwing the blame of their composition on his secretary, who had written them during his indisposition⁵.

CVIII. *John VIII., died 882.*

The pontificate of this pope was remarkable for the contrast between his pretensions and actions. The former were the principles not merely of the papacy, but of the ecclesiastical power generally, which had not yet become merged in the influence of Rome. The latter was the consequence of the political events of his times. The Emperor, Louis the

⁴ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 265.⁵ Labb. Concil. viii. 936.

Second, died in 875. Charles the Bald proceeded immediately to Rome at the invitation of the pope, according to a private understanding between themselves, and was crowned by him on Christmas-day, in the Church of St. Peter⁶. In his speech on this occasion, the *pope told the assembly that he had elected him according to the will of God revealed to Pope Nicholas. From this time the popes claimed a right to elect, or confirm the election of the emperors.* He was in the next place accompanied by the pope to Pavia, where he was also crowned as King of Italy, by the Archbishop of Milan; and, according to Sigonius, the title of emperor became afterwards a mere grant from the hands of the pope⁷. Charles is said to have lavished on Pope John VIII. presents of great value, with still greater promises, on condition of his setting on his head the imperial crown; and it is affirmed that, by means of secret agents on the spot, he kept up a close intimacy with the holy see. On his coronation, the pope extorted from him the rights and customs of the kingdom of Italy, with the revenues of many monasteries, the countries of Calabria and Samnium, all the towns of Benevento, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuscany, Arezzo, and Chiusi. The seigniorship of Rome was also to be a part of the price of his being made emperor. The power of the pope in Italy was by this intrigue exceedingly increased; and the precedent bringing the emperors into subjection to popes was fully established.

The southern provinces of Italy were, at this time, a prey to the Saracens. Sergius, Duke of Naples, joined these enemies; and his brother Anastasius, who was bishop of the city, treacherously seized the person of Sergius, and sent him as a present to the pope, after depriving him of his eyes. His holiness highly extolled the unnatural act of cruelty and treachery, quoting, in justification of it, the Holy Redeemer⁸; and rewarded Anastasius with the dukedom, making him prince as well as bishop. No sooner was the patricidal bishop⁹ entrusted with secular authority, than he himself was guilty of the same rebellious act he had so murderously visited in the case of his brother; and in league with the Saracens, he invaded the dominions of his holiness. The

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

⁶ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 266. 559.

⁸ See Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 266.

⁷ See some remarks on this assumption in Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 266.

⁹ Ughelli, Ital. Sacra, vi. 70, edit. fol. 1720.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Emperor Charles, accompanied by Richilda, his wife, hastened to the assistance of the pope, who met them at Vercelli, whence they proceeded to Tortosa, where Richilda was crowned empress by the pontiff; but the death of the emperor, who was poisoned by the Jew Sedechias, his physician¹, prevented the pope being relieved from his enemies. Left in this helpless state, his holiness was reduced to the terms of paying yearly tribute to the Saracens, to preserve Rome from their destructive hands.

Lewis II., surnamed le Begue, on the death of Charles was immediately crowned by Hincmar of Rheims (8th Dec. 877, at Compeigne), but was desirous that the pope should repeat the ceremony, and confirm his title, which was done with the accustomed pomp. His holiness would only permit him, however, to be styled king; nor would John consent to crown Adelaide his queen; neither could he be prevailed upon to declare his reasons for this refusal².

Carloman, King of Bavaria, on the death of his uncle Charles the Bald, proceeded into Italy with a numerous army, of which country many of the Lombard nobility acknowledged him king; but his younger brother, called Charles the Gross, opposed his pretensions, and forced him to retreat. Carloman died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by his second brother, Louis, who renounced his claim to the imperial title, and also to the kingdom of Lombardy, in favour of Charles the Gross. On this treaty between the brothers, the pope, who stood neuter, wrote to Charles to offer him the imperial crown, which he received from his holiness in the church of St. Peter, on Christmas-day, 880³. The pope, in return, pressed him to rescue the capital from the ruin and slavery with which it was threatened. The Saracens were in possession of strongholds in the neighbourhood of Rome; and John, sacrificing all other views to his own personal safety, not only reversed the decrees of his predecessors, as well as those of a general council, but paid no regard to his own solemn oath. On account of his pusillanimity he was styled, *not pope but popess*. This, Baronius hints⁴, might give

¹ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 560.

² Mabillon has shown that the pope's refusal arose from the fact of Lewis having put away his first wife, Ausageard, that he might marry Adelaide,

otherwise called Judith, a woman of low origin.

³ Baron. Annal. A.D. 881, § 7.

⁴ Baron. Annal. A.D. 882, § 4.

rise to the story of Pope Joan ; which, though ascribed to the middle of the ninth century, was not heard of until the end of the thirteenth.

Another act of this pope was the excommunication of Anastasius, the flagitious Duke and Bishop of Naples, whom he offered to pardon if he would seize some of the Saracen chiefs. A list of their names he sent by his legate Marinus, in whose presence he was also requested to have *the throats of others cut*⁵. John, during the twelve years of his pontificate, crowned three of the descendants of Charlemagne, though to one of them he refused the title of emperor, and would give only that of king.

When the Bulgarians were converted to Christianity, about the middle of the ninth century, a contention arose between the see of Rome and that of Constantinople, with regard to which of their jurisdictions Bulgaria was to be annexed. Hadrian II. had claimed it for the former ; Ignatius, for the latter. The question was discussed in the fourth Council of Constantinople ; and despite the remonstrances of the pope's legates, Bulgaria was attached to the patriarchate of Constantinople. John VIII. was so desirous of having that territory under his immediate jurisdiction, that he offered to the Emperor Basil that he would acknowledge Photius as the legitimate Patriarch of Constantinople, provided Bulgaria were ceded to him. Basil, to whom the question was referred by a synod held in that city, seemed willing to favour the claim of John ; but the Bulgarian Bishops and their king refused to be transferred to the papal see. The pope, therefore, excommunicated Photius. *This act completed what is called the Greek schism ; or the separation of the eastern from the western churches.* The pope sent another legate to Constantinople, named Marinus, to protest against the acts of the council lately held there ; and to declare that he abolished them. Basil ordered the legate into close confinement, but finding him firm and intrepid, he released him after thirty days, and sent him off to Rome. John, greatly exasperated at this contempt of his authority, solemnly confirmed the acts of Hadrian II. A.D. 869, and again specially condemned Photius in a council assembled at Rome for that purpose, by

⁵ Ughelli, Ital. Sacra, i. 78.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

which all the sentences of Nicholas I. against him were renewed and confirmed ⁶.

At a council held at Pontion near Vitri, in the diocese of Chalons-sur-Marne, in France, A.D. 876, a letter was read from the pope, appointing Angesium, Archbishop of Sens, Primate of all France, and of that part of Germany on the French side of the Rhine. Though opposed by the Gallican episcopacy, the emperor Charles, who was present at the council to support the papal policy, gave his full sanction to the appointment; and became the partizan of the pope in promoting this new act of authority over the French and German churches. So great was the power delegated to this primate, that he was styled a second pope. He was commissioned to act as the representative of the holy see throughout the important portion of the empire over which he was appointed; to acquaint all archbishops and bishops with the decrees of the papal hierarchy; to report to the pope what had been done or not done, in compliance with his ordinances, and to uphold all the principles and claims of Rome as the vicegerent of St. Peter. *These acts of power met with the usual resistance.* The six archbishops and forty-three bishops who composed the council, protested against such unconditional control; and Hincmar of Rheims, who was always foremost in resisting the unreasonable pretensions of Rome, published a treatise, to show how repugnant such usurpation was to the canons; and how destructive it must prove both of metropolitan and episcopal privileges. The appointment, however, notwith-

⁶ John, in 878, dispatched legates to Constantinople to command the recall of all the Greek bishops, priests, and missionaries from the Bulgarian provinces, and to threaten Ignatius with excommunication and suspension, if he did not withdraw them all from the country within a month. Ignatius died before the arrival of the embassy, and to their surprise, they found the exiled Photius restored to all his patriarchal dignities. The legates were induced by rich presents to acknowledge Photius; and when the pope was informed that Basil had reinstated him, he offered to receive him as a bishop, a brother, and a colleague, and to absolve him from all ecclesiastical censure, as well as all bishops, priests,

clerks, and laymen, who had incurred punishment on his account; and, moreover, he offered to declare all excommunicated who refused to communicate with the holy patriarch; all who should give ear to any calumnies against him, or look upon him in any other light than as the spiritual guide and mediator between God and themselves; if he would give up Bulgaria to the holy see. John VIII. was ready to cancel and reverse the solemn acts of his infallible predecessors, Nicholas I. and Hadrian II., together with certain decrees of various councils by which Photius had been tried and condemned.—Johan. Epist. 199, ap. Labb. Concil. ix. 134, seqq.

standing this resistance, took place. Hincmar was merely permitted to write to the pope in the name of the emperor and council, to complain not only of the infringement of the canons of Sardica on which the right of the ultimate appeal to Rome was pretended to be founded; but also of the subversion of ecclesiastical discipline, and injury to the Church, which these innovations were producing. In the close of this letter the pope is fervently entreated to conform to those canons by which it is ordered that Bishops are only to be judged on the spot, and that priests are allowed to appeal only to their metropolitans, or the bishops of their respective provinces⁷.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

This pope had excommunicated Lantbert, Duke of Spoletum, and Adelbert, Marquis of Tuscany, on the ground of their having usurped some lands belonging to the Church. In revenge, the two nobles entered Rome, seized the pope, threw him in prison, and pillaged the city. On retiring with their plunder, they released his holiness from his confinement. The pope, on his liberation, pronounced on them, according to custom, the most fearful anathemas⁸. He then hastened to France by sea, where Louis III., A.D. 878, had succeeded to the empire on the death of Charles; and under the sanction of the new emperor he summoned a council of all the bishops of France and Germany, to meet at Troyes, to which were invited the three princes, Carloman, Lewis, and Charles, sons of the late emperor. Thirty bishops only, and one of the princes, obeyed the summons. The chief object of the council was to enforce the excommunications and anathemas on the two hostile nobles, to which those present assented. Among other canons of this council, it was ordained that *secular nobles, whatever their rank, should not presume to sit down in the presence of a bishop*. A former sentence against Formosus, late Bishop of Porto, was also confirmed; and he with his party were excommunicated, degraded, and anathematized⁹.

John VIII. presided in person in a council at Ravenna, at which one hundred and thirty bishops were present, and numerous canons passed for the better regulation of the

⁷ Dubois in Hist. Paris. lib. viii. c. drawn up by the pope himself, in Labbe, ix. 309.
1. See the proceedings of this council in Labbe, ix. 280, seqq.

⁹ Id. ix. 306, seqq.

⁸ See the account of this transaction

BOOK III. Italian provinces. This is considered *the first instance of the*
 CHAP. IV. *pope having personally presided at any council*¹.

CIX. *Marinus, or Martinus II., died 884.*

Marinus, by which name he represented Nicholas I., Hadrian II., and John VIII., severally, as legate at Constantinople, distinguished himself on being raised to the pontificate (December, A.D. 882), by reversing the decrees of Hadrian and John, by which Formosus had been condemned. Marinus not only restored Formosus to his episcopal functions, which he had sworn never to resume, but absolved him from the solemn oath which had been administered to him on the occasion. He had debarred himself by another sacred obligation from ever again entering Rome; and from this, and all his pledges made sacred by the Gospel being called in as witness of his promise, this pope released him, and proclaimed him innocent of the crimes of which synods had convicted him². He is said to have relieved the English school at Rome from all taxes, at the solicitation of Alfred the Great³.

CX. *Hadrian III., died 885.*

He commenced and concluded his brief period of supremacy by enacting two decrees: one, providing that if Charles the Emperor should die without male issue, none but natives of Italy should reign over that principality, or be honoured with the title of emperor⁴: Secondly, *that the consecration of every new pope should take place without waiting for the presence of the emperor, or imperial envoys.* Hadrian repulsed the overtures of the Emperor Basil in favour of Photius, on which account the emperor charged him with unwarrantable pride, arrogance, and presumption; and accused both him and Marinus of sacrificing the peace and prosperity of the empire to their own private malice and personal ambition⁵.

¹ Labb. ix. 1235.

² Auxil. de Ordin. Formos. lib. ii. c. 20; Labb. Concil. ix. 357.

³ Matt. Westmon. ad ann. 883, p. 171; et Sim. Dunelm. ap. Decem Scriptt. col. 130, ad ann. 884.

⁴ Platina in Hadrian III.; Sigonius, lib. v. de Regno Ital. Labb. Concil. ix. 359.

⁵ Luitprand, in his Lives of the Popes, very summarily dismisses Marinus and his successor:—

Marinus sedit unum annum, menses quinque,
 Hadrianus III. sedit unum annum, menses quatuor.

CXI. Stephen V., died 891.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Amidst all the distractions of the time, the papal power over states and kings continued to increase. The day after this pope was elected, he was inaugurated without waiting to apprise the emperor. Leo, called Philosophicus, succeeded Basil in the empire of the East, and wrote to Stephen for a dispensation to permit him to bestow on his brother Stephen, a deacon, not then sixteen years of age, (who received his ordination from Photius,) the patriarchate of Constantinople. Stylianus, metropolitan of Neocæsarea, and a number of eastern bishops and other clergy, united in favour of the boy-patriarch. The pope did not refuse, but while he desired explanation on some points, and therefore hesitated, he died suddenly⁶. The imperial throne of the West became vacant at this time by the death of Charles the Gross. Three claimants appeared for it; Berengarius, Duke of Friuli; Wido, Guido, or Guy, Duke of Spoletum; and Arnulph, King of Germany, natural son of Carloman. Arnulph was unable to leave Germany on account of wars in which he was then engaged. The two Italian dukes had recourse to arms, and it was not till Berengarius was obliged to fly, that Stephen interfered on either side. He, however, immediately crowned Guido emperor, with the usual solemnities; but *on condition that he should confirm those donations which were affirmed to have been given by Pepin, Charles, and Louis I.*⁷ Through the influence of Stephen also, Louis, son of Boso, a powerful noble of the country, was crowned and anointed, at the age of ten years, King of Burgundy and Provence, by the bishops of that kingdom.

Among the chief acts of ecclesiastical power by which this pontiff has ranked himself among the great usurpers of papal supremacy, may be reckoned his famous decree, "*That whatsoever the Church of Rome doth decree, must be for ever and irrevocably observed by all*"⁸. He also wrote to the em-

⁶ Namely, 7th Aug. 891.

⁷ Quare, post aliquot certamina, in quibus superior evaserat, anno 891 Romæ coronatur, ea tamen lege, ut donationes quæ Pipini, Caroli, et Ludovici primi dicuntur, Stephanus ab eo confirmari velit.—Mysterium Iniqui-

tatis, 4to, Gorichemi, 1662, p. 183.

⁸ Enimvero, quia in speculum et exemplum S. Romana Ecclesia, cui nos Christus præesse voluit, proposita est, ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragabiliter observandum est.—4 Dist. xix.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

peror and bishops of the East, and to the bishops of Spain, in which epistles he *asserted supremacy over every Church in the world*, and declared the infallibility of the Roman Church⁹.

The emperor, Charles the Gross, sent the Bishop of Vercelli and other bishops to Rome, to depose Stephen, on account of his non-compliance with the still existing custom of sending to inform the emperor of his election, and waiting for the royal sanction. He appeased the emperor by a special legation¹.

CXII. *Formosus, died 896.*

This pontiff, on his condemnation by John VIII., had bound himself by oath never to exercise the functions of a bishop, and at the same time, never to appear in the city of Rome. Marinus, by virtue of his apostolic authority, absolved him from these oaths, and restored him to his bishopric of Porto. From this see he was translated to that of St. Peter. This is said to *have been the first instance of a pope being called from another see*². The weakness of princes was still the strength of popes. The kingdom of Aquitaine had been usurped by Eudes, or Odo, on the death of Louis the stammerer. Formosus supported the right of Charles the Simple, the hereditary claimant, who was consequently crowned King of France by the archbishop of Rheims in 893.

On the death of Wido, or Guido, a destructive war broke out in Italy between his son Lantbert, who was crowned emperor by the pope, and Berengarius. The pope promised Arnulph, King of Germany, the imperial crown if he would expel both the belligerents from the country. Arnulph soon proceeded with a powerful army into Italy, and after many difficulties obtained possession of Rome. The pope received him at the entrance of St. Peter's church, and immediately crowned him emperor of the West, at the tomb of St. Peter. An oath of allegiance, rather remarkable for the terms in which it is framed, was exacted from the Roman nobility

⁹ Spanheim, *Eccles. Annal.* by G. Vêrif. les Dates, i. 267.
Wright, p. 428, 8vo, Camb. 1829. ² See Art. de Vêrif. les Dates, i.

¹ *Annal. Fuldens.* A.D. 885; Art. de 267.

on the occasion ³. Notwithstanding this solemn adjuration, the whole country, upon the retreat of Arnulph, was again in arms, till the influence of the pope restored peace, by the division of Lombardy between the two rival factions. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

The legation from Constantinople, sent to negotiate with the preceding pope concerning the consecration of the young prince Stephen, as patriarch, and to treat on other subjects, arrived in Rome soon after the elevation of Formosus. The pope, however, remained inflexible in his refusal to grant the required dispensation; but the decrees of the popes forbidding the advancement of any who had been ordained by Photius, were entirely disregarded by the eastern bishops, who unanimously acknowledged the young patriarch ⁴. Formosus, through the influence of his legates, caused a decree to be passed by a council at Vienna, that no ecclesiastics of any rank whatever should be suffered to admit females into their houses ⁵.

Eudes, or Odo, paid no attention to the threat by which Formosus attempted to displace him from the sovereignty of Aquitaine, which he continued to hold till his death in 898, in resistance to all the zeal and efforts of the pope to place Charles on the throne ⁶. Though Luitprand, Fulco, Archbishop of Rheims, Auxilius, Flodoard, and others, speak in high terms of the character of Formosus; his body is said to have been disinterred by order of one of his successors, for the sake of grossly insulting his unconscious relics, which were shamefully dragged through the streets and thrown into the Tyber ⁷.

CXIII. *Boniface VI., died 896.*

This pope, after, as all historians state, a most flagitious life, died of the gout at the end of fifteen days from his election. Baronius and his followers do not allow him a place in the list of popes, contrary to Flodoard and others.

³ Juro per hæc omnia Dei mysteria, quod salvo honore et lege mea atque fidelitate Domini Formosi Papæ, fidelis sum et ero omnibus diebus vitæ mee Arnolfo Imperatori, etc.—Annal. Berolin. et Fuldens. ad ann. 896.

⁴ Concil. ix. p. 427.

⁵ Concil. ix. p. 434.

⁶ Flodoard, lib. iv. c. 2; Annal. Metens. ad ann. Labb. ib. 435.

⁷ See Acts of Stephen VI. next page.

CXIV. *Stephen VI., died 897.*

This pope is accused by Baronius of *intruding* himself into the holy see in the room of Boniface. This is the bishop who is said, immediately on his accession, to have ordered the body of his predecessor Formosus to be dug out of the grave, to be decked in pontifical robes, and placed on the papal throne in the midst of a synod which he assembled at Rome. He is then said, addressing the dead man, to have asked, "When thou wert Bishop of Porto, why, with a spirit of ambition, didst thou usurp the Roman Catholic seat?" Having then stripped off the vestments, he commanded the two fingers and thumb used in consecration to be cut off, and the body to be thrown into the Tyber⁸.

⁸ Onuphrius Panvinius, in his Annotations on the life of this pope, deems the account of the disinterment of the body of Formosus, its being placed in a council in the pontifical chair, and being interrogated by Stephen, a fable. "Quæ vero de ejus cadavere ex sepulturâ a successoribus eruto dicuntur, præculdubio fabulæ magis quam vero similia sunt, quod ex illorum, qui de eâ re scripserunt, diversitate et repugnantia facile liquet."—Onuph. Panv. Annot. in Platin. p. 145, edit. 4to, Colon. 1611.

I cannot stop to enquire if the story be true. I must hasten on through the dull detail before me. I would not pursue the tedious narrative any longer; but if I omit the continued resistance to the continued papal aggression, I shall do injustice to those reformers who were justified by the continued tradition of the universal Church, as well as by the Holy Scriptures and by reason, in their opposition to the supremacy of Rome. I will abridge and condense as much as possible. The monotony of the present part of my journey through history would be intolerable if I did not hope to render the result of my travels useful to others. The reader who is disposed to examine fully into the truth of this statement may consult Platina, in *Formoso et Stephano VI.*; Luitprand, lib. i. c. viii.; Sigonius, *de Regno Ital.* lib. vi.; Mornay du Plessis, *Mysterium Iniquitatis, seu Hist. Pap.* &c. 4to, Gorichemi, 1662, pp. 184, 185; Baronius, ad

aun. 897, art. 2; and I might add many others, each of whom have mentioned the affair with too many corroborative particulars to leave much reason to doubt that Stephen was guilty of this absurd and wicked outrage. Luitprand affirms, that when the body of Formosus was placed in its niche in the church, some images of saints saluted it. "This," says the historian, "I have often heard from many very pious men of the city of Rome." Hoc namque a religiosissimis Romanæ Urbis viris persepe audivi. It is the last sentence in the book, ap. Labb. Concil. ix. 475.

When the French troops marched into Italy against Rome in the years 1796-7, many pictures of the Virgin Mary, in churches and edifices in Rome, and in various other parts of the country, are attested by many witnesses to have wept, winked, and opened and shut their eyes with surprise, grief, and horror. The account of these prodigies is written in choice Italian, and has been translated into English, after a large subscription for the benefit of the faithful. It is entitled, "Official Memoirs of the Juridical Examination into the authenticity of the Miraculous Events which happened at Rome in the years 1796-7, &c." Translated by the Rev. B. Raymond, 12mo, London, 1801.

I believe both stories equally. "Who shall decide when *doctors* disagree?" says the English poet. The difficulty, however, is greater in the present instance. The images must have cen-

At the desire of the Emperor Lambert, Stephen reversed the decree of Pope Hadrian, and renewed one of Eugene II., by which the deputies of the emperor were to sanction and continue present at the consecration of future popes. After a little more than a year he was expelled from the see, thrown into a dungeon, and there strangled⁹.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

CXV. Romanus, died 897.

Platina and other writers mention this pope as having rescinded the acts of Stephen against the corpse of Formosus, and declared his proceedings contrary both to law and justice¹; he lived three months and a few days after his election, and nothing further is said of him.

CXVI. Theodore II., died 898.

Occupied the see twenty days. He restored to their several ranks those who had been ordained by Formosus, and caused the body of that pope to be taken out of the river, and entombed in the Vatican with great solemnity.

CXVII. John IX., died 903.

Soon after the election of John, Berengarius proceeded with an army to Rome, and compelled the pope to crown him emperor. After he had retired from the city, John assembled a council for the purpose of declaring that the ceremony having been performed by force, Lambert alone was entitled to allegiance as emperor. The acts of the synod which had been held by Stephen VI., to treat the body of Formosus with indignity, are said to have been burnt by order of this council².

sured Stephen if they approved Formosus. Luitprand tells us, that some images (quædam imagines) only made their bow to the body of Formosus. Some of those, perhaps, preferred his rival Stephen. Who shall decide then, even among the popes themselves, when saints vary, and images differ? Do the quarrels of earth extend to heaven? Do they even animate the stone of the statue, the paint of the picture, or the marble busts of the dead? Let Rome

answer; "our withers are unwrung."

⁹ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 268; Baron. Annal. 900, § 6.

¹ "Stephani pontificis decreta et acta statim improbat, abrogabatque." Platina then goes on to remark: "Nihil enim aliud in pontificali cogitabant quam et nomen et dignitatem majorum suorum extinguerent, quo nihil posset esse pejus et angustioris animi."—De Vit. Pontif. p. 68, edit. 1511.

² Labb. Concil. ix. 502.

In a letter to the bishops of the East, John forbade them to communicate with those who had been ordained by Photius. He reversed, also, a decree of his predecessor Stephen V. concerning Augrim, Bishop of Langres, whose election Stephen had declared illegal, and appointed another in his room ; but whose election John pronounced legal, and reinstated him. He made various changes in the sees of Germany. He appointed an archbishop and three bishops to superintend Moravia, which had been attached to the province of Saltzburg. Theotmar, the archbishop of this see, made great complaints of this infringement of his rights, as being contrary to the laws of the Church, and accused the pope of having been induced by money to exempt the Moravians from subjection to his see. Hatto, also, Archbishop of Mentz, writing to inform him of the death of Arnulph, and the election of his son, Louis IV. only seven years old, to the throne, represented, at the same time, the evils consequent on his having made the Moravian Church independent of the bishops of Bavaria³. He died in December, A.D. 900.

CXVIII. *Benedict IV., died 903.*

We pass by the interference of Benedict between Berengarius and Lambert. In the case of Augrim, mentioned in the preceding pontificate, the pope assembled a council in Rome, which was unanimously of opinion that injustice had been used in expelling Augrim from the see of Langres. Benedict wrote to the Gallican Bishops to recommend his restitution, which took place accordingly. No other acts worthy of observation are attributed to him. He died in the beginning of October, A.D. 903.

CXIX. *Leo V., died 903.*

This bishop was driven from his see, after two months' occupation, by one of his own priests, named Christopher, by whom he was thrown in prison, where, according to Sigonius, he died of grief, Dec. 6th, 903.

³ Labb. Concil. ix. 496. 498.

CXX. *Christopher, died 904.*

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Obtained possession of the see by violence. He held it seven months, and was expelled by Sergius III. (in June, 904), who first confined him in a monastery, and then in a dungeon, where he died, like his own victim, Leo, from the severity of his rival.

CXXI. *Sergius III., died 910.*

Alas for the apostolical succession in the Church of Rome! It may be traced, if the ancient accounts are to be depended upon, in the Church of France to the age of the apostles. It may be traced to the earliest ages in the Oriental Churches, and in those of Arles, Milan, and Ravenna. In our own country it may be traced^v from the present age to Augustin, from Augustin to the Archbishops of Arles, who consecrated him to be the Metropolitan of all England, and from thence to the contemporaries of St. John. But, alas for the Church of Rome! The regular succession is lost among the contending popes and bishops of this period, who opposed, deposed, and overthrew each other; and who rescinded the decrees, and cancelled the episcopal, presbyterial, and diaconal ordinations of their rivals. Stephen VII., in the year 896, commanded that all who had been ordained by Formosus should be deposed from their respective orders, and ordained again by himself⁴. The same custom was continued by the successful competitors for the pontifical chair, when they had ejected their opponents. To such an extent was this practice carried, that Auxilius wrote a treatise on the intestine divisions of the Church of Rome, and the consequence of such divisions on the ordinations, depositions, and reordinations of the Roman pontiffs, and on the validity of the ordinations by the deposed and reordained. *It was scarcely possible at this period, in the contentions for the temporal dominion, resulting from the deference paid to the see of Rome, to tell which pontiff was the canonical bishop of the apostolic see; or what*

⁴ ——— eunetos quos Formosus ordinaverat, gradu proprio depositos, Stephanus iterum ordinavit. — Luitprand, de Pont. Rom. Vitis, ap. Labb. Concil. ix. 475. . . . eunetos ab eo ordinatos deposuit et reordinavit. Chron. Farfense, ap. Murat. Rer. Ital. Script. 111. ii. 416, fol. Mediol. 1726.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

bishops were rightly ordained, or which priests were the legitimate dispensers of the sacraments⁵. Yet the world was taught to believe that the salvation of the repentant and of the faithful, depended upon the succession of the teachers, instead of their own faith in the truth of God.

This was the disastrous period when the Church was at the mercy of the more powerful of the dukes, or petty chieftains of Italy⁶. I have no wish to draw aside the veil which time has suspended over the vices and follies of this age. I do not wish to repeat the reproaches or lamentations of Baronius and others over the melancholy condition of the Church, when half-civilized barbarians and their "all powerful" courtizans regulated the succession of the Church. The mercy of God was continued to the humble believer who sought Him; and we may be assured that millions of Christians deplored the degradation of the Church.

Sergius III. was debased by every vice. Adelbert, the Marquis of Tuscany, having seized the castle of Angelo, surrendered it to his mistress Marozia, who, with her mother and sister, governed Rome. Marozia became the courtesan of Sergius as well as of Adelbert; *yet such was the power of the Bishop of Rome, that an appeal was made to him by the emperor against the Patriarch of Constantinople*. Vice did not destroy the papal supremacy. So dense was the torpor, that religious controversy, that great elicitor and establisher of truth, was extinguished. It is in churches as in states. Liberty flourishes in the latter, so long as parties in the state discuss questions of legislation and reform, and do not extinguish each other; and truth flourishes in the former, so long as controversy (which is only the effort to discover or confirm truth) is permitted to examine evidence, and affirm

⁵ Sunt hæc infelicissima illa tempora, cum alter alterius res gestas intrusus quisque Pontifex aboleret, quæ damnanus et execrans hujus temporis auctor Auxilius nomine, suo prosecutus est stylo; de quo hæc Sigebertus, cum agit de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, viris illustribus: "Auxilius (inquit) scripsit Dialogum sub persona Infensoris et Defensoris, divinis et canonicis exemplis munitum, contra intestinam discordiam Romanæ ecclesiæ, scilicet, de ordinationibus, exordinationibus, superordinationibus Romanorum Pontifi-

cum, et ordinationibus ab eis exordinationibus, et superordinationibus." Hæc de argumento, in quo Auxilius suo versatus est commentario. Perpetrata sunt ista ab invasoribus et intrusis in Apostolicam sedem, Pontificis nomen usurpantibus, et illegitime thronum Apostolicum invadentibus.—Baron. Annal. 908, § 3; see further Morinus, de Ordinationibus, p. 348. Mabill. Analecta, p. 28, edit. fol.

⁶ ——— invasionibus et grassationibus tyrannorum Romana vehementer perturbatur ecclesia.—Baron. ibid.

or deny conclusions. Not only did the Emperor of Constantinople submit to his decision, but Sergius exempted Hamburg from the see of Cologne. *Never let it be forgotten, that the obedience of the churches of Europe to Rome was most profound, when papal vice was most flagitious, and the general ignorance at its lowest depth of barbarism and darkness.*

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

CXXII. *Anastasius III., died 913, or 914.*

This pope granted to the Bishop of Pavia permission to ride on a white horse, and to have the cross carried before him, and to sit also in council at the pope's left hand. The petition and the consent imply mutual or common degradation.

CXXIII. *Lando, died 914.*

Six months terminated the pontificate of Lando. The pernicious effects resulting from all authority in church and state being given up to the notorious Theodora and her two daughters, are the topics which take the lead of everything else at this time. "Then," says one of the most earnest pleaders for the purity and excellency of the papacy, "it appears, *Christ slept in the ship with a deep sleep; and while these fierce winds were blowing, the ship laboured in the waves.* He, I say, slept, who, feigning not to perceive these things, permitted them thus to take place so long as no avenger arose. And what seemed worse was, that the disciples were wanting who should have roused the Lord thus sleeping, by their clamours: they all snored together⁷."

CXXIV. *John X., died 928.*

John was raised to the seat of supremacy by the courtesan, Theodora the younger, sister of Marozia. His first act was to form a coalition with Constantine VIII. and Berengarius. To induce the latter to confederate against the Saracens, John promised to confirm his right to the empire; and accordingly

⁷ Dormiebat tuæ plane alto (ut apparet) sopore Christus in nave, eum, hisce flantibus validis ventis, navis ipsa fluctibus operiretur. Dormiebat, inquam, qui ista non videre dissimilians, sinceret sic fieri, dum non exsur-

geret vindex. Et quod deterius videbatur, deerant qui Dominum sic dormientem clamoribus excitarent discipuli, stertentibus omnibus.—Baronius, x. 663.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

crowned him again in the church of St. Peter, amidst the acclamations of the clergy and nobility. Succours from the East also arrived, and John took the field with the emperor, *being the first pope known to head an army*. The expedition was successful. Italy was much disturbed during the pontificate of John. Berengarius was murdered. Rodolph, King of Burgundy, seized on Lombardy, and was crowned at Pavia, by the Bishop of Milan. The Italian nobility drove him from his throne, on which, with the aid of papal influence, they placed Hugh, Count of Provence, with whom the pope allied himself⁸. He is said also to have leagued very zealously with Charles the Simple, King of France, against his rebellious subjects. Sisenand, Bishop of Compostella, in Spain, who was looked upon as a man of much sanctity, was engaged by John to perform his daily devotions at the tomb of the holy apostle St. James, for the protection of his holiness during his life and at the hour of death. A dispute between the Churches of Spain and Rome had arisen in consequence of the former having adopted the Mosarabic missal, which in some points was different from the Roman. John consented that, with some slight alterations in the form used in the consecration of the host, Spain should continue to use the altered missal.

An embassy was sent by the Emperor Constantine, and Nicholas, Patriarch of Constantinople, to heal the breach between the eastern and western Churches; and union was once more partially established. In 921, Richerius, abbot of Prom, had been chosen Bishop of Tongres. Hilduin had nevertheless been ordained by Herman, Archbishop of Cologne; and both parties appealed to the pope, who assembled a council, which declared in favour of Richerius. Both parties were present in obedience to a summons from his holiness, who himself ordained Richerius to the see, and excommunicated and deposed Hilduin⁹.

As John owed his rise to one notorious prostitute, so his fall was effected by another. Marozia, daughter of Theodora, jealous both of the pope and of the Marquis of Tuscany, Guy, the son of Adelbert, whom she had married, was

⁸ Luitprand, lib. ii. c. 3, and lib. iii. Cologne, to this abbot Richerius, in Labb. Concil. ix. 574.

⁹ See the letter from Herman of

anxious to remove both. She prevailed on her husband to enter the palace with a band of assassins. The pope's brother was murdered on the spot, and the pope dragged to a dungeon, where he was soon destroyed by poison or suffocation ¹.

CXXV. *Leo VI., died 929.*

Italy was now governed by its nobles. Marozia, who had married Guy, Duke of Tuscany, raised Leo, called the Philosopher, to the see of Rome. He governed the Church seven months, and died 3rd February, 929.

CXXVI. *Stephen VII., died 931.*

The same influence raised Stephen to the see. He reigned two years. No particular act of power is recorded of him.

CXXVII. *John XI., died 936.*

This pontiff is said to have been the son of Marozia and of Alberic of Tuscany, as Muratori affirms; but as others say, of Pope Sergius III.² The celebrated abbey of Clugny, for Benedictine monks, was founded in his pontificate. He granted it a charter at the request of Hugo, King of Burgundy. Alberic, another son of Marozia, by Adelbert, Marquis of Tuscany, headed the Romans in a rebellion against Hugh, King of Italy, who, by a marriage with Marozia, had made himself master of Rome. The king escaped; but Marozia his queen, together with the pope, fell into the hands of Alberic, who confined both in prison during the remainder of their lives³. *All this, however, did not destroy the deference paid to the head of the see of Rome, though the pope was only twenty-five years of age.* All the great countries of Europe were convulsed by the contests of petty chieftains. Those of Italy were unheeded.

CXXVIII. *Leo VII., died 939.*

Italy remained much disturbed by the contest between Hugh and Alberic. The pope at length restored peace by

¹ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 269.

² Ibid. i. 270

³ Luitprand, lib. iii. c. 12. Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 270.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

securing the dukedom of Rome to the latter. *Leo addressed a letter to the kings, dukes, and ecclesiastical powers of Germany, exhorting them to correct abuses in their Churches. In answer to a question proposed by several bishops of Germany, he declares it to be no sin to put enchanters, wizards, and witches to death; and in reply to another question from the same prelates, he condemns the marriages of priests as criminal, and orders those to be deposed who contract matrimony*⁴. He rebuked the abbot of the monastery of St. Martin in Tours, for suffering females to enter his gates; and commanded all who should presume in future so to do should be excommunicated⁵. Gerhard, Bishop of Lorch, was made his vicar-general in Germany, and all the metropolitans and bishops of that country are enjoined to obey his commands⁶. All this was done though the convulsions which had long prevailed in Italy had reduced the papal temporal power to a shadow; and though Alberic, with the title of consul, or patrician, selected the popes, and held them in dependence. The pope might now be called the Bishop of Rome only; but the spiritual influence of the bishop was acknowledged in other sees. *The power which ultimately subdued Europe was now merely spiritual. The popes were never so weak in direct temporal power as at this moment. The indirect temporal power, which was identified with the spiritual power, was continued. The distinction of Bellarmine*⁷, that the pope, as pope, possesses no direct and immediate temporal power⁸, but only spiritual, was now exemplified. *The indirect temporal power, dependent on the acknowledgment of his spiritual power, led the way to the asserting, as the opportunity occurred, of direct temporal power. The states of Europe which permit the spiritual power of the popes to be acknowledged in their kingdoms, however weak the pontiffs may appear to be in any one, two, or more generations; may be assured that such spiritual power is always combined with indirect temporal power; and according to the divisions of kings and people, which constitute national weakness, will it be identified with direct temporal power. In the utter, total,*

⁴ Labb. Concil. ix. 596.⁵ Id. 594.⁶ Id. 595.⁷ De Potestate Pontiff. lib. v. c. I.⁸ Non habere directe et immediate (Pontificem) ullam temporalem potes-

tatem, sed solum spiritualem; tamen, ratione spiritualis, habere, saltem indirecte, potestatem quandam, eamque summam, in temporalibus.

resolute, perpetual exclusion of the spiritual power of Rome, consists the whole safety, strength, union, and purity of states, churches, and religion, throughout the Christian world.

CXXIX. *Stephen VIII., died 942.*

An Italian noble, Count Hubert, made his son, Hugh, a boy five years of age, Archbishop of Rheims. He received the pall from Stephen VIII.⁹ Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy, made himself master of the city, and appointed an eligible person, named Artold, who, after holding the see a few years, was driven out, and the young metropolitan was restored, and consecrated by a council, held at Soissons¹.

Stephen interfered in a contest between the nobles of France and their king, Louis d'Outremer, who, in 939, succeeded his father, Charles the Simple, in the throne. The pope in a letter commands them, by virtue of his apostolic authority, to lay down their arms, and acknowledge Louis; threatening them with excommunication if they did not comply, and acquaint him with their having done so. *Yet this Bishop of Rome possessed little temporal power*².

CXXX. *Marinus II., or Martinus, died 946.*

Scio, Bishop of Capua, was severely censured and threatened with excommunication and deposition by this pontiff, if he did not restore a certain church, with its revenues, which he had conferred on one of his deacons, to some monks, who were about to build a monastery. Scio was further commanded, on pain of excommunication, to have no intercourse at the altar with the deacon to whom the property had been given, until he had resigned it as charged³. All writers speak of Marinus (whom some call Martinus III.) as a great patron of monasteries, to which he granted various privileges and exemptions⁴. The monasteries were, at this time, the last refuge both of clerical ambition and clerical piety. The true Christianity which was to be the salt of the earth, or the leaven of society, was but little known. *The salt was in a mass by itself; the leaven was undiffused.* Yet the monas-

⁹ Gall. Christ. ix. 51, edit. 1751.

¹ Labb. ix. 606.

² Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 270.

³ Leo Ostiensis, lib. i. cap. 20.

⁴ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, as above.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

teries were the useful preservers of both the Scriptures and the classics, till the better days, when both could be as generally appreciated as they had been, and as they ought to be. There is but little unmixed evil. To the monasteries, too, we are indebted for much valuable literature, and for inestimable monuments of art and science.

CXXXI. *Agapetus II., died 956.*

Hugh and Artold had each a pall, as Archbishop of Rheims, and both laid claim to the see ⁵. Agapetus ordered a council to assemble at Ingelheim, to decide the dispute, to which he sent Marinus, his legate, to preside in his name ⁶. Artold attended the council; but Hugh, who was in possession, refused to comply with the summons, and was excommunicated. Marinus presided soon after at another council, held at Treves ⁷, which confirmed the sentence of that of Ingelheim, and pronounced Hugh guilty of treachery and rebellion. The bishops who ordained Hugh were also excommunicated and suspended. The pope confirmed these sentences, and excommunicated Hugh a third time, in a council held in Rome ⁸, on the return of the legates. The dignity of the pall having been conferred on each of the two rivals, is a circumstance which enforces an inference, which the advocates of papal infallibility are left to reconcile with that infallibility as they may think best.

Agapetus settled a long and invidious dispute between the Archbishops of Saltzburg and Lorch, who each claimed jurisdiction over Pannonia. He attached the eastern portion, with Moravia, to Lorch, and united the western to Saltzburg ⁹. He added privileges, also, to the see of Hamburg, and made the archbishop of that province his vicar over all Germany. Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, received from him a pall. The canons of Odo, in which the King of England and his nobles are admonished to obey the archbishops and bishops with all humility, are enumerated by Spelman ¹. *The power of archbishops and bishops was at this time as great or greater than that of kings.* Odo was the archbishop who excommunicated Edwy, the result of which was, the revolt of

⁵ Gall. Christ. ix. 51.⁶ Labb. ix. 623.⁷ Id. 632.⁸ Labb. ix. 634.⁹ Id. 613.¹ Concil. i. 415. Labb. ix. 609.

his subjects. The ecclesiastical everywhere conquered the civil power.

CXXXII. *John XII., died 963.*

A son of Alberic, who had succeeded his father in the dukedom of Rome, usurped the papal chair on the death of Agapetus. He was then only eighteen years of age, and for the name Octavian, he adopted that of John¹. He began his career by invading, at the head of a considerable army, the territory of Pandulph, Prince of Capua, who, aided by Girulph, Prince of Salerno, gained a complete victory over the young pope. This defeat entirely quenched his zeal for military glory; and he resigned himself to sensuality. Berengarius, King of Italy, had given his son, Adelbert, joint authority with him in the government. They exercised their power with so much tyranny, that the pope, instead of appealing for aid to the nobles of Italy, applied to Otho, King of Germany. The legates were authorized to offer to him the imperial crown, if he would relieve the church and state from the oppression which crushed them. This may be considered as the recommencement of an imperial temporal power, for a short time, over the popes. Otho accepted the proposal, and on reaching Pavia with his army, was hailed by the chief princes and bishops of Italy. On proceeding to Rome, he was crowned and anointed with the usual forms and solemnity. He promised, on oath, to defend the see of St. Peter, with all the donations and possessions belonging to the Church, against all enemies. The pope and Romans, on the other hand, swore allegiance to him as their legitimate sovereign. The empire was thus transferred to the German princes².

Being relieved from danger, and the possession of his domains being secured, the young pope again plunged into the most depraved course of debauchery and vice. His solemn oath of fidelity to the emperor, for deliverance from the oppression of Berengarius and Adelbert, was broken by his openly treating with the latter, and admitting him into the city. The emperor, in consequence, returned to Rome; and having expelled the enemy, summoned a council, to examine into the conduct of the pope, who had fled on the approach of the

¹ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 271.

² Labb. Concil. ix. 643.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

imperial army. Thirteen cardinal priests, three cardinal deacons, the archbishops of Hamburg and Treves, the bishops of Minden and of Spire, nearly all the bishops of Italy, with many other ecclesiastics and nobility, composed the council, over which Otho himself presided. The pope was summoned to answer the charges against him. He did not appear. On the emperor enquiring why it was that his holiness absented himself from so venerable and august an assembly, surprise was expressed at the question, as the open vices and crimes of the pope were notorious throughout the city. A list of his enormities was then enumerated, among which were murder, sacrilege, perjury, and incest with his own sisters. A letter was then sent to him, containing the charges, which the emperor and synod invited him to appear before them and to refute; they pledged themselves, that all respect and protection should await him. John returned a very brief answer, containing an excommunication of the whole assembly. The synod had dispatched two cardinals previous to the decision of the council, to inform him of the measures about to be passed; but the pope had departed nobody knew whither, and they returned to Rome with the letter. The emperor then addressed the council, on the total disregard of the allegiance John had sworn on the body of St. Peter, and of his shortly afterwards raising sedition in the city, and arming himself against his deliverer and sovereign. The council concluded their judgment upon him in substance as follows: "We therefore beg that this monster, without one single virtue to atone for his numberless vices, may be driven from the apostolic see; and that one who will prove a good example, be set in his place³. Such were the proceedings at Rome;

³ See the acts of this Council in Luitprand, vi. 6—11; Labb. Concil. ix. 648; Baron. A.D. 903, § 3, seqq. The legitimacy of this council is acknowledged by Platina and Onuphrius Panvinus, and other more ancient authorities, though some modern writers have set it down as a *pseudo-synod*; and Leo VIII. as a pseudo-pope, because he was elected by it: but the evidence of the older writers, supported by the facts and circumstances by which it is corroborated, places the conduct of John XII., and the transactions of the council against him, on too good a foundation to be shaken by modern

prejudices. See also Gratian, p. i. Dist. lxiii. c. 24. In synodo congregata Romæ in ecclesiâ sancti Salvatoris, ad exemplum B. Hadriani, apostolicæ sedis antistitis, &c. anno 903.

Baronius wishes to throw discredit on the authenticity of this constitution of Gratian, in consequence of the expression, *et ut ipse sit patricius et rex*. But Peter Damian, *Discept. synod.* A.D. 1062, says, *Tu hoc negare non potes, quod Henricus Imperator factus et Patricius Romanorum, a quibus acceptis in electione super ordinando pontifice principatum.*—Baron. A.D. 1062, § 30.

yet at this very time, so great was the ecclesiastical power, that Dunstan was convulsing England by enforcing the celibacy of the clergy. The nobility, clergy, and people of Rome, on the breaking up of the council, renewed their oath of allegiance to the emperor.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

CXXXIII. *Leo VIII., died 965.*

Order having been restored by the emperor, and the election and consecration of Leo being complete to the satisfaction of the Romans⁴, a great part of the German army was ordered home. This was no sooner done, than the depraved libertine, John, who had been condemned by the council, began to attempt openly to revenge himself. The promise to share the immense treasures of St. Peter with those who should assist him in recovering his lost dignity, induced numbers of the fickle multitude to rebel. The emperor had retained sufficient strength, however, to overthrow them in the first engagement. Another oath of allegiance from the disaffected, with hostages for its performance, being given, restored the city once more to tranquillity. As Otho was desirous to return to Germany, he, with the approbation of Leo VIII., set the hostages at liberty, and proceeded on his journey. He had not been long absent, before the deposed libertine began to lay new schemes to reinstate himself. This was to be done by the assassination of Leo, in which some of the most distinguished of his mistresses were to be chief agents. These abandoned women had not much difficulty in finding accomplices among the higher classes; and the young debauchee had soon a sufficient number of partizans to seize upon the Lateran palace, into which they carried him in triumph. Leo escaped, and joined the emperor, who was detained at Camarino. Two of his friends were, however, seized, one of whom was doomed to the loss of his right hand, while the other was deprived of his tongue, his nose, and two of his fingers⁵. John, immediately on his restoration, summoned a council, which deposed Leo, and declared all his ordinations to be null and void. Those, also, who had been concerned in raising Leo to the see, were degraded, anathe-

⁴ Luitprand, lib. vi. c. 2, namely, 22 Nov. 963.

⁵ Luitprand, ut supra.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

matized, or deposed ⁶. John did not long survive this revenge. His deathblow was given to him under circumstances which justified all the accusations made against him, and proved the justice of his deposition ⁷.

The death of John did not put an end to the rebellion which he and his companions in debauchery had excited. They elevated Benedict the Protoscrinarius, to the papal seat, 14th May, 964. This caused the return of the emperor to Rome, to redress the treachery of the faction. They surrendered to the emperor, and Leo was restored by another synod. In this assembly Benedict was required to seat himself on the floor. His pastoral staff was taken from him and broken. Being stripped of all his pontifical insignia, he was permitted to go into banishment as a deacon ⁸. A constitution, or decree, to confer on Otho, and his successors for ever, the power of nominating the pope, is said to have been enacted at this synod, which, though it is registered in the canon law, is thought by some to have been a forgery. In this decree, Leo yielded to Otho all the countries and territories given to the Roman Church by other princes and emperors ⁹. During the whole of this time monasteries were built, celibacy enforced, bishops were made, who, with dukes and counts, assumed and exercised royal prerogatives. The factions of the Guelphs and Gibbelines originated at the present time.

CXXXIV. *John XIII., died 972.*

In conformity with their oath and decree, the Romans, on the death of Leo, sent an embassy into Saxony, to request the emperor to appoint another pope, but, satisfied with this instance of their obedience, he permitted them to make choice of a successor. They chose Benedict, who had been deposed, and was then in exile. Before the news reached him, he died; and John XIII. was unanimously chosen. He was then Bishop of Narni, from which see he was translated to the pontificate, 1st October, 965. John soon offended the

⁶ Baron. A.D. 964.

⁷ Baronius does not deny that he was killed—*dum se cujusdam viri uxore oblectaret*, annal. 964.

⁸ Luitprand, lib. vi. cap. 2.

⁹ Pagi, A.D. 964. See the questions respecting it discussed by the Benedictines.—*Art. de Vérif. les Dates*, i. 272.

Roman nobility by his haughty behaviour. They drove him from his see, and he sought refuge in Capua. Still, however, BOOK III.
CHAP. IV. the *temporal vexations of the popes did not prevent the exercise of their spiritual power*. He remained ten months under the protection of prince Pandulph, when he was recalled; but during his absence he conferred on Capua the dignity of a metropolitan city¹. Beneventum had, also, been made an archiepiscopal see by the emperor, who had at this time founded many other sees in Italy. The emperor Otho, who had endured so many provocations from the perfidy of the Romans, marched into Italy, for the purpose of restoring the pope and putting down the rebels, inflicting the severest punishments. He then repaired to Ravenna, accompanied by the pope, and there held a council, which was attended by most of the Bishops of Italy, France, and Germany². At this council, Ravenna, with its revenues, and all the other donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, which Berengarius and Adelbert had seized, were again solemnly made over to St. Peter. Before the emperor left Lombardy, another council of the Bishops of Italy, France, and Germany assembled at his desire to institute a new metropolitan see in the city of Magdeburg, and to found bishoprics in the cities of Brandenburg, Posna, Mersperg, Missein, Zittau, and Prague, which, with other sees already existing, and others to be created, when required by further conversions, were to be subject to the Archbishop of Magdeburgh, who received the pall from John XIII. Still further to insure his submission to Rome, the dignity of Primate of Germany was conferred upon him³.

Otho, the son of the emperor, visited the tombs of the holy apostles, by invitation from the pontiff, and was accompanied by his father. On this occasion he received the imperial crown from the pope, and became a partner in the empire, on Christmas-day, 967⁴.

The privileges which had been conferred on the monastery of Glastonbury by King Edgar, in a council held in London, in the year 971, are said to have been confirmed by John XIII.⁵

The custom of christening bells with the name of some

¹ Labb. ix. 662.

² Labb. ix. 667.

³ Id. col. 676.

⁴ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 272.

⁵ Will. Malmesb. de Reg. Angl. ii. 8, vol. i. p. 245, edit. Hardy, Lond. 1840.

BOOK III. saint, in order to associate in the mind the idea, that the
 CHAP. IV. voice of that saint to whom any bell was consecrated, was
 calling the people to worship, was an invention of this age ⁶.

CXXXV. *Benedict VI., died 974.*

The emperor Otho I. who had reduced the Italian states to better order than had prevailed before his reign, was no sooner in his tomb than the Tuscan faction began again to revive sedition. Crescentius, son of the younger Theodora, with many of the nobility, became impatient of submission to the emperor, and entering the Lateran palace with violence, made the pope their prisoner. He is reported to have been strangled in the castle of St. Angelo. No other act of power during this pontificate is recorded, except the extension of the privileges of the see of Salzburg ⁷.

CXXXVI. *Domnus, or Donus II., died 974 or 975.*

Cincius Amabricus Augenus, a son of Theodora ⁸, was now at the head of one of the strong seditious parties of Italy. He had caused Benedict VI. to be put to death, and raised a deacon named Franco to the see. Franco being opposed by the Tuscan faction, made his escape to Constantinople with the property of the apostolic treasury. Of Domnus, who was chosen by the Tuscans, nothing remarkable is related. At this period, the *doctrine of transubstantiation* may be shown, from the homilies of Ælfric, who lived in the reign of Ethelred, certainly to have been *unknown to the Church of England* ⁹, although this has recently been disputed by Dr. Lingard in his History of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

CXXXVII. *Benedict VII., died 983.*

The emperor, to whom the power of electing had now been given, requested Majolus, the Abbot of Clugny, to accept the holy see. This ecclesiastic refused the offer, and the deputies of the emperor joined the Tuscan party in promoting Benedict VII., of whom nothing is recorded but a decree in

⁶ So says Baronius, A.D. 968 ; but Martene, de Antiq. Ecclesiæ Retibus, iii. 368, ed. Rotom. 1702, has shown that the custom existed in France about

two hundred years before this time.

⁷ Labb. ix. 711.

⁸ Ap. Muratori, iii. ii. 332.

⁹ See Soames's Bampton Lectures.

council against simoniacal ordinations¹. *The spiritual power remained*, in spite of imperial interference in the papal elections. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

CXXXVIII. *John XIV.*, (*Franco*, or *Boniface VII.*; *John*, son of *Robert*,) died 985.

The pope who took the name of *John XIV.* was promoted to the pontificate from the see of *Pavia*, in *November*, 983. He occupied the chair of *St. Peter* about seven months. *Franco*, who had fled to *Constantinople* after plundering the holy treasury, hearing of the death of *Otho II.*, made his appearance in *Rome*; and abetted by his faction, put *John* to death in the castle of *St. Angelo*. To render his death certain, and thus to prevent any attempt at insurrection by the friends of *John*, he commanded the public exhibition of his dead body². He did not long enjoy the benefit of this murder. His death was sudden, and his tyranny and vice were revenged upon his body after death, which is said to have received numberless dagger wounds, and to have been dragged through the kennels, and left unburied in the street. This pope is called in the catalogues which deign to mention him, *Boniface VII.*³

John, the son of *Robert*, is said by some writers to have followed *Franco*, or *Boniface VII.*, in the list of popes, but neither of them are generally considered to have been lawfully appointed⁴. He is styled *John XV.*⁵

CXXXIX. *John XV.* (or *XVI.*), died 996.

On the election of *John XV.*, *Crescentius*, a Roman noble, persuaded the citizens to reject the authority both of the pope and of the emperor. The fortress of *St. Angelo* had fallen into his possession; and the pope, alarmed for his own safety, fled to *Tuscany*. *Otho III.*, King of *Germany*, promised to relieve *Rome*, but *Crescentius* assured him that he

¹ Labb. ix. 1244.

² Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 273.

³ Apud Baron. ad an. 985. Immediately on the death of *Otho II.*, *Boniface VII.* returned, and *John XIV.* died in prison 984; *Boniface VII.* is styled horrendum monstrum, cunctos

mortales nequitia superans. See Gieseler, ii. 80, note 17.

⁴ The chronicle of *St. Maxentius* says, that three apostolici died in the year 985 at *Rome*; *John XIV.*, *Boniface VII.*, and *John the Elect.*

⁵ Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 273.

should be free from molestation, and he returned. A quarrel having arisen between the Duke of Normandy and Ethelred, King of England, the pope sent a legate into England, in 991, to mediate between them ⁶.

In a council of the Lateran assembled by this pope, an account was read of the miracles of Ulderic, Bishop of Augusta, and it was decreed that, as a saint reigning with Christ in heaven, Ulderic might be worshipped. *This was the first instance of the canonization of saints*⁷. *So great was the spiritual power of Rome when its temporal power was lowest.*

The celebrated Hugh Capet had been placed on the French throne, and the see of Rheims having become vacant, the pope appointed Arnulf, natural brother of the Duke of Lorraine, and uncle to the late king, the legitimate heir to the throne, metropolitan of that province, thus endeavouring to obtain his acquiescence in the change of dynasty⁸. Hugh was a descendant of Childebrand, brother of Charles Martel. The Carlovingian line was thus excluded from the throne. Arnulf took the usual oath of allegiance to Hugh Capet, and entered on his archbishopric, but shortly after he opened the gate of the city to his brother, then at war for the crown. The bishops of the province complained to the pope of this perfidy on the part of Arnulf, and declared their intention to hold a synod on the subject. The party of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, had gained his holiness to their side, and the legation from the bishops was treated with disrespect, and returned. Under these circumstances that celebrated Council of Rheims met in 991⁹. In the first session, Arnulf was convicted of high treason; and in the second, he was solemnly deposed, and delivered the crozier and ring to King Hugh, who, with his son Prince Robert, were present, and assisted at the council. The celebrated Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., was then appointed to the archbishopric, in a manner that

⁶ Will. de Malmes. de Reg. lib. ii. c. 10.

⁷ Labb. Concil. ix. 741. See further, Benedictus papa, xiv. De Servorum Dei Beatificatione, i. viii. § 2. Opp. i. 23, where the subject is fully discussed.

⁸ Labb. Concil. ix. 734. Gall. Christ. ix. 59.

⁹ The acts of this memorable synod

were collected by Gerbert, and were published in the Magdeburg Centuriators. See Cent. x. c. 9, p. 457, et seq., and also Labb. Concil. ix. 738. They were pronounced by Baronius to be spurious, but their authenticity has been set at rest by several satisfactory authorities.—See Mansi Concil. tom. xix. p. 107, et seq.

evinced the highest degree of contempt for the opposition of the Roman pontiff to these proceedings. *A long and important controversy ensued between the pope and the Gallican bishops* who composed the council, in which King Hugh took a part, and in which the independence of the council was ably vindicated, and the justice of its decrees maintained by Gerbert, and by Arnold, Bishop of Orleans¹. It was at length agreed that a council should assemble at Monson², in 995, before which the proceedings of the Council at Rheims should be examined; and it was before this assembly that Gerbert particularly distinguished himself by his able support of the canons of the Universal Church against the usurpations of Rome; and though finally deposed by a council in which papal influence prevailed, his resistance to the power of Rome was maintained with ability, vigour, and decision, on the ground of the efficacy of the canons against the despotic claims of the pontiffs to an unlimited control over all churches³.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

CXL. Gregory V., died 999.

This pope was the nephew of the emperor Otho III., and a Saxon. Soon after his ordination he crowned his uncle emperor (May 31, 996), who, after the Romans had solemnly sworn allegiance to him, returned with his army from Rome into Germany. On his departure, the ambition of Crescentius was again inflamed, and under the plea of restoring liberty to Rome, by setting aside the imperial jurisdiction,

¹ See Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 81, notes 19, 20, who says, Arnold was accused of having betrayed Rheims, A.D. 989, to Charles, Duke of Lorraine, who pretended to the crown. Hugh Capet at first applied to the pope, but afterwards having got Arnold in his power, he held the council referred to. An attempt was made at first, by certain monks, to prove from the Pseudo-Isidoriana, that Arnold ought first of all to be restored to his bishopric, and that all *negotia episcoporum* belonged to the see of Rome. This was especially opposed by Arnulphus, Episcopus Aurelianensis. At length, Arnulf of Rheims acknowledged the offence, and voluntarily resigned his place.

² Labb. Concil. ix. 747.

³ But the most striking witness of

the truth, says Spanheim, was Gerbert, a man of extensive learning, the preceptor of Otho III. and Robert I., son of Hugh Capet. He was raised to the papal see by the name of Sylvester II. No one had delineated, with more truth and feeling, the mournful appearance of the Church, the tyranny of the popes, antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and the mystery of iniquity, than Gerbert did before he himself became pope. The fidelity of Gerbert excites the spleen of Baronius; he calls him at that time, "a mad, foolish, raging, blaspheming, heretical, and schismatic man," yet he was afterwards a pontiff, and he then, at once, became infallible. — Spanheim, Eceles. Annal. by G. Wright, pp. 446, 447, edit. 1829.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

and substituting the authority of the native princes of Italy, he assumed the title of consul and prince of the republic. On this usurpation Gregory fled, and Crescentius gave the see to Philagathus, Bishop of Placentia, who took the name of John, and is said to have bid most money for the dignity, and to have obtained that money by the plunder of his own see⁴. He was styled by the imperialists, Antipope. The emperor returned with a force sufficient to restore order; and with Gregory, who awaited his arrival at Pavia, he marched direct to Rome. Crescentius not having force sufficient to resist the emperor, retired to St. Angelo, where being made prisoner, he was condemned to lose his head.

Gregory, on being restored, held a council at Rome, in which it was decreed, that Robert I., King of France, should repudiate his queen Bertha, on account of his having been godfather to one of her infants. The marriage on this ground being declared incestuous, he was sentenced to a seven years' penance, on pain of being cut off from the communion of the faithful. The same sentence was also pronounced against Bertha. The bishops, too, who had assisted at the marriage, were suspended, until forgiveness was granted on their petition. No regard was at first paid by either the king or Bertha to the sentence; *but such was the spiritual power of the papacy*, or so great was the dread of excommunication, where adherence to the see of Rome was a point of honour, as well as a principle of religion; that the king's servants are said to have shown such antipathy to touch any thing used by him and the queen, that it was with difficulty they could be supplied with the necessaries of life⁵. It is said that all the bishops went to Rome in company with the king and queen, to obtain absolution from the pope.

⁴ See his various acts mentioned in the *Italia Sacra* of Ughelli, ii. 206. His hands and ears were cut off, his eyes put out, and he was compelled to ride on an ass, with his face to the tail.

⁵ Concil. Rom. ann. 998; Mansi, xix. p. 225; Can. I. Labb. Concil. ix. 772. Ut rex Robertus consanguineam suam Bertam, quam contra leges in uxorem duxit, derelinquat, et septem annorum pœnitentiam agat. . . . Quod si non fecerit, anathema sit. Idemque

de eadem Berta fieri præceptum est, can. i. And the consequence is stated by Peter Damian. Undique populum terror invasit, ut ab ejus universi societate recederent, nec præter duos sibi servulos ad necessarij victus obsequium remanerent. Qui tamen et ipsi omnia vasa, in quibus rex edebat vel bibebat, percepto cibo, abominabilia judicantes, pabulum ignibus exhibebant.—Apud Gieseler, ii. 82, note 22.

CXLI. *Sylvester II., died 1003.*

On the death of Gregory, the emperor Otho recommended to the pontifical seat his preceptor, Gerbert, who had contended against the learned, zealous, and eloquent John XV. at the council of Rheims, of which see he had been appointed metropolitan. The emperor had previously appointed him to the archbishopric of Ravenna⁶. His pontificate rather exceeded four years, in which time *his principal act of power was his sending to St. Stephen I., King of Hungary, the crown used to the present time in crowning the Kings of Hungary*; and with which he added to the title of king, that of perpetual legate to the holy see. He granted also the honour of having the cross borne before him, as a mark of distinction on account of the labour he had bestowed in the conversion of his subjects. Among his numerous letters, of which a collection, containing one hundred and sixty, was printed in Paris, in 1611, is one in which he exhorts the universal Church, in the name of the city of Jerusalem, to rescue from the infidel power the holy places where Christ was born, where He preached his Gospel of salvation, and where He died to save mankind. This is the first public appeal for exciting a crusade.

CXLII. *John XVII.⁷, died 1003.*

Concerning the character or actions of this pope, history says nothing. He occupied the see not quite five months.

CXLIII. *John XVIII., died 1009.*

According to a special agreement made with Otho I., the *Archbishops of Magdeburg were to be consecrated by none but the pope*. As soon as this pontiff had possession of the holy see, he appointed a legate to ordain in his name a new metropolitan of that province, named Taquino. Bamberg, in Germany, was made a bishopric, in his time, by Henry, King of Bavaria; but instead of being placed under the jurisdiction of a

⁶ The Life of Sylvester II. has been recently published by Dr. C. F. Hock, of Vienna. This work is reviewed in the *Dublin Review*, January to May, 1839.

⁷ The antipope John, mentioned in the previous page, does not enter into the list of pontiffs; this pope, therefore, is styled John XVII.—See Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 274.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

German metropolitan, it was annexed to the see of Rome⁸. In consequence of John XVIII. having promoted the temporary union of the eastern and western Churches, his name was added to those of the patriarchs of Constantinople, in the celebration of mass in the churches of that city⁹. Elphege having been, at this time, raised to the see of Canterbury, went to Rome to procure a pall; and is said to have been received by this pope with more than common marks of distinction¹⁰. Elphege was a pious and disinterested ecclesiastic, who sacrificed his own life some years after, to protect his people from the Danes.

CXLIV. *Sergius IV., died 1012.*

The French Church still continued to be jealous of papal encroachment. Hugh, Archbishop of Tours, complained of Sergius sending a legate to consecrate a monastery, founded in his diocese¹. The Archbishop of Hamburg, however, and the Bishop of Verdun, having a dispute regarding the parish of Ramsola, referred the case to his holiness, who gave judgment in favour of the archbishop. *These instances of appeal neutralized the resistance of the bishops.*

CXLV. *Benedict VIII., died 1024.*

This pope was a son of the Count of Tusculum. He is said to have been raised to the see by his family, while Sergius was yet living². His right was disputed by a rival, named Gregory, who drove him from his seat. He fled to Germany, and appealed to Henry the Second, who, though he had been on the throne since 1002, had not been crowned. The Romans hearing that the king was on his march to restore Benedict, recalled him; and the coronation of Henry and his Queen Cunegunda, was celebrated in 1014, at Rome, with more than usual splendour³. All the donations of Pepin, Charlemagne, and the Cthos, were severally confirmed by the diploma of the present emperor; but, at the same time, the

⁸ Labb. Concil. ix. 783, seqq. and 810.

⁹ Ap. Baron. ad ann. 1009.

¹⁰ Ostern. in Vit. Sancti Elphegi, ap. Warteni Angl. Sacr. ii. 130.

¹ Gall. Christ. i. 755, edit. 1656.

² Yet this is disputed by some writers. See Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 274.

³ On Sunday, 24th Feb., according to Muratori.

claim of the emperor, or his special commissioners, to be present at the consecration of the sovereign pontiffs, was renewed. The emperor is said to have commanded the creed to be sung after the Gospel, in the church of Rome, as in other churches. The Romans had refused to do so, on the plea that Rome had adhered to the rule of St. Peter, and left other churches, who disagreed with their custom, and were infected with heresy, to sing the creed ⁴.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

The Saracens having again become troublesome, *the pope required all bishops and friends of the Church to raise forces to expel the invaders*. A strong army, with a fleet of armed vessels having been raised, his holiness took the command, gained a decisive victory, and relieved the country ⁵.

This pope is said to have taken revenge on a synagogue of Jews, who had derided the worship of the cross on Good-Friday. A violent storm happened to visit Rome at the time, by which many lives were lost, and great damage done; and the Roman priests ascribed these diastrous consequences to the insult the cross had received from the Jews ⁶.

In 1019, by invitation from the emperor Henry, Benedict visited him in Germany. On this occasion he consecrated a new church, which had been built by the emperor in Bamberg, when that diocese was confirmed to the pope and his successors ⁷.

In a council held at Pavia, he spoke strongly concerning the libertinism of the clergy, and canons were passed for the stricter enforcement of the decrees which forbade females to live with clerks. Other canons of this council declare the children of clerks to be slaves to the Church to which their fathers belonged. It was also decreed that no vassal, either clerical or laic, should make purchases of land as a freeman. These decrees were signed by his holiness, by the Archbishop of Milan, by several bishops, and ratified by the emperor, who, by desire of the pope, embodied them in an imperial edict, as the law of the empire ⁸.

In a letter to the Archbishop of Lyons, and to twenty-two other prelates of France, they are severally ordered to excom-

⁴ Berno Augien. de Missa, c. ii. ap. Bower.

⁵ Labb. Concil. ix. 810.

⁶ Id. 810.

⁷ Leo Ostiensis, ii. 47, ap. Labb. ibid.

⁸ Id. 819, seqq.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

municate all persons who usurp any possessions of the monastery of Clugny, declaring them all to be excommunicated by him, who shall be guilty of such a trespass. *With this pope, the apostolic see begins to be treated as a family property of the Counts of Tuscany.* Resistance to Rome as a Church was now unknown⁹.

CXLVI. *John XIX., died 1033.*

So degraded had the papal dignity now become by the factions and parties of Rome, that it was disposed of as merchandise to the highest bidder. John XIX. was brother of the former pope, Benedict VIII., and though only a layman when Benedict died, was able by money, and the influence of his family, to obtain possession of the apostolic chair¹, *and that without any weakening of the papal spiritual influence.* Basilius, the emperor of the East, at this time sent an embassy to Rome for the special purpose of obtaining the consent of the pope, to allow the patriarch of Constantinople to style himself Universal Bishop of the East. The request was accompanied by presents of great value. The answer, however, after much discussion was, that none but the successors of St. Peter in the Roman see could use such title.

By the death of Henry II. the sceptre fell into the hands of Conrad II., who, having restored some towns which had declared themselves independent of the apostolic see, was honoured, together with his queen Gisela, with a splendid coronation, Easter, 1027. Among other distinguished personages who were present at the august ceremony, were Canute, King of England, and Rudolph, King of Burgundy, the former of whom, in conformity with a prevailing superstition of that age, had made a pilgrimage to Rome. Canute wrote from Rome to the bishops and nobles of England, to tell them of his successful application for the remission of such tolls and taxes as were levied on his subjects, in passing

⁹ Labb. Concil. 810.

¹ Johannes iste, cognomento Romanus, frater illius Benedicti, cui in episcopatum successerat, largitione pecunie repente ex laicali ordine neophytus constitutus est Presul. Sed insolentia Romanorum adinvenit palliandæ subdolositatis ridiculum; scilicet,

nt quemcunque pro suo libitu imprensentiarum ad pontificatus officium delegerint, mutato nomine quod illi prius fuerat, aliquo magnorum pontificum nomine illum appellari decernant; re vera quem si non meritum rei, saltem nomen extollat.—Glaber Radulph IV. c. 1, ap. Giesler, ii. 83, n. 26.

through the dominions of certain princes, either for the sake of trade or pilgrimage, to Rome; and that the pope had also promised to diminish the exorbitant charges which had been made on his archbishops for palls². *The pall began to be an object of ambition.* A bishop of Girona, in Spain, offered to redeem thirty papal subjects annually from Saracen slavery, if the sovereign pontiff would permit him to wear the pall on twelve solemn anniversaries every year. The permission was granted to him, but not to his successors. No power is so esteemed as that which confers imaginary honours; for *ambition is more powerful than avarice.* The spiritual power of Rome, notwithstanding the corrupt manner in which the see was obtained, was obviously increasing. So strangely, too, was it sometimes exercised, that Odilo, Abbot of Clugny, was threatened with excommunication, because he declined to accept from John, the rich archbishopric of Lyons³. Yet the Gallican Church resisted the papal domination, though faintly and weakly. The Bishops of France, in a council held in Limoges, in 1031, complained of the encouragement given to persons, excommunicated by them, to go to Rome as pilgrims, where they obtained the papal absolution. The pope replied, that he did not desire to be the cause of any misunderstanding or schism; and accordingly rescinded the absolution of the count of Auvergne, requesting the bishops to inform the count, that, instead of his absolution and blessing, his curse should attend him, if he failed to satisfy his bishop by whom he had been excommunicated⁴. In other instances, too, this pope acceded to the decrees of the Gallican Bishops⁵.

² Wilkins, i. p. 297. Spelman's Concil. i. 515. Canute in this letter refers only to the spiritual power, which he had been taught was vested in the Roman pontiff, as the reason of his admiration and veneration of Rome: hoc maxime patravi, quia a sapientibus didici, sanctum Petrum apostolum magnam potestatem accepisse a Domino ligandi atque solvendi, clavigerumque esse regni cœlestis; et ideo specialiter ejus patrocinium apud Deum expetere valde utile duxi.

He speaks of the archbishops of England having received the pall from the pope as a custom only, not as an admitted law—dum secundum morem apostolicam sedem expetent, p. 298.

³ Dach. Spicileg. tom. ii. ap. Bower; Gall. Christ. iv. 82, 83.

⁴ Labb. Concil. ix. 901. 908.

⁵ In the pontificate of this pope we read of the first instance (after the murder of the Priscillians in Spain, by vivicomburation) of the burning of heretics. This cruelty was committed not by the papal, but by the ecclesiastical or episcopal power. The Manichean heresy was said to have been discovered at Orleans. A clerk, named Herbert, who was prosecuting his studies in that city, became intimate with certain persons who appeared to be devout, benevolent, and humble Christians. He was deceived. They were discovered to be abominable heretics, who privately assembled to sing

CXLVII. *Benedict IX., died 1045.*

We now arrive at the period when the first mention is found in history of the name of that remarkable man, who has stamped on the records and character of the Church of Rome the impression of his own inflexible austerity, his stern and unrelenting perseverance, and his proud and cruel intolerance. It will be necessary, if we would understand the conduct, and results of the conduct, of Hildebrand, to pay more peculiar attention to the circumstances of the age in which he lived. The condition of the Roman see was more extraordinary at this time, than in any preceding portion of its history. At a distance from Rome, the spiritual power of the pope was regarded with veneration, as divine or superhuman. Within the walls of Rome itself, all was venality, murder, and violence. Gregory, Marquis of Toscanella, in the year 1012, had procured the election of his son, Benedict VIII., to the papal see; in opposition both to the imperial and popular parties. This pope reigned twelve years. Owing to this long papacy, and the absolute authority exercised by Benedict, the family to which he belonged became extremely powerful at Rome. The minds of all parties, too, being corrupted by their in-

litanies to demons, which they continued till the devil himself, in the shape of a small beast, descended among them. Other charges, equally probable, were alleged against them. Herbert, before he was undeceived, endeavoured to convert his master, a knight named Arefaste. He being more cautious than Herbert, reported the matter to Duke Richard of Normandy, who communicated it to King Robert. The king commissioned Herbert to obtain some more authentic information of their alleged crimes. He did so. Various examinations of the heretics took place in private before the king and his prelates. The supposed heretics could only be induced to confess their holding opinions, which are now adopted by the generality of Christians who are not in communion with Rome. After much labour on the part of the prelates to induce them to repent, they were degraded from their orders, consigned with all the solemn mockery of mercy to the secular power, and burnt to death outside

the walls of the city; after the queen had displayed her zeal in the cause of religion, by thrusting out the eye of one of the accused, who had formerly been her confessor. With these miserable sufferers, ten canons of Orleans were consigned to the flames. Four laymen, also, were added to the number. The last writer who has discussed this subject, is the deeply learned, zealous, laborious Mr. Faber. His statements have been criticised by Mr. Maitland. I purposely refrain from expressing here my opinion of the controversy.—Faber's *Valences and Albigenes*, p. 125—146. Let us not suppose that these murdered Christians were destroyed by the papal influence. They were burnt by the ecclesiastical or episcopal influence, which arrogated to itself the divine right to govern conscience by authority; and would have pleaded the apostolical succession to justify the burning of the body of Thomas, to save the soul of John. They cruelly murdered, to do God service. John xvi. 2.

fluence, John, the brother of Benedict, had been proclaimed pope, as John XIX. The election was contrary to the canons, and was highly and justly displeasing to all who respected the ancient discipline, when they saw the same person, in the same day, an unordained layman, and Bishop of Rome⁶. On the death of John XIX., Alberic, another Count of Tusculum, impatient of any resistance to the domination which had now been so long assumed by his family, pretended that the papacy belonged by right to the Counts of Tusculum. He nominated to the pontificate his son, Theophylact, at the very early age, it is said, of ten years⁷. Those who objected to this nomination, whether overcome by courtly favour, bribes, or hope of future benefits to themselves, offered little resistance to the election; and the young pope, changing his name, according to the now long established custom, assumed the title of Benedict IX.

It was well for the popes of Rome, as it had previously been for their predecessors, the Cæsars, that the greatness of the monarchy does not always depend upon the personal character of its rulers. The vices of the Cæsars did not prevent the enlargement, for many years, of the power of pagan Rome; and if the personal vices of the pope could have destroyed the spiritual power of papal Rome, it would have been ruined by Benedict IX. The detail of his dissolute and shameless profligacy would weary and disgust the reader, as it wearied and rendered indignant the Roman citizens, and the most zealous friends of Rome⁸.

The Archbishop of Milan, on being excommunicated by the young and dissipated pontiff, derided the sentence, and retained possession of the see till his death. On returning from Cremona in 1044, where he had been to meet Conrad II., the debaucheries and excesses of the pope became so intolerable, that the people drove him from the see. He was restored by the emperor, and again repeatedly driven from and restored to his dignity. Two parties, at this time, convulsed the seat of the papacy—the Tusculan, and the Ptolemæan.

⁶ . . . uno eodemque die laicus et pontifex fuit, . . . is the expression of Romoald of Salerno, in Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 276.

⁷ Sir Roger Griesley doubts whether Benedict IX. was so young; but Glaber

says he was "puer ferme decennis."

⁸ A good account of the state of Italy at this time is given in Sir Roger Griesley's Introduction to the Life of Gregory VII.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

The Ptolemæan party, prevailing for a time, elected to the see, John, the Bishop of Sabine, who assumed the name of Sylvester III. The Bishop of Sabine was violently ejected at the end of three months. Benedict was again restored by the soldiers of his family⁹. Gratian, the Archpriest of St. John ante portam Latinam, who enjoyed the favour of the young pope, and who had amassed immense wealth, induced Benedict, under these circumstances of popular odium, and difficulty of retaining peaceful possession of his see, to transfer to his hands a burthen to which he was evidently not equal. He placed at the disposal of Benedict large sums of money¹, and procured his own election by the Roman people. It is on this occasion that we first meet with the name of Hildebrand.

The monastery of Clugny was the most celebrated of any at that time. It was situate on the Rhone, not far from Macon. Its abbots had been distinguished for their piety and sanctity, according to the notions of devotion at this time², which mistook celibacy for chastity, austerity for piety, and severity for spiritual religion. It would be easy to show, from the historical records of the age, that in every part of Europe this mode of pleasing God was adopted by the zealous and the devout. Devotion is the dedication of the affections of hope and fear, to an invisible power. Ignorance is the parent of superstitious devotion, or of the separation of the affections from reason. Religion was designed to prevent superstition, and is the parent of the rational devotion. At this time, however, whether we look to Italy, England, Scotland, Clugny, or any other part of Christendom, all the zealous religionists who would have condemned the personal degradations of Benedict, while they still venerated the holy see, were thus fanatical, austere, self-tormentors.

⁹ Sir Roger Griesley's Introduction to the Life of Gregory VII., p. 87, where see the references.

¹ Baronius, from Otto of Frisingen, tells us, that the money given by Gratian to Benedict was a tribute from England—*eis a sancta sede cedere, pecunia persuasit, Benedicto redditibus Angliæ, quia majoris videbatur esse auctoritatis, relictis.*

² The Abbot of Clugny, named Odo, was the first that reformed the Bene-

dictines, then fallen from their former integrity, anno 913. He obtained of the popes and emperors the concession that all such abbeys as would come under the compass of his reformations (which were in all about two hundred) should be called the congregation of Clugny; and that they might call their chapters, and dispatch their common business, when, and as often as they pleased.—Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, Preface, p. ix. ed. Nasmith.

They were sincere in the superstition or in the religion by which they would please God, and save their souls. In Italy, for instance, Peter Damiani³, Bishop of Ostia, is recorded to have armed himself against the allurements of pleasure, and the artifices of the devil, by wearing, when young, a hair shirt under his clothes; and by inuring himself to fasting, watching, and prayer. He became a monk of the order of St. Benedict, and belonged to Fonte-Avellano, because of the austerities they practised. They ate pulse and herbs. They went barefoot, and used severe discipline. His love of poverty made him abhor and be ashamed to put on a new habit, or any clothes that were not threadbare. His principal care was to cherish in his disciples a spirit of solitude, charity, and humility. Damiani was the contemporary and confidential friend of Hildebrand, and one who possessed considerable influence over him. So was it also in England. Wulfstan, another contemporary of Hildebrand, on taking holy orders, practised on himself greater austerities than the monks in their cells⁴. In Scotland, Malrubius⁵ led an eremitical life, entirely occupied in penitential works, and in the exercise of holy contemplation. The incursions of the idolatrous Norwegians induced him to quit his desert in order to administer comfort to his countrymen, and convert the barbarians. He began to preach to them the truths of the Gospel; but death was the recompense of his charity. The Norwegians cruelly murdered him. All was zeal, holiness, devotion, and austerity: and many other instances might be selected to show that voluntary rigour was practised in all countries by the particular friends and contemporaries of Hildebrand. But more especially were these proofs of sincerity, devotion, and zeal, demanded from the inmates of the monastery of Clugny. Odilo was at this time the abbot of this place. It is recorded of him, that he laboured to subdue temptation by rigorous fasting, and by wearing haircloth next his skin, with studded iron chains. He had succeeded St. Mayeul, who had practised the same austerities in 994, and died at the age of 87, after being 56 years abbot, in the year 1049, four years after the elevation of Gratian to the see.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

³ Acta SS. Bolland, Feb. 23, tom. iii. p. 406.

⁵ Acta SS. Bolland, Aug. 27, tom. vi. p. 132.

⁴ Warton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 246, seqq.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

While Odilo was Abbot of Clugny, Hildebrand⁶, whether of low or noble origin is uncertain⁷, at the age of sixteen obtained admittance as a student of the canon law, and an observer of monastic discipline. He was studious, ambitious, and, according to all the accounts of the age, religious, after the fashion of the time. Indeed, it is impossible to believe that he could have obtained that ascendancy over his brethren, and the influence which everywhere attended him, if he had not adopted the general austerity and severity⁸. And it is impossible to suppose that the early transactions in which Hildebrand took part, could be inconsistent with the two sources of influence upon the human mind at this period—deference to the spiritual authority of Rome, whoever might be the pontiff, and personal severity in conquering the natural indulgence of the human affections.

It is necessary to keep these points in view if we would understand the zeal, the severity, and the undauntedness of Hildebrand; and more especially, if we would comprehend the first transaction which is recorded of him, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, when he took part with Gratian in effecting the resignation of Benedict IX. He had left Clugny at the age of twenty-three, after having there witnessed, not only the painful austerities of his abbot, Odilo, but the first effort of the spiritual power of Rome in exempting a monk from his vows. Casimir, King of Poland, the son of Wenceslaus, disgusted with the factions in his own country, retired to Clugny. He there professed the monastic state, and was ordained a deacon. His countrymen, unable to settle the government, sent a deputation of nobles to in-

⁶ His biographer, Paul Bernried, declares his name to have been prophetic of his conduct. Hildebrandus enim Teutonice lingue vernacula nuncupatione perustionem significat cupiditatis terrene, qualem Psalmista sibi divinitus impertiri precatur, dicens, (Psal. xxvi.) Proba me, Domine, et tenta me; ure renes meos, et cor meum. Aptè vero in baptismo datum est hoc nomen, dicente Johanne Baptista, (Marc. i.) Ego quidem vos baptizo in aqua in pœnitentiam; qui autem venturus est post me, fortior est me, cujus non sum dignus calceamenta portare, ipse baptizabit in spiritu sancto et igne. De hoc igne, ipse

Salvator ait, (Luc. xi.) Ignem veni mittere in terram, et quid volo, nisi ut ardeat? Quoniam ergo vir iste, ignito eloquio Domini, repulsurus erat a Domo Dei ignita jacula inimici, non incongrue prætulit incendium appellatione, quod exhibiturus erat ferventissima charitatis et veritatis attestazione.—Paul. Bernried. de rebus gest. Greg. VII. ap Muratori, Rerum Ital. Scriptores, iii. 317.

⁷ Sir Roger Griesley, p. 79, where see the references.

⁸ Lucullus, when frugality could charm,

Had eaten turnips in his Sabine farm.

vite his return. Odilo, in spite of the profligacy of Benedict, and notwithstanding his own dignity, piety, reputation, and age, deemed himself unable to permit the return of Casimir. He therefore referred the delegates to the pope, who granted the king a dispensation on the following conditions:—the nobles of Poland were required to pay to the apostolic see one penny for each of their vassals and themselves; all of them were to shave their heads in the manner of monks; they were, also, to wear on the chief festivals of our Saviour and the Virgin, linen cloths over their shoulder, like the priest's stole. To these terms the deputies agreed; and Casimir being released from his vows, threw aside the cowl for the crown. On his return to Poland as king, he assembled a general diet, from which a solemn embassy was sent to thank his holiness in the name of the kingdom, and to pay him the stipulated price. To all this proceeding, which took place in 1041⁹, and the sanction of Odilo, Hildebrand was witness. Two years after he was high in favour at the court of the emperor; where he was alike distinguished for his severe manners and profound ecclesiastical learning. He was thence sent by Odilo to Rome, to effect reforms in the convents of Mount Aventine. He cultivated the friendship of the Tusculan party, and of Benedict; and may be believed, in our present more critical and inquiring age, to have possessed all the knowledge of his times, from the accusation of skill in magic advanced by the ignorant and superstitious of his own age. He remained at Rome till that event took place, to which I have already referred, the resignation of the see for money by Benedict IX. The part which was taken by Hildebrand in the negotiation which ended in the resigning of the pontificate by Benedict IX., has generally been considered as inconsistent with his subsequent severity against simony. I am compelled to regard it in an opposite point of view. The Counts of Tusculum, and the conduct of Benedict, had so degraded the see of Rome, that the time had evidently arrived when the great contrast between the spiritual authority of the pontiffs, and the personal degradation of the pope, would compel some effort on the part of the zealous friends of the religion of the age, to remedy the evil which thus exposed the common

⁹ Baron. ad ann. § 3.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Christianity to contempt. Hildebrand professed himself the great opponent of simony. He was the negotiator with Peter Damiani, of the resignation of Benedict, and the elevation of his successor, Gregory VI.¹ The character of the new pope, formerly known as John Gratian, gave promise of a better reign². Whether Hildebrand had, at this time, conceived the design of rescuing the pontificate from all temporal interference, whether of counts, dukes, emperors, or of the people of Rome, cannot be ascertained. The probability is, that it was in his case as in that of other ambitious, yet zealous men. He mistook his ambition for the desire to be useful, by carrying his own plans into effect. Continued success changes the character of measures which, at the first, had seemed to be imprudent, rash, and useless; and makes them appear to be prudent, wise, and prosperous. Hildebrand, in after-times, found it necessary that some rallying cry should be raised against those whom he desired to depose from their further interference with the affairs of the Church. He could not adopt the cry of, *The Church is in danger*, for they were its friends, nor the cry of *Heresy, Heresy!* for the emperors would have burnt the heretics as readily as Hildebrand himself, as Frederic and Sigismund in after-times, or as King Robert at Orleans. He selected, therefore, *Simony* and *Incontinence!* By the former, he condemned any interference of princes in the elections of bishops; and thus rendered the Church, first independent of their power, and then supreme over their councils. By the second, he raised, and by the revenues of the Church maintained, a papal army in every country of monkish and clerical celibates—the devoted soldiers, not of their kings, but of the popes; not of their native powers, but of their adopted Italy. The time for these things had not yet come: but the defence of his conduct by Baronius is this, that the removal of such a profligate as the young Tusculan pope, ought not to be called the sale or purchase of the see; so much as the removal of an intolerable nuisance and disgrace. Benedict could not be deposed. He ought not to have been assassinated. No

¹ This pope is not generally numbered among the pontiffs. Hildebrand, however, took the name of Gregory VII., that he might more effectually

recognize the pontificate of John, who succeeded Benedict IX. under the title of Gregory VI.

² Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 276.

tribunal could bring him to account. The emperor protected him; his family defended him. No remedy seemed, at the moment, preferable to that of inducing him to resign the pontificate. The men most venerated in their age acquiesced in the arrangement; and strange as it will appear, that the great opponent of simony, or, more properly, of the presentation by the laity, to the higher preferments of the Church, should be first introduced to our notice as the negotiator in the most simoniacal transaction of the period; yet the motive for his conduct in all cases was the same. He desired, by negotiating the resignation of Benedict, to destroy the influence of the Counts of Tusculum. When he opposed the emperors, he professed to have the same object in view, the prevention of any influence in spiritual appointments, but that which was of a spiritual nature. He left the memorable lesson to the world, that *the human race, whether in Churches or states, cannot be wisely governed by one principle or influence only.* Hildebrand made the ecclesiastical power finally supreme over kings, by destroying the civil power in religious matters; as effectually as if the laity did not constitute the larger portion of the Church. Neither crime, nor virtue, nor good, nor evil, were spared to attain this purpose; and the result on the liberties, happiness, and religion of Christian states has been intolerable. This lesson, also, he left to the world, that *the priesthood is to be dreaded for its error and its ambition, even when it is most sincere.* Hildebrand was probably sincere, but his principle was erroneous, and his policy ruinous to the independence of all princes and governments. He desired to remedy one great evil, and he substituted another in its place. He rescued the pontificate from factious nobles, and imperious despots. He riveted a worse yoke upon Europe; and the Christian people of the fairest portion of the world have not yet broken their bonds.

CXLVIII. *Gregory VI., died 1046.*

On obtaining the papacy, to which he succeeded without any form of consecration, John Gratian assumed the name of Gregory VI., and appointed Hildebrand to the office of pontifical secretary, and shortly after, to the rank of subdeacon

of the Church of Rome. It is probable, also, that he was made Bishop of Orvieto by this pope. *The influence and learning, the zeal and prudence, of Hildebrand, seems to have rendered him indispensable to the papal councils at this time.* The unsettled state of Italy had filled the country with armed bands of robbers and freebooters. The papacy had sunk as a temporal power to its lowest depth of degradation. Sufficient authority, however, was left to it, to enable the new pontiff, who at once, without any ceremony of election, took possession of the see, to attempt the restoration of peace to the surrounding country. Robbery, and a wandering military life, were allowable proofs at this time of courage and honour. Sacrilege, too, owing to the large possessions which had been entailed on the churches and the bishops, was unavoidably connected with the violent pursuits of the military. The pope, then, became very unpopular, in spite of the justice of his proceedings, on account of the esteem in which the very lawlessness of such enterprises was held. *The first duty of a magistrate is to restore and to maintain peace.* This was done. The freebooters in question were accustomed to rob the pilgrims who visited Rome of the offerings they were bringing to that see and its bishop. Finding excommunication to be disregarded, and the spiritual authority of the Church despised by these robbers, he adopted other methods so severe, that he nearly exterminated the bands that wasted the country. Their number and power may be understood from the observation of the historian—that he recovered to the holy see the castles of the Church which they had long occupied³. These vigorous proceedings gave great satisfaction to many; by others he was stigmatized as a homicide. He conducted the expeditions in person, leaving a coadjutor at Rome to exercise the episcopal functions.

It is impossible to censure, or to approve rightly, human actions, unless all the circumstances of the manners, customs, places, knowledge, and ignorance of the time in which they happen, are considered. The usurpation of the pontificate

³ *Castra Ecclesie Romanæ per ipsos occupata, et longo tempore ab ipsis detenta, recuperavit.*

I refer to the catalogue of popes in Muratori. The extract is from J. G. Eceard. Muratori's Catalogue, com-

plied from various authors, all of whose original authorities are given, is the principal source from which I shall collect my subsequent narratives; see also Art. de Vérif. les Dates, i. 276.

by the Counts of Tusculum, and the consequent occupation of the see of Rome by a young and lawless profligate, was an intolerable evil. The bribing of that young profligate to resignation was an evil also. Both were unjustifiable wrongs to the Church and people. The sincerity, however, with which Gregory acted, under the continued influence of Hildebrand, may be ascertained from the remarkable circumstance mentioned by one of the accounts preserved by Muratori. When suffering under severe illness, and despairing of life, he solicited the cardinals that his body might be buried in St. Peter's. Objections were made to the proposition, because he had shed so much blood during his short pontificate. On hearing this, the pontiff immediately directed the cardinals to be summoned to his presence, and made them an harangue, in which he affirmed that he had acted not unjustly, but rightly and holily ⁴ against the spoliators of Italy; and quoted, as the custom has ever been, the sacred Scriptures in defence of his policy. He recovered from his sickness, and we may suppose ⁵, persevered in his active and useful career. The difficulties of his situation may be imagined, when we remember that Benedict IX. still remained at the Lateran, and Sylvester III. ⁶ continued at the Vatican. While he was thus engaged, the emperor, Henry III., who had now succeeded Conrade, came into Italy, to restore the imperial influence over the papal see. A council was called at Sutri, which carried into effect the emperor's determination to depose the three candidates for the popedom, and to appoint another. Gregory had been invited to preside at this council. He did so. When he was requested to defend himself from the charge of purchasing his dignity, he frankly confessed the irregularity of his appointment, and quitting his chair, unrobed himself in the council, gave up his pastoral staff, begged forgiveness, and renounced all claim to the apostolical dignity ⁷. He was then exiled to Clugny, and Hildebrand attended him. He wished to remain in Lombardy, but the emperor insisted on their

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

⁴ Some curious particulars respecting these events are preserved by William of Malmesbury, pp. 344. 346, ed. T. D. Hardy.

⁵ I say *suppose*, for the accounts are very confused, and the authorities

collected by Muratori are not explicit in their dates.

⁶ John, Bishop of Sabina.

⁷ Concil. ix. 943; Baron. ad ann. 1046, § 12.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

retiring into France. Gregory soon after died at Clugny, leaving to Hildebrand his wealth, and his resentment against the imperial interference in the spiritual affairs of the Church. Hildebrand succeeded to Odilo, in the priorship of the monastery of Clugny.

CXLIX. *Clement II., died 1047.*

The king and the bishops who composed the council of Sutri, on the deposition of Gregory VI., Benedict IX., and Sylvester III., went together to assist the people and clergy in choosing a fit person to fulfil the pontifical duties. On consulting the citizens it was declared that no one among the Roman clergy was worthy of the holy appointment. The king then nominated Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, one of the prelates in attendance. This nomination being unanimously approved, Suidger reluctantly consented to the wish of the king and people, and took the name of Clement. He attacked simony by means of a council, at which strict canons were passed for the prevention of the offence. He survived his appointment only nine months, being poisoned by an emissary of Benedict IX.⁸

Boniface, the Duke of Tuscany, continued the traffic in ecclesiastical benefices; but the great struggle for the independence of the Church had begun. The object of the ecclesiastical power was first, as we shall see, *to obtain emancipation from princes, and then to secure equality with them, and at length to soar to that ascendancy which is not even yet removed from many of the kingdoms of Europe*⁹.

CL. *Damasus II., died 1048.*

The profligate Benedict IX., who had sold the see to Gregory VI., again took possession on the death of Clement II. Halinard, Archbishop of Lyons, was strongly recommended by the citizens of Rome; but he disappeared from public life to avoid the intended preferment. After eight months delay, during which time Benedict IX. kept possession with impunity, though officially deposed, the emperor appointed Popponius, Bishop of Brixen, who lived only

⁸ Labb. Concil. ix. 946.

Civilization of Europe, 8vo, second

⁹ Sir Roger Griesley, p. 95; Guizot's edition, p. 158.

three weeks after his appointment. He was supposed to have been poisoned by some of the Benedictine faction. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

CLI. *Leo IX., died 1054.*

The emperor being again entreated by the people of Rome to commend to their approbation one worthy of the papacy, convened his bishops and principal nobility to an assembly at Worms. Some progress had been already made in the emancipation of the see from secular influence; for the Counts of Tusculum had appointed the popes without regard to public opinion. The council was unanimous in the nomination of Bruno, Bishop of Toul, one of their number. Bruno urged every possible plea against accepting the dignity. He is declared, by two of his biographers¹, to have spent three days in fasting and prayer, to be enabled to decide rightly on the pressing importunities of the emperor, and of the high dignitaries and nobles by whom he had been chosen. *The question was now more freely discussed, whether a Christian bishop was justified in accepting the episcopal office under any circumstances from a layman; or from any other than from the spiritual power of their own Churches.* Hildebrand had become so distinguished by the part he had already taken in this controversy, that we might naturally expect he would be in some manner found to exert his influence on the present occasion. Various accounts are given of the mode in which Hildebrand exerted his power². By some he is said to have been present at the council of Worms itself. If so, he might have there persuaded Leo to declare that he would only accept the office of pope, if he were freely chosen by the people and clergy, that is, by the Church at Rome; or Bruno, having previously adopted the conclusions to which Hildebrand, in common with a large party, had arrived, might have made the declaration as his own conscientious resolution; or the story may be true, that Bruno, on leaving the council at Worms, either visited Hildebrand at Clugny, or was met by him on his way to Rome³. The facts

¹ Wibert. in Vit. Leonis IX. lib. ii. c. ii. ap. Murat. Rer. Ital. iii. 291; Griesley and Bower, as well as the original works already cited.

Bruno, in Vit. Leonis IX.; Labb. ix. 947. ³ It is thus recorded by Baronius: Hildebrandus, Leonem adiens, remulatione Dei plenus, constanter eum de

² See the references in Sir R.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

alone seem certain, that extreme deference was paid by the pope to Hildebrand; that Bruno himself concluded he could not be rightly deemed pope till he had been chosen by the Church at Rome; that Hildebrand proceeded with Bruno to Rome; that both were habited as pilgrims in token of their humility, or indulgence of the pride which, unconsciously to itself, clothes itself in the garb of virtue; and that both were received in all places on their way, and on their arrival at Rome itself, with enthusiastic acclamations of joy and triumph. *The monk and the bishop were united with the populace and the authorities.* The incipient theocracy began to be blended with the democracy, as the reaction from the Tusculan, or aristocratical usurpations; and the consequences of the alliance have not yet ceased to perplex even the modern governments, which most desire to profit by experience, and to benefit their people. On arriving at Rome, Bruno walked barefooted to the tombs of the apostles, where he spent some time in devotion. He then addressed the populace, with apparent humility, on the manner in which he was introduced to them. He told them the conditions on which he had offered to take charge of his high commission; and that if not unanimously elected, he should willingly return to his diocese. His address was answered by general applause. He was immediately, with one consent, elected (Feb. 2), and after a few days was enthroned with much solemnity and festivity (Feb. 12, 1049).

Presentation to sees and benefices by the laity had unavoidably become so common, in consequence of the attachment of feudal duties and services to the holding of large landed possessions; that few ecclesiastics were innocent of accepting their appointment from the laity, and of making some return for the presentation. This simony, therefore, had prevailed to such a degree among all ranks of the western clergy, that to attack the practice was like waging war with the whole body. Leo IX. commenced his attempts to remedy the evil, at the fountain head. He summoned a

incepto redarguit, illicitum esse iniquens per manum laicam summum pontificem ad gubernationem totius ecclesie violenter introire. Verum si suis se credere velit consiliis, utrumque, et quod majestas imperialis in ipso non

exacerbetur, quodque libertas ecclesie in electione canonicâ renovetur, se pollicetur effecturum. Inclinatus ille ad monitum ejus purpuram deponit, . . . Ad ann. 1049, § 2.

council at Rome, which was attended by most of the bishops of Italy, France, and Germany. The laws against this description of simony⁴, and various others, were put in force against several bishops. Those who were guilty of simony were stigmatized as heretics—that is, they were declared guilty of that crime which was united with infamy, and condemned as the worst offence; and those who had received ordination from them were suspended, and punished by public penance. Further rigour was urged, but was opposed, because in some dioceses none would be left to perform the public duties. The council passed some rigid canons for remedying other abuses in the Church, and for correcting the immoral lives of ecclesiastics.

Leo continued to proceed in the best and most canonical manner. This council was immediately followed by others at Pavia, Rheims⁵, Mentz, Siponto, Vercelli, and elsewhere, for the purpose of restoring better discipline, and making examples of the more guilty. At Mantua, however, in the year 1052, the bishop raised a mob to prevent the synod from proceeding, and the pope was compelled to dismiss the council.

No less vigilant was Leo IX. concerning doctrine than he

⁴ Three descriptions of simony are mentioned by Baronius: *munus a manu*, bribery, or purchase of a benefice, or expending money in any manner to obtain it. *Munus ab obsequio*, rendering any homage or service to another, with the same object. *Munus a lingua*, obtaining a benefice by flattery, *favor adulationis*. He justly condemns them all. This classification is borrowed from Peter Damiani, *Opusc.* xxii. c. 1. See Bowden's *Life of Gregory VII.*, vol. i. p. 289.

But the real object which the bishops of Rome now had in view was not the suppression of simony, but the overthrow of all laical interference in the appointment to benefices. They forgot that the people are the Church, and that the laity, when their teachers did not teach the scriptural doctrines they were to receive, were entitled to bestow their lands on those conditions which they deemed best.—Baron. vol. xi. p. 241, ann. 1057.

Further, the same great historian writes thus: "Simoniaci in nullo a

cæteris hereticis differunt."—Baron. Ann. 1049, vol. xi. p. 159.

This decree was embodied in the canon law, which gradually accumulated to its present mass, by incorporating the decisions of councils, the bulls of popes, and decrees of bishops.—See Boehmer, vol. ii. 21, l. q. 1.—VII. *Simoniacorum hæresis cæteris damnabilior esse probatur.*

⁵ The Church of France, mindful of the resistance which Hincmar and others had formerly made to the subjection of their privileges to the pope, still opposed the unlimited power now set up by the Roman pontiff. *Tante itaque perversitatis viri inventoris sui callida suggestione instructi, Regi Francorum suggerunt regni sui decus annihilari, si in eo Romani pontificis auctoritatem dominari permitteret, vel si eidem, ut decreverat, occurrentis presentiae suae favorem ad cogendum concilium exhiberet, &c.*—Upon the council at Rheims, see the observations of Bowden, vol. i. p. 149; Baron. A.D. 1049, § 23.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

was regarding discipline. In 1050 he summoned a council at Rome to discuss the tenets of Berengarius. The ignorance of the age permitted the mighty triumph of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, of which I shall not at present speak particularly. It is sufficient now to say, that the doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was not known to the English at this time. This is evident from the sermon by Ælfric, who is generally held to be the same individual who became Archbishop of Canterbury at the end of the tenth century, MSS. of which are extant in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and which has been frequently published. The following is a specimen of his language:—"Christ is called *bread*, and a *lamb*, and a *lion* by signification. He is called *bread*, because He is our life; a *lamb* for his innocence; a *lion* for his strength. Yet, according to true nature, Christ is neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why then is the holy Eucharist called *Christ's body*, or the wine his blood, if it be not truly what it is called? Truly the bread and wine which are consecrated, show one thing outwardly to men's senses, and another thing they declare inwardly to believing minds; outwardly, bread and wine are seen both in appearance and in taste; yet they are truly, after consecration, *Christ's body and blood by a spiritual sacrament* ⁶."

The patriarch of Antioch sent in his adherence to the faith and authority of Rome. The Bishop of Carthage wrote, also, in the fifth year of Leo, appealing to his authority in aid of the unfortunate condition to which the Church of Africa was reduced. Leo, in his reply, affirms *the power of summoning all councils, and deposing all bishops, to be the prerogative of the Roman pontiff alone*. This letter may be considered as the link which connects the pretensions of Nicholas I. with the enforcement of those pretensions by Gregory VII. We can have but little doubt that it was written under the influence of Hildebrand ⁷.

⁶ The bread, the water, and the wine, when united, form a symbol of the Trinity. *Hostia sit ex frumento sana et integra. Vinum sit mundum et aqua munda, ita ut inter vinum, hostiam, et aquam Trinitas sit significata.*—Baron. *Annal.* 1050, vol. xi. p. 180.

⁷ The student of history will understand better the style which the bishops of Rome now began to adopt in their correspondence with their brethren, if he reads this epistle in the words of the original. I therefore subjoin it to this note. It is the third in the third book of the letters of Leo IX.,

The Church of Christ in Rome had now become a kingdom of this world, therefore its servants fought. They fought not with prayers and tears for conquest over themselves, and that they might succeed in persuading others, but with swords, and spears, and battle-axes of iron, as the soldiers of laymen were used to do. The soldiers of the Church fought in this manner against the Normans in Apulia, of whose success Leo was jealous. They were de-

and is given at length by Baronius, A.D. 1053, § 37. It is incorporated into the canon law, and it is the first of the more imperious bulls given in the Bullarium Magnum. It is confirmed by the Council of Trent, Session XXV. ad fin., by Gelasius I., &c.

Leo episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Thomæ Confratri charissimo et coëpiscopo, salutem.

I. Cum ex venerabilium canonum auctoritate recolimus ccv. episcopos concilio interfuisse Carthaginensi, et nunc à tua fraternitate audivimus quinque vix episcopos superesse in tota Africa, utique tertia hujus corruptibilis mundi parte, compatimur tantæ vestræ imminutioni totis viribus animi. Cum autem ipsas Christianitatis reliquias ediscimus interna et mutua dissensione discindi et dispergi, et adversus se invicem zelo et contentione principatus inflari, nil aliud nobis primo dicendum occurrit, quam illud S. Amos vatis: Parce, Domine, parce, obsecro; quis suscitabit Jacob, quia parvulus est?

II. Sed quamvis in tali tantoque defectu religionis plurimum doleamus, multum tamen gaudemus quia sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ matris vestræ sententiam requiritis et expectatis, super questionibus vestris, et quasi rivulis ab uno fonte erumpentibus, et in suo se cursu per diversa spargentibus, ad ipsius fontis primam scaturiginem reverti debere, optimum putatis, ut inde resumatis directionis vestigium unde sumpsisistis totius Christianæ Religionis exordium.

III. Noveris ergo proculdubio, quia post Romanum pontificem, primus Archiepiscopus, et totius Africæ maximus Metropolitanus est Carthaginensis Episcopus; nec, quicumque sit ille Gummitanus episcopus, aliquam licentiam consecrandi Episcopos vel deponendi, seu provinciale Concilium con-

vocandi habet, sine consensu Carthaginensis Archiepiscopi, eujuslibet dignitatis aut potestatis sit, exceptis his quæ ad propriam parochiam pertinent; cætera autem, sicut et alii Africani Episcopi, consilio Carthaginensis Archiepiscopi agat. Unde charissimi Confratres nostri et coëpiscopi Petrus et Joannes recte sentiunt de Carthaginensis Ecclesiæ dignitate, nec consentiant errori Gummitanæ Ecclesiæ.

IV. Hoc autem nolo vos lateat, non debere præter sententiam Romani Pontificis universale Concilium celebrari, aut episcopos damnari vel deponi, quia etsi licet vobis aliquos episcopos examinare, definitivam tamen sententiam absque consultu Romani Pontificis, ut dictum est, non licet dare; quod in sanctis canonibus statutum, si queritis, potestis invenire. Quamvis enim omnibus generaliter apostolis dictum sit à Domino: Quæcumque ligaveritis in Terra, ligata erunt in Cælo, et quæcumque solveritis in Terra, soluta erunt et in Cælo;—tamen non sine causa specialiter et nominatim dictum est beato Petro apostolorum principi, Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et tibi dabo Claves Regni Cælorum. Et in alio loco, Confirma fratres tuos, scilicet quia omnium Ecclesiarum majores et difficiliore cause per sanctam et principalem B. Petri sedem à successoribus ejus sunt definiendæ. Jam verò quia interrogata etiam confratrum nostrorum Petri et Joannis episcoporum decrevimus respondere, optamus ut sanctam tuam fraternitatem jugiter invigilantem utilitatibus sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ, atque devotè pro nobis orante, sancta et individua Trinitas semper conservet, clarissime Frater.

Dat. xvi. Kalendas Januarii, anno Domini Papæ Leonis Noni quinto, indictione Septima. Mag. Bullar. Rom. Tom. Prim. p. 49. Lugduni, 1692.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

feated. The lofty courtesy of the victorious Normans, however, obtained the favour of the pope, and possibly prepared the way for the subsequent benediction which his successor bestowed on the expedition of William of Normandy to the shores of England⁸.

We have taken but little notice of the great oriental division of Christendom, because its history is summed up in few words. The noble-minded and learned Photius had refused, as we have seen, to submit to the anathemas of Hadrian, or to the decision of a council which had taken an oath of allegiance to Rome, before it deliberated on the conduct of the Roman pontiff. The breach had never been healed. The refusal of the Emperor Basilius, and of the Patriarch Photius, to give up Bulgaria to the episcopal jurisdiction of John VIII., had rendered the division still wider; and by insisting on the degradation of all who had been ordained by Photius, before the hope of reconciliation could be allowed, it became irreparable. About this time, however, Constantine Monomachus, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius, wrote to Leo IX. once more expressing their desire of the union of the two Churches. The pope consequently despatched three legates to Constantinople, Humbert, Cardinal of the White Forest; Peter, Bishop of Amalfi; and Frederic, Chancellor of the Roman Church. In his reply to the letters from the East, Leo expressed displeasure that Cerularius, the patriarch, should have disagreed with him on the subject of consecrating unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The emperor received the legation with great cordiality. The patriarch, however, was offended at the pope's reproof, and refused to see the legates, who increased his displeasure by condemning many other practices in the Eastern Church. A monk of Studium, named Nicetas, defended the use of leavened bread only⁹, the holiness of the Sabbath, and the

⁸ Peter Damiani, one of the most pious and zealous adherents of the Church in this age, objected to this appeal to the sword. Baronius defends the conduct of Leo, and quotes the bull of Boniface VIII., and the extravagants of Gregory IX., in support of his advocacy. *Uterque gladius est in potestate ecclesie, spiritualis scilicet et materialis; sed is quidem pro eccle-*

siâ, ille vero ab ecclesiâ exercendus; ille sacerdotis, in manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis.—Baron. A.D. 1053, § 14.

⁹ Nicetas and Humbert were the principal controversialists on this point. Baronius informs us that his predecessor, Antony Caraffa, the librarian, deemed the reply of Humbert to Nicetas worthy of preservation. It was

marriage of priests ; but the emperor having lost a great part of his territory in Italy, and wishing on that account to cultivate the goodwill of the pope, obliged the monk Nicetas to recant his doctrine ; and commanded him also to anathematize all who dared to question the primacy of the Roman pontiff over all churches, or to deny the faith of Rome to be orthodox. As Nicetas proved to be thus flexible, the emperor hoped that the patriarch would follow his example. Every effort, however, to induce him to submit to the legates was ineffectual. He remained firm to his purpose, declaring that nothing should tempt him to degrade the imperial see by subjecting it to papal dictation. This conduct rendered the healing of the schism an impossibility. The recriminations were many and mutual. The legates, before their departure, visited the Church of St. Sophia, attended by a great concourse of clergy, senators, and people ; in whose presence they insolently issued a solemn sentence of excommunication against Cerularius, the patriarch. They placed the parchment upon the high altar, and with an imprecation upon him they went out of the church. No sooner had they left the city, than the patriarch requested they might be recalled, that he might confer with them. A messenger was sent by the emperor to overtake them. They returned the following day. A council was summoned by Cerularius to which they were invited. The emperor not being asked to be present, forbade the assembling of any council at which he was not a personal witness of the proceedings. Much confusion ensued. The emperor admonished the legates to secure a safe departure without delay. They did so. It was then found that the sentence of excommunication had been altered, as if passed against the whole Eastern Church, instead of against Cerularius, and his immediate partizans. This had been done with a design to inflame the multitude, and cause them to take summary vengeance on the legates. The plot failed. The emperor, to satisfy himself, sent after the legates to procure a true copy of the excommunication, and thus detected the alteration. The sentence, after enumerating many heretical practices with which it charges the

found in the records of the Vatican. volume.—See Baron. A.D. 1053, § 22, Baronius has printed all its solemn seqq. ; Pagi, ad ann. § 12. trifling at the end of his eleventh

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

patriarch, ends as follows—"May Michael, the false patriarch, now charged by many with the worst crimes; and with him Leo, called Bishop of Acris; and Constantine, Michael's treasurer, who has profanely trodden on the sacrifice of the Latins,—may they and all their followers be anathematized with the above-mentioned, and all other heretics; nay, with the devil and his angels, unless they repent. Amen. Amen. Amen." After being recalled, and after the treacherous design of Cerularius' party against them had been discovered, the following supplement to the above was issued when the legates took leave of the emperor and his court—"Whoever shall find fault with the faith of the holy see of Rome and its sacrifices, let him be anathematized, and not looked upon as a Christian Catholic, but as a prozomite heretic¹."—How is it possible that the Churches can be united until these anathemas are rescinded? Leo died in the year 1054², before the legates returned.

CLII. *Victor II., died 1057.*

The principles of Nicholas, and the false decretals, had now leavened the democracy of all Christendom, with the conviction that the bishops of Rome were entitled to their homage as the representatives of Christ, and the depository of a divine power. Many circumstances had hitherto prevented the full development of these principles; but the time had now arrived when the proud triumph of a human theocracy, was to realize the dreams of the deepest midnight of this darkest of ages. *That appeal was made to the pope in the pontificate of Victor, which established the superiority of the mitre of the Bishop of Rome over the crowns of all the sovereigns, states, and princes of Europe.*

The progress of the Church to this height is traced by a distinguished modern author³ through the four stages of the Imperial Church, the Barbarian Church, the Feudal Church, the Theocratic Church. The Imperial Church, or the Church under the influence of the converted emperors, held divided

¹ Quicumque fidei sanetæ Romanæ et apostolicæ sedis, ejusque sacrificio, pertinaciter contradixerit, sit Anathema Maranatha, nec habeatur Christianus Catholicis, sed Prozymita hæreticus—Fiat. Fiat. Fiat.—Baronius, Annal.

1054, § 26.

² Baron. ad ann. § 46. Pagi, ad ann. § 3.

³ Mons. Guizot, History of the Civilization of Europe, lect. vi.

power with the Roman magistracy. The Barbarian Church, BOOK III.
CHAP. IV. or the Church under the antagonist power of the barbarians who invaded the empire, gradually changed the new paganism into a corrupted form of Christianity. Darkness and light so blended the one into the other, that Christian spirituality, which had been granted to illumine the understanding, exalt the affections, purify the motives, and regulate the life, became obscured, so that spirituality was changed to childish timidity of God; and by strange doctrines, invented by devout ignorance, and supported by fancied or pretended miracles, the affections were depressed to the love of an order, or attachment to a saint; while the noble freedom which gives the motives and the life to the only happiness of man, by regarding religion as the highest exaltation of the intellect, and the best privilege of a reasonable being; was degraded to the mental slavery of hair shirts, penance, and all the folly of the holy idiotcy. This barbarian religion was adapted to a barbarian age. Yet the austerity of the barbarian age produced the broad lands and territorial possessions of the feudal age. When kings became monks, monks became kings. When princes were made bishops, bishops unavoidably became princes. A great struggle had consequently taken place between chief and priest, baron and monk, councils of ecclesiastics and senates of warriors and rulers. Still the ecclesiastical power increased in worldly authority, till the Theocratic Church was formed, which Nicholas had imagined, and Hildebrand had planned, matured, and completed.

The first achievement of Hildebrand was to destroy the power of the neighbouring princes over the see of Rome, and then to overthrow the power of the greater sovereign of his age, the emperor of Germany. To effect these objects, he had already procured the accession of John by bribery, against the profligate Benedict IX. He had directed the measures of Leo IX. He commanded the universal homage of the people, and he now struck the last blow against the feudal influence of the princes of Italy, and the counts of Tusculum, by appealing to the emperor against the re-election of Benedict IX., who again resumed the pontificate on the death of Leo. It was essential to the success of Hildebrand, that he should destroy one temporal power by the aid

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

of another. This last attempt of the counts of Tusculum to secure the see of Rome to their own family, was overthrown by the policy of Hildebrand. No sooner had Benedict IX. emerged from his retirement on the death of Leo, than Hildebrand, finding himself unable to resist the persecutions and acts of vengeance which marked the momentary triumph of the Tusculan faction, repaired, at the request of the people of Rome, to Germany, to concert with the emperor the nomination of a new pontiff⁴. The person chosen by Hildebrand was Gebhard, a great statesman, a wealthy and powerful nobleman, a relative of the emperor, Bishop of Eichstadt, and esteemed by the emperor as one of his most confidential advisers. After many difficulties, all of which were overcome by Hildebrand, Gebhard accompanied him to Rome, where the clergy and all classes received him with great homage, and he was consecrated with the title of Victor II. About this time Benedict IX. died, and Victor commenced his duties with the same spirit as his predecessor. His first council against simony and other evils was held at Florence, at which the emperor was present. He had come into Italy to suppress the power of Godfrey, count of Tuscany⁵. Matilda, the daughter of the countess, now only eight years of age, may be justly supposed at this time to have imbibed that hatred against the emperors, afterwards so useful to Hildebrand. Hildebrand, though as yet but subdeacon of the Roman Church, was sent as legate to France, further to reform the Gallican Churches; and councils were summoned at Lyons, at Tours, where Lanfranc opposed Berengarius, and at Toulouse, where Berengarius was again condemned⁶. The emperor was the patron of these popular assemblies, and *he now committed that error which became the source of the subsequent degradation, under the papal power, of his family, his son, and his dynasty.* Ferdinand, the king of Castile and Leon, had assumed the title of emperor. At the Council of Tours, ambassadors from the emperor Henry III. complained of this conduct. Hildebrand wrote to Victor, stating the complaint of the emperor. He requested that Ferdinand might be excommunicated, and his kingdom placed under an interdict if he did not discontinue the title.

⁴ See Bowden, i. 171.⁵ *Id.* i. 175.⁶ Pagi, ad annal. Baron. a. d. 1055, § 5, 6.

Ferdinand was also informed by Hildebrand of the complaint against him, and the measures proposed to be taken if he did not desist. The king consequently complied with the command of the pope, and the pope thus demonstrated to the world that the papal influence had become superior to the imperial. The emperor died ⁷ during the sitting of a council at Toulouse. Victor was present at his death, and acknowledged his son, then only seven years of age, his successor. *This son was Henry IV., whom Hildebrand, even when in exile himself, humbled by his spiritual authority to the very dust.* Victor died in Tuscany in the following year, 1057 ⁸.

CLIII. *Stephen X., died 1058.*

Frederick, the chancellor of the Church of Rome, whom Victor had preferred to that dignity, was considered by the clergy and people to be the best qualified of all the candidates for their suffrages. He was brother to Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine. The Church was jealous of the interference either of Tuscany or Germany, and hastened to an instant election. Frederic was immediately consecrated in the Church of St. Peter amidst unanimous rejoicing ⁹. He pursued the same rigid system of discipline as had been introduced into the Church by his two predecessors, Leo and Victor; and held several councils for preventing the marriage of priests. He distinguished himself during his pontificate by the promotion of men of learning and moral character. He is reported to have contemplated a change in the imperial dynasty by removing Henry IV., and placing upon the throne his brother, who by a recent marriage with Beatrice, widow of Boniface, Duke of Tuscany, had added that dukedom to Lorraine. To provide sufficient funds for the accomplishment of such an object, he ordered the treasures of the monastery of Monte Cassino to be carried to Rome. By the terror of a supernatural visitation, he restored the property with additional donations of great value, and gave up his design on the empire. He sent Hildebrand into Germany on a mission to the empress Agnes, then regent, and *issued a decree prohibiting the appointment of a successor to the see,*

⁷ Baron. A. D. 1056, § 1, seqq.

⁹ Id. § 10.

⁸ Baron. ad an. § 1.

BOOK III. *in case of his death, till the return of Hildebrand,* and de-
 CHAP. IV. siring that his advice might be taken when the see became
 vacant¹.

CLIV. *Benedict X., died 1058.*

The aristocratic party, on the death of Stephen, made an effort to obtain possession of the pontificate. They disregarded the dying request of Stephen, respecting Hildebrand, and elected John Mincius, Bishop of Veltri. He assumed the name of Benedict X. The cardinals and many persons of consideration, opposed this violation of the decree which enjoined the presence of Hildebrand; and anathemas were issued against those concerned in the election of Benedict. The effort was useless. Benedict occupied the see into which he had been thrust, nearly ten months². By some negotiation which has never been divulged, Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained from him the pall. Stigand is said to have retained the see of Winchester, after his election to the archbishopric; as Leo IX. kept possession of the bishopric of Toul, and Victor II. of that of Eichstadt, after their respective elections to the apostolic see. Benedict was deposed by the Council of Sutri. *He found all opposition useless, against the united influence of Hildebrand, of the emperor, of the count of Tuscany, and of the cardinals.*

CLV. *Nicholas II., died 1061.*

The conduct of the party, by whose means Benedict X. had been forced upon the Church, compelled the defeated party to appeal once more to the imperial, or German court. Gerard, Bishop of Florence, was consequently nominated by the empress-regent. Hildebrand, while at Florence, on his way from Germany, heard of the election, and assembled at Vienna the fugitive cardinals and bishops who had left Rome. Gerard was consequently elected at Vienna by the unanimous voice of the cardinals and their supporters. He adopted the name of Nicholas II.³ He then summoned a council to meet at Sutri, at which the cardinals and most of the bishops of Italy were present, with

¹ Baron. ad ann. 1053, § 1.

² Pagi, ad ann. 1053, § 6.

³ Leo Ostiensis, iii. 12; ap. Pagi, A.D. 1053, § 7.

Duke Godfrey, who was charged in the name of King Henry to displace Benedict, and assist in enthroning Nicholas. Sentence of excommunication was then pronounced against the usurper; and Benedict seeing the force prepared to dislodge him, resigned; and throwing himself before Nicholas as soon as possible after the ceremony of his coronation, was absolved from the excommunication, but deprived of all episcopal and priestly dignity. He was committed to a monastery, and is supposed to have died soon after.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

A council was called at Rome at which the principal bishops, abbots, priests, and other clergy of Italy, France, and Germany were present, and at which Nicholas presided in person. The principal subject of discussion respected the mode of the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Berengarius, the opponent of transubstantiation, defended his conclusions; but at length professed to have been convinced of his errors by the arguments of Alberic, a monk of Monte Cassino. He offered to subscribe and maintain such confession as the council should be pleased to dictate; and a profession of faith was drawn up agreeable to the modern doctrine of the Church of Rome on this subject. He is stated to have then thrown his own writings, and those of John Scotus, into a fire prepared for the purpose, in the midst of the council⁴. Accounts of *this triumph over reason, Scripture, and the senses*, were circulated wherever the opposite doctrine had been circulated⁵. Lanfranc distinguished himself at this council by his severity against Berengarius⁶.

⁴ Pagi, A.D. 1059, § 3.

⁵ The recantation of Berengarius is recorded by Baronius, § 16, an. 1059. He begs pardon for saying —panem et vinum quae in altare ponuntur, post consecrationem solummodo sacramentum, et non verum Corpus et Sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, nec posse sensualiter nisi in solo sacramento manibus sacerdotum tractari, vel frangi, vel fidelium dentibus atteri.—It is not, however, sufficient with the Church of Rome to compel its adherents to support what it believes to be truth. It demands of them that they anathematize the supposed opposite error. Berengarius, therefore, is made to swear that all

who—contra hanc fidem venerint—zeterno anathemate dignos esse pronuntio. On this subject see further, “Acta Concilii Romani sub Gregorio Septimo in causa Berengarii, ab ipso Berengario conscripta, cum ipsius postea recantatione,” in Martene and Durand Thesaur. Nov. Anecd. iv. 103.

⁶ I purposely avoid discussion on the subject of Berengarius and transubstantiation, as topics well known to all. Few things are more painful to a dispassionate observer of the effects of that system, whether it be called priestcraft, popery, or ecclesiastical tyranny, which compels the submission of the soul to authority without evidence.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

It is impossible to judge rightly of the events of history, unless we enquire into their causes; and one great evil has ever resulted to states and Churches from their making general laws, to prevent the repetition of accidental or occasional vexations. The objects of an ambitious sovereign, demagogue, or aspirer after power, are never more effectually promoted than by the establishing some new principle, as the only remedy for such vexations. The same council at Rome which had condemned Berengarius altered the mode of the election of the pontiffs. They had hitherto been chosen by the clergy, nobles, and people. The party of the nobles had elected Benedict X. contrary to the usual mode. To prevent a repetition of these popular tumults, a new principle of election was proposed and adopted. It was decreed that the pope for the future should be selected by the cardinal bishops alone, to whom the cardinal priests and deacons should be added; and that the approbation of the rest of the clergy, and of the body of the faithful, should be afterwards demanded. *This decree, which gave the election to a few, and the approbation only of the elected to the many, transferred the power of the pontificate to the college of cardinals.* The cardinals at this time were but twenty-eight in number; and we may believe were deeply interested in the support of the plans and projects of Hildebrand, so far as he had permitted them to be known. The rights of the emperor were preserved by a clause at the end of the decree: but experience soon proved, as in other instances, that all such clauses of reservation are useless, so long as the ambition which procured the enactment of the principle which they are only intended to define, regulate, or limit, remains in activity. *The authority of the emperor, as well as the power of the people, were both nominally saved, but were both in reality destroyed*⁷.

Other decrees were passed at this Roman council against those who ordained, or were ordained, simoniacally; also, on

upon the minds of the scholar, the student, and the conscientious Christian, whether ignorant or learned. Berengarius three times recanted, and three times retracted his retraction. He resigned his preferments, endured the loss of all things, and at length

died in solitude, in exile, after passing the evening of his life in prayers and austerity. He clothed his piety in the dress of the age. His heart was right with God.

⁷ See Pagi, A. D. 1059, § 4.

the celibacy of priests, and on the keeping of concubines by the clergy. These concubines were generally the wives of the clergy, who were stigmatized by that name. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Nicholas further extended the power of Rome by sending legates, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Milan, to redress the corruptions which had crept into that Church. Milan had hitherto refused submission to Rome. The people, apprehensive that their object was to subject their Church to that of Rome, surrounded the palace in which the legates sojourned, and threatened them with death if they attempted to interfere with the independence of their Church. On being assured by the legates that they had come only to assist the archbishop in promoting their benefit, the assembly permitted the council to meet. At this synod it was discovered that scarcely one of the clergy was known who had not paid for his ordination; and it was, therefore, deemed impolitic to commence punishment where all were culpable. The bishops and clergy engaged on oath to dismiss their concubines, and to discountenance simony for the future⁸.

While the legates were employed in Milan, the pope himself was engaged in endeavouring to relieve the dioceses of Southern Italy from the evils which had nearly annihilated religion in those parts. He held a council at Melfi, the capital of Apulia, against simony; and to inflict penalties upon what was termed incontinence, that is, the marriage of the clergy⁹.

The next decisive measure which extended the power of the see of Rome took place in Apulia. Nicholas, attended, as he uniformly seems to have been, by his favourite Hildebrand, held a council at Beneventum¹. The Normans, who had taken possession of the Italian provinces, were desirous to secure them by holding them in feudal tenure from the pope. Nicholas, therefore, granted to Robert Guiscard their chief, states in fee, which he had conquered, or might conquer, in Apulia, and Calabria, and in Sicily, then occupied by the Saracens. He conferred also on him, by his own authority, the title of duke, put a standard into his hand; and declared him the vassal of the apostolic see, and standard-bearer of the holy Church. The oath of submission by Robert made

⁸ Bowden, i. 208.

⁹ Leo Ostiensis, iii. 13.

¹ See Pagi, A.D. 1059, § 13.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily fiefs of the pontiffs. *The precedent for the transfer of nations and provinces became established*; and even Muratori himself is unable to defend the transaction from any source of argument but the donation of Constantine to Sylvester. That forgery was now implicitly believed, and the usurpation of the temporal sovereignty was founded on the now exploded fraud². All this was done under the influence of Hildebrand, who had laid down the principle, that the pope was the emperor of the West; being the prince who resided in the head and centre of the civilized world, to which belonged the right of investiture of all those kingdoms which it had formerly either created or subdued.

The alliance with the Normans, and their submission to the pope as their feudal chief, enabled Nicholas to establish his power in Italy still more efficiently. Palestrina, Tusculum, Nomento, Galeria, and almost the whole Roman territory, became the prey of his new allies³. These districts had maintained in some measure a distinct power and independence which had frequently been dangerous to papal despotism. The first use which Nicholas made of his Norman allies, was to require a body of soldiers to accompany him to Rome under his command. With this force he laid waste the country of those who had been most troublesome in thwarting the progress of the papal temporal supremacy; and he so effectually subdued them, that the population may be said never to have been fully restored.

The power of the see was still further increased by the just care of Nicholas to prefer the best and most learned men; and to procure the condemnation of the marriages of the clergy, and the real or supposed abuses of the day, by councils, and by bishops in France and Italy. At a council which he held in the Lateran palace in 1061, Aldred, Archbishop of York, Guiso, Bishop of Wells, and Walter, of Hereford, were present; the former to obtain the pall, and the two latter to have their election confirmed by the pope, and receive from him ordination. The two bishops succeeded in their object without difficulty; but the petition of the archbishop was rejected, on account of his holding the see of

² Griesley's *Life of Gregory VII.*, p. 138.³ Bowden, i. 206.

Worcester as well as that of York, and he left Rome without the pall. The three bishops are stated to have fallen into the hands of Italian banditti, who plundered them of all their means of pursuing their journey. They consequently returned in that destitute condition to Rome, and Nicholas, pitying their misfortune, supplied them with necessaries for their return, and gave Aldred a pall⁴. He died at Florence soon after this council.

CLVI. *Alexander II., died 1073.*

The ecclesiastical power was now so great in consequence of the universal identification of Christianity with the authority of Rome, and of the bishops who were in communion with the pope, by the great mass of the people in all the countries of Europe; that Hildebrand now ventured, on the death of Nicholas⁵, to assemble the cardinals at Rome, and to procure the election of Anselm da Badagio, the Bishop of Lucca, as pope, under the title of Alexander II.⁶ The imperial party sent a deputation to the young emperor, offering him a crown of gold, and the dignity of the Roman patrician. The counts of Tusculum and Galeria were the heads of the deputation. The nobles, or aristocratic party, were evidently becoming divided between the Gregorians, and imperialists. *Three large parties can seldom co-exist for any length of time under any government.* Henry assembled a council at Basle, and Cadolaus, or Cadislaus, Bishop of Parma and chancellor of the empire, was elected pope, and assumed the name of Honorius II. The two parties of Gregorians and imperialists, or the two contending principles of government by the spiritual or temporal authorities, were now arrayed in open war. The question was no longer to be discussed, whether this or that country was to be ruled by its own sovereign, or by its ecclesiastical ruler; *but whether all Europe was nominally to retain in each country its own temporal ruler, while it*

⁴ See an account of these transactions in Baronius, § 25, an. 1059. Baronius has mistaken, however, the date of this event. There were two councils at Rome, one in 1059, the other in 1061. Aldred was present at the latter, not at the former. —See Baron. A.D. 1059, § 35, and the

full examination of the question by Pagi in his criticism upon that year, § 6, seqq.

⁵ Benno (as quoted by Sir R. Griesley, p. 144) affirms that Nicholas was poisoned by Hildebrand.

⁶ Leo Ostiensis, iii. 21.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

submitted in reality to the yoke of the foreigner. The question was, whether all Churches were to be ruled by their own bishops only, or by the Bishop of Rome. Henry was the most powerful prince; Alexander the most powerful bishop. Both demanded authority over the services of the same persons—the bishops, nobles, and people. The contest was now to be decided by the triumph of the prince or the pope, whether the crozier or the sceptre should conquer.

Negotiation, and some attempts to compromise disputes, generally precede the declaration of open war. The war between the emperor and the Bishop of Rome may be said to have been long going on; but the first open battle between them in that war may be said to have consisted in the summoning of Henry to Rome by Alexander, there to defend his conduct; and for this battle, the leaders on both sides were not yet prepared. Some preliminary negotiations were necessary, that time might be gained on both sides.

Benzo, Bishop of Alba, on the part of Henry and Cadolaus, appeared at Rome, and demanded the abdication of Alexander. He appealed to the decree which gave the power of election to the cardinals. Hildebrand compelled him to leave the city⁷. Cadolaus, on hearing this, marched (14th April, 1062) with an army towards Rome. He was defeated, at the moment of victory, by Godfrey, Duke of Tuscany, and by Hildebrand. The people, or rather the populace of Rome, forgave none of the imperial party; and Hildebrand took a fearful and bloody revenge on his opponents. *The theocracy he was about to establish so perfectly, was founded on the democracy of Rome and of Europe; and its basis was laid in blood, and in unrelenting executions.*

The next step which Alexander and his followers ventured to take, was the seizure of the person of Henry. This was effected by inducing him to dine on board the bark of Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, lying on the Rhine, and then hurrying him down to Cologne. Henry leaped overboard, anticipating

⁷ Sir R. Griesley's *Life of Gregory VII.*, p. 143. This book contains the last account of these proceedings. Cardinal Benno relates that Alexander professed his willingness to suspend the exercise of his functions, until he had obtained the emperor's approba-

tion of his election, but that Hildebrand actually struck the newly-elected pope for his servile abandonment of the principles of ecclesiastical supremacy, which he was endeavouring to establish.

personal violence, but was brought back by Count Egbert. He became reconciled to the proposition, that a council should be summoned at Cologne to inquire into the contending claims of the rivals for the pontificate⁸. Alexander was then acknowledged as lawful pope in the presence of Henry. This was followed by the assembling of a diet, in which Hanno procured for himself the appointment of guardian to Henry during his minority, with the powers of regent. The Empress Agnes, the mother of Henry, finding herself thus deprived of power, went to Rome, where she also acknowledged Alexander; and obtained from him absolution for the part she had taken in promoting the cause of Cadolaus.

The influence of the pontiffs was now increased by other circumstances. The Normans of Italy under Roger, brother of Robert Guiscard, in 1065, were extending their conquests in Sicily. Being desirous of continuing the friendship of the pope, they sent to him large portions of their rich booty. His holiness gave them in return *remission of all their sins*. This is said to have been the first instance of what is called *plenary indulgence*. At the same time he sent them a banner from the prince of the apostles.

England, on account of its wealth and importance, more especially since the mission of St. Augustine, had ever been an object of attention to the see of Rome. Communion with Rome, however, at this period, does not seem to have implied submission. It denoted only deference, respect, and that same kind of homage or desire of peace, which we might anticipate from a bishop in Scotland or America; if the Archbishop of Canterbury were to write to him or his Church, inviting his acquiescence in some arrangement respecting the common faith; which could be proved to be consistent with the principles of episcopal government which they both held

⁸ This question was proposed to Alexander in the course of the discussions respecting his title to the papacy: "Qua ratione, Frater Alexander, absque mandato et assensu Domini mei Regis, recepisti papatum?" and the Archdeacon Hildebrand, with his bishops and cardinals, answered: "Firmissime tene, et nullatenus dubites, quod in electione Romanorum Pontificum, juxta sanctorum patrum canonicas sanctiones, regibus penitus

nihil est concessum sive permissum," &c.—Baronius, § 19, 20, ann. 1064.

There is much obscurity in the narratives concerning this dark period. Baronius assigns this answer of Hildebrand to the year 1064; and refers for his authority, to the Cardinal of Arragon's Life of Alexander. On verifying his reference by the edition of Muratori (tom. iii. pars i. p. 302), I do not find any indication of the date. The question is of little importance.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

in common. This degree of respect was not sufficient to satisfy the ambition of Alexander, or rather that of his adviser, Hildebrand. Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, under Edward the Confessor, had received a pall from Benedict X., who had been elected after the death of Stephen IX., eight years before, by the popular party, but contrary to the approbation and wish of Hildebrand; neither can we learn that Stigand had requested a pall from Nicholas II. or from Alexander, both of whom acted under the influence of Hildebrand. In the year 1061, also, Tosti, the Earl of Northumberland, the brother of Harold, had threatened the pope, Nicholas II., that if he would not give the pall to Aldred, the Archbishop of York, the King of England would withhold the Peter-pence which his kingdom had so long paid to Rome. The Normans of Italy, also, had lately united themselves to the see of Rome, as feudal holders of the conquered provinces; and it had become the determination of Hildebrand, and therefore of Alexander, to subdue all nations, by every possible means, to the dominion of Rome. All these motives¹ united to decide Alexander II. to comply with the request of William of Normandy, that he would sanction (against the advice of many of the cardinals) the expedition of the Normans against England. William sent Gislebert, Archdeacon of Lizieux², to obtain the sanction of the pope to his proposed enterprise. Alexander not only gave his approbation, but sent William the standard of St. Peter. *The subsequent success of William greatly increased the papal power in England*³.

⁹ Will. of Malmes. lib. iii.

¹ Another motive, too, might have prevailed with Alexander. The Normans in Italy were now beginning to be troublesome to him, and he had sent Godfrey, Duke of Tuscany, to prevent further injury. By sending William of Normandy to England, he perhaps believed that he should prevent the junction of the Normans of Neustria, or Normandy, with their brethren of Italy. Richard, brother of Robert, the Norman Duke of Calabria, was refused the rank of patrician by the pope. He, therefore, marched against Rome, but was repulsed by the pope and Godfrey.—See Baronius and Pagi, with their references.

² Pagi, ad an. 1066, § 5.

³ The emperor, Henry IV., besides giving all his vassals permission to embark in this expedition, which so much engaged the attention of Europe, promised his protection to the duchy of Normandy during the absence of the prince; and thereby enabled him to employ his whole force in the invasion of England.—Guil. Pictav. p. 193, edit. Quercit. But the most important ally whom William gained by his negotiations was the pope, who had a mighty influence over the ancient barons, no less devout in their religious principles than valorous in their military enterprises. The Roman pontiff, after an insensible progress during

Interference in matrimonial causes has ever contributed to the influence of Rome. It was so at present. Henry, King of Germany, had married Bertha, daughter of Otho, an Italian marquis, and after two years' union wished to divorce her. A council was convened at Mentz to sanction his design. The pope immediately despatched Damiani to Mentz to threaten with the censures of the Church any, of whatever rank, who should consent to the wish of the king. The council met, and terrified with the threat of the legate, one and all opposed the divorce; and the king never afterwards attempted to put away his queen. The submission of the council demonstrated the influence of Rome more than any other event of the day⁴.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

The archbishops of Mentz and Bamberg were summoned to Rome by the pope, together with several bishops of Germany, in 1069, to answer charges of simony of which they had been accused to the pope. They were all convicted, but upon their oath never more to be guilty of the practice, Alexander pardoned them. The papal influence was supreme over bishops and councils.

In 1070, a request was made by William the Conqueror to the pope, that he would send legates to attend a council which he purposed to assemble for the purpose of adjusting the affairs of the Church in England. Peter and John, car-

several ages of darkness and ignorance, began now to lift his head openly above all the princes of Europe; to assume the office of a mediator, or even arbiter in the quarrels of the greatest monarchs; to interpose in all secular affairs; and to obtrude his dictates as sovereign laws on his obsequious disciples. It was a sufficient motive to Alexander II., the reigning pope, for embracing William's quarrel, that he alone had made an appeal to his tribunal, and rendered him umpire in the dispute between him and Harold; but there were other advantages which the pontiff foresaw must result from the conquest of England by the Norman arms. That kingdom, though at first converted by the Roman missionaries, though it had advanced some steps further towards subjection to Rome, maintained still a considerable independence in its ecclesiastical administration; and forming a world within itself, entirely separated from the rest

of Europe, it had hitherto proved inaccessible to those exorbitant claims which supported the grandeur of the papacy. Alexander, therefore, hoped that the French and Norman barons, if successful in their enterprise, might import into that country a more devoted attachment to the holy see, and bring the English Churches to a greater conformity with those on the continent. He declared immediately in favour of William's claim, pronounced Harold a perjured usurper, denounced excommunication against him and his adherents; and the more to encourage the Duke of Normandy in his enterprise, he sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of Peter's hairs in it.—Baker, p. 22, edit. 1684. Thus were all the ambition and violence of that invasion covered over safely with the broad mantle of religion.—Hume's History of England, i. 339, et seq. 8vo. Lond. 1808.

⁴ Pagi, ad ann. 1069, § 1.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

dinals, and Ermenfred, Bishop of Zion, were sent to England accordingly. The council met at Winchester, and the king and legates jointly presided. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, was accused of holding two sees, Winchester and Canterbury, at the same time, and of the crimes of perjury and murder. He was deposed. The historian of these events assures us, that Stigand had offended Alexander and several of his predecessors, by not having procured a pall. The reason has been assigned. *Stigand had never joined the Gregorian party*, and having been by that party several times excommunicated at Rome; his offence was heightened by paying no regard to the sentence, but exercising his episcopal functions as if no such sentence had been passed. The opportunity was now presented of sacrificing him to make room for Lanfranc, the friend of Hildebrand, and the opponent of Berengarius. He was accused of simony, the crime which was so freely imputed to those ecclesiastics whom Hildebrand considered to be hostile to his plans for elevating the papacy. The act of simony laid to his charge, was that of attempting to annex the see of Winchester to that of Canterbury. This charge, even if it had been true, was not only the same offence of which many of the Gregorian party were equally guilty; but as the diocese of Canterbury was different from the metropolitanical charge, the annexation of Winchester to form one episcopal see, would not have made the diocese of the archbishop larger than many others. The resolution, however, had been taken to depose him; and he was not only deposed, but to prevent the danger which might possibly arise from his influence with the Saxons, if he were permitted to be at large, he was imprisoned in Winchester for life⁵.

In another council at Windsor more Saxon bishops were deposed, for no other crime than that they were Englishmen⁶, as is affirmed by one of our modern historians. I would rather say, they were deposed for belonging to the anti-Gregorian party, now beginning to be so influential in the Church.

The inflexible disposition of Hildebrand appeared even in his treatment of Lanfranc. Desirous to be excused from a journey to Rome to obtain the pall, Lanfranc wrote to Hildebrand, by whose counsel Alexander, as well as his four pre-

⁵ See Pagi, ad ann. 1070, § 1, seqq.

⁶ Lingard's History of William I., p. 42, second edition.

decessors was governed, begging him to exert his influence to prevent the necessity of his appearing at Rome in person. Hildebrand, in reply, insisted on his undertaking the journey. He intimated that other measures might be considered as well as the matter of the pall. Lanfranc consequently set out with Thomas, Archbishop of York, and Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln. They were all received with marked attention by the pope. The two companions of Lanfranc are said (but the story is improbable) to have been deposed by his holiness; who is reported to have given their croziers and rings to Lanfranc, with the power to return them if he pleased: and that he immediately restored them. While at Rome, Lanfranc obtained a special bull from Alexander, by which possession of the cathedrals of England was confirmed to the monks. During this visit to the apostolic see, the dispute between Canterbury and York concerning the primacy, was ordered by his holiness to be determined by a council of the English bishops; and a council was accordingly held in the following year, the whole of the bishops, abbots, and many of the clergy of the kingdom being present, upon which occasion the primacy was adjudged to the see of Canterbury. Alexander, on the return of the bishops to England, wrote to the king, whom, after praising for his piety and zeal, he advises to consult Lanfranc, and abide by his counsels; as he had vested him with power to give decisions as binding as though he himself were present in person. He wrote also to the monks of Winchester at the same time, and as this epistle may be looked upon as a general specimen of the authority assumed by Rome over the monasteries of England after the conquest, it may be considered an evidence of the extent of the subjugation of the island to the dominion of Hildebrand, resulting from the Norman conquest⁷.

In the year 1073, the Saxons, who had revolted from Henry, in consequence of the oppression of his ministers, complained to the pope that the king was selling the greater preferments of the Church to those who would pay the highest price. The pope, by the advice of Hildebrand, as it

⁷ Cæterum si quis audaci temeritate, vel pravo studio, hunc statum et ordinem ecclesiæ vestræ mutare vel confundere attemptaverit, proculdubio sciat se iracundiæ Apostolicæ Sedis incurrere, et, nisi cessit, anathematis in se judicium provocare.—Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 321.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

is conjectured, cited his majesty to appear before him in person to answer for his conduct. The archbishops of Cologne and Bamberg had gone to Rome upon business connected with the king, and they were commissioned to deliver to his majesty the papal summons. *This was the beginning of the great battle between the power of the Church and the power of the empire.* Henry was highly incensed at the insult. It was the first time that an independent sovereign had been treated as if he were amenable to the papal tribunals. The pope, however, died⁸ before there was sufficient time to revenge the indignity.

Alexander was the first who conferred the mitre on abbots. Egelsinus, Abbot of Canterbury, is the first who had the honour bestowed upon him. Wradislaus, Duke of Bohemia, is reminded by Gregory VII. that he is the first layman permitted to wear that mark of distinction⁹. Alexander reigned—that word now describes the holding of the see of Rome—eleven years and seven months. He must be regarded as one of those popes who consolidated most substantially the power of the hierarchate.

CLVII. *Gregory VII., died 1085.*

We are at length brought to the pontificate of that Bishop of Rome who has exercised greater influence over the human race than any king, conqueror, or sovereign, in ancient or modern times¹. Whether for good or evil, according to the

⁸ Pagi, ad ann. 1073, § 3.

⁹ See Greg. Epist. I. xvii. ap. Labbe, x. 18.

¹ For the sketch of the life of Hildebrand, I have consulted the Lives of Gregory in Muratori, Sir Roger Griesley, the Dublin Review, No. XII., Butler's Lives of the Saints, the "Acta Sanctorum," May 25, which contain much that is to be found in Muratori; the account by Cardinal Benno, in the first volume of the Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum, Radulphus de Diceto, Ordericus Vitalis, Wharton's Anglia Sacra, Bayle's Dictionary (article, Gregory VII.), and many others who relate the transactions in England during the administration of the pontificate under Hildebrand, pending the several periods of

Leo IX., Victor II., Stephen X., Nicholas II., and Alexander II. I principally depend on Baronius, because he is the standard writer whom the members of the Church of Rome approve, and he unconsciously demonstrates the truth, that the members of his Church are sometimes injurious in proportion as they are honourable and sincere. Mr. Burke remarks of the Jacobins of his day, that in proportion as they are theoretically and philosophically right, they are morally and politically wrong. By the word *philosophically*, he referred to the false philosophy of the infidel democratical school. We may accommodate the expression with justice to the Church of Rome. The world has cause to dread its zeal and sincerity alone. In

opinion of those who admire his actions or detest his memory, no individual excepting Nimrod, if he was the founder, as Mr. Faber affirms², of the heathen corruptions of patriarchism, or Mohammed, the originator of the antagonist corruptions of Christianity³; has engraven his name so deeply on the column of history as an arbiter of the destinies of mankind. The name of Hildebrand, as Bayle⁴, and Gibbon⁵, and Cave⁶ have alike remarked, is either adored or detested whenever it is mentioned; and all ages, from his own day to the present, admire or abhor his actions. His life has hitherto been written principally by his admirers or enemies. Though both of these are still to be found, who will either eulogize or condemn him as indiscriminately as either his great detractor, Cardinal Benno, who accuses him of magic; or as Cæsar Baronius, who rejoices to relate his miracles; it is in the present age alone that the philosophical historian⁷ can be found, who will "nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." We may now safely reject the charge of magic with his friends; or doubt the miracles with his enemies⁸. We may calmly and dispassionately examine the circumstances which formed his character; and the serene, firm, and even fearful manner⁹ in which this *Napoleon of the Church* subdued kingdoms, deposed the sovereigns who offended him, and presented their dominions to the vassals or tributaries who

proportion as the papist believes himself to be religiously and devoutly right, he becomes morally and politically wrong. Hildebrand was the deposer of kings and the curse of the Church, because he was firmly and fully convinced that the Bishop of Rome was the human possessor on earth of the authority of God Himself.

² Origin of Pagan Idolatry.

³ See Forster's "Mahometanism Unveiled" for the development of the theory that the religion of Mahomet is a corruption of Christianity.

⁴ No pope was ever so well or so ill spoken of as Gregory VII.—Bayle's Dict., art. Greg. VII. The reader will judge of the mass that has been written respecting Hildebrand, when I remind him that Bayle informs us from the *Acta Sanctorum*, of fifty writers on the life of Gregory VII. We must not forget here to mention the Life of Gregory by Bowden, 8vo. Lond.

1840, which exhibits a clear, calm, and dispassionate statement of the actions and motives of this important individual.

⁵ Gregory VII. who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy.—Gibbon, Milman's edition, vol. xii. p. 259.

⁶ Hinc tot anathematum fulmina, &c., quæ præterita deploravit ætas, et erubescit, aut admiratur præsens.—Cave, Hist. Litteraria, vol. ii. p. 151.

⁷ E. g. Miller's Philosophy of Modern History.

⁸ Among the former, Pandulphus of Pisa disgusts us by his fulsome adulation and blind partiality, while the excess to which the abuse and scurrility of Benno and the Bishop of Alba has extended, deprives them altogether of any title of credit.—Sir R. Griesley, p. 371.

⁹ See "History of Popery," 1 vol. 8vo.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

pleased him. The dreams of Nicholas were realized. He had imagined that the empires of this world were granted as a temporal dominion to the Son of God; and were consequently bestowed on his representative Peter, and after him on the bishops of Rome. In reading the history of Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., when, after directing the affairs of his four predecessors, we find him at length to have himself assumed the sceptre; we seem to be reading the consequences which would have resulted to mankind if the temptation of Christ by the evil spirit had been successful; and if the Founder of the Christian Church had accepted as his temporal dominion, *the kingdoms of this world, and the glory of them*. "All these are given unto me, and the glory of them; and to whom I will, I give them," was the affirmation. If we can imagine the result of the yielding to this temptation, we should only have the precise picture which is presented to us in this strange history. The words of truth, the mercy, the benevolence, the humility, the patience, and the suffering which characterized the Bruiser of the serpent's head, instead of being received as the spiritual remedies for spiritual diseases, would have been rendered subservient to the purposes of worldly ambition, and raising a visible and powerful secular Church upon the earth; before which every knee should bow, and every tongue confess to the glory of the god of this world, but not to the glory of God the Father. If we can imagine the evil spirit ruling the human race in such a manner as to gratify his own malignity by inflicting upon mankind the greatest misery, and producing the greatest amount of crime; we should see the professed servants of God influencing the minds of men to actions contrary to the will of God, and ruinous to their own spiritual and permanent happiness, by reasonings which are drawn from revelation, perverted to secular purposes, and stifle both humanity and remorse, while they are intended to satisfy the conscience. We should see the austere monk in power, tormenting his own body in order to gain deference from the people; extinguishing revelation to prevent their examination of his claims to their obedience; inflicting intolerable severities over those who presumed to doubt; arraying one class of mankind against another, by compelling the adherents of the prince to contend with the adherents of the priest;

ruling by division, enforcing ignorance, rewarding religion by worldly honour, and encouraging piety by increasing riches. No writer ever has estimated, nor ever can estimate, the amount of crime and of misery which has resulted to mankind, from the establishment of the policy of Hildebrand. The whole Church of Christ, with few exceptions, seemed to have been changed into one vast secular empire, of which Hildebrand was the autocrat; monks were the peers; cardinals the ministers of state; bishops the senators; emperors and kings themselves merely the first commoners; nobles the subjects; and the people the victims and the slaves.

We cannot rightly understand the character of Hildebrand unless we consider his infancy, youth, and education.

———— “The childhood shows the man,
As morning shows the day.”

Whether he was a native of Rome or a Tuscan of Soana¹, he was born at the time when the controversy respecting the powers of the pontificate, and the pretensions of the secular princes to interfere in the election of the popes, was at its height. He was educated in the strictest principles of deference to the asserted authority of the bishops of Rome². He was admitted, as we have seen, to the monastery of Clugny. The rule of St. Benedict, in itself sufficiently severe, had been rendered still more severe by the stricter rule established at Clugny. The zealous, firm, and fervid character of Hildebrand was still more thoroughly imbued, within the walls of Clugny, with the principles of attachment to the supremacy of Rome; and with devotion to the ascetic observances which, in that age, constituted piety; and which obtained that ascendancy over the minds of others, most gratifying to an ambitious spirit. The monks had long been the aristo-

¹ — constantior est sententia, fuisse patria Soanensem, e Tuscie civitate, natum humili loco, parente fabro. Baronius, ad ann. 1073, § 16. See the evidence on both sides collected in Bowden, i. 126.

² — educatum fuisse ab infantia sub protectione Sancti Petri, &c.— Baronius, ut supra.

Among other things mentioned by his biographers, he is said to have

combined the words of the 72nd Psalm, *Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare*, from casually putting together, while he was an infant, some broken pieces of wood thrown aside by his father, a carpenter. It is not improbable that the child expressed in this manner, at the commencement of his learning to read, the impression on his mind produced by his instructors respecting the controversies of the day.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

cracy of the ecclesiastical empire. *The self-denial* which is commanded to accelerate our spiritual improvement, and to promote our spiritual happiness, *was changed to the self-tormenting*, which injured health without destroying the passions; and ruined the body without benefiting the soul. Odilo³ was the Abbot of Clugny at the time when Hildebrand was received as a novice, or on probation. Odilo was celebrated for his severity as a disciplinarian, and Hildebrand became renowned for his piety. I therefore conclude that Hildebrand observed all the new ordinances which distinguished the monastery of Clugny⁴; and that the monastic austerity,

³ Many of his sermons are still extant in the Bibliotheca Patrum, and in the Anecdota of Marten. v. 622. See Butler's Lives of the Saints for the character, &c. of Odilo; and Bowden, i. 128, 129.

⁴ See the account in Butler, in his Life of Benedict, March 21. The original convent of St. Benedict was founded at Monte Cassino, near Naples, in 529, in the third year of the Emperor Justinian. An account is given in the notes of the monastery of Clugny. I subjoin from the *History of the Religious Orders*, a specimen of that solemn trifling which the monks mistook for religion. "In making the bread for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they chose the wheat grain by grain, and washed it with great care. Having placed it in a bag kept solely for that purpose, it was carried to the mill. He washed the mill-stones, covered them with curtains above and below, and dressed in the priest's white garment, he covered his face with a veil, his eyes only being seen. The same precaution was taken with the flour. They did not sift it till the sieve had been well washed; and the protector of the Church, if he was priest or deacon, finished it, being assisted by two other friars who had the same orders, and by a convert named expressly for this purpose. These four persons, when matins were ended, washed their face and hands. The first three were re-dressed in white robes, one wetted the flour with very clear water, and the two others baked the wafers in the oven." Many other observances equally minute and trifling are recorded, even to the placing of the elbows, and the position of their

feet as they sate together.—Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques Religieux et Militaires, vol. v. chap. xviii. p. 5—13, 4to. Paris, 1718. I extract two examples of the discipline of Clugny: Sedens ad lectionem ita sedet ut una sit inter se et alium juxta sedentem, anteriora froeci sui semper in gremium attrahit, ut pedes possint bene videri. Girones quoque, vel quos quidam sagittas vocant, colligit utrinque, ut non sparsim jaceant in terra. Quocumque incedit, semper demisso capite incedit, et si aliquando visus fuerit erecta cervice non negligitur innotatus.

Stans autem ante Dominum Abbatem, vel ubicumque steterit, id etiam non negligit, ut habeat pedes æqualiter compositos, et nunquam ab invicem inter standum divaricatos.—See the Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniensis Monasterii, collectore J. Udalricho, Monacho Benedictino, ap. Dacherii Spicilegium, Paris, 1661, part iii., c. xi. p. 124, et c. xix. p. 128.

The monasteries were, in fact, the palaces of the ecclesiastical empire. Very useful were they as the refuge of literature, and the depositories of the manuscript copies of Scripture and the classics. The populace was governed by the influence of the monks. Mistaking austerity for devotion, and celibacy for elasticity, they venerated the monastic character as that which alone was religious. With the monks and ecclesiastics alone was the knowledge of law, medicine, and theology. The Church, too, at this time, was the refuge of the poor against the nobles, the protector of the common people, the home of the contemplative, the peaceful, and the pious. The monks

united to that strange devotedness to trifling enactments which so generally marks these institutions, contributed to form the character of Hildebrand. *He was the monk made emperor.* He blended the severity and trifling of the one, with the loftiness of view, and enlargement of mind, required in the others. At the same time that he was reducing Germany⁵, Spain⁶, France⁷, Bohemia⁸, and Venice⁹, to various degrees of obedience, demanding feudal oaths of allegiance from the haughtiest military chieftains of the age¹; reprovng alike the bishops of Africa² and the North³, and enforcing the supremacy of Rome, the mother, over her daughter Constantinople⁴, as if he were the ruler of the West and East—the spirit of the monk of Clugny still appeared in his edicts to the bishops of Sardinia, ordering them to shave their beards in the occidental, and not in the oriental manner⁵. We cannot understand the character of the popes of this age unless we thus keep in view *the loftiness of their projects, and the minutenesses of their frivolous enactments.* They dazzled and bewildered the sovereigns by their presumption. They fettered the vulgar by changing trifles into sins. They governed kingdoms, and enslaved souls.

At the time of the death of Alexander II., Hildebrand had been for twenty years as something greater than the popes, who acted entirely by his counsel⁶. On the day of the death

began with the love of repose. They were corrupted by wealth. They descended to ambition. They became powerful. They provoked the envy of nobles by their possessions, and of kings by their attachment to Rome. They were ruined by prosperity and impolicy.

⁵ Baron. Annal. ad ann. 1073, § 38—42.

⁶ Ib. § 28—35.

⁷ Ib. § 65—67.

⁸ Ib. § 48.

⁹ Ib. § 44—47.

¹ Ib. § 56.

² Ib. § 57.

³ Ib. § 41.

⁴ Ib. § 43.

⁵ Ib. § 54.

⁶ It is not necessary to believe, with the majority of writers, that Hildebrand planned his career of ambition from the first. The remarks of Mons. Guizot are just, that there is a moral chronology in the life of a successful

man, and that history is essentially successive. If we look at the records of any man, of Oliver Cromwell, of Cardinal Richelieu, of Gustavus Adolphus, we shall see of each of them, that he enters on his career, he pushes forward through life, and rises. Great circumstances act upon him; he acts upon great circumstances. He arrives at the end of all things, and then it is we know him; but it is in his whole character, it is as a complete, a finished piece, such in a manner as he is turned out, after a long labour, from the workshop of Providence. At the outset he was not what he thus became, he was not completed, not finished at any single moment of his life. He was formed successively. Men are formed morally in the same way as they are physically. They change every day. Their existence is constantly undergoing some modification. The Cromwell of 1650 was not

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

and interment of Alexander, Hildebrand was elected to the vacant see. Many voices called out his name during the very ceremony of the funeral. When he endeavoured to check this interruption, he was prevented from so doing by a friendly cardinal, Hugo Candidus, who encouraged the populace to persevere in their choice⁷. After the interment was over, the clergy and people assembled in the Church of St. Peter *ad Vincula*. The clergy proclaimed Hildebrand, and the people assented. In remembrance of his early friend, Gregory VI., he assumed the name of Gregory VII. Resolved as he may have been to overthrow every power which interfered with the election of the popes and bishops, he sent legates to the court of Germany according to the canon of Nicholas II.; and the ambassadors who came from Germany to inquire into the truth of the accusation of his procuring the see by bribery or simony, confirmed his election. Being only a deacon, he was ordained priest and consecrated pope on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul⁸. *After his election, the practice wholly ceased of appealing to the emperors* in any manner, in the nomination and enthronement of the popes. No sooner was Hildebrand securely settled in the papal see, than he immediately began to act as the undisputed and indisputable sovereign of every country in Europe. *The weakness of the states of Europe has ever been the strength of Rome.* He ascended the papal throne in the year 1073, a period when the condition of Europe was peculiarly favourable to the realization of his plan of universal empire over the civilized portion of mankind. The effects of his pious presumption still influence all Europe; and it will be necessary, therefore, very briefly to survey its condition at the time of

the Cromwell of 1640. It is true there is always a large stock of individuality, the same man still holds on; but how many ideas, how many sentiments, how many inclinations have changed him! what a number of things he has lost and acquired! Thus, at whatever moment of his life we may look at a man, he is never such as we see him when his course is finished.—Guizot, pp. 184, 185.

⁷ The accounts of his election, as they are recorded by his friends or enemies, are very contradictory. They are collected by Sir Roger Griesley.

I am contented, after reading them, to believe that the detail in the Dublin Review, No. XII., is correct. I always wish to refer to the writer who is in communion with the Church of Rome, that I may judge the Romanists out of their own mouths. The editor quotes in a note Bonizon, Bishop of Sutri (ap. Rerum Boicearum Scriptores), as the writer most to be depended upon. See also Bowden, i. 314.

⁸ June 29, 1073: his election took place on Monday, 22nd of April, the day following the death of Pope Alexander.

the accession of Hildebrand, as we formerly did in the case of Nicholas I. Then the vision of universal ecclesiastical dominion was but conceived. Now it was perfected. The whole of Europe was divided in both cases into petty states, jarring lordships, and contending provinces. No balance of power between jealous and mutually dangerous kingdoms was imagined. *Some powerful general principle is always necessary to combine nations.* Commerce was but little known. War was an art though not a science. Military prowess was honour. Success in battle was the chief ambition; and the only bonds of union which prevented universal anarchy, were the two principles of submission by the people to the ecclesiastical authority; and the exercise of that authority beyond all the limits even of the canon law, as circumstances and events permitted new claims, and sanctioned every usurpation. Great and intolerable as the evil of the incessant encroachments of Rome was, some benefit may be shown to have accrued from their exercise⁹. When, indeed, the profound ignorance of the barbarous and cruel military chieftains of this age is considered; it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the government of Europe, for a time, until that ignorance was removed by the spiritually secular, or by the secularly spiritual Church, was as essential to the eventual improvement of mankind, as the submission of the ancient Church to the severe though temporary discipline of the Mosaic law, was requisite to the half-civilized Israelite before the coming of the Messiah. The common Judge of the world was then predicted to be coming. He then came in his humiliation. He is now to come in his glory. In both cases He is to come. In both cases his Church is to be brought through the changes of miracle as the foundation; prosperity as the progress; apostasy, or lukewarmness, as a result; terminating, after a partial recovery, in the manifestation of a happier period.

We will enquire into the state of Europe, and hence gather the proof that the Bishop of Rome had formed the great plan of subjugating churches, bishops, states, and sovereigns to his dominion; and the consequences of the success of that plan of subjugation upon every portion of the Western

⁹ See the chapter on this subject in *Saints*; and an eloquent passage in Guizot; also Butler's *Lives of the Saints*; and Southey's *Letters to Charles Butler*.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

world. With respect to the condition of Europe¹, we may observe, that no state was sufficiently powerful to resist the aggressions of Rome.

In *Spain*, a small society of Christians had taken refuge in the mountains of the Asturias. With this exception, the Peninsula was overrun by the Saracens. These, however, had so strengthened themselves, that by this time the kingdom of Navarre had been founded. The active talents of the Saracens had conveyed from Asia to Europe all the knowledge and improvement to which they themselves had attained, and could impart; and the small Christian states under the counts of Barcelona, Castile, and Arragon in the north of Spain, gradually swelled into importance and power. Don Rodrigo², the successor of Don Pelago, the first who resisted the Moors, began the kingdom of Leon, to which all who were hostile to the Mauric dominion fled for protection. The Peninsula was gradually recovered from the Moors by the Christians in the course of the eleventh century, and the Koran was displaced by the Gospels.

In *Portugal*, Alphonso, king of Leon and Castile, gave Henry of Burgundy the countries south of Gallicia for his services in Spain; and many Christians from the mountains embraced the choice afforded them of exchanging their solitudes for the plains of the Douro³.

On the extinction of the Carlovingian principedoms in the tenth century, *France* included four races, distinct in language and manners. The northern districts were inhabited by tribes of Germans. Normandy by the descendants of Scandinavians. The midland provinces contained a people of Latin extraction. The South was possessed by races marked by Provençal and Troubadour habits and language. These, at the time of the accession of Gregory, had merged into two divisions. Northward, the country was characterized by the language called Norman-French; southward, by the Provençal, to which the modern poetical Italian is akin.

¹ I am happy to say, that after drawing out a schedule of the different countries of Europe, to enable me to submit to the reader a more complete view of its several sovereignties, I found that this had been previously done by Mr. Sharon Turner. (Hist. Engl. vol. i. p. 28, 8vo edit.) I cannot

in this instance say, *perant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt*. I rejoice to avail myself of his favours.

² "Roderick, the last of the Goths," by Southey, and the "Vision of Don Roderick," by Sir Walter Scott, are both founded on these events.

³ Sharon Turner's Hist. Engl. i. 52.

Normandy, Bretagne, Flanders, and Aquitaine, were little better than feudatory provinces, abounding with dukes and counts, who owned the king at Paris as their feudal lord. By perpetual quarrels which these dukes kept up one with another, the Parisian government was safe from their hostile incursions; and after the eleventh century it became a settled policy of the kings to consolidate them all under one royal dynasty⁴.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Hungary, which before had been a terror to Europe, whose people lived in huts built with reeds, by its sudden and entire adoption of Christianity, caused a strange sensation in the world. The splendid crown bestowed by the pope on their chief had a great effect on the feelings of the people, whose men of the highest caste, at this time, could neither write nor read. The spirit of piety and general homage towards the Roman Church was much increased by this event. Pilgrimages, which in the eleventh century were everywhere the custom, were much encouraged by the Hungarian revolution; and this wonderful change in the face of Europe, opened that free passage to Constantinople and Palestine, which subsequently favoured the march of the Crusaders.

With respect to the northern powers, we may observe, that *Norway* was greatly weakened by the ill success of Harold Hardrada, an enterprising Norwegian chief, who had laid claim to the English crown, and made a descent on the coast of Yorkshire, where he perished with his followers in his contest with Harold.

Sweden was at this time an obscure but advancing kingdom. Active English missionaries, under the auspices of the English episcopacy, were successfully diffusing Christianity into the more remote parts of the country. The Swedish language, says Dr. Clarke in his Travels, is so like the English in the Oland Isles, that his servant could understand the inhabitants, and make himself intelligible to them.

The English missionaries were everywhere to be found. Canute the Great, in the beginning of the eleventh century, introduced numbers of English into Denmark to teach Christianity to his subjects in that pagan country. He went through France and Lombardy to Rome. The journey made

⁴ Sharon Turner's Hist. Engl. i. 52, 53.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

his people known, and was beneficial to the civilization of his countrymen. Sweyn, to whom the Danish sceptre fell, was unpolished, and imbued with the fierce barbarism of his northern extraction; but in return for the frequent plunder of the English monasteries and churches committed by his subjects, courageous missionaries from England, by their persevering labour, softened the rugged and ferocious character of Sweden, Denmark, and Ireland. Sweyn became mentally improved. Seeing as well as feeling the beneficial effects of the Gospel, he sent into Sweden, Norway, and the Isles, many preachers whose names now stand high in the calendar of saints. England, by means of its fiercest ravagers, was providentially made the means of propagating Christianity through the North.

The shores of the Baltic, both on the North and South, in the early part of the eleventh century, were infested with a warlike, idolatrous, and savage race, designated by the general name of *Sclavi*. The Ogors, migrating out of their Siberian settlements in consequence of the progress of the Turkish hordes, the Sclavi fled into the neighbouring districts of Bohemia, Moravia, Servia, Bulgaria, Poland, Lithuania, Silesia, Pomerania, and other parts of the northern continent of Europe, till those countries became, for the most part, peopled by a race of Sclavic origin. In the time of Hildebrand, the Sclavi wrote for instruction to Rome. *These rude and scattered sects were the last idolaters of Europe which Christianity was required to subdue.* Odin and Thor had been vanquished. Hungarian paganism had yielded; and it was not till the twelfth century that these emigrant hordes were taught by the victorious Christians, that their deities, Radigast and Peroun (the Thunderer), were as feeble protectors in battle as their goddess Seva, all of whom they gave up at length for the name of Christ.

With respect to *Russia*, the Scandinavian Vikingr, or Sea-kings, began the foundation of the Russian nation in the settlements of Novogrod and Kiow, about the end of the ninth century. Intellectual and moral cultivation spread through the Sclavic tribes in these regions. Greek merchants had penetrated to the Dnieper. Kiow, in the eleventh century, was the rival of Constantinople; and the Baltic was frequented by Greek adventurers. Vladimir, whose idols

would not be appeased with human victims, sent ten of his wise men to study the religion of other nations. The Mahommedans were heard without emotion. The Latin Churches of Germany did not come up to their idea of splendid devotion; but those of Constantinople captivated their minds, and from that time the Greek system became the religion of Russia⁵. Vladimir, about A.D. 1000, after having been baptized in the Greek Church, married a Greek princess.

Prussia must not be omitted in this survey. Another of the Slavonic tribes, called Prusci, occupied the country from Courland to the Vistula, whose habits, manners, and physical character, were totally distinct from the Tartar races of Europe. Their hatred of Christianity was long in being overcome, and it was at last only at the point of the sword that, in the twelfth century, they submitted to the religion of civilized Europe. *They were the last Europeans who, as a nation, were brought to acknowledge Christianity.*

With regard to *Poland*, its government, between the ninth and eleventh centuries, from being monarchical had become an aristocratical feudalism, acknowledging the Emperor of Germany as their sovereign. Its origin was chiefly Slavonian. It was converted early to Christianity, having, in the eleventh century, eight bishops' sees. Its duke, Casimir, had become a monk, and was recalled from Clugny, as before has been related⁶.

The *Bohemians* were of the same fierce and indomitable Slavonic stock as the Poles and Prussians. The Christian religion had been planted among them as early as the ninth century; but their habits were warlike, and they are described as being engaged in continual hostility with their neighbours.

As to *Moravia*, a mixture of races constituted this nation, and a more placable disposition, susceptible of piety and integrity, distinguished them from the kindred nations of the Slavonic race.

The throne of *Germany* being inherited by a child five years of age, afforded an opportunity to the factious and the

⁵ See L'Eveque, pp. 148—155.

⁶ See Acts of Benedict IX., A.D. 1038—1041.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

ambitious who had influence in ecclesiastical or secular affairs, to keep the country in a state of anarchy. The German bishoprics principally established by Otho, had grown from wildernesses to princely estates. The monastic institutions of the empire, too, had been raised by donations and legacies to a degree of princely wealth. The weakness of the temporal power had placed the country at the mercy of the ecclesiastical. The pope was their chief, and he commenced, as we shall see, that warfare with the emperor, which was so long carried on, upon both sides, with relentless violence.

Such was the state of Europe at the accession of Hildebrand. It is evident that no opposition to the designs of the ecclesiastical power of Gregory could be effectual on the part of any prince who now reigned. All unsuccessful resistance strengthens the ruler against whom it is directed. Henry IV. was the prince who waged open war with Hildebrand, and the defeat of Henry was the establishment of the power of Gregory. Let us now consider briefly the principles of Gregory, and *the manner in which he proceeded to subdue Europe to submission to the ecclesiastical power.*

We have seen that the decretal epistles in the pontificate of Nicholas exalted the power of the bishops, while they degraded the laity. The power of appeal to Rome in greater causes had been reserved. The first object, therefore, of Gregory seems to have been entirely to subdue the whole episcopate of Christendom to unreserved and unlimited submission to himself, and with them the temporal sovereigns. The preceding popes under the influence of Hildebrand cared but little for the restrictions imposed by the decretals on their plenary authority. The authority was acknowledged. All parties who felt themselves aggrieved, had been permitted by the decretals to appeal to Rome; and *Rome, therefore, by being the ultimate tribunal for all Christendom, became the principal tribunal.* It consequently became the supreme and most powerful judge; and as it arrogated that divine authority to which all temporal authority must bow, it only remained for the Bishops of Rome to reject all restrictions imposed upon their own supremacy; and to determine what amount of jurisdiction they would assume to themselves; and what amount they would leave to the metropolitans or bishops.

The whole controversy between episcopacy and papacy rests upon this point—whether the former is inferior to the latter. It is equal. The Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of New York, is as much entitled to rule over the Bishop of Rome, as the Bishop of Rome is entitled to rule over them. Till this truth—the equality of episcopal Churches—is established, there can be no union in Christendom. As the bishops, however, by the authority of the Decretals were declared to be superior to the laity; and as the power of appeal from the bishops to the pope became the universal law in the Churches of Europe; while the bishops in their several dioceses had acquired much temporal jurisdiction, the popes claimed the same jurisdiction over the bishops themselves. They became their spiritual, temporal, civil, legal superiors; and they demanded the same submission from them, which they had respectively demanded in their dioceses, as the holders of large possessions; and as the feudal equals, in right of those possessions, of the counts, earls, dukes, marquises, and barons of the feudal system. As these nobles held land of their feudal chief, subject to certain services, so the bishops held their possessions; and the popes regarded themselves, by divine right, to be the head of all bishops, as the sovereign of each state was the head of his tributary nobles.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

We must consider this matter at somewhat greater length. We have already seen, that, about the period of the publication of the false decretals, the episcopal authority, and with it that of the popes, acquired a vast impulse. The popes, down to the age of Gregory VII., sometimes rested satisfied with their share of the power thus acquired. The bishops were emancipated from all secular and nearly all clerical control; and the pope had obtained a very wide acknowledgment of his supreme appellate jurisdiction. But the plans of Gregory went much further. To carry out his projects, it was necessary that he should establish himself as absolute sovereign of the Church, and *reduce both bishops and clergy to unconditional submission.* Building, therefore, upon the advantages which the currency of the false decretals had hitherto procured for the papal authority; he proceeded to set aside the protections which they had provided for the bishops; and thus to bring both metropolitans and suffragans under the yoke. Schmidt explains the changes introduced

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

by Gregory VII. in the policy of the see of Rome, as hitherto founded upon the false decretals of Isidore⁷.

The feeling of Gregory VII. respecting the state of the Church, and the measures necessary for its purification from real and alleged abuses, is forcibly expressed in a letter to Duke Godfrey of Bouillon. "As a punishment for our sins," says he, "the whole world is abandoned to iniquity; so that all, *particularly the prelates of the Church*, endeavour rather to increase the confusion, than protect men against it, and to reform them; and while they either follow after their own gain or their vain honours and emoluments, they set themselves up as enemies against all that belongeth to the faith, and the justice of God⁸."

Gregory, therefore, thought that it behoved him to take a very different course from that which his predecessors had followed on the principles of the false decretals; the author of which contended that evil pastors ought to be patiently borne with, provided only, they did not transgress in matters of faith. The favourite maxim of Gregory was—"Cursed is he who keepeth back his sword from blood⁹." The main design of the false decretals was to render the deposition of a bishop almost impossible. Gregory looked upon this power to depose as the foundation of all Church discipline. It was the intention of the decretals that the Roman Church should be regarded as the common mother of the bishops; that she should receive them into her bosom, and protect and defend them against their accusers; but it was settled in the mind of Gregory, *that Rome was the common tribunal for the episcopacy*, the bar to which they might be summoned without charge or accusation, from all parts of the world, to be there indicted, tried, and sentenced.

In these sentiments Gregory VII. had been forestalled by Peter Damiani, who writes in a letter to Pope Alexander II., "Two things are of frequent occurrence in the apostolic see,

⁷ See Schmidt, vol. ii. p. 297, et seq. I am indebted for these remarks to one of the most learned historiographers of the age, T. Greenwood, Esq.

⁸ Epist. Greg. VII. lib. i. ep. ix. p. 12, ap. Labb. Concil. tom. x., to which edition the succeeding references to these epistles apply.

⁹ Jer. xlviii. 10.—Maledictus homo

qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine. See Epist. Greg. lib. ii. epist. lxvi. p. 117, lib. iii. epist. iv. p. 131, and lib. iv. epist. i. p. 148. In each instance he gives a paraphrase of the text, showing that he understood it as a punishment denounced on those who did not censure evil livers.

which, with deference to your holy wisdom, appear to us by all means to require correction. The first is, that to almost every page of the papal decretals an anathema is subjoined. The second is, that every son of the Church, whether he be lay or spiritual, is prohibited from exposing the errors of his bishop¹." Now it was upon this very score that the false decretals grounded the security of the bishops, as its most solid foundation; and, therefore, none but a bishop was permitted to be the accuser of a bishop. "But," says Damiani, in continuation, "every bishop says, 'I am a bishop, a chief shepherd of the Church; I must not be harassed by the complaints of the sheep which are placed under me: if I have but the true faith, my bad morals must be endured in patience.'" This sentiment is an exact repetition of the false decretals. To this Damiani replies, "If a bishop who sins in and before the face of the Church, will not submit to be warned by the Church, what power have the laws of the Church to put a stop to the transgression? If the sons of the Church dare not open their mouths, are we then to fetch our witnesses from a distance where their conduct is not known?" That the arguments of Damiani had produced their effect, may be inferred not only from the principles of Gregory VII., but from what Alexander had already done; for, as early as the year 1070, the latter had summoned to Rome the Archbishops of Mayence and Cologne as well as the Bishop of Bamberg. Against the bishop a formal charge of simony was exhibited, which, however, he contrived to elude by costly bribes which he had brought with him; yet he, together with the two archbishops, received a severe reprimand².

Gregory had acted on these principles through the whole of the twenty years preceding his election, when, as Archdeacon of Rome, he governed so many of his predecessors. He continued to do so after his own election. He devoted his life, says one great modern historian, to the execution of two projects. First, To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of the election of the pope; and for ever to abolish the right of the Roman people. Secondly, To bestow and

¹ Pet. Damiani, *ist. lib. i. ep. xii.* ² Lamberti Schaffenburg. *Chron. ad Alex. Pap. ii., p. 12, edit. Venet. ann. 1070.*
1783.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

resume the Western empire, as a fief or benefice of the Church, and to extend his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth³. But these great designs could not have been attempted, much less could they have been executed, had he not been actuated by zeal arising from the conviction that he was the undoubted successor of St. Peter; and thus *entitled to the homage which he exacted*, and the powers which he presumed to exercise. His resolution seems to have been to realize the wildest dreams of his predecessors; and to become, by the alternate use of the anathemas of the Vatican, and the sword of his allies, his dependants, or his tributaries, *the autocrat of Europe and the emperor of the West*.

The modes by which ambitious individuals in all ages attain to power are the same. There must be the assertion of an abstract principle, the declaration of great benefit by the establishment of that principle, and the consequent alleged injustice, wickedness, and folly of the people who deny it; and this must be followed up by the affirmation or insinuation, that the zealous individual himself is the only person competent to bestow or to perpetuate the proposed principle, and its anticipated results. These are the means by which the chief revolutions of history have been effected. Unless there be some pretensions of this nature, there can be little or no usurpation: for men would be deprived of the zeal and activity which project innovations; and cause political disturbances, by exciting the two antagonist powers of resisting, and of promoting change.

The abstract principle which Hildebrand asserted was, the superiority of the ecclesiastical over the temporal power; the supposed good which he proposed to effect, was the greatest which he could submit to the world,—the salvation of the souls of the people, by delivering them from the guilt of simony; and the competency to effect the benefit he proposed, was to be found in the supremacy of himself, as the depository of the ecclesiastical power, and the inheritor of the authority of Christ. His principles, as exhibited in the twenty-seven maxims, we have already considered. *They are summed up in that one word which still divides and convulses*

³ Gibbon, vol. ix. pp. 197, 198, Milman's edition.

the world—the supremacy of Rome. He affirmed the abstract principle of power over nations, as in the instance of Spain. He affirmed the right to dethrone princes for the benefit of the people, as in the case of Henry; and he rested all his pretensions on his fitness and competency to do all, as the inheritor of the authority of Christ. Like other ambitious usurpers, he based his power upon the proposal to benefit the masses of the people; and he proceeded to crush all the intermediate authorities between the papal head and the submissive tail. Acting on the three principles of ecclesiastical superiority, popular benefit, and his own competency, he proceeded at once to affirm his power, and to subjugate bishops, churches, states, and sovereigns.

Immediately after his election, and before he could receive the customary sanction of the head of the empire, he sent his friend, the Cardinal Hugo Candidus, into Spain. The mission on which he was despatched was the most extraordinary on which an ambassador had been hitherto known to be empowered—to submit to one community the will of the sovereign of another. It was neither more nor less than to demand of the Spanish nobles who were zealous for the honour of their country, to recover back from the Saracens the provinces of which they had obtained possession; in order that they should hold under the see of Rome the territories they might resume from the common enemy. He informs them that the kingdom of Spain belongs to St. Peter⁴, and therefore to the apostolic see; and he assures them in a subsequent letter, that *he would prefer the continuance of the dominion of the Saracens over the country; rather than that the Church of Rome should be deprived of its rights by its own children.* These letters of Gregory prove to us that the claim to domination over the princes, churches, and countries of Europe, was the result of deliberate conviction, founded, it is true, on error; but, without doubt, religiously and sincerely believed. Various French nobles assisted the Spaniards in recovering their provinces; and four years after, some of the conquerors

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

⁴ Non latere vos credimus regnum Hispaniæ ab antiquo proprii juris S. Petri fuisse, et adhuc, (licet diu a Paganis sit occupatum,) lege tamen justitiæ non evacuata, nulli mortalium, sed soli apostolicæ sedi, ex æquo pertinere.—Epist. Greg. ad principes Hispaniæ, Epp. lib. i. ep. vii. Labb. col. 10.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

are said by Baronius to have held their possessions of the holy see after the Saracens had been expelled⁵.

Every part of the world as well as Spain began to feel the influence of Gregory. In a letter which he wrote to the Church at Milan, he calls the Church of Rome not merely the mother of all Churches, in the usual form, but *the mother of all Christianity*⁶. The Emperor of Constantinople wrote to him on the subject of healing the great schism between the Churches. Gregory, in reply, calls the Church of Constantinople the daughter of the Church of Rome, and promises to send a legate. He reproved the Venetians for their parsimony. He dictated to the Duke of Bohemia the conduct he should observe towards the Bishop of Prague, and demands of him to pay tribute to Rome. Richard, the Norman prince of Capua, took an oath of fealty to Gregory, similar in its language to that which is still exacted from the bishops to the popes⁷. He engages to pay an annual tri-

⁵ Baron. Annal. 1073, No. xxxiv. On the condition of Moorish Spain at this time, see Miller, vol. ii. p. 543.

⁶ Quod audiens sancta Romana ecclesia mater vestra, et totius Christianitatis, sicut scitis, magistra . . . —Greg. Epist. lib. i. ep. xv. ap. Labb. col. 17.

⁷ I subjoin the words of this oath because of its feudal nature. If an oath must be any longer taken to the pope, let it be an oath of communion with Rome so long as Rome teaches truth, and not an oath of allegiance. This also must be done away before there can be peace between the states and Churches of Christendom, and the Bishop of Rome.

Jusjurandum fidelitatis quod fecit Richardus princeps domino suo Gregorio papæ.

“Ego, Richardus, Dei gratia et sancti Petri, Capuæ princeps, ab hac hora et deinceps ero fidelis sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et Apostolicæ sedi, et tibi, domino meo Gregorio, universali papæ. In consilio vel in facto, unde vitam aut membrum perdas, vel captus sis mala captione, non ero. Consilium quod mihi credideris, et contradixeris ne illud manifestem, non manifestabo ad tuum damnum, me sciente. Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ tibi que adjutor ero, ad tenendum, et

acquirendum, et defendendum regalia sancti Petri, ejusque possessiones recta fide contra omnes homines, et adjuvabo te, ut secure et honorifice teneas papatum Romanum, terram sancti Petri, et principatus nec invadere, nec acquirere quaeram, nec etiam deprædari presumam, absque tua tuorumque successorum, qui ad honorem sancti Petri intraverint, certa licentia, præter illam quam tu mihi concedes, vel tui concessuri sunt successores. Pensionem de terra sancti Petri, quam ego teneo et tenebo, sicut statutum est, recta fide studebo, ut illam sancta Romana annualiter habeat ecclesia. Omnes quoque ecclesias, quæ in mea persistunt dominatione, cum earum possessiouiibus, dimittam in tuam potestatem, et defensor illarum ero ad fidelitatem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ. Regi vero Henrico, cum a te admonitus fuero, vel a tuis successoribus, jurobo fidelitatem, salva tamen fidelitate sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ. Et si tu vel tui successores ante me ex hac vita migraverint, secundum quod monitus fuero a melioribus cardinalibus et clericis Romanis et laicis, adjuvabo ut papa eligatur et ordinetur ad honorem sancti Petri. Hæc omnia suprascripta observabo sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et tibi recta fide; et hanc

bute, and to be faithful to the emperor, with reservation of his fealty to the pope.

The reader who has not many opportunities of studying ecclesiastical history, will perceive the extent of the wonderful authority of Hildebrand, and the manner in which no part of the Christian world escaped his influence, from an abstract which I have compiled from Baronius of his principal actions, as they respect the four greater objects over whom he exercised control—bishops, churches, states, and sovereigns. The numbers refer to the sections in Baronius, where the several subjects are descanted upon more fully, according to the several years of this pontificate. It is only necessary to add, that as the conduct of Gregory was imitated by his successors, this arrangement may be regarded as a specimen of the manner, in which the subsequent continuous usurpations of the papacy were opposed (for they were always opposed) or received, in the several countries of Europe.

Abstract of the chief Acts of Gregory VII., abridged from the Annals of Baronius, and classed as they relate severally to Personal Transactions, to Bishops and Abbots, to Churches and Councils, to States, and to Sovereigns.

1073.

Personal Transactions.

XII. to XV. Authorities for the history of the pontificate of Gregory VII.

XVI. Whether a native of Soana or Rome uncertain.

XVII. His education alleged to have been at Rome.

XIX. In early life intimately attached to the archpriest John, afterwards Gregory VI., who purchased the see from Benedict IX., Hildebrand being the agent. He passed some years as a monk at Clugny; was made subdeacon of Rome by Leo IX., and afterwards promoted to the archdeaconship of Rome.

fidelitatem observabo tuis successoribus octavo Kalend. Octobris, indictione
ad honorem sancti Petri ordinatis, si duodecima.—Baronii Annal. A.D. 1073,
mihi firmare voluerunt investituram à § 56.
te mihi concessam. Actum Capue,

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

XX. to XXIV. He was nominated pope by the mourners at the grave of Alexander; borne off to the Church, and elected. He sent to inform the king before his consecration, who readily confirmed the choice.

XLIX. to LII. He proceeded on a tour through the south of Italy, in which parts he continued some time; and bestowed favours on Beneventum and other places. At Monte Cassino he stayed to concert measures with the abbot of that powerful monastery for securing his control in that part of the country.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

XLI. Thedaldus, who had been raised to the see of Milan by the imperial party, summoned by Gregory to prove his right to that see.

XLII. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, is expostulated with by Gregory on the disobedience of English and Scotch kings and princes.

LIII. to LV. Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, had retired to the monastery of Clugny, but the pope revoked the act, and induced him to return; warning him, at the time, by letter, to receive no favours from the king till he had been brought to terms with the pope.

LVII. Cyriacus, Bishop of Carthage, writes to Gregory on the distress of the African Christians from the plunder of their churches by the Saracens; and this bishop is censured for not exciting his people to repel the invaders by violence.

LIX. Rules laid down for the shaving of the beards of the clergy and monks.

LXII. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, with other bishops, required to observe certain rules in all ordinations.

LXIII. Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, having sent a presbyter who had committed homicide, for a dispensation to resume his duties, was refused. The guilty party, however, was to be permitted, on his repentance, to receive an income from the Church.

LXV. LXVI. The Bishop of Chalons, and the Archbishop of Lyons, are authorized by Gregory to ordain an Archdeacon of Autun, in defiance of King Philip of France.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

XL. XLI. The Church of Milan complains of disorders and troubles, which are imputed by the pope to simony and heresy, of which the king is declared to be the guilty source, and he is consequently threatened with the vengeance of the holy see.

LXI. LXII. The Churches and monasteries of southern Italy are reduced to submission in a diplomatic tour taken by Gregory for that purpose. This was a step indispensably preparatory to the reduction of the other more formidable states and Churches of the world, to the papal dominion.

LXXIII. to LXXXIII. The Churches of Bulgaria endure great affliction, which is ascribed to their dereliction from the jurisdiction of the see of Rome to that of Constantinople, in the time of Hadrian II., and to be regarded therefore as a just judgment.

Acts towards States.

II. The regency of the empire, which had been wrested from the hands of the Empress Agnes in 1062, and held by Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, a firm partizan of Hildebrand, for eleven years, is resigned to Prince Henry on his coming to age.

XXVIII. to XXXVII. Legation sent by Gregory to Spain to demand the unqualified obedience of the princes of that nation to St. Peter, by virtue of an alleged prescriptive right.

XLVI. XLVII. Legation to Bohemia to demand an annual tribute from the dukedom to the successor of St. Peter; and to prescribe rules for the government of the Bohemian Churches, in order to effect also their submission.

LX. LXI. The Sardinians receive notice that their island is, from ancient title, a portion of the inherent domain of St. Peter; with warning to observe invariable fidelity.

LXIV. to LXVII. The Gallican bishops are desired to make known to the people of all ranks, that, under pain of a general anathema, if their king would not renounce simony, they must all renounce obedience to him or to Christianity.

XLIV. XLV. The Venetians reminded of their inattention

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

to certain admonitions and warnings, and called to account for their parsimonious contributions to St. Peter.

LXVIII. LXIX. The Saxons much disaffected, are prevented from open rebellion by the influence of Gregory.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

I. to VI. Previously to his death, the former pope, Alexander, had issued a summons to require King Henry to appear before him at Rome to answer charges of simony during his minority; and by a council called by him to meet at Mentz to advise him on the occasion, the pope was censured; but by his death the affair passed over without further proceedings on either side.

XXXVIII. More severe threatenings are vowed against Henry; and the words of vengeance are closed with the favourite text of Jeremiah *xlvi. 10*, if the king continued to act disobediently to the holy see.

XXXIX. The kings and princes of Spain required to own themselves under the authority of St. Peter.

XXIV. The Empress Agnes, mortified at the regency of the empire and the guardianship of the prince being taken from her by the emissaries of the pope, retires to Monte Cassino; to which monastery she proved a munificent benefactress.

XLIII. Overtures from the Emperor Michael expressing a wish for the reunion of the Churches, are treated with great attention, in order, as it afterwards proved, to induce an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the apostolic see.

L. The Prince of Beneventum, Landulph, is induced to execute a treaty of feudal submission and humility, to the prince of apostles.

XLIV. XLV. The Duke of Venice receives especial notice, that for such distinguished honour as the permitting of the Bishop of Venice to rank with the four patriarchs, and for many other dignities and favours granted to him and his city, the return made to the prince of apostles is by no means so ample as it ought to be; and that in future it must be considerably more liberal.

LVII. An oath of feudal allegiance is exacted from Richard,

Prince of Capua, in acknowledgment of the sovereignty of St. Peter. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

LXIV. to LXVII. The King of France threatened with vengeance, if contempt of St. Peter and St. Paul is longer exhibited.

1074.

Personal Transactions.

XIII. to XXVI. Gregory vindicates the purity of Matilda's life, and in a brief memoir appears as her devoted encomiast.

XXVII. XXVIII. The character of Gregory maintained to be immaculate, in spite of the many rumours and calumnies to the contrary.

LIV. Gregory being very indulgent to holy females for the sake of encouraging their zeal in things conducive to the welfare of the Church, declared to be the only fault on which scandal could indulge itself.

LV. LVI. In a letter to Beatrice and Matilda, Gregory alleges that he had incurred the hatred of certain bishops whom he had caused to be corrected for carnal sins and worldly-mindedness; and that they, out of revenge, had been the authors of that detraction, of which they, the persons addressed, as well as himself, though pure and true, had been the victims.

LX. Gregory informs Beatrice and Matilda that his health had greatly declined, and begs them to continue their love to St. Peter.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

V. VI. The Archbishop of Bremen is accused of want of fidelity and obedience to the prince of apostles, and is summoned to Rome to answer his ingratitude and his numerous offences.

XXXIV. The Bishop of Beauvais is held up in the synod of Rome by Gregory as a perfect model of clerical chastity and Christian purity, to the reproach of all the clergy there present.

LI. Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, who had suffered deposition under the new system of discipline introduced

BOOK III. by Lanfranc, was restored to his dignity the following
 CHAP. IV. year.

LVII. Hanno, of Cologne, the champion of the pope in Germany, slain by a mob, and his loss much bewailed at Rome.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

X. The Church of Rome exultingly alleged by Gregory to be miraculously supported by the love of the three illustrious ladies, Agnes, Beatrice, and Matilda, in its violent persecutions by evil princes, and other powerful enemies.

XXX. The marriage of the clergy denounced, and severe decrees against simony enacted by a council at Rome, held to put down both.

XXXV. to XXXVIII. The Churches of Lucca resist the dictates of Archbishop Anselm, and are summoned to Rome to answer for it.

XLVII. The pope, by a dispensation, releases Alphonso, King of Spain, from his vows to consecrate himself to God by seclusion from the world within the monastery of Clugny.

XLVIII. XLIX. Hugh, Abbot of Clugny, on his way to Rome to attend a council, escapes unhurt from a frightful gulf into which his mule leaped with him over a lofty precipice.

LVIII. LIX. The bishops of England summoned to meet all the heads of the western Churches without fail, in a council at Rome.

Acts towards States.

XXII. XXIII. The Normans in Italy greatly oppress the Neapolitans, and the neighbouring princes and abbots are excited to resistance by an express deputation from the pope.

XXXIX. The Normans and Saracens reduce Italy to great distress, and Gregory makes great preparations to expel them.

XL. to XLIII. Gregory employs his influence in every kingdom and state of Europe, to incite every people to coalesce in a grand crusade to recover Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the possession of the infidel powers, and prodigious preparations are made by all for the expedition.

1075.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

IX. X. Herman, Bishop of Bamberg, is summoned to appear at Rome to answer to charges of simony; but showing contempt for the authority of the pope, he is deposed; though afterwards pardoned.

XI. Henry, Bishop of Spire, having been suspended for alleged delinquencies, dies suddenly, and his death is believed to be the proof of divine vengeance.

XII. Decrees are published, ordering presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons who have wives to dismiss them from their dwellings, and all incontinence is threatened with the severest punishments.

XIII. Gregory sends new decrees against simony to all archbishops and bishops of the West, with letters to declare the deep concern of his heart for the purification of the Churches.

XV. XVI. Sigebert, Archbishop of Mentz, opposes Gregory.

XVII. The crimes and accusations for which the servants of Henry, King of Germany, are declared to be excommunicated.

XXVIII. Loss suffered by the popedom on account of the death of Hanno, Bishop of Cologne, one of the most zealous promoters of its measures in Germany.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

I. to III. Great synod convened at Rome for the avowed object of striking at the root of simony, and various other vices, alleged to predominate in the western Church.

IV. to VIII. The mind of Gregory affirmed to suffer much anguish on account both of the corruptions with which the Churches were infected, and the immorality prevalent among the clergy.

XIV. Proceedings of the Council of Mentz, in which province incontinence is stated to have reached a grievous height.

XXIII. The reform of abuses in the Church is every where urged by the pope.

XXXII. to XXXIV. Gregory uses great efforts by means of emissaries, and by promoting foreigners to its highest dignities, to bring the Church of England under submission, in which the primate Lanfranc acts as his chief agent. A synod is called in St. Paul's, London, to issue decrees for effecting passive obedience to the supremacy of Rome.

Acts towards States.

XXVI. Russia and Poland brought under the jurisdiction of the pontificate in spiritual affairs, and the success of Rome in reducing other states of the North to submit their ecclesiastical orders to the discipline of his holiness.

XXIX. The object which Cincius, the Roman prefect, is supposed to have had in view in seizing the person of the pope.

XXX. XXXI. Ravenna resists the usurpations of Gregory. The designs of the antipope, Clement III., declared.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

VI. Sancho, the King of Arragon, receives from Gregory instructions for the improvement of Church discipline in his country.

VII. Sweyn, King of Denmark, is admonished concerning the course to be pursued for promoting Christianity, and extending conversions through the countries under his influence.

XVIII. to XXI. Gregory adopts a mild and paternal language in letters addressed to King Henry, who answers the pope with the frankness of a confidential friend.

XXII. Henry having been successful in subduing the rebellious Saxons, is charged with changing his tone, and treating the friendship of Gregory disrespectfully.

XXIV. Geisa having invaded Hungary, sends a legation to the apostolic see, and is sanctioned by the pope in his expulsion of Solomon, the former king.

XXV. Legation of Gregory to the Duke of Poland, to require that the administration of the Churches there be improved.

XXVII. The right to admonish all princes, asserted to be inherent in the successors of St. Peter.

Personal Transactions.

VI. Gregory claims merit for using the power to vanquish his enemies with great moderation and forbearance.

X. XI. The accusations against Gregory before the Council of Worms, summoned in behalf of King Henry.

XXIV. The epistle of Gregory, to which his twenty-seven maxims are subjoined.

XXV. The pope declared to be amenable to no excommunications promulgated by any synod or any authority whatever.

XXX. Sentences of excommunication, if uttered by the king's party, declared to be rebellious; and that those against whom they are passed are not to observe them.

XXXIV. Gregory professes to have the welfare of King Henry at heart, and to suffer great anguish of mind at not being able to reclaim him from the evil course into which he has been seduced.

LVII. The death of the Countess Beatrice, and the great loss sustained by the Church, deeply lamented.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

VII. VIII. Vindication of Gregory against his biographer, Cardinal Benno, and other assailants, and against the attacks of Rainerius in his *Life of Henry IV.*

XIII. XIV. Notice of the decrees of the synod of Rome against Henry, from *Domnizo's Life of Matilda.*

XXII. XXIII. Bishops excommunicated by the synod of Rome for combining with the king against the pope.

XXVI. Penance of William, Bishop of Utrecht, one of the principal friends of Henry.

XXVIII. Fate of sundry bishops and other persons who had continued faithful to the cause of the king, and active in the opposition to his enemies.

XXXIII. Herman, Bishop of Mentz, is consulted on the part of the apostolic see, as to what measures are most likely to prove successful in reducing the king to obedience to the pope.

XXXVII. The bishops of Tuscany are specially apprized of the excommunication of the king.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

IV. A warning to Churches not to despise the admonitions and injunctions of the apostolic see.

V. Concerning the assembling of a council at Rome.

VII. Former decrees for the purification of the Church from simoniacal offences, and the clergy from incontinence, and matrimonial intercourse, renewed.

Acts towards States.

IX. The several states of Germany called upon to send representatives to meet the bishops in a synod at Worms.

XVII. XVIII. The faithful in Christ of every country required by Gregory to confirm their professions by supporting the holy see, and punishing its enemies.

XXIX. Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, slain in battle, with an account of the conflicts of that country sent to the pope by Herman, Bishop of Mentz.

XXX. to XXXII. Gregory addresses a general epistle to the faithful of every Church, claiming their earnest support, and forewarning those who are indifferent to his call, of the future fate they will incur.

XXXVIII. to XL. Legation from the pope to his adherents in Germany, to stimulate them to assemble a general diet to support his influence and overthrow the king.

LIV. Gregory addresses a general epistle to the Mauritians.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

I. to III. King Henry threatened for his contempt of the proceedings of the pope against him.

XII. The king excommunicated and anathematized by a synod held at Rome for disobedience to the pope.

XV. XVI. The legates of Gregory sent to reprimand Henry and threaten his ruin, are silenced by the fortitude, contempt, and magnanimity of the king.

XIX. to XXIII. The decree of excommunication passed

by the synod against the king, with other measures, put in operation by the pope and his party to subdue the king by intimidation, and by separating his adherents from the cause in which they had embarked.

XXXI. The king apprized by the pope of the decrees against him.

XXXV. XXXVI. Henry publicly declared to be no king until he had made his peace with the pope, and received from him absolution for the offences with which he stood charged by the synods of Rome.

XLI. to XLIV. Henry sends ambassadors to the pope to attempt a reconciliation. They are dismissed without an audience.

XLV. to XLVII. Henry submits to the conditions proposed to him, and dismisses the excommunicated counselors.

XLVIII. The king proceeds into Italy to have a personal interview with Gregory, with a view to pacify him by acquiescence in any reasonable demands.

XLIX. The perilous journey of the king and queen on crossing the Alps in the depth of a severe winter.

L. Some of the advisers of the king, on their satisfactory contrition, receive absolution.

LI. Gregory creates kings, and establishes kingdoms.

LII. The King of Arabia sends an embassy to Rome to pay homage to the pope. Gregory writes to him in terms of friendship.

LV. to LVII. Roger, Duke of Sicily, solicits the pope to confer on him certain dignities, and to confirm royal rights.

1077.

Personal Transactions.

III. to VI. The pope and Matilda, with a large body of military and other attendants, proceed to the strong fortress of Canusium; there to secure themselves from any hostile operations of the Lombards, who were levying a formidable force to aid the king.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

XII. Gregory very anxious to establish his own innocence of the various accusations of which he had been declared guilty, by the Council of Worms.

XVIII. Much intercession is used by Matilda, and the other ladies in the court of Gregory, and also by the Abbot of Clugny; to induce less rigour in his behaviour to the king.

XLI. XLII. Gregory writes to his legates and partizans in Germany to instruct them concerning the policy they are expected to pursue in order to weaken the attachment of the people to the king; and signifies an intention of soon making a journey to that country.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

XXVII. A number of bishops who took part with the king are some excommunicated, and some suspended.

XL. Many of the bishops and others who were under sentence for supporting the king, send in their submission to Gregory and receive his pardon.

XLIII. to XLVIII. Letters of Gregory to the Archbishop of Treves, and to the suffragan bishops of his province, to instruct them in the policy to be pursued towards the partizans of the king within their several jurisdictions.

1077.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

XXI. The great benefactions of Matilda to the Church of Rome, and her devotion and services to the cause of religion, are recorded with high commendation.

XXV. Legation from Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, to Gregory, to describe the suffering of the Churches in those parts in consequence of schisms and commotions ascribed to the furious conduct of the royalist party.

XLIX. to LII. Legation to England to endeavour to persuade the English bishops to act more in subordination to the dictates of the apostolic see. Also, the convocation of a synod at Langres, chiefly to pass measures of prohibition, to prevent

the laity from conferring investitures, and the clergy from receiving them from secular hands. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Acts towards States.

II. Lombardy receives the king with great affection; and incensed at the ill-treatment he had suffered from the pope, the nobility offer him the command of any force he might desire, to resent the insults he had received. He is willing to try concession and conciliation.

XXII. After failing in his attempt to obtain honourable terms by a personal interview, Henry hastened back to Lombardy, and the nobles more enraged at the degradation to which he had submitted, and the treachery which had been employed, urge him to vindicate himself, by arms, and supply him with an ample force for the purpose.

XXVIII. The legates persuade the German princes to assemble a diet, and to unite in arms to depose the king.

XXXI. The result of the diet was immediate rebellion, for the purpose of transferring the crown to a nominee of the pope.

XXXII. to XXXVII. The insurrection which the emissaries of Gregory had kindled in Germany, increase the resentment of the king and his Lombard friends; who retaliate by electing to the popedom Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, declaring, at the same time, the tyranny of Gregory to have rendered him unworthy the divine office. Of this opposition, and the taking his legates prisoners, Gregory bitterly complains.

XLIX. Legates sent to England on a mission to the king.

LIII. Legates sent to Venice to confer with the patriarch, and duke of that place.

LIV. to LVII. Legates sent with letters from Gregory to Spain, France, Aquileia, and Corsica.

LIX. The religious state of Denmark under King Sweyn, whose death occurs at this time, is a subject of grief to the Roman Church; to which he had professed his friendship and humble submission.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

I. King Henry, under much alarm at the excommunication and anathema issued by the pope against him, is resolved to

BOOK III. proceed without delay to Italy, through the rigour of a bitter
 CHAP. IV. winter, to endeavour to appease his enemy, and to obtain
 absolution.

VII. VIII. A deputation from Henry waits on the pope to ascertain on what terms absolution may be obtained. Gregory replies evasively.

IX. X. The king goes to Canusium. He is compelled to leave all his attendants outside the walls, in which, on entering alone, he remains several days a prisoner, without an interview, suffering from cold and hunger.

XI. Several bishops and abbots in the suite of Gregory sent to state to the king the conditions on which he may receive absolution; at the severity of which announcement the king is startled, but seeing no chance of escape except by compliance, he professes gratefully to accede to the terms.

XIV. XV. Gregory, disappointed at his conditions being readily accepted, is desirous to impose harder, which, after much suspense, he makes known by messengers, but which the king disdains to comply with; and is left in an almost perishing state from hunger.

XVI. XVII. Epistle of Gregory concerning the penance and absolution of the king.

XVIII. Absolution is at length granted through the intercession and importunity of Matilda, and the friends of Gregory; and the king obtains his release.

XXIII. XXIV. Grieved at sufferings to which the king had been exposed within the ramparts, and exasperated at the perfidy of the pope, the friends of Henry on his return urge him to immediate revenge; and a supply of men and money is promptly afforded.

XXVI. New anathemas, and threats of vengeance on the king and all his friends, follow his warlike movement.

XXIX. XXX. The pope commands the princes of Germany to convene a diet, at which the king is summoned to appear to answer the charges of the pope's legates, but declines to attend.

XXXII. The king and Guibert, the Archbishop of Ravenna, accused before the diet of conspiring against Gregory; and the former of perjury.

XXXVIII. XXXIX. Rudolph, Duke of Swabia, elected

King of Germany by the diet, and Henry declared to be lawfully deposed by the same authority. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

LXI. to LXIII. The penitence and public absolution of Sweyn, King of Denmark, previous to his death.

LXIV. Ladislaus, created King of Hungary by the favour of the pope, is required to pay devotion and reverence to the apostolic see.

LXVI. The Empress Agnes, mother of King Henry, dies in the month of December. She had remained for twenty years a widow. Her great piety, and benefactions to the holy see and the institution of Monte Cassino, are commemorated by a monument and epitaph in the Vatican Basilica.

1078.

Personal Transactions.

VIII. to X. The mind of Gregory much troubled at the slander published by his biographer, Cardinal Benno; and the thirteen other cardinals who side with him unite in condemnation of his conduct; against all of whom the pope publishes decrees of excommunication.

XII. to XIV. Gregory writes to the Archbishop of Treves, one of the most zealous friends of Henry, desiring that he may be admonished to adopt a different course; that an end may be put to the distractions by which the nation is tormented.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

XIX. XX. All bishops forbidden, under pain of the highest censures, to receive investiture from the hands of emperors, kings, princes, or any secular persons whatever. Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, who had been raised to the pontifical dignity by the emperor in opposition to Gregory, and who exercised the functions of pope, is declared, in a council held at Rome, to be deposed from all his dignities as archbishop; and with him Cadolaus, Bishop of Parma, a bold opponent of the despotic acts of Gregory, was deposed also.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

XXI. Many bishops of France, who had been suspended by their metropolitans, appeal to the pope; and on their acknowledging the Archbishop of Arles as Vicar of St. Peter, and head of the Gallican Church, they are all restored to the exercise of their functions and emoluments.

XXII. to XXIV. Gebehard, Archbishop of Saltzburg, a fervent partizan of the king, is accused at Rome of wasting the treasures of his Church in aid of the royal cause. He is declared a schismatic, and is sentenced to confiscation and banishment.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

I. to VII. All the Churches of Lombardy, with those of the Pentapolis, and other states, which acknowledged Guibert as pope, and refused submission to Gregory, excommunicated in a synod at Rome, convened to punish the heads and members of these and other Churches which opposed the pope.

XVI. The churches of South Italy, with Monte Cassino, and other rich monasteries, pillaged by the Normans, for which the Prince of Capua is threatened with the vengeance of the prince of apostles.

XVIII. The churches and monasteries which had been robbed, receive large donations from Jordanis, Prince of Capua.

Acts towards States.

IV. Certain states cited to appear, by authorized representatives from each, to answer complaints of the pope against them.

V. The Normans, having committed depredations on the territories of St. Peter, are again excommunicated.

XXV. The Danes and Norwegians being insufficiently provided with instructors in the Catholic faith, are invited by Gregory to send their young nobility to Rome, that they may be more properly taught.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

III. Accusations against King Henry and all his supporters are made by Gregory in a synod at Rome, by which sentences of condemnation are pronounced.

VII. The king deprived, by a decree of the council, of his kingdom, which is given to Rudolph, Duke of Swabia, and all his subjects are forbid to hold Christian communion with him. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

XV. Nicephorus, having been crowned emperor of the East, is excommunicated as a usurper and tyrant; as was also the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cosmas, who crowned him.

XI. The support which the king receives, and the success of his arms, induce Gregory to send legates to Henry and to Rudolph to propose a reconciliation.

XV. The respect and condescension paid by the Emperor Michael to the pope, and the rich presents sent by him to St. Peter, cause Gregory to support his cause.

XVII. The Prince of Capua is reprimanded and threatened for the sacrilege committed by his army, which has the effect of making him repair the loss.

1079.

Personal Transactions.

III. The representations of Benno, and the thirteen other cardinals, prejudicial to Gregory, affirmed to be wicked inventions and falsehoods.

XIII. XIV. Great regret expressed by Gregory that Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm, of Lucca, Bernard, Abbot of Marseilles, and others of his confidential friends, had not obeyed his call to the synod.

XV. Gregory, after the death of Berengarius, seeks to unite the Church by engaging all Christians in one common effort against the Saracens.

XVII. Gregory much vexed and incensed that the monks of Clugny prefer their fidelity to their duke to his injunctions.

XXIII. Many new reports spread by the royalist cardinals, charging the pope with various crimes, and exposing many acts of treachery of which he had been guilty. Gregory writes to the Germans to assert his own innocence and integrity, and to assure them that the accusations proceed wholly from the malice of his enemies.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

IV. Bruno, who in the council against Berengarius, was one of the foremost to accuse him of heresy, is rewarded by the pope with the bishopric of Signia.

VIII. IX. Gregory requires from the Patriarch of Aquileia, instead of the usual pledge of canonical obedience, an oath of allegiance such as princes demand from feudatory subjects.

X. Some of the chief bishops and laity of the king's party excommunicated by the synod at Rome.

XIX. Gregory endeavours, in writing to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, to have the English Church brought under the influence of the apostolic see more than it had been, and styles the archbishop his *very dear friend*.

XXI. Hubert, legate to England, is sent back with letters from King William and Lanfranc.

XXX. XXXI. Letter of Gregory on the martyrdom of Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

I. II. New oaths substituted for the usual professions of canonical obedience hitherto made to the Roman pontiff, by which metropolitans are required to perform allegiance to the pope as their supreme head, by the synod held at this time in Rome.

XI. XII. Gregory extorts from the Council of Rome a decree to exempt the privileges of Clugny from all authority and all claims of every earthly power.

XIII. XIV. The Churches of England, Lucca, and others, having failed to send representatives to the great council at Rome, great regret is expressed by Gregory, that those whom he accounted among the most faithful friends of the prince of apostles, should not have displayed greater promptness on an occasion so imperative.

Acts towards States.

V. VI. Certain oaths are administered to the respective representatives of King Henry and Rudolph, who attend the council at Rome in behalf of the rival sovereigns.

XXIV. Dalmatia having quarrelled with a neighbouring

state, Gregory commands the hostile parties not to presume to take up arms against one another, but to abide by his award between them. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

XXVI. to XXIX. Gregory sends a legation into Spain with certain reliques for the king, and requires homage to St. Peter. Legates sent to England for arrears of Peter's pence, and to demand homage from the king, whose answer is, that the custom of the country as to the tribute-money shall be observed; but submission is peremptorily refused.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

V. to VII. The pope continues to harass King Henry with excommunications and anathemas, which are at length disregarded; but the question of the right to the throne is to be decided by a German diet, at which legates are to be present.

XVIII. Ladislaus, King of Hungary, is written to by Gregory to urge his munificence and obedience to the sovereign apostle; in which the confidence of Gregory is fully expressed.

XIX. to XXII. The King of England is required to pay the arrears of Peter's pence, and to do homage to the pope, to which former request William consents, but refuses homage, as all his predecessors had done. William refuses also to permit the English bishops to attend at Rome; and Gregory declares him guilty of great audacity, but inflicts no punishment.

XXV. Canute, on coming to the throne of Denmark, sends ambassadors to Rome to tender his submission to the pope, and to obtain the favour of St. Peter, which had been so beneficially bestowed on his predecessor.

XXVI. to XXVIII. Alphonso, King of Spain, is honoured by a legation from Gregory, with a present of a gold key filled with some filings from the chain with which the apostle St. Peter had been bound in prison; but his dutiful submission to the holy see is demanded at the same time.

XXXII. Ladislaus, King of Hungary, is urged by legates from Gregory, to promote image and saint worship.

Personal Transactions.

XXXIII. to XXXV. Gregory, beset on all sides with enemies, endeavours, in a letter addressed to his friends in Calabria and Apulia, to secure their goodwill.

XLIII. The body of St. Matthew is said to have been discovered at Salerno. After the death of Rudolph, Gregory congratulates the Salernitans on the fortunate event.

XLIX. Gregory writes to all quarters to justify his own conduct, and to strengthen his cause. His letter to the King of Spain and several others, written about this time, show the great disappointments he had experienced; and the unhappy state of his mind in consequence.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

II. Certain bishops, who had sworn oaths of fidelity to King Henry, are absolved from their allegiance.

V. The antipope, Clement III., and Thedaldus, Archbishop of Milan, pronounced guilty of schism. The sentences of anathema against them are renewed.

VI. The bishops of England informed of the confirmation of the canon against fictitious penitence, of the passing of which they had been previously apprised.

VII. On the faithful observance of canons which enjoin the consent of the apostolic see in the election of metropolitans.

XV. Letters from Gregory to the British bishops concerning a dispute between the monks of Dol in Bretagne, and those of Tours.

XXV. Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, vindicates the pope from the accusations published against him by the fourteen cardinals attached to the king and Clement III., the latter of whom is accused by Anselm of haughtiness.

XXVI. to XXVIII. Guibert, the antipope, and Cadolaus, accused by Cardinal Deusdedit of being the chief authors of the grievous schism by which the Roman Church was now distracted. Hugh Candidus, formerly a confidant of Gregory, and his legate to Spain to reduce the princes

of that country to submission, is excommunicated by the pope for supporting his rival Clement III.

XL. Richard made Archbishop of Ravenna, and Clement III. again anathematized.

LIV. The Archbishop of Toledo obliged to satisfy the pope concerning his marriage, before he will confirm his appointment.

LVII. Gregory admits Bernard as eligible to be consecrated to the archbishopric of Toledo.

LXVII. to LXIX. Legates from the Patriarch of Armenia to Rome concerning contentions there, regarding images. The pope condemns certain errors in the Armenian Church.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

III. The decrees against investitures being received from laymen of any class, renewed in a synod at Rome.

XVI. to XVIII. Council of royalist bishops and clergy assemble at Brixen, at which many Italian princes attend, and by which Gregory is sentenced to deposition.

XXIV. The Council of Brixen denounced by the pope as a Satanic conventicle.

XXXII. to XXXV. Letters from the pope to secure the submission of the Churches of Calabria and Apulia.

XLI. The Churches of Germany are exhorted by the pope, to use their influence in defence of the apostolic see.

LIII. The Churches of Spain required to follow the laws prescribed to them by the Church of Rome, and none else; and to relinquish all the ancient Gothic customs.

LV. The princes and nobles of Spain admonished to exert themselves in assisting the bishops and clergy to protect the Church of Christ from molestation, committed by Jews and other adversaries.

LX. Gregory writes to the Church of Rheims to recommend resistance against all aggressors.

LXV. Council of Lyons, at which most of the Gallican bishops were present, and Bruno, also, founder of the Carthusian order of monks. Nearly at the same time, councils were held at Meaux, Avignon, and other cities, for improving the discipline of the French Church, at none of which the legates of the pope attended.

LXVIII. Concerning the affairs of the oriental Churches.

Acts towards States.

VI. The Norman states in the south of Italy (for depredations committed on the territories of St. Peter, and the lands of Monte Cassino,) are denounced by a general anathema, and restitution is commanded to be made.

XXI. King Henry writes to make known to the Romans the great provocations of the pope, which have caused him to have recourse to arms, and to visit their city for the sake of redress.

XXIII. The states of Europe addressed by King Henry on the conduct of the pope. Clement III. is declared more worthy of their reverence. His letter to England partially condemned by Lanfranc.

XLVI. Gregory addresses a letter to the Swedish nation through King Sweyn, on the want of clergy in that country, and the advantages they will derive by putting themselves under the care and authority of the apostolic see.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

I. Wratislaus, King of Poland, petitions Gregory to permit divine service to be celebrated in the language of the country, which is refused.

IV. Emperors, kings, princes, dukes, and all secular rulers and governors, forbidden to grant investitures to bishops.

VIII. to XI. Rudolph, Duke of Swabia, is presented by the pope with a splendid crown as King of Germany, the lawful king being declared by the pope to be deposed, and all his subjects are absolved from their allegiance to him; every person, also, who aids, assists, or countenances him is sentenced to be under excommunication and anathema.

XIII. XIV. The king publicly proclaimed to be forsaken of God, and a reprobate, whom all are forbidden to befriend or notice.

XIX. to XXIII. King Henry makes known to Gregory by letter, the decree of deposition which has been pronounced against him; and insists on his relinquishing the chair of St. Peter, which he charges him with having much dishonoured

by false and malicious deeds, accusing him of being a pernicious enemy to the empire and to all mankind.

XXX. to XXXII. The pope (fearing the powerful opposition which the king was making to his authority, in order to obtain the friendship and protection of the Norman power in Italy,) sends to Robert Guiscard, whom he had excommunicated a few years before, full remission for all his sins; and invests him with the right of all cities and territories conquered by him in Italy, to be held as feudal grants under the liege authority of the successors of St. Peter.

XXXVI. to XXXVIII. The Emperor Michael of Constantinople desires the friendship of the pope, in the hope of its being a means of preserving the small remnant of his empire in the West; and legates are interchanged between them.

XLII. Rudolph loses his life in a battle with Henry, at which victory Gregory is greatly dismayed.

XLV. Gregory writes admonitory letters to William I., his queen, and son.

XLVII. to LII. Alphonso, King of Spain, is greatly enraged at Gregory forbidding him to marry a relative to whom he had engaged himself, declaring the kindred too near.

LXI. to LXIV. Paternal admonitions from the pope to the King of France, with certain commands to be observed.

1081.

Personal Transactions.

XII. XIII. The pope much disturbed at his anathemas not having prevented the success of the king, and the faithful of all ranks urged to flock to the relief of the holy see.

XVIII. Gregory lavishes high encomiums on the piety, fortitude, and constancy of the Countess Matilda, amidst the schisms and troubles of the Church.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

XVII. The motive of Clement III. and all the bishops who hold with him declared to be avarice, and upholding simony.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

XX. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, urged to visit Rome, to aid by his presence the cause of Christianity.

XXV. The bishop of the diocese having excommunicated the Count of Anjou, who offers the pope a bribe to absolve him from the sentence, which Gregory refuses, and confirms the act of the bishop.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

II. III. Council at Rome, by which the king and all his party are found guilty of a new heresy dangerous to the whole Church, and all receive condemnation.

XIV. to XVI. The schism and heresy of the king and his party, including the antipope, Clement III., declared to be the cause of all the evils which afflict the Roman Church.

XIX. The great falling off from the revenues of the apostolic see, particularly on account of the decrease in the number of pilgrims, is ascribed to the indifference of the Gallican and other bishops in not promoting this object. They are desired to be more zealous in this duty.

Acts towards States.

IV. The states of Germany and Italy alleged to suffer greatly from the death of Rudolph, and the recommendation of measures to remedy the loss.

VI. Gregory enjoins that the Germans may be encouraged and exhorted to greater fidelity to the holy see.

VII. Obedience of the Christians of the empire to the prince of the apostles, more to be desired and inculcated than their fidelity to their sovereigns.

XXI. XXII. Many of the states of Italy and France involved in contentions with the pope, and the conduct of Gregory towards them.

XXIII. The kingdoms of the Visigoths are favoured with congratulations from Gregory, on their renouncing their pagan practices and errors, and embracing the tenets and discipline of the Church of Rome.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

I. Renewal of the decrees against King Henry and all abettors of his schism, with an avowal of the policy of de-

posing schismatic princes and rulers, who treat with contempt the authority of the apostolic see.

VI. Duke Guelph admonished to be prepared with sufficient military aid, in case of the holy see needing help.

VIII. IX. Gregory congratulates Robert Guiscard on a victory over the troops of the Emperor Michael, gained by the Normans.

X. to XII. King Henry, on his march to Rome, defeats the army of the Countess Matilda, and lays siege to the city. Gregory calls upon Robert Guiscard to hasten to the relief of the apostolic see.

XXIV. Bertramnus, Count of Provence, acknowledges his submission to the pope by an oath of fidelity; and is very munificent in his donations to St. Peter in return for the remission of all his sins.

XXVI. The authority asserted which the successors of the apostles have a right to exercise over all sovereign princes, and magistrates who transgress in any manner against its decrees, or neglect its warnings.

XXVII. to XXXI. Canute, King of Denmark, who suffers untimely death in a rebellion of his people, in resistance to his endeavour to impose the payment of tithes upon them, has the honour of martyrdom and canonization conferred upon him by Gregory. His zeal in the cause of Christianity, and his faithful obedience to the sovereign apostle, are held forth as an example to other kings.

1082.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

II. A fire in the Church of St. Peter at Rome, kindled by the imperial party, is said to have been extinguished by Gregory on his making the sign of the cross.

III. Gregory sends letters to a synod at Rome to clear himself from all the accusations of his enemies.

V. VI. The Church of Tarracona stated to be in a very mournful condition, from the heresy and simony of its bishop; and from the schism and dissension existing among its members, caused by a contest for the see between rival bishops.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

I. King Henry, with a force of Germans and Lombards, again invests the city, and subjects it to depredation.

IV. Gregory justifies himself for having made Rudolph king, by accusing Henry of homicide, heresy, perjury, simony, &c. and by his present attack on the holy city.

VII. Gregory advances Hermannus of Lorraine to the throne of Germany, again anathematizing Henry, and declaring him unworthy to reign.

VIII. to XIII. Concerning a legation to Constantinople with a golden bull, and other valuable presents to the emperor.

1083.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

I. The antipope, Clement III., obtains possession of the chair of St. Peter, supported by a great number of cardinals and other clergy, of the imperial party.

XI. Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, waits on the king at Rome, and becomes one of his supporters.

XIII. Clement III., being in occupation of the palace, and protected by the king in exercising the pontifical functions, at the request of his majesty, enlarges the privileges of the monastery of Monte Cassino, by a golden bull.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

V. VI. The Church of Rome is reduced at this time to a most unhappy state, by the civil war and schism which still rage with great violence. The clergy and laity fly to the monasteries for protection.

XII. It is publicly declared, that the power and authority of the holy see cannot be lessened by the acts of any pontiffs; but that which was done by Nicholas one hundred and twenty-five years before, shall be done by Gregory and by all his successors.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

I. Part of the city being in the entire possession of King Henry, Gregory and his party are closely shut within the walls of Rome.

II. The king grants to the bishops free ingress and egress in going to and from the synod held by the Gregorians. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

III. IV. Discussions of the synod, on the subject of Henry receiving the imperial crown.

VI. to IX. The king perseveres in a strict blockade of the city; and the obstinacy of Gregory in not coming to some terms by which the sufferings of the inhabitants may be relieved, causes much offence to many of his best friends. The synod also is prematurely dissolved, on account of the pope persisting in unavailing measures of rigour. The Normans, also, are not willing to act on the offensive.

1084.

Personal Transactions.

XI. XII. Gregory, to excite the citizens to revenge, pretends to have been visited by divine apparitions, and to have had preternatural communications.

XVII. Gregory commits to Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, power to grant absolutions to any Lombards without restriction.

XIX. to XXII. In consequence of information received from soothsayers, that Gregory's successor would be named Odo; the Bishop of Baieux, of that name, aspires to the papacy, and makes preparations to carry his object into effect in the Isle of Wight.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

I. II. Rome is taken by the king; and the Emperor Alexis, by a liberal supply of money, hopes to induce him to recover Italy from the Normans, which he declines.

III. to X. Henry is crowned emperor by Clement III. in St. Peter's; but in consequence of the mortality among his soldiers, he resigns Rome to the Normans.

XIII. The Emperor Henry returns into Germany, leaving the pope in the hands of his allies, the Normans.

XIII. Alexis, Emperor of the East, equips a fleet to attempt the recovery of his possessions in Italy. The fleet is destroyed by the Normans.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

XVIII. The pope writes to the King of England to beg the release of the Bishop of Baieux, whom he had imprisoned.

XXIII. Gregory and the Count of Flanders inexorable enemies, between whom the Bishop of Soissons mediates.

1085.

Personal Transactions.

XI. Account of the death of Gregory at Salerno.

XIII. to XX. Stories of strange miracles performed by Gregory.

Acts towards Bishops and Abbots.

X. Funeral of certain bishops of the king's party, denominated on that account schismatics.

XXI. to XXIII. On the choice of a fit person to succeed Gregory in the government of the holy see.

Acts towards Churches and Councils.

IV. to VI. Council of Quintilenburg, by which it is decreed that in all things the pope shall be obeyed, and that all men are subject to him, and he subject to none.

VII. to IX. Council of Mentz summoned by the emperor in order to pass decrees in opposition to those of Quintilenburg.

XII. All persons desirous to restore peace to the Church.

Acts towards States.

I. to III. The injustice of Gregory towards the king severely censured, and the conduct of his majesty defended before a general assembly of the papal and antipapal parties in Germany, by Wecilo, Archbishop of Mentz.

Acts towards Sovereigns.

XXIV. to XXVII. The death of the Norman prince of Italy, and the great benefactions bequeathed by him to the monastery of Monte Cassino.

XXVIII. Roger Guiscard, at the death of his brother, is installed in the dukedom of Sicily, which he consents to hold as a feudal tenure under the Prince of Calabria.

This brief view of the pretensions and assumptions of Gregory over bishops, Churches, states, and sovereigns, sufficiently shows us the nature and extent of the fearful power, which the autocrat of Rome had now established over the greater portion of Christ's holy Catholic Church. The history of his principal act of power, the deposition and humiliation of Henry, is too well known to require us to dwell on that transaction. By demanding the surrender of the right of investiture from the emperor, he *projected the establishment in every country of an independent ecclesiastical sovereignty*; and laid the foundation of that implacable jealousy towards the hierarchy which produced so much confusion in the five following centuries. The denial, indeed, of the right to invest, or to confirm the bishop in his office by the temporal prince, was an act of ingratitude to the sovereigns; by whom the territories for which their feudal homage was to be paid, had been originally granted to the bishops in their respective kingdoms, and especially in Germany.

In the time of Otho the Great, one century after the age of Nicholas the First, who more clearly defined the pretensions of the papacy to be the government of mankind; when the power of the hierarchy, in spite of those pretensions, had become weak, in consequence of the rapid successions and conflicting disputes among the popes—the ecclesiastical power was increased in Germany by large additions of lands and territories. In the military policy of the northern nations, which they brought with them into Europe, the sovereign or chieftain who granted to a dependent or follower a portion of land; required some acknowledgment of the services which the new holder was to render, either to himself or to the community. Among the laity, these tenures of lands were originally granted for life only; as they were to the ecclesiastics. In process of time—the dates of these events cannot be accurately ascertained—they became hereditary. The territories allotted to the ecclesiastics could not become hereditary, in consequence of the celibacy of the clergy. In the time of Otho the Great, (the endower of the Church in Germany,) as well as in the time of his predecessors, and for some ages after his death, the bishops of the Churches were elected by the clergy and the people. They

were sometimes nominated by the sovereign, sometimes called upon by public acclamation to assume the vacant see, sometimes named by the electors who chose them. There was then no schism in the Church. The error or the truth which prevailed in one part, prevailed to a greater or less degree in all; and every Church being then in communion with Rome, every bishop generally sent word to Rome of his nomination and election. The temporal prince, however, confirmed the election. The lands of the see did not belong to the new bishop till they had been regranted to him by the sovereign. They were supposed to have lapsed, or to have returned to the prince on the death of the last bishop, who was no longer able to keep his promise of observing the services, on which the land had been originally granted. On the accession of the new bishop, he made application to the temporal sovereign for the lands. They were accordingly regranted. As some ceremony, such as giving a turf of grass, a broken bough, a staff, a knife, or some other moveable article, of little or no value, took place on the appointment of a layman to a fief, as such lands were called; so also it was with the ecclesiastic. The emblems of the service which the new bishop was required to perform, and of the authority of the prince to demand such services, were the ring and the crozier. Strange, trifling, and absurd as the question may appear to be, whether these two emblems should be permitted to pass through the hands of a layman; this, and this alone, was the point on which Hildebrand proceeded to disturb the peace of Europe. The greatest questions, however, are decided by the observance or the non-observance of an apparent form. The nomination and election of bishops had fallen into the hands of the ecclesiastical, and they were now gradually becoming the property of the papal, power. If the Bishop of Rome could prevent the interference of a sovereign altogether in the appointment of bishops; then the bishops would become like the monks, the mere vassals and servants of Rome. *This was the real controversy between the pontiff of Rome and the western world.* With respect to the Emperor of Germany, the imprudent impetuosity of Henry⁸ was

⁸ Miller's Philosophy of Modern History, vol. ii.

the character best suited to favour the enterprises conceived by the calm, yet daring and systematic, ambition of Hildebrand. Forgetful of the proceedings which had so clearly indicated the designs of Rome, of the decree of Nicholas, and of the election of his successor⁹, Henry incautiously appealed to the pontiff against the insurgents of Saxony; and the Saxons having immediately retaliated by bringing numerous accusations against their sovereign, Gregory seized the opportunity of constituting himself the judge of the emperor. The pontiff accordingly sent his legates to a German diet to upbraid the monarch with his crimes charged against him by the Saxons; to accuse him, also, on his own account, of impiety in maintaining the right of investing bishops with the temporalities of their sees; and to require that he should attend a synod, shortly to be convened, and there answer to all these allegations. Henry, it is true, dismissed the legates with disdain; but the seal to the authority of Hildebrand had been affixed by the emperor himself; and his deposition¹, or resistance, was but the unavoidable conse-

⁹ Pfeffel, tom. i. pp. 214, 215.

¹ I subjoin, as a curious specimen in which the despotism of Hildebrand was clothed, the bull of deposition and excommunication pronounced against the emperor of Germany, Henry IV.; the absolution of his subjects from their oath of fidelity; and the confirmation of the election of Duke Rudolph to the kingdom of the Teutonic nation.

Gregorius Papa VII. &c.—Beate Petre, apostolorum princeps, inclina, quæsumus, pias aures tuas nobis, et audi me, servum tuum, quem ab infantia nutriti, et usque ad hunc diem manu iniquorum liberasti, qui me pro tua fidelitate oderunt, et odiunt. Tu mihi testis es, et Domina mea, mater Dei, et beatus Paulus, frater tuus, inter omnes sanctos, quod tua sancta Romana ecclesia me invitum ad sua gubernacula traxit, et ego non rapinam arbitratus sum ad sedem tuam ascendere, potiusque volui vitam meam in peregrinatione finire, quam locum tuum pro gloria mundi, sæculari ingenio

arripere. Et ideo ex tua gratia, non ex meis operibus, credo quod tibi placuit et placet, ut populus Christianus tibi specialiter commissus, mihi obediat, specialiter pro vita * tua mihi commissa, et mihi, tua gratia, est potestas a Deo data ligandi atque absolvendi in Cælo et in Terra.

I. Hac itaque fiducia fretus, pro ecclesiæ tuæ honore et defensione, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, per tuam potestatem, et auctoritatem, Henrico regi, et filio Henrici imperatoris, qui contra tuam ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius regni Theutonicorum, et Italiæ gubernacula contradico.

II. Et omnes Christianos a vinculo juramenti quod sibi faciunt, et faciunt, absolvo, et ut nullus ei, sicut regi, serviat interdico. Dignum est enim, ut qui studet honorem ecclesiæ tuæ imminere, ipse honorem amittat, quem videtur habere.

III. Et quia sicut Christianus contempsit obedire, nec ad Dominum rediit, quem dimisit, participando excommunicatis, meaque monita, quæ

* Such is the reading of the printed edition, but we should probably read 'vice.'

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

quence of the collision between the power which was acknowledged to have been only of earthly origin, and to end with earthly objects; and that which was affirmed to be of heavenly origin, and to end with heavenly objects. The pretensions of a corrupt hierarchy, and the errors of an age of ignorance, must be overthrown by the union of scriptural truth, and disinterested spiritual zeal. The triple crown conquered, and will ever conquer, the diadem of the secular monarch, and the spear of the mere soldier. It will never eventually triumph over the conclusions of the Christian philosopher, the sword of the Spirit of God, nor the independent episcopacy of the Catholic Church.

There were, however, other triumphs by this remarkable man, more wonderful even than those by which he humbled to the dust the potentates and sovereigns of Europe. These were the *triumphs over the best feelings of human nature*, in finally establishing the celibacy of the clergy, as the law instead of the custom or recommendation of the Church; and the *triumph over reason*, by establishing the doctrine of transubstantiation. They were all effected by the same means—the fears of the common people that the anger of God in the future state would follow the denunciation of his supposed representative. When the Emperor Henry and his nobles ventured to despise the threatened excommunication by Hildebrand, then the autocrat, or theocrat, commanded the people (and they obeyed him) not to acknowledge as a bishop, or as a priest, the ecclesiastic who received investiture from the temporal sovereign². When the clergy refused to submit to the

pro sua salute sibi misi (te teste), spernendo, seque ab ecclesia tua, tentans eam scindere, separando, vinculo eum anathematis vice tua alligo, et sic eum ex fiducia tua alligo, ut sciant gentes et comprobent, quia tu es Petrus, et super tuam Petram Filius Dei vivi ædificavit ecclesiam suam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam, &c.

Acta Anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1075. Indictione decimaquarta. Mag. Bullar. i. 52, fol. Lugd. 1692.

² The authority on which Gregory issued his commands and threats to the people, was derived from a decree which he compelled the bishops, abbots, and other clergy to pass at his

second council held in Rome in Lent 1075, under pretence of redressing the abuses of investiture to bishoprics and other ecclesiastical preferments, which prevailed in consequence of princes and laymen receiving money for such promotions. The substance of the decree is as follows: Si quis deinceps episcopatum vel abbatiam de manu alicujus laicæ personæ susceperit, nullatenus inter episcopos vel abbates habeatur, nec ulla ei, ut episcopo vel abbati, audientia concedatur; insuper ei gratiam B. Petri et introitum ecclesiæ interdicimus, quousque locum, quem sub crimine tam ambitionis quam inobedientiæ, quod est scelus idololatriæ, cepit, respiscendo non

law of celibacy, (though the great majority of them, who desired to possess over the minds of the populace that gratifying ascendancy which results from admiration of austerity and self-control, had abstained from marriage in compliance with the vulgar belief,) Hildebrand commanded that the married clergy should be regarded as unordained persons³; and that the people should receive from them neither the sacraments nor ordinances of the Church, nor regard their instruction as teachers. He was again obeyed. When Berengarius was condemned for denying the presence of the bones of Christ in the baked bread, after the words of the priest had been pronounced over it at consecration, the people were commanded to withhold their veneration for his ministry⁴. The Church was obeyed, and the triumph⁵ over nature and reason, and therefore the triumph at the same time over the Scriptures, which govern the one and direct the other, was perfected and completed.

I have frequently observed, and the proposition, indeed, is the basis of all the reasoning upon which I would propose a plan for the eventual reunion of Christians, that the Almighty governs the world by producing good from evil. The pros-
tration of kings and emperors before the throne of the popes

deserit. Similiter etiam de inferioribus ecclesiasticis dignitatibus constituimus. Item, si quis imperatorum, regum, ducum, marchionum, comitum, vel quilibet secularium potestatum aut personarum, investituram episcopatum, vel alicujus ecclesiasticæ dignitatis, dare præsumserit, ejusdem sententiæ vinculo se adstrictum sciat.—Hug. Flavius. Chron. Virdun. in Labbei Bibl. Nov. MSS. tom. i. p. 196, quoted by Gieseler.

³ Gregorius P. celebrata synodo simoniacos anathematizavit, uxoratos sacerdotes a divino officio removit, et laicis Missas eorum audire interdixit, novo exemplo, et, ut multis visum est, inconsiderato præjudicio. Quoted by Gieseler.

⁴ Though until the fourth council of Lateran, in 1215, the bread in the eucharist was not declared to be transubstantiated into the body of Christ, and the wine into his blood, and imposed to be so received by communicants as an article of the Romish faith, yet the doctrine of Berengarius, which

taught that the two elements were to be spiritually and indeed taken *symbolically*, and in remembrance of the sacrifice of the body and blood of the Redeemer, had been repeatedly condemned in councils held during the several pontificates of Leo IX., Victor II., Nicholas II., Gregory VII., and Urban II., from A.D. 1050 to 1094, of which the following are the chief:—at Rome, Brienne, Vercelli, and Paris in 1050; at Florence and Tours in 1055; at Rome in 1058, in 1078, and 1079; and at Placentia in 1094. On most of these occasions the people were commanded, under pain of excommunication and anathema, to reject the truth, and believe in the idolatrous interpretation of the mystery.

⁵ Under that young and ambitious priest (says Gibbon) the successors of St. Peter reached the meridian of greatness. He may boast of two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity—the establishment of transubstantiation, and of the Inquisition.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

was attended with some advantages. It is certain that it prevented the relapsing of nations into paganism. It no less certainly extended the knowledge of Christianity (such, indeed, as it then was, and in many countries still remains—the treasury of the priesthood, rather than the spiritual joy of the people); and it preserved it till a better age and more advanced wisdom shall restore its apostolical purity. The authority of the popes suppressed infidelity in ages when infidelity would have destroyed Christianity; because the ignorance of the age would have presented no barrier to its progress. I would rather believe all the stories of the Talmud, or all the miracles of the *Acta Sanctorum*, than be an infidel, imagining the world made itself, and that the God of Israel, like Baal of old, is on a journey afar from his own world; or, peradventure, he sleepeth⁶. And it may be justly doubted, whether Europe could ever have recovered from the shock, if the infidelity of philosophical France as it was in the last century had assailed the mass of the people of Europe in the ages of Nicholas and Hildebrand. God does all things in wisdom. Hildebrand, and Nicholas, and Leo, “with all their company,” were essential to the development of his great designs.

We may discover, too, though it has not been hitherto observed, some traces of the same plan of wisdom in the permission of the two other large masses of evil accomplished by this bishop of Rome—the establishment of the celibacy of the clergy, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. Marriage, says one of our most noble writers, *is the nursery of heaven*⁷. The virgin offers her prayers to God; but she carries but one soul to Him. Marriage is a sacrament, too, in the Church of Rome, though the priest is not permitted to partake of it. So holy in its origin, so sacred in its obligations, is “this only bliss of paradise that has survived the fall,” that we might have supposed marriage would never have been desecrated by any superstitious prohibition; though the days of persecution, or intense dedication to arduous duties, might have sometimes induced the willing sacrifice of its felicities, among the servants of God. The prohibition of marriage, though not the voluntary abstaining

⁶ 1 Kings xviii. 27.

Marriage Ring, Works, vol. v. p. 253,

⁷ Jeremy Taylor, Sermon on the Heber's edition.

from marriage, is consequently denominated by St. Paul, a doctrine of devils⁸. He declares marriage to be honourable among all, without exception; and he is believed to have addressed his epistle to the Hebrews to the pastors of the Church⁹. Yet the notion that the state of celibacy betokened a superior sanctity, was introduced among the most early ante-Nicene Christians¹. St. Paul had recommended his own condition as an unmarried man to the converts during the troublesome period in which he wrote; though he asserted the honour and dignity of the marriage state. The Hebrew Christians are supposed to have derived their ideas of celibacy from the Essenes; and the Gentile Christians from the Gnostics; who philosophized before the Christian era in the schools of Alexandria². In the third century, however, marriage was permitted to all orders of the clergy, though they who continued in a state of celibacy obtained a higher reputation for sanctity³. The first regulation in favour of the celibacy of the clergy appears in the canons of the Council of Ancyra, about the year 308. It was there ordained, that those deacons who had not, at their ordination, declared that they wished to marry, should be set aside from the ministry if they should afterwards engage in matrimony⁴. At the council of Neocæsarea, a little before that of Nice, a further progress was made. It was then determined, that if a priest should marry, he should be deprived of his rank; but those who were already married were allowed to retain their wives, unless they should have been convicted of adultery⁵. That the clergy should separate from their wives was first proposed, as we have seen, at the Council of Nice, in the year 325; but this being strongly resisted by Paphnutius, a confessor of great reputation, who was himself unmarried, and distinguished for chastity, the measure was rejected⁶. The opinion, however, that the

⁸ *ἡ διδασκαλία τῶν δαιμονίων*, either doctrines disseminated under diabolical influence, or impious and devilish doctrines.—1 Tim. iv. 1.

⁹ Heb. xiii. 4.—The Greek is *τίμιος ὁ γάμος*: if *ἔστω* be understood instead of *ἔστι*, the sense is improved.

¹ I beg to refer more particularly for an account of the evils resulting from this notion to the Church, to the numbers of a work entitled "Ancient

Christianity,"—though some of its referenees have been discovered to be erroneous; and many of its deductions and inferences, untenable.

² Miller's Philosophy of Modern History, vol. ii. p. 257, &c.

³ Mosheim, cent. iii. part ii. chap. ii.

⁴ Summa Conc. et Pont. per Carranzam, p. 42, edit. Salam. 1551.

⁵ Ib. pp. 49, 50.

⁶ Socratis Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. ii.

clergy should be celibates, gradually prevailed in public estimation; and Pope Siricius, in the year 385, issued a declaration, by which it was recommended as most becoming their character⁷. In the beginning of the fifth century, compulsory celibacy was attacked, with other superstitions, by Vigilantius, who was, however, overpowered by Jerome, the great monk of the age⁸. The exhortation of Siricius was, about the year 405, converted by Innocent I. into a peremptory order⁹. Many councils, too, added their authority to that of the papacy; and celibacy was generally considered, even when it was not enforced, to be what Paley calls, a duty of imperfect obligation¹. In the Greek Church a council was assembled in 692, by which the clergy in general were prohibited from marrying; and the bishops were required to separate from their wives. The inferior clergy, however, were still permitted to live with their wives whom they had previously married². Still, all the efforts of popes, bishops, and councils, were for a long time unavailing. The austere discipline gradually fell, as it again will, into disuse; and the canons enforcing its observance began to be gradually forgotten³. A general reaction had taken place, till the prohibition was revived, and enforced by the immediate predecessors of Hildebrand; and so sternly and generally was it enacted into a law by his means, that the decree has never been rescinded. His indiscreet zeal was condemned⁴, as contrary to the opinions of the fathers; and one century at least elapsed before the decrees of Hildebrand were obeyed in England. All his decrees, says one of our oldest historians, availed nothing; for the priests, by the king's consent, still lived with their wives as formerly⁵. Four centuries only can be reckoned during which this absurd discipline was prevalent in England; yet it was at length generally enforced in our own country, as it still continues to be, among the

⁷ Carranza, p. 129.

⁸ Mosheim, cent. v. part ii. ch. iii., and more especially the recent work upon "Vigilantius and his Times," by Dr. Gilly.

⁹ Carranza, p. 160.

¹ Thus Ælfrie, at the end of his catalogue of clerical duties enforced upon the clergy, adds, "Neither a wife nor a battle becomes them, if they will rightly obey God, and keep his

laws as becomes their state."—Wilkins' Leg. pp. 169—171, ap. Sharon Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. p. 475.

² Carranza, p. 399.

³ See Croly's Inquiry into the principal Points of Difference between the two Churches, p. 253.

⁴ Sigebert, Chron. ann. 1074.

⁵ Hist. Petrob. ann. 1127, ap. Spelman, Council. ii. 36.

priesthood of these countries, which cannot maintain communion with Rome unless they submit to the prohibition.

When the celibacy of the clergy was at last fully enforced, popes and bishops were more powerful than kings and princes; and it is this circumstance which makes me see the providence of God in the enactment of Hildebrand. The celibacy of the clergy has been at all times productive of more scandal, suspicion, and crime, than any other disciplinary enactment of the papal power; but much greater evil would have resulted eventually to the world, if they had been permitted to marry at the period when Hildebrand began to subdue the sovereigns of Europe. *The priesthood would then have become an hereditary caste*, maintaining, without hope of redress, the power and property they had acquired. They would have become, like the Brahmins of the East, a distinct and separate body. They would have perpetuated all the corruptions of Christianity. They would have so blended the military and sacerdotal character, that the final emancipation of the intellect and reason of man would have been rendered hopeless in Europe, as it has so long been in India. *The celibacy of the clergy prevented this greater evil.* The law which commands it is but a point of discipline; and the day will arrive when the indignation of mankind at the continued attempts to perpetuate the domination of the canon law of Rome, shall at length compel the rescinding of these decrees. Then it will be remembered that not only reason, Scripture, and society demand their repeal; but if they require inferior authorities to guide their decisions, Gregory the Great⁶, Pius the Second⁷, Panormitan, the great canonist⁸, and a host of others, declare the reasonableness of marriage, and the propriety of adhering to the scriptural laws of God, rather than to the ecclesiastical traditions of the erring Church of Rome.

The next great triumph of Gregory was the conquest of human reason, by decreeing the belief in transubstantiation as the doctrine of the Church of Christ. I learn this most useful lesson from the picture before me—that an individual student, or Christian, may be right, when the whole of the

⁶ Respons. ad interrog. S. Augustini, embodied in Bede's Hist. Eccl.

count of the Council of Basil.

⁸ De Clericis Conjugatis.

⁷ See his Life in Platina, and Ac-

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

visible Church with which he is acquainted may be wrong. The utmost respect, devotion, love, zeal, and reverence⁹, have ever characterized devout men when they have spoken of the holy sacrament. How, indeed, is it possible, so long as we retain the remembrance of the wonderful event which it commemorates, to speak in language too solemn, respecting the great mystery of the atonement? or to express our sense of the value of that blessing which we derive from the Omnipresent, in our act of obedience to his own command, when we partake of the bread and wine? *This just reverence, however, degenerated by degrees into superstition, and thence became degraded into idolatry.* So early as the fourth century many changes had been introduced into the public worship. New rites were added to the ancient Christian form, more adapted to please the eye, and strike the imagination, than to kindle in the heart the flame of genuine piety. In many places the bread and wine were held up to view for the first time, before their distribution, that they might be seen by the people, and contemplated with a certain religious respect; and this was the origin of the superstitious veneration of the elements. In the ninth century curious questions and subtle disquisitions arose concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present at the eucharist. It had hitherto been universally believed that both were present, because both were administered in the sacrament; and *the sacrificial terms which had been selected for the communion services had given the idea of a real sacrifice* in the offering up of the bread and wine, and of partaking of that real sacrifice when the bread and wine were eaten and drunk by the worshipper. All these powerful expressions did not teach the corporeal presence of Christ, with his blood, flesh, bones, nerves, and whole person, as it was subsequently defined. The belief of the spiritual presence, and of the union of the soul of the worshipper with the God and Saviour of the Church, sufficiently justified the most expressive language, such as that of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians, when he affirms that the Christian is a member of Christ; of his body, of his blood, and of his bones. When the darkness of

⁹ See Soames' Mosheim, vol. iii. ii. note 3, for an account of the controversy on this subject. p. 121, book iv. cent. xvi. sect. 1, ch.

the universal ignorance, however, was deepest, the figurative expressions which related to the notion of a sacrifice, began to be interpreted literally, and not figuratively; as if Christ, who had ascended into the heavens, which have received Him until the time of the restitution of all things¹, actually came down in person materially and bodily, though still invisibly; and uniting Himself with the particles of the visible bread, dwelt in the manufactured and broken portion, taking possession of the same, immediately that the words of consecration were spoken; or else, that the very bread became, on earth, a portion of that very body, which, prior to the words of consecration, had existed in the invisible world. This strange doctrine is said to have been *thus more clearly* proposed, about the year 831, by Paschasius Radbert, a monk, and afterwards Abbot of Corbey. In the year 845, an improved edition of his treatise, which was presented to Charles the Bald, gave occasion to a violent controversy, Charles having directed that a clear exposition of the Lord's Supper should be prepared by Bertramn, or Ratramn, and by Johannes Scotus, whose statements were adverse to the notion of Radbert². Radbert, however, only outstripped his age a little in the progress of absurdity. The doctrine possessed too powerful recommendations of the importance of the clergy, and of wonder to the laity, not to be gradually adopted; and, accordingly, when Berenger of Tours began, towards the middle of the eleventh century, to revive the doctrines of Bertramn and Scotus, he was so strenuously encountered by the Church, that he submitted to repeated retractations. Berenger had been attacked by several pontiffs; but the last proceeding was that of Gregory VII., who yet did not take any notice of his renewed tergiversation. It is, indeed, questionable whether Gregory did not agree with him in his private opinion³. Mosheim represents Gregory as having acted with great moderation and candour in this controversy; but according to his own account, Gregory

¹ Acts iii. 21. The Greeks used the words μεταβολη and μεταστοιχειωσις, though in a metaphorical sense only. The word μεταστωσις, however, corresponding to the word *transubstantiation*, (Monumens Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs, &c. par i. Aymon,

Haye, 1708, ap. Miller, vol. ii. p. 261.) was adopted in an after age.

² Mosheim, cent. ix. part ii. ch. iii. sect. 19—21.

³ See Bowden's Life of Gregory, ii. 242, and the following pages.

had, before he became pope, opposed the new doctrine with the utmost vehemence ; and he was afterwards engaged in a more interesting struggle for dominion ⁴.

Such is the usual account of the origin of this hitherto undying controversy. The doctrine of transubstantiation, it is true, was not declared to be the faith of the universal Church ; neither was the term authoritatively adopted till the year 1215. Its adoption became, however, the proof of orthodoxy ; the test by which the more zealous and attached adherents of the Church of Rome became distinguished in all following ages. *And herein it seems to me that a peculiar providence may be observed.* The one characteristic doctrine of Christianity round which all other truths may be said to revolve, or on which they all depend, may be declared to be justification before God, by faith in the atonement of Christ, leading to love and obedience. The doctrine of transubstantiation is the case of the jewel, the chest of this pure gold, the casket in which this gem is deposited. An age of deplorable ignorance can only be governed by appeals to the senses. Its very religion, therefore, requires emblems, images ; and in common doctrines, language founded upon them. Revelation, indeed, always requires a spiritual service ; yet the first dispensation which did so require it, instructed the people in sacrifices, ceremonials, and pompous rituals. When the Christian Church was merged in ignorance, the people became unable to comprehend the spiritual. They fled to the literal meaning of the words of Scripture in their devotions, services, and doctrines. They literally mingled ashes with their bread, instituted the offering of prayers seven times a day, and lay on sackcloth and ashes. As they interpreted literally the spiritual language of the devotional parts of Scripture, so also did they interpret literally the doctrines of Scripture respecting the sacrament of the eucharist. They changed the nature of the sacrament from the outward visible sign of an inward spiritually given grace ; to the outward, yet invisible reality of an inward corporeally given Christ. Cruel as the persecutions were by which these notions were subsequently maintained, yet the doctrine of the atonement was preserved by the controversy. The papal judge, and the heretic victim,

⁴ Mosheim, cent. xi. part ii. ch. iii. sect. 2. *Philosophy of Modern History*, sect. 13, &c., cent. xiii. part ii. ch. iii. vol. ii. pp. 257—260.

would have alike contended to the death for the truth—that Christ died for man. In this age of darkness the Scriptures became obsolete. Spirituality was not understood; and the doctrine which changed the faith of the soul into the faith of the senses, so that the eyes of the body, not the eyes of the soul, saw in the eucharist, Him who is invisible, was suited to the intellect of the age; while it preserved the truth to that better period which the spirit of prophecy has revealed to us as the future condition of man in the present life, that they shall worship God in spirit and in truth. *This great evil, the enforcement of the doctrine of transubstantiation, must run its course:* and when the blessing of God has been so granted to scriptural education, to the diffusion of Scripture, and to the ordinances of his various Churches, that the souls of men shall long for the early spiritual truth; then the language in which the Romanist himself commemorates the death of Christ will be changed; and all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, will rejoice to remember his death, and kneel at the same altar.

It may be asked how all this was done. Power never commends itself to the approbation of a community so much, as when it is sanctioned by the decision of a deliberative assembly. The councils of this age may be called the parliaments of the papal, or rather of the ecclesiastical, sovereignty. Between the pontificate of Benedict IX. and the death of Hildebrand, more than one hundred councils were held in different parts of Europe, though principally at Rome, to frame various canons, which were, for the most part, embodied in the canon law. They relate to the subjects of investiture, simony, the celibacy of the clergy, the condemnation of Berenger, and the upholding the doctrine of transubstantiation; to the privileges of Churches, the *truce* of God⁵, the election or deposition of bishops, and various other points of faith and discipline. At Barcelona, in 1068, a council was held for substituting the Roman for the Gothic ritual in Spain. At Paris, in 1074, an abbot was beaten in a council for defending a decree of Gregory forbidding the hearing of mass from the married clergy. At Rheims, in 1049, a decree passed, confining the term “apostolic” to the see of

⁵ See Du Cange's Glossary on the expression *Treuga Dei*, and Labb. Concil. x. 395.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Rome alone. At Llandaff, in 1056, a royal family was excommunicated for offending a bishop; so great was the ecclesiastical power even in that remote part of Europe. In 1072, a council was held in England to confirm the primacy to the archbishop of Canterbury; and in 1078 a council at London decreed that Bath, Lincoln, Exeter, Chester, and Chichester, should be made episcopal sees. Other councils were held at Sens, Rheims, Pavia, Mayence, Leponto, Tours, Brienne, Vercelli, Paris, Augsburg, Bamberg, Narbonne, Worms, Florence, Compostella, Thoulouse, and other places in France, Germany, Spain, Italy, England, and the north. As the unity of the Church, notwithstanding the decrees issued against transubstantiation and celibacy, was still unbroken, the decisions of a council in one country were regarded as influential, if not authoritative, in another. It might be said there were no politics, no mere political discussion on subjects of a purely secular nature at this time. Ecclesiastical topics alone occupied the attention of all; and the questions of peace or war themselves were discussed and decided with reference to the interests of the Church, or some point of faith or discipline. The decision of the Councils of Brienne, for instance, of Vercelli, or of Paris, in 1050, of Tours, in 1055, and of Anjou about the same year, against the supposed errors of Berengarius, were as binding on the mass of the Churches as those held at Rome itself. By means, therefore, of councils, and principally of the ten councils which he summoned at Rome, Hildebrand procured the confirmation of all the edicts and decrees which enslaved the Christian world, under the plea of preserving the liberties of the Church. It can only be necessary to notice very briefly in synoptical tables, the leading details of each of the nine remaining councils. Of the first against simony I have spoken sufficiently.

Council.	The Second Council of Rome under the personal control of Gregory VII.
Date.	A. D. 1075.
Acts and decrees.	Excommunication of Robert Guiscard, the Norman Prince of Apulia. Nomination and investiture of bishops taken from princes and all laymen. Decrees against the marriage of the clergy confirmed. Many bishops of Germany and Lombardy suspended for alleged simony; and five nobles of King Henry excommunicated for preferring persons to vacant bishoprics, and taking fees.
Results.	The decree against investitures disregarded by the king; and great opposition to the same, as well as to the canons against marriage, throughout Germany, France, &c.
Numbers present.	The Council was composed of about fifty bishops, Italian and English, but chiefly Italian, with a great number of abbots, and other clergy. Gregory was president.

Council.	The Third Council of Rome under the personal control of Gregory VII.
Date.	A. D. 1076.
Acts and decrees.	The king and many bishops in his interest excommunicated, after Gregory had been deposed by the Council of Worms, and officially proclaimed so before the assembly by Roland, of Padua.
Results.	Great division of the princes and bishops of Germany, on account of the contest at issue between the Church and state.
Numbers present.	Most of the Italian bishops, abbots, and clergy, with some bishops of Germany in the interest of the Pope, with some German and Italian nobles.

Council.	The Fourth Council of Rome under the personal control of Gregory VII.
Date.	A. D. 1078.
Acts and decrees.	Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, and all his suffragans and abbots, were summoned to this Council, to answer for their conduct in promoting schism in the Roman Church. Many excommunications for alleged simony. A resolution is passed to send legates to Germany to assist in a diet against the king.
Results.	The Bishops of Ravenna and Lombardy treat the summons of the Council with disdain; and vigorously support the king in his struggle with the Pope.
Numbers present.	Most of the same bishops and nobles of whom the former Council had been composed.

Council.	The Fifth Council of Rome under the personal control of Gregory VII.
Date.	A. D. 1078. Met in November.
Acts and decrees.	Nicophorus, usurper of the throne of Constantinople, and Constantine, son-in-law to Prince Robert Guiscard, both excommunicated. Berengarius, alarmed by the threats of the Council, abjures his doctrine. The right to the throne of Germany to be decided by a diet, to be attended by the Pope's legates, whom the rival kings swear to protect.
Results.	Continued resistance of the royal party to the Pope. Berengarius, when safe, again maintains his doctrine.
Numbers present.	One hundred and fifty bishops, great numbers of abbots and other clergy, ambassadors from the two rival kings.

Council.	The Sixth Council of Rome under the personal control of Gregory VII.
Date.	A. D. 1079.
Acts and decrees.	The doctrine of Berengarius again condemned; and the elements in the eucharist declared to be not types spiritually received, but the substantial and real body and blood of Christ Himself. Numerous excommunications.
Results.	The two rival sovereigns consent, by their ambassadors at this Council, to abide by the judgment of the apostolic see in settling their respective claims to the throne.
Numbers present.	The Council was fully attended by the bishops and nobles of both parties.

Council.	The Seventh Council of Rome under the personal control of Gregory VII.
Date.	A. D. 1080.
Acts and decrees.	The sentences against all the Lombard bishops renewed and confirmed. Renewal of the decrees against lay investitures of all kinds, and the acceptors of them. The king again excommunicated and deposed for refusing to resign his crown to Rudolph, in whose favour the pope and his legates decide. Decrees against feigned penance, and lay investitures. Re-excommunication of the Normans.
Results.	Extraordinary address of Gregory to the Apostles Peter and Paul, delivered to the council upon the power of the hierarchy to give and take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, and the estates and possessions of all men; intended as a justification of the decree of the council for excommunicating, proscribing, and deposing King Henry. Dated March the 7th, 1080.
Numbers present, and remarks.	By the great exertions which were made to compel attendance, the meeting was composed of all the chief ecclesiastics and nobles of Italy and Germany. Indeed, this may be said to be the year in which Gregory seemed determined to leave nothing undone that personal energy, legatine missions, and all other means might do to overcome all resistance; and to bring every surrounding nation into submission to his own will.

274 *Eighth and Ninth Councils of Rome under Gregory VII.*

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Council.	The Eighth Council of Rome under the personal control of Gregory VII.
Date.	A. D. 1081.
Acts and decrees.	The chief objects of this council were to repeat the condemnations against the king and the anti-pope Clement III.; and to deter all from joining them, or agreeing with them, by excommunications, depositions, and anathemas against every adherent of their cause.
Results.	The results were an increased vigour and success on the part of the king.
Numbers present.	The numbers and importance of the members greatly declined.

Council.	The Ninth Council of Rome under the personal control of Gregory VII.
Date.	A. D. 1083.
Acts and decrees.	This council met at the entreaty of the adherents of Gregory in Rome, who were enduring great distress from the siege of the city by the king. Gregory had retired to the citadel of St. Angelo. The council used all means to persuade him to peace with the king; but he still persisted in calling on heaven for fiery vengeance on his head. Though almost his prisoner, Gregory insisted on a renewal of all former excommunications, depositions, and anathemas.
Results.	The council, angry with the implacability of the pope, did nothing.
Numbers present, and remarks.	The Bishops of Apulia and Campagna, with the ecclesiastics of Rome, composed the council. They had remained stedfast to his cause from the commencement of Gregory's public life; and the king had shown a desire for peace, by granting the members of the council free ingress and egress to and from the city during the close siege, though his enemies.

Council.	The Tenth Council of Rome under the personal control of Gregory VII.
Date.	A. D. 1084.
Acts and decrees.	Fresh decrees of excommunication and deposition against the king and Guibert are issued amidst the flames of the city and the blood of the Roman people. Every means was used by the council, to produce temporary intimidation.
Results.	After performing mass, and affecting to work miracles, Gregory left the city to die in exile.
Numbers present.	The few enthusiasts belonging to the Hildebrand faction who kept up his cause in Rome.

The first of these councils, held in 1074, passed the much opposed decrees against simony, or investitures by the secular authorities, against the marriage of the clergy, and the wives of the clergy, both of which were designated by opprobrious and contemptuous epithets⁸. The Countess Matilda⁹, Prince Guisulph of Salerno, and the Marquis of Ozzo, ancestor of the Princes of Brunswick and d'Este, were present at this council.

I will mention but one other act of despotic power on the part of Hildebrand, which has also become a part of the canon law, though it was opposed to the conduct both of his predecessors and successors. In 1080, Wratisslaw, Duke of Bohemia, expressed a wish to Gregory, that the offices or prayers of the Church should be performed in the Slavonian

⁸ See its canons in Labb. Concil. x. 315, seq.

⁹ The family of the Countess Matilda of Tusculum was descended from Trullus, a Roman patrician, who, in the year 521, had become Lord of Tusculum. Trullus himself sprung from the Octavian family, was the father to the martyr Placidus, and related to the Emperor Justinian and his consort Theodora. His daughter, Silvia Portia,

married Ilduinus, Duke of Milan, and became the mother of Ancius Marzius, who afterwards assumed the name of Malespina. Gregory the Great was his relation. His descendants in the course of time became masters of Tusculum, with the title of Count, and gave many pontiffs to Rome, amongst whom were Adrian I., Sergius III., John XI., John XII. in 956.—Griesley's Life of Gregory VII., p. 5.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

tongue, which was at that time a common language of the north of Europe. The pontiff forbade it. "I will never consent," he said, "that Divine service should be performed in the Sclavonian tongue. *It is the will of God that his Word should be hidden, lest it should be despised if read by every one.* If, in condescension to the weakness of the people, the contrary has been permitted, it is a fault which ought to be corrected. The demand of your subjects is imprudent. I shall oppose it with the authority of St. Peter. You ought, for the glory of God, to resist it with all your power ¹."

Hildebrand is not the only ecclesiastic who has held that the *Gospel of God should be taught with reserve*, and who has forgotten that the soul of the mechanic and peasant can be rendered as wise unto salvation by the Word of life as that of a bishop or an emperor. He imagined, as too many of the apostolical succession have done, that he promoted piety by destroying liberty; that he increased happiness by diminishing knowledge. *Alas for mankind in any country, if the race of rulers, whether in Church or state, shall presume to legislate as if the soul of the slave was inferior in the sight of God to the soul of the prince!* The presumption, however, was but a proof both of the deeper corruption, as well as of the increased power of the Church. Very different had been the decision of John VIII. in the year 880. When a similar request had been made to him by Methodius, Archbishop of Moravia, he replied by blessing God that the Sclavonian character had been invented, enabling every man to praise God in his own language. Defending his conduct by the examples of the Apostles, he remarked, that *he apprehended no danger from the use of the public services in the vernacular dialect*, provided that they read the Gospel in Latin first, and then interpreted it to the people, according to the practice of some other Churches. A very different policy, too, from that of Gregory was pursued by Innocent III. in 1215. In the Council of Lateran, held in that year, it was ordained, that if persons of different nations, speaking different languages, dwelt in the same city, the bishop of the diocese

¹ Ep. lib. vii. ep. xi. ap. Labb. Concil. x. 234.

should provide ministers for them capable of performing service in their respective tongues².

Thus was the civilized world subjected to the chief bishop of the West. Hildebrand now seemed to possess a human omnipotence, to which all events were known, and by which all ecclesiastical and almost all civil power was scanned, overruled, or subdued. His correspondents, tributaries, legates, or agents, were found in all states and Churches. The expression in the Oriental mythology of the supporters of the burning throne addressed to the aspirer over the government of the universe, seemed best to describe him. He was *the earthly Almighty*³, *sitting as god on the throne of God*, and giving laws from that throne, which, like the laws of the heavenly Deity, constituted to the human race, right or wrong, vice or virtue, truth or falsehood. The rejection or reception of these laws not only gave present estimation in society; but decided in the world to come the salvation or damnation of the soul. It was, indeed, a fearful power for man to exercise. We shall soon consider its effects on the happiness of mankind; but we must now complete our view of the pontificate of Hildebrand, by surveying very briefly the influence which Rome possessed over England, at the period of which we are speaking.

Ecclesiastical, civil, or indeed any power, uniformly displays itself in conferring honour, as well as enforcing obedience. The honours which are thus conferred may be variously estimated, according to the circumstances of the bestower and receiver. A sovereign prince sends an order of knighthood to another prince. The gift in this case implies not superiority, but approbation, favour, affection, gratitude, or esteem; and the receiving it implies no inferiority. If the same prince bestows an order of knighthood on a person who is not equal to him in rank, the gift implies a power on the part of the prince, which is not possessed by the receiver. It is conferred as a token of the approbation of a superior. It is received as a tacit acknowledgment of inferiority to

² This subject is treated with his usual learning by Archbishop Usher, in a volume treating expressly on the translations of the Scriptures into the

vernacular language.

³ "Earthly Almighty! wherefore tarriest thou?"—See Southey's "Curse of Kehama."

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

the bestower. If the order of knighthood be granted to one who does not live in the dominions of the bestower, the gift implies superiority of rank; but no claim of submission. If it be granted to a subject, it not only implies that the bestower is superior, and the receiver inferior; but its very acceptance denotes that the claims of the bestower to the faithful allegiance of the receiver are thereby strengthened; and that the homage of the receiver should henceforward be more profound, and his services more faithfully rendered. A sovereign prince, too, would not receive an order of knighthood from one whom he deemed an usurper, with whom he was at war, or whom, for any cause whatever, he held in contempt. If, too, a subject, or an inferior, desired to express his disregard, or indifference, or opposition to his prince, he would decline to accept from him any offer of honour; he would reject it with indifference or disdain; and if to seek the favour was regarded as a proof of homage or service, he would still more carefully shun it, lest its offer should be deemed an intrusion upon his independence; or its acceptance be regarded an abandonment of his principles or honour.

Strange as it may at first sight appear, these remarks will afford us the probable solution of the great problem respecting the conduct of the Bishops of Rome, under the government of Hildebrand⁴, towards England. The outward mark or token of the great order of knighthood, the proffering of which was intended to imply sovereignty or supremacy on the part of Rome; and the acceptance of which was no less designed to imply the acknowledgment of inferiority, homage, or service on the part of the receiver; was the pall, of which we have already spoken. So long as the pall was a part of the imperial dress of the emperors in the East, as it is said to have been, the sending it from the emperors to the bishops, to be worn by them, was a token of honour conferred by a prince upon a subject⁵. The Bishop of Rome assumed the privilege of granting the same favour. The time when he did so is uncertain. Equally uncertain are

⁴ I introduce the subject at this place, because, as I have already observed from Mr. Hallam, p. 254, Hildebrand, during the pontificate of Alexander II., was considered something

greater than the pope, who acted entirely by his counsels.

⁵ See Butler, and his references, Lives of the Saints, vi. 132, June 8.

the conditions upon which it was given or received. It was given by the Bishops of Rome to other bishops and metropolitans only. But the bishops and metropolitans of the Church of Christ were originally all equal, as were the apostles themselves; and the Churches which were founded upon their doctrine and communion were all equal, and independent of each other; and the pall, therefore, might have been given and received upon the same terms of equality as one sovereign prince who is at peace with another sovereign prince, might give, or receive, in token of amity, an order of knighthood. Of this, however, I find no certain proof. I am compelled by the most careful and impartial evidence of the documents before me to conclude, that the giving and receiving of the pall denoted superiority on the one side, and inferiority on the other⁶; and it is this consideration

⁶ Speaking of the ecclesiastical supremacy as exercised in England during the Anglo-Saxon period, Soames says:—"To the exercise of any ecclesiastical authority above that of the see of Canterbury, we are expressly assured they were utter strangers." Eodem anno (temp. Hen. I.) venit in Angliam Guido, archiepiscopus Viennensis, functus (ut dicebat) legatione totius Britanniae, ex praecepto et autoritate Apostolicae sedis. Quod per Angliam auditum, in admirationem omnibus venit: *inaudium*, scilicet, in Britannia, *cuncti scientes, quemlibet hominum super se rices apostolicas gerere nisi solum archiepiscopum Cantuariæ*. Qua propter, sicut venit, ita reversus est, a nemine pro legato susceptus, nec in aliquo legati officio functus.—See his Bampton Lecture, p. 175, where further authorities on the subject are also quoted.

On the question of the pall being intended by Rome as a badge of submission to the authority of the apostolic see, Mr. Soames, after showing that the English episcopacy were required to swear canonical obedience on their consecration to no other authority than that of the Archbishop of Canterbury during the Saxon ages, observes, "The metropolitans themselves were, indeed, in the habit of receiving a pall from the papal see, an insidious compliment which eventually undermined the independence of their several Churches."

Bampt. Lect. ut supra, p. 150.

Consult, also, notes 16, 17, p. 178, et seq., where after supplying certain evidences of the original use and signification of the pall, Mr Soames (p. 181) remarks:—"As for the confirmations which metropolitans anciently sought from the Roman see, they were nothing more than announcements of their several consecrations, and confessions of their faith. On receiving these, and being satisfied with their correctness and orthodoxy, the Bishop of the capital, that is, of Rome, admitted the parties respectively into communion with his Church. The Roman Bishop himself sent similar credentials to the other patriarchs, as vouchers for his own claims to communion with them. "Quod ad patriarchas attinet; responderi potest, confirmationem illam non esse signum jurisdictionis, sed tantum susceptionis in communionem, et testimonium quo constabat summum pontificem consentire consecrationi jam peractæ. Quippe usu receptum erat, per illas tempesates, ut patriarchæ, et ipse etiam Romanus pontifex, recens electus, litteras de sua ordinatione mitterent, quibus addebatur professio fidei, in synodicis eorum epistolis conscripta." —Pet. De Marca, Archiep. Paris. de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, Paris. 1669, ii. 191, apud Soames, ut supra, p. 182.

which affords me the clue to the real cause of the most important event in the history of England.

At this period Stigand was Archbishop of Canterbury. Stigand had received his pall from Benedict the Ninth, or, as some lists count him, the Tenth. Benedict was the last Bishop of Rome of the imperial, or rather, anti-Hildebrandine, or anti-Gregorian party. In this capacity he had been excommunicated three several times by the Gregorian pontiffs. He was consequently regarded as a schismatic by Hildebrand, who was resolved to reduce all Churches, bishops, and archbishops beneath his dominion. *He had, however, no means of coercing the English, or compelling the submission of Stigand,* until an opportunity was presented by the petition of William the Norman, who requested Alexander II. to bless his projected expedition against England. Hildebrand at that moment was the Archdeacon of Rome; he was also present at Rome. Alexander acted under his influence⁷. The expedition was blessed; and it was successful. Five hundred years elapsed before a similar blessing was bestowed upon a similar expedition (A.D. 1588), and it was unsuccessful. Half-a-day of God, as days are declared by inspiration to be measured with the Almighty, elapsed before the power and influence of Rome over the chief Church of the West was overthrown. The pontiff and Normandy succeeded; and the result was, the formation of the *stern, severe, unbending character of the English, which conquers only by a perseverance as enduring and indomitable as the patient craftiness of Rome itself.* The pontiff and Spain failed; and the result has been the triumph of that perseverance in the establishment of the wonderful

⁷ "How completely every thing was subject to Hildebrand's influence already," says Gieseler, is seen from Petr. Damiani's Epigrams de Papa et Hildebrando (in Baronius, ann. 1061.

Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus
adoro :

Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit ipse
Deum.

Vivere vis Romæ, clara depromito
voce :

Plus Domino Papæ quam Domino parco
Papæ.

Compare Ejusdem Epist. II. 8, ad

Hildebrandum. Tuis cœptis tuisque
conatibus semper obtemperare con-
tendi, et in omnibus tuis certaminibus
atque victoriis ego me non commilito-
nem sive pedissequum, sed quasi ful-
men injeeci. Quod enim certamen un-
quam cœpisti, ubi protinus ego non
esseni et litigator et judex? Ubi scilicet
non aliam auctoritatem canonum,
nisi solum tue voluntatis sequebar arbi-
trium, et mera tua voluntas mihi cano-
num erat auctoritas. Nec unquam ju-
dicavi, quod visum est mihi, sed quod
placuit tibi.—See Gieseler, ii. 90, note
12.

union of ancient truth, unquenchable liberty, sufficient discipline, and accessibility to Scripture, which unitedly constitute the glory of the present Church of England. Had it not failed, England would have been reduced to the rank of Spain or Italy, to be now the victim of a priesthood, fettering the souls of man by tradition and legend to the past; and preventing the magnificent development of enterprise and intellect which has made England the first among the nations from that day to the day when it trampled upon the greatest effort of infidelity at Waterloo; as it had previously defeated the greatest effort of Rome, and the now forgotten, but once thought invincible, because blessed, Armada.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

The consideration that the granting of the pall by the pope implies supremacy, will make us value the argument, that Christianity very generally prevailed in England before the arrival among us of Augustine, who received the first pall from the pope; and it will fully explain to us the causes of the approbation of Hildebrand to William and his expedition. He sanctioned the invasion of England that he might overthrow the presumption or independence of Stigand, and, therefore, of the English Church.

As Christianity had been first planted in the East, so also had it been dispersed from the East, and not from Rome, in the first ages of its history. The testimony of the Talmudic writers to the poverty of Joseph of Arimathea, after he had lost his wealth among his countrymen by espousing the cause of Christ, has escaped the notice of those who are inclined to believe his coming to England to be a legendary tale. I cannot venture to state that the affirmations that this personage came to England are true; but on comparing the several accounts⁸, I see no absurdity in supposing that a wealthy senator, who had lost caste among his people, and whose enormous wealth—for he was said to be the richest man in Jerusalem—had been con-

⁸ Alford (alias Griffith).—See *Annales Eccles. et Civ. Britan. Saxon. et Angl.* i. 13 (fol. Leodii, 1663); and also pp. 46—62, and again p. 76, where the various authorities will be found,

with original information, relative to Joseph of Arimathea and the companions of his emigration, and many interesting particulars of his alleged abode in England, and death.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

fiscated, should have taken refuge in the remotest part of the empire, where he might find a shelter from his persecutors, and possess his opinions in peace. This seems to me to be not more improbable than that a once wealthy, but now bankrupt London merchant, should take refuge in the prairies of America, or in the wastes of Van Diemen's land. However this may have been, we know that Christianity in its more Oriental, and not in its Occidental, or Roman form, prevailed among the Britons, who, for that very reason, were not subjected to imperial Rome; and that, in that early age, we hear nothing of their receiving the pall from Rome, either as equals or inferiors. No giving of the pall is related between the years A.D. 59 and 65, when there was a possibility that St. Paul himself preached, as I firmly believe he did; and that from him, also, the succession of bishops began in this island. We read nothing of the pall in the time of Lucius, A.D. 167, whose existence and whose Christianity is attested by Usher from twenty-three several historians⁹. Baronius¹ informs us of the mission of Lucius to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, but he makes no mention of the pall. Not only were many heathen temples converted by Lucius to the use of Christianity², but he is said by Polydore Virgil to have built a church in Westminster³, also a chapel in Dover Castle, dedicated to our Saviour⁴, and a church in the suburbs of Canterbury⁵. He is reported to have been a great benefactor to Cambridge⁶; and in propagating the Gospel in all parts of England, and even abroad, he is stated to have been very active. Tertullian and Irenæus, both of the second century, testify that the Britons had received the faith in their time⁷; and Bede affirms that the Britons were constant in their professions, without any heretical corruption⁸. At the Council of Arles, in the year 314, three English bishops signed the twenty-two canons that were passed. Eborius, Bishop of York, Restitutus, Bishop of London, and Adelfius, Bishop de Civitate

⁹ Ant. Brit. Eccles. p. 20.

¹ Baron. Annal. 1083.

² Galfrid. Monmouth. lib. v. c. i.

³ Pol. Virg. Ang. Hist. lib. i.

⁴ Leland. Assert. Arturi. fol. 7.

⁵ Radulph. de Diceto.

⁶ Caius de Antiq. Cantab. p. 51.

⁷ Irenæus, Tertul. advers. Judæos, cap. vii.

⁸ Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. iv.

Colonia Londinensium⁹; neither of whom are said to have received the pall.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Tertullian puts the proof of Churches being apostolical upon *the succession of bishops from the apostles*¹; and though we have no authentic account of the creation of bishops in England before *Elvanus*, who was the chief person in the embassy sent by *Lucius* to the Bishop of Rome, A.D. 175, and who was ordained, after receiving baptism by the hand of the Bishop *Eleutherius*, his companion, *Medwinus*, having been at the same time baptized and ordained a teacher²; yet thus, according to the instructions of the twelfth Roman pontiff, bishops were ordained, and the ecclesiastical order of things settled in England: and from that time there has been no interruption to the episcopal succession in the British Church, though no mention is made of the receiving of the pall from Rome.

Much has been said by Romanists of the present day³, on the conversion of the English by *St. Augustine*. I have thought it desirable, therefore, to show that a succession of bishops had been continued unbroken in England for upwards of three hundred years before *Gregory I.* sent *Augustine* hither to introduce the novelties which had been engrafted by the Roman Church on the primitive system of Christianity. In the time of *Augustine* we first read of the transmission of the pall to England.

Most exceedingly difficult is the attempt to trace this mark of ecclesiastical honour. The pall seems to have been at first, after its use had been derived from the custom of receiving it as a token of favour from the emperor, a continued appendage to the archiepiscopal paraphernalia; first, in the East, and then with the Bishops of Rome in the West. In the East, it had been used more than a century, as a part of the costume of those who had the charge of provinces; and as a decoration denoting superiority over suffragan bishops⁴. Perhaps nothing by way of emblem, in the progressive stages

⁹ Sirmond. Conc. Gall. tom. i. p. 19.

¹ De Præscript. cap. xxxii.

² See *Stillingfleet's Antiq. of the British Churches*, where the whole question (of which an abstract only can be here given) is treated at great length.

³ O'Connell in his Address to the People of England, September, 1839.

⁴ It was called by the Greeks *ὁμοφόριον*.—See *Suicer's Thesaur.* l. 1596, sub voce.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

of its history, from its introduction into the Latin Church about the middle of the sixth century, could more aptly illustrate the gradual encroachment of the papal polity upon the simplicity of primitive Christianity, till it assumed its meridian ascendancy under Hildebrand, than this badge. The pall, says Harpsfield⁵, is a small piece of woollen cloth, which is put on the archbishop's shoulders when he officiates, and which lies over the rest of his habit. It is not ornamented with any rich dye, but is just of the same colour as when the sheep wore it. It is sent by the Bishops of Rome to the metropolitans, after having been laid on St. Peter's tomb. The ceremony is supposed to signify two things—first, that by looking upon the homeliness of the pall, the archbishop may not be vain of the gold and gems with which he may be adorned; and secondly, that the pall being an emblem of humility sent as consecrated by St. Peter, the high priest of Christ may remember both St. Peter's humble demeanour and adhere to his doctrine. Peter de Marca, archbishop of Paris, describes the more modern pall as a white piece of woollen cloth, made round like a border and thrown over the shoulders, upon which there are two other borders of like material and form, one of which falls down the breast, and the other upon the back, each having a red cross; several crosses of the same colour being upon the upper part of it, about the shoulders. It was tacked on with three gold pins⁶.

The first mention made of sending the pall as an ecclesiastical honour from the Bishop of Rome to another bishop, is said to be in the letters of Symmachus, Bishop of Rome, in the year 501⁷. This is the earliest date of its use in the

⁵ Hist. Eccl. Angl. p. 58.

⁶ De Concord. Sacerd. et Imperii, vi. 6, 7.

⁷ Diebus vitæ tuæ pallii usum, quem ad sacerdotalis officii decorem et ad ostendendam unanimitatem, quam cum B. Petro Apostolo universum gregem Dominicarum ovium, quæ ei commisse sunt, habere, dubium non est, ab apostolica sede, sicut decuit, poposcisti, quod utpote ab eisdem apostolis fundatæ ecclesiæ majorum more libenter indulisimus, ad ostendendum te magistrum et archiepiscopum, tuamque sanctam Laureacensem ecclesiasticam provinciam

Pauniorum sedem fore metropolitanam. Idcirco pallio, quod ex apostolica caritate tibi destinamus, quo uti debeas secundum morem ecclesiæ tuæ, solerter *admonemus* pariterque *volamus*, ut intelligas, quia, ipse vestitus, quo ad missarum solemniam ornaris, signum prætendit Crucis, per quod scito te cum fratribus debere compati, mundialibus illecebris in affectu crucifigi. . . . — Epist. Symmachi P. ad Theod. Laureacensem (Mansi viii. p. 228, circa A.D. 501). See Formula in Liber Diurnus, cap. iv. tit. iii., an abbreviation from the same epistle.

Western Church. Eutychus, when made Bishop of Constantinople⁸, alluded to the burthen of bearing the sheep on his shoulders, which is represented by the pall. Du Pin, however, affirms that this twelfth letter of Symmachus to the Bishop of Laurea, in Pannonia, to whom the pall is said to have been sent, is a forgery⁹. Indeed, the whole of our progress through this part of the history is so bewildered with these forgeries that little dependence can be placed on one-half of the documents on which we are compelled to rely. We see men as trees walking. All is confusedness founded on realities, and ending in no *valid* inferences: but as a general takes ten thousand men into the field, and loses half his number in the contest, though he gains the victory, so it is with the great inferences to which the student arrives in history. He gains the victory by arriving, as we shall do, at the establishment of certain truths. He loses half his arguments in the effort, because he cannot depend on the documents on which they are founded. He gains his victory with the remainder.

The earliest authentic account of the pall being used to give distinction to foreign metropolitans in the West, seems to have been in the year 543, when Auxanius having obtained the archiepiscopal chair of Arles, and being made legate of Vigilius, requested the honour of the pall¹. Vigilius hesitated to consent until he had obtained the approbation of the emperor, lest Justinian might account it a failure in duty and respect². Two years after, upon sending Auxanius the pall, Vigilius reminds him to pray for the Emperor Justinian and Theodora for consenting to his being legate, and having the privilege of the pall.

Upon the death of Auxanius, Vigilius conferred on Aurelian, his successor, the same honour, and in his letter accompanying the pall he observed, that thanks were due to Belisarius for having obtained the emperor's consent³.

⁸ The *ὠμοφόριον* (pallium) distinguished the bishops in the East long before it was adopted as a badge of subjection by the Bishops of Rome.—See Gieseler, vol. i. cap. v. § 99, p. 293, note 1.

⁹ Eccles. Hist. cent. vi. p. 3.

¹ De Marca, lib. v. c. 30. 33. 36; lib. vi. c. vi. sec. 10.

² Vigilius ad Auxan. epist. i.

³ Vigilius, epist. v. in the Gallia Christiana, i. 41.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

The next instance on record is that of Pelagius, who gave the pall to Sapaudus, the next Archbishop of Arles. Britain, at this moment, was only known at Rome as the vendor of its own children as slaves; some of whom Gregory, who was afterwards pope, saw, admired, and punned upon in the market at Rome. Pelagius⁴ made Sapaudus his vicar, and presented him with the pall. The language which he used on this occasion is undoubtedly that of a courteous superior rather than of an equal. The pope affirms that the see of St. Peter is superior to that of others, and yields to him the use of the pall with readiness and affection; giving him, however, directions in language which could only be used by an official superior⁵.

The next grant of the pall was in 595, by Gregory the Great to Vigilius, the metropolitan of Arles, who consecrated Augustine Bishop of England. This was done with the consent of Childeric, King of France, without waiting for the permission of the emperor⁶. But the following year Queen Brunichild having solicited the honour of a pall for Syagrius, Bishop of Autun, Gregory delayed the grant till he was authorized by the emperor. He then wrote, "that the emperor having given his consent, he had sent the pall as she desired," stating, also, the great dignity conferred thereby⁷.

The reason of the consent of the emperor being necessary on the grant of the pall is explained to be, that, as it was a part of the imperial costume, it was unlawful to wear it without leave of the imperial court; it being high treason, by the law of Rome, to wear any part of the imperial habit without licence⁸.

De Marca concludes, also, that the pall was not used in the Church so early as the time of Theodosius II.; and in the Greek Church the gift of it was confined to the civil authority, as Liberatus Diaconus relates, who further says, that

⁴ Gallia Christiana, i. 41.

⁵ Usum quoque pallii tibi alacriter affectuoseque concedimus. — Gallia Christiana, *ibid.*

⁶ Pallium tibi transmisimus, quo fraternitas tua intra ecclesiam ad sola missarum solemnia utatur.—Gratian, 6 Dist. 100. Gregory I., A. D. 595.

⁷ Prisca consuetudo obtinuit, ut honor Pallii, nisi exigentibus causarum meritis, et fortiter postulanti, dari non debeat.—Gratian, 2 Dist. 100. Greg. I., A. D. 597.

⁸ De Marca, lib. v. c. xxx. sec. 3; lib. v. c. 33. 36; lib. vi. c. xi. sec. 10.

Anthimius, patriarch of Constantinople, being expelled his see, returned the pall to their imperial majesties ⁹. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

It is stated, too, by De Marca, that the Roman pall was given to none of the Gallican bishops, except the metropolitan of Arles, before the year 600; but that the pall enjoined by the Council of Mascon in 581, to be used by Archbishops of France, was not the Roman, but the Gallican pall ¹.

Gregory the Great, in his patriarchate, freely bestowed the pall upon metropolitans without exacting any thing but a subscription of the Catholic faith; and we find in Gratian the rule laid down, that the only condition required, as late as the year 873, for obtaining the distinction, was a previous confession of faith such as communion demanded ². That the object was Christian fellowship is evident from the constant use of the expression *fraternitas tua* accompanying the gift; and we might have believed, that to preserve and extend communion was the chief aim of Gregory the Great in bringing this token into such general use, if the language of authority had not been so generally introduced.

We are now arrived at the era of Augustine's mission into England. When Gregory conferred on this missionary the pall, he informed him that he had sent it as a mark of his esteem for the great service he had done in converting the English. He then directs him to institute twelve sees within his province, and intimates that the Bishop of London shall also have a pall from the apostolic see ³. In this address to Augustine, as in all other instances, we have the same expression of fellowship or communion blended with authority. Augustine brought into England many of the notions, customs, and assumptions still retained by the

⁹ Pallium reddidit imperatoribus; that is, to the Emperor Justinian and to the Empress Theodora.—Lib. Dialectic. Breviar. c. 21.

¹ De Concordia, lib. vi. c. vii. sec. 1.

² Optatum tibi pallium nunc conferre nequivimus; quia fidei tuæ paginam minus, quam oporteat, continere reperimus; cum videlicet in ea, nullam sanctorum universalium synodorum, in quibus fidei nostræ symbolum contine-

tur, nec decretalium pontificum Romanorum constitutorum, secundum morem, feceris mentionem; sed nec illam propria subscriptione munieris, nec aliquem, qui hanc jurejurando firmaret, miseris.—Gratian, 4 Dist. 100. John VIII. circa ann. 873.

³ Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. i. c. 29. Gregorius ad Augustinum Anglorum Episcopum, lib. xii. ep. 31.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Church and Bishops of Rome; but Christianity, as the learned Jesuit Alford may be said to have fully proved⁴, had never been extirpated in England. The island, even in the dark interval between the murder of Vodin, Bishop of London, in the year 436⁵, produced its saints and martyrs. Nor did the succession of its early race of bishops cease till the year 586, when Theonas, the last Bishop of London before the time of Augustine, fled to his Christian friends in Wales, with Thadiocus, the Archbishop of York, ten years only before the arrival of Augustine. Proofs, too, may be found in Alford and others, that the religion was not, as indeed it could not have been, exterminated during this short interval. The King of Kent, to whom Augustine was invited to preach Christianity in the Roman or Gallican form, may have been a pagan, but his queen, Bertha, maintained a Gallican bishop at her court; and the aggregate of the people could not be said to have required the services of the Roman missionary. With him began the deference to Rome which was unknown to the bishops who had fled into Wales, and who there maintained the purer form of Christianity which they and their ancestors had professed in England. With him began that acceptance of marks of honour from the Roman pontiff, which implied, on the part of the receiving bishops, inferiority to the Bishops of Rome, and which was denoted by the acceptance of the pall.

From the time of Augustine to Stigand, thirty-two bishops⁶ or archbishops filled the see of Canterbury. Of these,

⁴ This work is but little known, though, without exception, it contains the best mass of materials extant for the early history of England. It is in four volumes, folio. The title is, "Fides Regia Britannica, Saxonica, Anglica, una illa, eademque sancta Catholica, Romana; sive Annales ecclesiastici, in quibus Britannorum, Saxorum, Anglorum, Orthodoxa Fides, a Christo nato ad ann. 1189, historica demonstratione deducitur atque probatur. Auctore R. P. Michaelae Alfordo (alias Griffithi), Anglo, Societatis Jesu Theologo."—Leodii, 1663.

⁵ Vodin was murdered for prohibiting the marriage of Vortigern with Rowena. The succession of bishops

of London, however, and therefore the knowledge of Christianity among the people, continued through all the days of the pagan darkness—"adeo ut Archiepiscopus suos Londinum semper habuisse dicitur per annos trecentos, *quanquam latentes et clandestum*; ad ipsum nimirum tempus quo Augustinus huc appulit a Gregorio missus."—Godwyn, *De Præsulibus Anglia*, p. 170.

⁶ According to Godwyn, but thirty-four according to Ralph de Diceto. The two omitted by Godwyn are Gliso and Brixhelmns, between Odo and Dunstan. I give the succession, together with the facts to which I have alluded, in a tabular form.

[See the following tables.]

No.	Archbishop.	Date.	Pope.	Gift of the pall.	Remarks.
1	Augustine.	597	Gregory the Great.	Usum Pallii concedimus. —honoris Pallium ab hac sancta et apostolica, cui Deo Auctore deservimus, sede recipiat.—Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 676.	Consecrated to the see of Canterbury by the Archbishop of Arles.
2	Laurence.	604	Same.	Scriptis et idem Papa sibi	Consecrated by Justus.
3	Mellitus.	619	Boniface V.	hunc archiepiscopo miticus	Pope Honorius sent Paulinus a pall, who died a suffragan at
4	Justus.	624	Same.	Pallium in hæc verba: Tunc	Rochester.—Bede, lib. ii. c. 17—20.
5	Honorius.	634	Honorius I.	jurisdictioni subijci præci- pinus omnes Angliæ Eccle- sias et regiones.—Anglia Sa- cra, p. 679.	
6	Adcodatus.	654	Martin.	Commendamus tunc saga-	Theodore was the first who was acknowledged as metropolitan
7	Theodorus. A Greek, born at Tarsus, in Cilicia, from whose wise and judicious government the English Church was enabled to retain the purer portion of its original Oriental model, and to reject much Romish cor- ruption.—Bede, l. iv. c. 1, on whose remark this note is founded.	668	Vitalian.	cessime sanctitati omnes ecclesias in Insula Britan- nicæ positas.	of North and South Britain.—Bede, lib. iii. c. 29. He established Latin and Greek schools.—Bede, lib. iv. c. 2. Consecrated in France.—Chron. Sax. ann. 693. Theodore, by his wisdom and diligence, brought the English Churches to some union and consistency, and fixed the character and dignity of the English metropolitan. He divided the large dioceses, and formed new sees. He employed his zeal and energy in exciting the opulent to build churches in towns and villages. He began the division and settlement of parishes, and obtained grants from the kings, that those by whose munificence churches were built, should possess the right of patronage. The English Church received from him much of its distinct nationality. The princes took it, through his advocacy, under their protection. It

No.	Archbishop.	Date.	Pope.	Gift of the pall.	Remarks.
8	Brithwald.	693	Sergius I.	Precipimus ut omnis ho-	thus became blended with the state. Provisions were made for a settled ministry; and the reverence due to holiness became rooted in the hearts of the people.—Bede's Eccles. Hist., with Notes by Wheelock, p. 399.
9	Tatwin.	731	Gregory II.	mo totius Angliæ tibi obe- diat et sciat te primatem totius Insulæ.	
10	Nothelmus.	735	Gregory III.		Cuthbert, who was an old friend of Boniface, Abp. of Mentz, then legate of Rome, wrote to him on his election to the see of Canterbury, to say that all metropolitans should seek their palls from Rome, and canonically obey the orders of St. Peter.—Conc. Brit. vol. i. p. 237.
11	Cuthbert.	742	Zachary.		
12	Bregwin.	759	Paul I.	Tibi tuisque successoribus	Hadrian threatens (apostolica auctoritate) to the archbishop, bishops, priests, or deacons who oppose, deposition; to the laity, minor excommunication. The synodical epistle, says Inett, of the English bishops sent by Athelardus to Pope Leo III. (A.D. 798, 799), is little else than a remonstrance, showing the novelty and unreasonableness of that pretence [viz. going to Rome for their pall]; for therein they tell that prelate, that they understood by the history of Bede, that their predecessors knew nothing of the fatigue and drudgery of going to Rome for palls, as of late had been done; that Austin, after the conversion of the English, went to the Archbishop of Arles to receive consecration; that during his lifetime, he consecrated his successor, Laurentius; that Mellitus and Justus, the succeeding archbishops, were likewise consecrated by
13	Jæubert.	763	Same.	omnes Anglorum Ecclesias	
14	Adelard.	793	Hadrian.	— concedimus obtinendas,	

No.	Archbishop.	Date.	Pope.	Gift of the pall.	Remarks.
15	Wulfred.	803	Leo III.	Austin, and Paulinus by Justus ; that in an epistle of Albinus, or Alcuin, to King Offa, he had told that prince that the English archbishops ought to consecrate each other ; and that it was the duty of the Bishop of Rome to send a pall to the archbishop so consecrated ; that this had been practised in the cases of Justus, Paulinus, and Honorius ; and that the dissensions of princes had changed this usage, contrary to the canons of the Church ; and that whilst this usage continued, the Bishops of Rome practised the advice of our Saviour—"freely ye have received, freely give," and there was no room for simony.—Anglia Sacra, par. i. p. 461 ; also, Conc. tom. vii. p. 1109 ; De Gest. Angl. continuat. lib. i. c. 12, et ap. Baron. ad ann. 795 ; ap. Inett, vol. i. p. 230.
16	Theogildus.	830	Gregory IV.	
17	Chelnothus.	830	Sanc.	
18	Ethelred.	871	Hadrian II.	
19	Plegmundus.	891	Formosus.	Pall not mentioned. No mention by Malmesbury, Diceto, or Wharton, of Plegmund receiving the pall when he went to Rome.	
20	Athelm.	917	John X.	From the many anachronisms in the story, the excommunication of England is believed to be a legendary invention of Malmesbury, or his authorities, since Baronius, and all who have spoken of it, cite it from him only. But Rome had not yet begun to interdict kingdoms ; and the institution of several new sees, with the consecration of seven English bishops in one day, very soon after he became primate, sufficiently explains the cause of Plegmund's journey to Rome.—See Wharton's Angl. Sacr. par. i. p. 554 ; Diceto, Abbr. Chron. ann. 908 ; Ch. Hist. by Cressey, ann. 994.

No.	Archbishop.	Date.	Pope.	Gift of the pall.	Remarks.
21	Wulhelmus.	924	John X.		
22	Odo Se Goda Gliso.	934	John XI.		Not mentioned by Godwyn.
	Brixelmus.	• • •	• • •	• • •	Not mentioned by Godwyn.
23	Dunstan.	959	John XII.	Went to Rome for his pall, A.D. 960.	By his influence over King Edgar, Brixelm was forced from the see to admit him to the dignity.—Innett, vol. i. p. 320. Died the same year.
24	Ethelgar.	988	John XV.		
25	Siricius.	989	Same.		
26	Alfricus.	995	John XVI.		
27	Elphegus.	1005	John XIX.		
28	Livingus.	1012	Benedict VIII.		
29	Agelnothus.	1020	Same.	Went to Rome for his pall, A.D. 1006.	Received by the pope with unusual respect.—Osbern. Vit. S. Elphege.
				• • •	
				• • •	
30	Eadsius.	1038	Benedict IX.		
31	Robert.	1050	Leo IX.	Went to Rome the same year for his pall.	Agelnoth went abroad the year after his election to the pri- macy, probably for his pall, and brought home with him the arm of Augustine of Hippo, which he gave to the Church of Coventry. Syward, Abbot of Abingdon, officiated some time, Eadsius having given offence to Godwin by crowning Edward. Fled to Rome, A.D. 1052.
32	Stigand.	1058	• • •	Received his pall from the antipope, Benedict X.	
33	Lanfranc.	1070	Alexander II.	Forced by the pope to go to Rome for his pall.	Opposed the Hildebrand usurpations and the Norman interest in England.—Innett, vol. ii. p. 7. A Norman partizan of the Conqueror.
34	Anselm.	1093	Urban II.		
35	Rodulph.	1114	Same.		
36	William Corbel.	1122	Calixtus II.		
37	Theobald.	1138	Innocent II.	Pallium accepit Romæ ab Innocentio II. a quo etiam titulo donatus est Legatinati.	
38	Thomas à Becket.	1162	Alexander III.		

these, some are said to have been consecrated at Rome. We must conclude that they received the pall, though no bulls or other evidence remain upon the subject. Concerning others, the import of the rescripts, or bulls, which accompanied the presentation of the pall, is preserved. The custom of presenting and receiving the pall, *did not become the law of the Church till the time of Gregory VII.* Four forms of oaths have been proposed at various times by the pontiffs to be taken by the bishops. The first feudal oath, however, was drawn up by Gregory VII., though the oath of submission to all papal decrees and rescripts enforced by Nicholas was a precedent for all that followed. The law, that the pall should be accepted by every metropolitan to enable him to consecrate bishops; and that every metropolitan should take the oath of allegiance to the pope as his ecclesiastical feudal chief, completed the subjugation of the Churches to Rome⁷.

⁷ In the year 859, Nicholas I. having united the two archiepiscopal sees of Hamburg and Bremen under one jurisdiction, and having appointed Ansharius to be the first metropolitan of the province, (with the additional authority of legate of the apostolic see, whose commission he extended over the Danes, the Swedes, and many of the Slavonic and other Northern nations,) the pope demanded of him, upon the presentation of the pallium, the following oath—*Porro te Pallio uti non nisi more sedis concedimus apostolicæ, scilicet, ut successores tui per semet ipsos, vel per legatos suos et scriptum, fidem nobiscum tenere, ac sanctas sex synodos recipere, atque decreta omnium Romane sedis præsulum et epistolæ, quæ sibi delatæ fuerint, reuerabiliter observare atque perficere omnibus diebus suis, scripto se et juramento profiteantur.*—Rembert. Vit. Anshar. c. xxx. xxxvi. et Annal. Fuldens. ad ann. 857; Hartzheim, Concil. German. II. p. 172, ap. Gieseler.

In the pontificate of Alexander II., an oath was required from Wibert, on his ordination to the archiepiscopal see of Ravenna, which may certainly claim Hildebrand for its author. The terms of it are as follows; Consecratione rite celebrata, sacramento se obligavit, se fidelem esse Papæ Alexandro ejusque successoribus, qui per meliores essent electi Cardinales.—

Bonizonis Liber ad Anicum, lib. vi. in Cefeli Rer. Ser. Boic. ii. 810.

The oath of which this is the rudiment, was afterwards amplified and strengthened on the occasion of the Patriarch of Aquileia being consecrated by Gregory to his new dignity in the Council of Rome, in the year 1079; of which the following is a copy: *Ab hæc horâ et inantea fidelis ero B. Petro et Papæ Gregorio, suisque successoribus, qui per meliores cardinales intraverint. Non ero in consilio, neque in facto, ut vitam, aut membra, aut papatum perdant, aut capti sint mala captione. Ad synodum, ad quam me vocabunt, vel per se, vel per suos nuncios, vel per suas literas, veniam et canonicè obediã; aut, si non potero, legatos meos mittam. Papatum Romanum, et regalia S. Petri adjutor ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine. Consilium vero, quod mihi crediderint per se, aut per nuncios suos, sive per literas, nulli pandam, me sciente, ad eorum damnũ. Legatum Romanum eundo et redeundo honorificè tractabo, et in necessitatibus suis adjuvabo. His, quos nominatim excommunicaverint, scienter non communicabo. Romanam ecclesiam per secularem militiam fideliter adjuvabo, cum iuratus fuero. Hæc omnia observabo, nisi quantum sua certa licentia remiserit.*—Labb. Concil. x. 379.

Stigand refused to apply for a pall from the Gregorian party. He not only did so, but he persisted to act as archbishop when he had been three times denounced as a schismatic by the three successive popes (Remigius says *five*), who were governed by the power of Hildebrand⁸. *The language of the several bulls⁹ will show the progressive power of Rome.* Hildebrand resolved to perfect that power. His dominion could not be established *till England was entirely subdued.* To effect this the Archbishop of Canterbury must be made to submit to the Gregorians, or be deposed from his see. The pretence for a hostile movement towards England, its archbishop, and its independent though deferential Church, was wanting. The predecessor of Alexander II. under the influence of Hildebrand, had complimented the King of England¹, Edward the Confessor, on the uniform attachment of the English, and their sovereigns, to the

⁸ Remigius, a monk of Fescamp, in Normandy, was advanced by the king in 1067 to the see of Dorchester, the jurisdiction of which extended at the time over a large portion of the midland parts of England. He was consecrated to his see by Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, and made a profession of canonical obedience to that prelate as his metropolitan. Upon the deposition of Stigand, and the translation of Remigius to the see of Lincoln, the latter was required to abjure his profession which had been made to Stigand, and give a new declaration of his faith and submission. In this instrument he affirms that Stigand was regardless for nineteen years of repeated citations to Rome, and of the suspensions and prohibitions of the several popes, Leo, Victor, Stephen, Nicholas, and Alexander. The official document in which these accusations are contained, as given by Inett, has the following words: *Post paucos annos Robertum archiepiscopum partim vi, partim insidiis expulit, metropolitim invasit; pallium quod ipse a sede apostolica detulerat cum ceteris, ablatum usurpare non metuit. Quâ temeritate Romæ auditâ, à Romanis pontificibus sæpe vocatus, tandem damnatus et excommunicatus est. Ipse tamen XIX. annis in sui cordis obstinatione permansit: quo tanti temporis intervallo præfate Romanæ ecclesiæ*

pontifices Leo, Victor, Stephanus, Nicolaus, Alexander legatos suos, suis quisque temporibus, in Anglicam terram transmiserunt, et ne aliquis ad eum ordinandum accederet, apostolicâ auctoritate prohibuerunt.—Professio Remigii, MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, E. 1, quoted in Inett's Hist. Engl. Church, vol. i. ch. xxii. sec. xvi. p. 387.

The Saxon Chronicle informs us, that Pope Benedict X. on his accession to the see, forwarded the pall to Stigand; and a copy of this Saxon Chronicle, which has not been collated by Gibson for his edition, supplies us with the exact date, *MLVIII. xiii. Kal. Maii.* Her Benedictus papa sende Stigand thone pallium. "Now Benedict the pope sent the pall to Stigand." MS. Cott. Calig. A. xv. fol. 128, b, in the British Museum; see too the Chronicle Saxonum, ex MSS. Codicibus, p. 170, and the 4to, Oxford, 1692.

⁹ See Radulphus de Diceto (apud Decem Scriptores, by Twysden), who has preserved them all. The substance of his work is to be found at the end of Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii.

¹ Claret enim, Anglorum reges, pro reverentia et devotione quam exhibuerunt beato Petro, gloriâ et honore floruisse; ac ipsius patrocinio famoso triumphos obtinuisse.—Epist. Nicolai II. to Edward the Confessor in Alford's *Annals*, iii. 559, as also in Spelman and Baronius.

Church of Rome; and nothing had been done to offend that Church by any opposition to its increasing authority, excepting the indifference to its decrees shown by Stigand. The people of England made no complaint against their archbishop, to justify the interference of the pontiff. The Saxon princes were unable or unwilling to effect his deposition. The very attempt, also, on their part, to accomplish this object would have injured the great effort of Hildebrand, to exclude all temporal authority from the election or consecration of bishops. No alternative remained but to effect the deposition of Stigand by the ruin of a dynasty; and to employ a partizan who should establish the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome in return for the support of Rome in advancing his own political greatness.

The language of Gregory I. in presenting the pall to Augustine was, "Since the *new*² (or *pretended*) Church of England has been brought under your auspices to the grace of God, we grant to you the use of the pall;" and he proceeds to direct the division of the country into bishoprics, which should be subjected to the authority of Augustine³. Pope Boniface tells Honorius that the survivor of the archbishops of York or Canterbury, is to have the power of ordaining the successor to the deceased⁴; and on sending him the pall, he says, "We command that all the realm of England be subjected to your jurisdiction⁵." Vitalian informs Theodore, the Tarsian, that he commends to his profound wisdom and holiness all the Churches in the island of Britain⁶. Gregory II. sending the pall to Tatwin, writes to

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

² Bede tells us, that "Quia *nova* Anglorum ecclesia," were the words. R. de Diceto says that the expression was, "Quia *vana* Angliæ ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam perducta est." If the former be the right reading, the bull would imply that England had never before been converted to Christianity. If the latter reading be correct, it would imply that England had been christianized, but that its Christianity was not maintained in that form which Rome approved. I think it probable that the latter reading is correct. The word *nova* would imply an ignorance of which Gregory could not have been guilty. The word *vana* would bespeak a presumption and exclusiveness of which Rome is uni-

formly guilty.

³ The words of the bull are too well known to be repeated. I mention them to show the identity of the idea of supremacy, and not of communion, or brotherhood only, with the granting of the pall. Quæ (or qui) *tue ditioni subiacent*, is the expression of Gregory. The same Gregory sent the pall to France, Spain, Sicily, and Hungary.

⁴ Is qui superest, habeat potestatem alterum ordinandi.

⁵ Tue jurisdictioni subiei præcipimus omnes Angliæ ecclesias et regiones.

⁶ Commendamus tue sagacissimæ sanctitati omnes ecclesias in insulâ Britanniæ positas.

him, "We command every man through all England to be obedient to thee, and to acknowledge thee to be the primate of the whole island⁷." *The language of the bulls increased in strength with the increasing deference paid by the Churches to the see of Rome.* This was in the year 731. Ten years after we find that Pope Zachary sent Boniface into France on a legatine mission; and at a synod held at Orleans, or perhaps Auxerre, a canon was passed which enjoined that *all Christendom for the future should own the Church of Rome as the centre of communion*, and live in subjection to St. Peter's see; that metropolitans should apply to Rome for their pall, and pay a canonical obedience to St. Peter's injunctions⁸. *Their pretensions increased with their power.* Till this time, as De Marca affirms, the metropolitans of France had only made use of the Gallican pall, except the Archbishop of Arles as Vicar of Rome⁹. Boniface now desired to subject them more decidedly to the see of Rome; and to bring them under an unprecedented dependency, endeavoured to establish a law to compel them to bring the pall from Rome. The Gallican bishops, however, determined to preserve their archiepiscopal liberty as it had been provided by the canons, demurred to the canon of 742; and Boniface, the celebrated Englishman, (or as he is more generally called Winifred,) who had applied to Pope Zachary for three palls for the three several Archbishops of Rouen, Rheims, and Sens, wrote to Rome to countermand the order, in consequence of which Zachary remonstrated with him for submitting to the French archbishops¹. Boniface replied, that he had explained that the pall was meant only as a distinction between the metropolitans and suffragans; that it suggested an exemplary life, and a defence of metropolitan privileges; and two years after the passing of the canon, the Gallican Archbishops consented to receive it from Rome, according to the explanation given by Boniface. *To conquer their metropolitans was to subdue their Church*; and Rhabanus Maurus, therefore, justly tells us, that the pall was bestowed upon archbishops to show that *they represented the*

⁷ *Præcipimus ut omnis homo totius Angliæ tibi obediât, et sciât te primum totius insulæ.*

⁸ Bonifac. ad Cuthbert. epist. cv.

edit. Serrarii.

⁹ De Marca, lib. vi. c. vii. sec. i.

¹ Zachary, epist. v.

pope, and acted by the authority of the apostolic see². Upon which De Marca says, "We here learn why popes have been so diligent in sending palls to the Gallican bishops—it was to create an opinion that their metropolitan privileges, assigned by the canons, were owing to their being representatives of the pope."

The same language of authority, but in terms still more usurping, was used by Hadrian in conferring the pall upon Adelard, A. D. 793. This archbishop had requested the pope to command that the bishops whom Offa, King of Mercia, desired to subject to the Archbishop of Lichfield, should be made obedient to Canterbury. "To thee, and to thy successors, Adelard," says the pope, "we concede that all the Churches of the English should be subject. If any one shall attempt to oppose this our authority, we decree, by our apostolic power, whether he be archbishop or bishop, that he be deposed from his order; if he be a priest or a deacon, he is to be degraded from his ministry; if he be a layman, whether he be a king or prince, or of high or low degree, let him be rejected from the holy communion³."

The same importance was attached to the use of the pall in France and in the East. When Nicholas I. reproached Hincmar with ingratitude in forgetting that the favour of the pall had been granted to him by pope Benedict, he replied that the pall was no enlargement of his jurisdiction, as Nicholas wished to signify; and that *he merely took it because he thought it might procure some respect from his disorderly neighbours, who had not a due regard for the old canons.*

In 872, at the eighth general Council of Constantinople, a canon was passed to compel metropolitans to receive confirmation from their respective patriarchs, either by imposition of hands, or by the reception of the pall. This canon is not in the Greek text of the council. It occurs only in the version of Anastasius⁴. *But from this time the metropolitans*

² Rhab. Maur. lib. de Ordin. Antiphon; Propter apostolicam vicem pallii honor decernitur.

³ Si quis contra hanc ex apostolica auctoritate statuimus ut si archiepiscopus vel episcopus fuerit . . . Si autem ex numero laicorum fuerit,

tam rex (the word of course referred to Offa himself) quam princeps, aut quaelibet sive magna sive parva sit persona, a sacra communione se verit alienum.

⁴ De Marca, lib. vi. c. vii. sec. 5.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

of Europe had new conditions of servitude imposed on them by the see of Rome. They were compelled to promise obedience to Rome under their handwriting; and that they would execute the orders of the pope in every thing required of them, provided it were in conformity to the canons⁵; though before the new law introduced by Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, in the synod held by him A. D. 742, the metropolitans were under no subjection whatever to the apostolic see. At their consecration they were obliged to make a public profession of their faith, and give promise to the bishops of their province that they would keep the canons. No promise of obedience to Rome was enjoined; and *so contrary was any submission of this sort to the practice of antiquity*, that Leo I. opposed it, as injurious and degrading to the apostolic dignity⁶. Even the new law of Boniface, by which a promise of obedience and subjection to the see of St. Peter was, after much opposition and difficulty, at length consented to by the metropolitans, was limited to canonical obedience⁷.

Thus matters rested till the pontificate of Nicholas I., who, as we have seen, on the authority of the pseudo-Isidorian decretals, asserted that obedience was due to all papal decrees, as such⁸. This principle was the grand point which Nicholas aimed to establish. *The object of it was to destroy the independence of the metropolitans, and thus to gain uncontrolled ascendancy over the provinces of the earth.* The pall was the instrument by which this prodigious design was to be achieved. This plan of Nicholas, like all his other great attempts, was well matured. *He had yet no canon to support his pretensions.* The false decretals, and the donation of Constantine, were his chief authorities. Upon the strength of the latter of these forgeries Nicholas asserted, that the use of the pall was settled upon the successors of St. Peter, by Constantine⁹, it having been a right vested in emperors only before that donation.

Nicholas had now only to act on the assumed authority of the forgery, and to obtain an *ex post facto* canon for his in-

⁵ Ibid. sec. 6.

⁶ Ut supra.

⁷ Per omnia præcepta Petri canonica sequi.—De Marca, ut supra.

⁸ Epist. ad Univers. Gall. Episcop. A. D. 865. See Gratian 2, c. xv. q. 6.

⁹ De Marea, de Concord. Sacerd. et Imp. lib. vi. c. vi. sec. 6.

demnity. He did so. He united the two sees of Hamburg and Bremen. He made Anschar metropolitan of the New Province, and Vicar-General of Rome. He accompanied the appointment with the pallium, demanding *the oath of submission* to the see of St. Peter¹; and thus, in 866, *three hundred years after the introduction of the pall, as an acknowledgment of communion and brotherhood* in the faith, we see it gradually and almost imperceptibly converted into the means of transferring to the pope all appeals, which had formerly been made by suffragans to their metropolitans; of entirely abolishing provincial synods, by making the see of St. Peter an universal ecclesiastical court of appeal; of thus completing the downfall of metropolitan jurisdiction, by the introduction of an oath of submission to the pope as their sovereign pontiff; and thus overturning the whole system of Church government as established on the authority of the universal canons. It was a little cloud in the time of Gregory the Great, rising out of the sea like a man's hand. In the time of Nicholas I. the heavens had become black with clouds. In the reign of Gregory VII. the storm began which convulsed the Christian firmament, till the morning star of Luther, and the dawn of the reign of Elizabeth. In this as in other instances, Nicholas cut away every impediment to the forward march of Hildebrand, who used too well the two-edged sword which his predecessor had made ready for his hands. *He changed the metropolitan oath of obedience, into an oath of feudal allegiance*, and attached new clauses to the forms of submission. Gregory, in 1079, in a synod at Rome, added to the former confession of faith and attestation of canonical obedience, the oath of allegiance which a subject swears to his prince².

¹ Anschar had already received a pall as Archbishop of Hamburg from Gregory IV., but without any further condition than the customary profession of faith. When Nicholas I. united the two dioceses of Hamburg and Bremen however, he required Anschar to receive a new pallium, which he sent to him with the demand, that he and his successors should receive and maintain all decrees and rescripts of the Bishops of Rome, whether from themselves or their legates, and that they should observe and perform them all

their days, according to the oath thus sworn.—See Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 173, note †.

² In Regesto, Greg. VII. lib. vi.; and in the letter of Gregory to the subdeacon Peter, we find a clause introduced in the form of the oath of metropolitans, very unlimited in its application, by which the foreign metropolitan is required to swear that he will observe and maintain the rules of the holy fathers (*regulas sanctorum patrum*), in which may be comprised any Isidorian decretal, or unheard-of pre-

The form of consecration of archbishops introduced by Gregory, was speedily incorporated in the decretals, and became the common law. In another synod Gregory passed a canon forbidding bishops to swear homage to the civil sovereign; and in the thirteenth century these oaths of allegiance made by metropolitans and bishops to the supreme see of Rome had so effectually been established throughout the Western world, and were acted upon with such stringency, that no archbishop was allowed to call a council, bless the chrism, consecrate a church or a bishop, or ordain a clerk, until he had received his pall from the see of Rome; and submitted to all the obligations to the sovereign pontiff prescribed by the laws of Gregory VII.

We have no particular account of the language employed in the papal bulls between the time of Adelard and Stigand. Alexander II., the contemporary of Stigand, commanded that the archbishop should not exercise his functions till his election had been confirmed by the holy see. This law was passed under the sanction of his adviser Hildebrand, then Archdeacon of Rome. Stigand disobeyed that law. He prevented, by so doing, that universal submission to the see of Rome which Hildebrand was resolved to establish. He refused to apply to the new ecclesiastical dynasty for the pall, which the influence of Hildebrand was establishing at Rome. If he had done so he would have merged his metropolitan authority in that of the pontiff, by receiving, as a token of submission, the badge which he had received already as a pledge only of communion and respect. The false de-

cept that may be brought forward to support the most extravagant aggressions.

See, concerning the oaths of submission and allegiance demanded of metropolitans upon their receiving the pall, note d, p. 199.

By a decree of Gregory VII., metropolitans were declared disqualified for their functions unless they applied for the pall within three months after consecration: *Illud nisi nos apostolica mansuetudo detineret, severius in te animadversum sentires, quod hucusque præciarius tue dignitatis insigne, videlicet pallium, ab apostolica sede pro*

more acquirere postposuisti. Te ipsum non ignorare putamus, quam districte sanctorum patrum censura in eos judicandum statuerit, qui post consecrationem suam per tres continuos menses, pallium, quod sui sit officii, obtinere tepuerint. Proinde apostolica tibi præcipimus auctoritate, ut quia sanctorum patrum statuta parvi pendisti, nullum deinceps episcopum, vel sacerdotem ordinare, seu ecclesias præsumas consecrare, donec oneris tui supplementum, pallii videlicet usum, ab hac sede, impetraveris. — Greg. VII. lib. ix. Regest. epist. i., apud Labb. Coucil. x. 275.

cretals had long since designated the pope as the universal bishop of the Church; and the honour of the pallium now consisted in unconditional submission, and unqualified archiepiscopal obedience to the decrees of the autocratic pontiff³. *This kind of obedience was refused by the head of the English Church.* We must consider further, therefore, the circumstances of the history, and its singular consequences on the independence of England.

Edward the Confessor, having lived many years in Normandy, had become much attached to Norman manners, customs, and opinions. He surrounded himself, as much as possible, with Norman courtiers, bishops, and clergy, and by so doing gave much offence to his English subjects. In the year 1048, he appointed to the see of London, Robert, a monk of Jumiege, in Normandy. The influence of Robert at court was very great⁴, and much jealousy was consequently excited among the Saxon nobles. Stigand at this time was Bishop of Winchester, and the intimate and personal friend of Godwin, the principal nobleman of the

³ The principles introduced in the pseudo-Isidorian decretals have now become gradually infused and enforced in all the ordinations of the Western Church. The metropolitans had been perfidiously deprived of their rights, and having lost all power, could receive the pallium only on the most abject submission. By a comparison of the oath of allegiance imposed on metropolitans by Gregory, with the oath of submission dictated by Nicholas on granting the pall, it will further appear how decidedly the former was guided by the principles of the latter.

Nicholas so laid down his system in his answer to the Bulgarian ambassadors, that though it may be said to have been at the time rather in contemplation than in operation, he speaks of it with as much confidence as though it were not a new design of which he himself was really the author. Yet the account which he gives to the Bulgarian embassy, is the first known document that exhibits the plan by which the ecclesiastical and civil world were to be subjected to pontifical domination, by reducing all metropolitans to vassalage by the grant of the pall. In the year 866, Nicholas I, in his con-

ference with the deputation from Bulgaria, unfolded his project, and in somewhat more than 200 years after, we find that by the extraordinary energies of Hildebrand, that which Nicholas so unceremoniously described as then in practice, was accomplished with almost insuperable difficulty. His description of the system then to be established is as follows: Archiepiscopus accepta licentia, et pallii usu, ordinet ipse sibi deinceps episcopos, qui successorem suum valeant ordinare, &c. Episcopi, qui ab obeunte archiepiscopo consecrati sunt, simul congregati constituent archiepiscopum in throno non sedentem, et præter corpus Christi non consecrantem, prius quam pallium a sede Romana percipiat; sicut Galliarum omnes, et Germaniæ, et aliarum regionum archiepiscopi agere comprobantur.—Nicol. ad Consulta Bulgar. c. 73; apud Juris Pontificii Veteris Epitome, Antoni Augustini, Archiep. Tarracon. tom. i. lib. iii. tit. vi. c. 6, p. 87.

⁴ . . . amore antiquo, et recente honore primas jam partes in conciliis regis vendicabat, et quos vellet, potuit deprimeret, quos liberet evertere.—Will. of Malmesbury de Pont. ap. Godwyn de Presulibus, p. 56.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

national party; while Robert, Bishop of London, was no less the personal enemy of Godwin. After much dissension, in consequence of the refusal of Godwin to punish the citizens of a town, without trial, upon the accusation of a foreign nobleman; Godwin, chiefly through the instigation of Stigand, was restored to favour at court, and Robert fled to his monastery in Normandy. He was shortly after banished by a general assembly, or parliament as we should now call it; and Stigand was made archbishop, upon the theory, that banishment implied deposition. The Church of Rome, or rather the court of Rome, refused to acknowledge the truth of this theory. Robert went to Rome, and returned to his monastery in Normandy, provided with letters of acquittal and restoration. He had, however, been banished by the laws of England; and the real question now was, *whether the civil law of a free state, or the ecclesiastical law of a foreign Church, was to govern England.* It is the same question which, in ten thousand forms, ever has, and ever will agitate the world, till the supremacy of Rome conquers the world, or is resigned, or becomes obsolete. Robert died in Normandy soon after his return, and Stigand, without any further ceremonial, retained possession of the see.

At the time of his elevation, Leo IX. was pope. We have an evidence that the pall was given to Stigand either by Leo, who died two years after, or by Victor, who held the see three years, or by Stephen IX. In the year 1060, Benedict X. was appointed for a short time to the see, and was deposed in the manner related in the survey of his pontificate. He was, however, for the time the reigning pope, and from him Stigand (the record is still in the British Museum, see note 8, p. 294) received the pall. The deposition of Benedict, and the election of Nicholas II. as his successor, were effected by the management of Hildebrand, who convened a council of bishops and nobles at Florence⁵, under the sanction of Duke Godfrid, with whom he proceeded to Rome. Nicholas then excommunicated Benedict⁶ as an usurper, and with him all his followers, of whom Stigand must be supposed to have been one of the chief. The excommunication had no more effect

⁵ "Primates Romanorum," says cum suis fautoribus omnibus excommunicans.—Baronius, ad ann. 1059.

⁶ . . . invasorem Romanæ sedis,

upon Stigand than a similar denunciation would have at present upon the archbishop of Canterbury. Whether he was avaricious, or whether he was justified in holding the see of Winchester with the see of Canterbury, as the historians of the day alleged against him; these were not the reasons of his despising the excommunication of Nicholas. He had been appointed by the king and the nation, and *he was the last archiepiscopal representative at that time in Europe*, who was anxious to remain in communion with Rome, and to respect the Bishop of Rome as the first bishop of the West; but who would not confess the pope to be the supreme ruler to whose dictates himself and the people were to submit, as if they were of divine authority.

Alexander II. succeeded. This pontiff is said to have been still more under the influence of Hildebrand. Nicholas had been contented with excommunicating Stigand in general terms. Alexander proceeded further, and suspended him as a schismatic⁷. Stigand despised the sentence of deposition, as he had previously despised that of excommunication; and he continued to exercise his office of Archbishop of Canterbury. Under these circumstances Edward the Confessor dies. Harold succeeds. William claims the throne. A short time before these events, the pope had granted a banner to the Norman, Roger Guiscard, of Sicily, and received a large reward from his treasury of plunder in return. The double motive of treasure promised by William, and of the successful reduction of the Church of England under the more despotic power of the Hildebrandine theory, sufficiently explain the blessing of Alexander upon the expedition. Harold had proved the light estimation in which his party held the despotism of the Church of Rome, by still retaining his friendship for Stigand. The appeal of William to the pope demonstrated to Alexander and to his subtle adviser Hildebrand, that the most opportune period had arrived when his own enemy might be deposed for contumacy, as the former pope had decreed; when Harold⁸ should be deposed, the treasury of St. Peter be enriched, *the Church of*

⁷ . . . ab Alexandro papa tanquam schismaticus suspensus est.—Chron. Abbatum et Episc. Elien. MSS. Wood, ap. Godwin de Presulibus, p. 59, note.

⁸ Haroldus iudicium pape parvipendens, potius circum se militiam colligit.—Baronius from Ingulph. and Matth. of Westminster.

England be made submissive by means of another metropolitan, and the general cause of Rome strengthened through Europe.

All this was to be effected by the success of one mighty expedition. The appeal of William was successful. The banner was sent to him as it had been sent before to Guiscard. The blessing of the pope was given. The expedition against England was successful; and five hundred years elapsed before the independence of the Church of England was rescued from the grasp of Rome, and recovered to the sovereign and people, from the tyranny of the policy of Hildebrand.

Every circumstance which preceded, attended, or immediately followed the battle of Hastings, proves to us that the independence of the Church of England under Stigand, when he refused to submit to the sentences of excommunication by Nicholas, or of deposition by Alexander, as they were each directed by Hildebrand, was the real cause of the blessing of the pope being bestowed upon William, and therefore one principal source of his success. Aldred, the Archbishop of York, had been graciously received at Rome by Nicholas. He was in favour with the pope. He had been the friend and fellow pilgrim to Rome with Tosti, the brother of Harold. Stigand had not refused to crown William. William refused to be crowned by him, because he was not acknowledged to be Archbishop of Canterbury by the pope⁹. The country had been deeply injured by the influence of the Normans whom Edward the Confessor had placed in high offices. These were now the friends of William. Stigand, however, exerted himself to the utmost to uphold the liberties of the people, and in this respect he acted in conjunction with Aldred of York. Aldred, however, had received the pall from the Gregorian Nicholas; and William, therefore, paid to him the homage he refused to Stigand. Immediately after the battle of Hastings, when it was necessary that William should proceed with some caution, he took no hostile measures against Stigand. In the spring of 1067, the

⁹ . . . id testatur Guillelmus, Ingulphus, et alii antiquiores omnes rerum Angliæ Scriptores, non coronatum a Stigando, sedem Cantuariensem tum illegitime occupante, sed ab archiepiscopo Eboracensi Aldredo, non quod id

Stigandus facere recusasset . . . sed quod idem Stigandus ejus sedis inceptor, in Angliâ pessime audiret ab omnibus, et jam fuisset ab Alexandro sacris suspensus.—Baron. ad ann. 1066.

Conqueror crossed the Channel to Normandy. His suite was composed of Prince Edgar, Stigand, Agelnoth abbot of Glastonbury, and others of the nobility, whose influence in his absence he had most reason to dread. The respect paid on this occasion to Stigand by the king, is evidence of the awe in which he held him, on account of his influence over the English. William always rose from his seat when he entered the room : and on his journey through Normandy, the clergy and nobility were everywhere required to meet him in procession¹. This outward homage, however, may be justly suspected of insincerity. It was the evident interest of William to conciliate his new subjects ; and Stigand, as a hostage for England, must not be insulted. But four years did not elapse from the battle of Hastings before the anger of the Vatican was displayed, in carrying into effect the double sentence of Nicholas and Alexander. Three legates were sent from Rome to call a council at Winchester, to depose, according to Baronius², Stigand, the invader of the see of Canterbury ; who under that title had accepted his pall from Benedict the pseudo-pontiff. *Baronius, who had no reason to disguise the truth, relates the real and only cause of his deposition.* He was degraded from his rank and office, because he had not done homage to the party of Hildebrand, and by so doing betrayed the cause of the independence of the Church of England. *The reason of his deposition was his disobedience to the canon laws of the Church of Rome.* Three crimes were alleged against him : that he held the bishopric of Winchester in conjunction with the archbishopric of Canterbury ; that he used the pall of his predecessor while he was yet alive ; and that he was the friend of Pope Benedict IX. whom the Hildebrandine party had excommunicated. Hume has sufficiently shown the futility of these accusations ; though he has not sufficiently explained the real motives by

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

¹ Thorn's Chronicle, p. 1787. The author of this work was a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Thorn affords many evidences of the noble resistance to the progress of the invading army, made by the abbot and Stigand, with whom the Normans were obliged to treat ; and give hostages not to commit depredations on their march

through Kent.

² Alexander Papa legatos a latere misit in Angliam, qui, congregata illic Synodo Vintoniensi, gradu deponeret Stigandum invasorem ecclesie Cantuariensis, qui eo titulo, quod pallium accepisset a Benedicto pseudo-pontifice, diu retinisset illam ecclesiam.— An ann. 1070.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

which the Conqueror and the court of Rome were each actuated in their measures against Stigand.

The crimes of which the archbishop was accused "were mere pretences," says Hume. "Stigand's ruin was resolved on; and was prosecuted with great severity. The legate Ermenfroy degraded him from his dignity; the king confiscated his estate and cast him into prison, where he remained in poverty and want during the remainder of his life, which was shortened by hunger. Like rigour was exercised against all the other English prelates." Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, was the only one of the English episcopacy who escaped the general proscription, and remained in possession of his dignity. Aldred, Archbishop of York, died a little before of grief and vexation. He left his malediction on that prince, on account of the breach of his coronation oath; and of the extreme tyranny with which he saw he was determined to treat his English subjects.

The writers of the Church of Rome exult over the suffering of Stigand³. The sees of England were immediately filled with foreigners, attached to the new policy of Rome. Lanfranc, the defender of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the opponent of Berengarius, the intimate friend of Hildebrand, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc complied with all the demands of Rome. He proceeded in person, but after some reluctance, to that city. He was received with equal affection and respect by the pope, whose pupil he had been at the abbey of Bec. He accepted from the hands of Alexander his highest honour, the archiepiscopal pall, with all its new Gregorian conditions; *and subjected England and its Church to the holy see more effectually than it had hitherto been*. Learned, munificent, blameless in conduct, zealous in maintaining the views he believed to be right, Lanfranc was a worthy instrument of the ambition and policy of Hildebrand. Sincere, though wrong, in his theology—convinced that he was upholding the cause of Christianity when he defended the mode in which it was taught by the Church of Rome—he satisfied his erring con-

³ . . . hic finis nequissimi hominis ac sordidissimi, qui diu ab ipso tempore inuasor alienæ sedis, nullam cum Romana Ecclesia habere meruit communionem. At cum hæc tolerasset

pius Rex Edwardus, Deus ultorem regem externum immisit, vindicem acerbissimum ejus scelerum.—Baron. Annal.

science most, when he most effectually destroyed the independence of the Church he governed. We are much mistaken if we suppose that the hypocrisy of Rome is more to be dreaded than its sincerity. He permitted the clergy who were already married to retain their wives; but commanded permanent celibacy to the unmarried, and forbade the bishops to ordain for the future any but the unmarried. He established the belief in transubstantiation. He wrote commentaries on the Psalms and Epistles, and is said to have corrected the Vulgate. A better choice could not apparently have been made by Hildebrand to promote the designs of papacy upon the proud island which he had resolved to subdue. Popery was planted upon the havock and devastation left by that conquest, which had been sanctioned by its sanguinary benediction. The liberties of the Anglican Church were lost; but the indignation of the ecclesiastics and people of England must have been lessened, when they saw the grossness of the usurpation veiled, and softened, and alleviated by the united learning, virtues, talents, and generosity, which distinguished the clerical instruments of the usurper.

Here, then, we end the review of the pontificate of Gregory. *The ecclesiastical power had now become so fully merged in the papal power, that the supremacy of Rome was tacitly or openly acknowledged, excepting in Ireland, by all the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and with them by nearly all the clergy of the Catholic Church of Christ*⁴. It was acknowledged, though not defined. It was limited wherever it was resisted, in proportion to the perseverance with which it was opposed. *It was omnipotent and most arrogant, where it was received with most implicit submission.* I have said sufficient respecting the personal character of Gregory. He appears to have been a man of no less fortitude under suffering, than boldness in action, and sincerity in motive. He had imbibed in his earliest years the conviction that St. Peter, and the Bishop of Rome, his presumed successor, possessed, by divine right, the power and authority of Christ Himself upon earth. His letters

⁴ Gregory's great design consisted in using the elements of power put into his hands, by making sovereigns unconditionally responsible to the Church, and the Church unconditionally responsible to Rome, and thus to concentrate both the secular and ecclesiastical power in himself.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

are full of eloquence, and noble and pious thoughts⁵. They fully prove his sincerity. The last admirers of his general policy have rested their defence⁶ of his conduct and motives as exhibited in these letters. I doubt not the validity of their reasoning. Gregory was sincere; *but his sincerity, like that of his brethren, was the sincerity of those whom Christ describes* as thinking they do God service when they killed his disciples. It was the sincerity of Saul, the persecutor, haling men and women to prison, and breathing out threatening and slaughter. This apostle of the high priest when on his way to Damascus, was as sincere as when he was the apostle of Christ to the Gentiles, upholding the faith he once persecuted. Sincerity implies only conviction, not faith; integrity of principle, not freedom from error. Like Cromwell, in a later age, he was the representative of a certain mass of error, which was the reaction from a mass of opposite or antagonist error. His career began with earnest zeal to overthrow a supposed or real evil; and it ended with unanticipated power. Gregory saw, says his apologist⁷, the line of conduct which he ought to pursue from the beginning. He believed that the "Head of the Church was, by unavoidable circumstances, superior to kings and princes"—"the manner in which this idea is to be developed, is to be judged solely by his letters." From them, the system adopted by Gregory is proved to be, "that the Church of God should be independent of every temporal power: the altar is reserved to *him alone*, who, by uninterrupted succession, descends from St. Peter: the sword of the prince is subject to, and derived from, him, because it is of this world"—"the Church ought to be free, by means of her chief—of the first man in Christendom—the pope." "The pope holds the place of God, because he governs his kingdom upon earth. As the things of the world are moved by the emperor, in like manner the things of God are moved by the pope." "The world is enlightened by two great luminaries, one of which is larger, the sun; the other smaller, the moon. The

⁵ Butler's Lives of the Saints—Memoir of Gregory, May 25.

⁶ See the article on Gregory VII. in the Dublin Review, No. XII. Voight, the advocate of Gregory, as well as his reviewer, defends also the

worst principles of the papacy throughout. There can be no peace for the world, while the old usurpation over the Churches is thus commended.

⁷ The author of the Eulogy on Gregory in the Dublin Review, p. 311.

apostolic authority is like to the sun ; the royal power may be compared to the moon. As the moon gives not light save from the sun, so emperors, kings, and princes come from the pope, because he comes from God.”—Such are the extracts made by Voight from the letters of Gregory, and they form the best and only apology for his actions. *He was most sincere, when he was most wrong.* He was raised up to repress great evils ; but he established greater evils in their place.

The policy which for a certain time may be useful in restraining the violence of arbitrary, cruel, or ignorant princes—which may serve to subdue the lawlessness of military banditti, or to check the turbulence of a superstitious people, was, and is, totally unsuited to the management of well ordered government ; or to a scripturally enlightened and free people. *This is the curse of Rome*, not that it *has been* wrong ; but that having been wrong, it *will never, never change* its policy, opinions, or decrees. As the indignant civilization of the world forsook the pagan superstitions till no victims were brought to the altars⁸, so will it be with that Church which claims “*the right divine of priests to govern wrong,*” to teach error, to boast their apostolical descent as the sanction for *absurdity* ; to inflict damnation in the future state upon the rejectors of their *folly* ; and to punish man on earth before they consign the body to the grave, and the soul to torments. *The sincerity of error is the greatest curse to mankind.* Hypocrisy is more cautious. It shrinks from the unavoidable danger attendant upon the collision between truth and falsehood. But the sincerity of error can blind the eyes with zeal, inspire the tongue with eloquence, and nerve the arm with strength. Like the volcano to the peaceful and lowly hamlets at the foot of the mountain, it overwhelms with resistless and fatal ruin the spiritual religion, which desires only to fear God and be at peace. The hypothesis is false, totally false, which makes Rome a hypocrite. *The curse of the Christian Catholic Church is the fatal sincerity, which confounds the pope with the Saviour, the Church with the Scripture, and the priest with both.* This, and this alone, is the true secret of the dark slavery which gradually crept upon Europe ; which was deepened by Nicholas, which

⁸ See the often quoted passage from Tertullian.

BOOK III. arrived at its midnight gloom under Hildebrand and Inno-
 CHAP. IV. cent III.; and which began to be dispersed by Wickliff and Luther.

Hildebrand believed that he was the representative and the vicar of Christ, that he, or the Church which he governed, could not teach wrongly. He subdued the world beneath his feet, as the inheritor of the power of God. The celibacy of the clergy was but the greater perfection of the partakers of divinity. The investiture of bishops by princes, was an intrusion into the sanctuary of the King of kings. The members of the priesthood were no longer, after their ordination, English, German, French, or Italian. They were the unmarried brethren of the family of the rulers of mankind, governing in the name of God, and upholding the honour, interests, and influence of one unerring caste, as much superior to other men as Deity is superior to kings. *This was the policy, this the theory, this the sincerity of Hildebrand.* One family should speak one language; let them, therefore, and let all whom they can govern, pray to their Father in Latin. One family should have but one director; let them, therefore, be orally instructed by their elder brethren, and let the Bible be withdrawn from its superintendence over the motives, affections, and actions; lest the younger children of the laity discover that their elder brethren, the priesthood, have guided them erroneously⁹. If God command it, no sacrifice of loyal feeling, human kindness, or natural affection, is too great to please Him. If God be omnipotent, the very omnipotence is partaken by the priest who inherits his authority;

⁹ Gregory (see p. 275,) was applied to by Vratislaus, Duke of Bohemia, to permit the service of their Church to be performed in the Selavonic, or native tongue. In pronouncing his negative, it is proper that the terms of his refusal of this permission should be observed. "It has pleased the Almighty," he says, "that the Scripture should be obscure to some, and not understood by all, *lest it should fall into contempt*;—nor must it be alleged that all were allowed in the primitive times to read the Scriptures, it being well known that, in those early times, the Church connived at many things which the holy Fathers disapproved and corrected when the Christian religion was firmly established. We prohibit,

therefore, what you thus imprudently request, by the authority of the blessed St. Peter, and we command you for the honour of God to resist this rashness with all your power."—Epist. Gregor. lib. vii. epist. xi. ap. Labbe, p. 234.

A similar application had been made 200 years before by Pulcher, Prince of Moravia, to John VIII., who, in consequence, confirmed a decree of Nicholas I. which forbade the ordination of any bishop or priest who did not understand the language of the country; thus solemnly enjoining that which Gregory solemnly, *in the name of St. Peter*, prohibited.—Johan. Epist. 247.

and as nothing can be hard to the Almighty, even the bringing Christ down from heaven at the will of the priest is not too difficult. All this was believed, and believed with sincerity. Sincerity was not only attended with errors which need not be further repeated, but it emboldened Hildebrand to anathematize his sovereign *in the name of God*. Sincerity exalted the papal power over the *ecclesiastical* power, which had become, indeed, the partaker of its errors; and was now compelled to submit to its dominion. Sincerity rendered him severe, vindictive, and inexorable¹. It endued him with patience to pursue the victim he resolved to punish. It disguised revenge under the name of justice to the cause of God. It inspired him with firmness in exile, imprisonment, and death; so that his last words of resignation to suffering, clothed his motives in the language of Scripture: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in banishment²." Sincerity enabled him, if he had indeed the emotions of human nature, at the sight of agonizing suffering, to suppress these emotions; and to preside with appalling serenity of countenance, and placid calmness of manner, at executions, massacres, and tortures³. In the same propor-

¹ History of Popery, p. 62.

² The inflexibility with which Gregory continued to assert his righteousness to the last, as described by his biographer, Paul Bernried, seems more to correspond with his character than the confession which is reported by Sigebert, Matthew Paris, and Florentius Wigorniensis, to have been made in his latter moments—*That it was through the instigation of the devil that he had caused so much disturbance in the Christian world*—in extremis positus confessus est Deo et S. Petro et toti ecclesie, se valde peccasse in pastoralis cura, et, suadente diabolo, contra humanum genus odium et iram concitasse. Dimisit ac dissolvit vincula omnium bannorum suorum imperatori et omni populo Christiano vivis et defunctis, &c.

³ Centium filium præfecti Stephani, prius fidelem suum, in carcerem misit, et in vase undique aculeis vestito, mille et mille mortibus cruciavit. Qui postquam evasit, ipsum Hildebrandum cepit. De enjus captione antequam evaderet, omnibus qui captivus illius cooperatores fuerant, hoc debitum publice remisit, quod postea infideliter

vindicavit. Centium, cui omnia remiserat, persequi cœpit: et novem de hominibus Centii in patibulis suspensio interfecit ante portas sancti Petri.—Vita et Gesta Hildebrandi, Auct. Benone Cardin. p. 80, apud Fascic. Rerum Expetend. edit. Edw. Brown.

The son of a widow, having been condemned to penance and a year's banishment, and having completed his term of exile, the widow leading her son in a halter to the foot of the pope, and expressing a desire to receive him again on his holiness signifying himself satisfied that he had expiated his offence, he bade her *be gone and let him rest*. He afterwards sent his officers to apprehend the son of the widow, and put him to death. They replied with one voice, that he had fulfilled the penance and exile, and having thus expiated the offence, they could not do it. On this, without regard to laws, ordinances, or repentance, he ordered the foot of the widow's son to be cut off, the effects of which caused his death three days afterwards.—Life and Acts of Hildebrand by Cardinal Benno, p. 81, or Fascic. Rer. p. 80, ut supra.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

tion as Hildebrand was sincere, and in the same proportion as the zealous members of his Church are sincere also; in that same proportion they dishonour God, injure man, suppress truth, and degrade reason. Their piety is a crime against man. Their virtue is a crime against their own happiness, peace, and freedom. What may be the state in the world to come of those among them who may be thus sincere, we know not. The inquisitor and the victim, wretched as the system of belief and polity was during the ascendancy of the ecclesiastical and papal power, would have willingly changed places, inflicted the same torments, or undergone the same sufferings, for both were equally sincere. But this great lesson we learn from the history before us, that the principal object which ought now to be pursued, is *the reconciliation of sincerity with truth*. While of Hildebrand we may assert with safety, that though his religion might have saved his soul; it gratified his ambition, soothed his sorrows, stimulated his zeal, chilled his affections, and hardened and demonized his heart.

CLVIII. *Victor III., died 1087.*

Hildebrand died in the year 1085, the same year in which Edgar Atheling, with two hundred English gentlemen who had been dispossessed of their estates by the Normans, proceeded to the Holy Land. At the time of his death he was an exile from Rome at Salerno. The princes of Europe were but beginning to learn the lesson of implicit submission to the papal power. Even William I. and Lanfranc themselves, though they had both been advanced to the highest places among their brethren, as the Sovereign and the Archbishop of England, could not be induced to yield to the Bishop of Rome that full extent of homage which the pontifical ambition demanded. After Lanfranc had been a short time in England, the reluctance he evinced to execute all the exorbitant requisitions of the pope, drew from the latter remonstrances and reproaches, which seemed unjustifiable to the former, who accordingly retorted, and the ancient friendship which had subsisted between them became considerably weakened. The king and Lanfranc seem to have understood each other on the policy of delaying, rather than positively

refusing, compliance with the demands of the pontiff. They professed the most profound reverence for the apostolical injunctions, and made the unsettled state of the country a plea for their delay in executing the proposals of the holy see. Though Hildebrand was greatly dissatisfied to see his authority least effective where he expected and desired to have it most observed, he concealed his disappointment and resentment, and equal jealousy and caution was kept up for some time on both sides ⁴.”

⁴ When Gregory pressed Lanfranc to visit Rome, in order that he might communicate to him secrets of the first importance, which he could not commit to writing (Conc. x. c. 306), Lanfranc made the unsettled state of England, the time and toil of so long a journey, and the unwillingness of the king to permit his absence from the kingdom, his pleas for declining to comply with the desires of his holiness (Epist. Lanfr. viii. Opera, p. 305). When Gregory was firm in his seat, and the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the Continent had become subservient to his authority in 1076, he sent his legate Hubert, to inform William that England was the patrimony of St. Peter, and that he expected an oath of fealty from him as sovereign lord (Lanfr. Opp. p. 307). The opinion of the king was so different to this doctrine, that he gave Gregory by letter to understand “that his predecessors had never given any oath of fidelity to the bishops of Rome, that he had never promised any thing of the kind, and that as to fealty, he would pay no such demand.” (Wilhelm. Epist. ap. Lanfr. Opp. p. 304.) Gregory, mortified by this resolute conduct of the king, resented it by loading Lanfranc with reproaches of obligations due from him to the holy see; and by renewing his summons to the archbishop to appear in Rome within four months without fail. (Id. epist. viii. p. 305; Greg. Epist. lib. ix. ep. 20, Conc. x. 291.) The king and the metropolitan appear to have concerted the plan of this defence against the proceedings of the pontiff; for the excuse this time was, that “by the laws of England no man could go to a foreign country without licence from the king, and that his majesty would not permit him to stir from his see.” (Ibid.) To allege a royal law in prejudice to a divine right, was a thing so

directly opposed to the opinions of Gregory, that the affront was too great to be borne. However, to still further try the effect of words, he gave the king an opportunity of considering the marvellous power “which God had given him to correct as well as admonish kings” (Greg. Epist. lib. vii. ep. 25); but finding William did not see things in the same light as himself, and as the continental kings had done; he wrote to Hubert to tell the conqueror, that of all the kings of the earth, pagan kings not excepted, none had ever dared to attempt to oppose the apostolic see as he had done. Where was one to be found so impudent and irreverent as to forbid archbishops and bishops from obeying the summons of the holy see? If he continued this conduct, he was told that the anger of St. Peter would speedily be launched against him. (Greg. Epist. lib. vii. epist. i. col. 218.) These things went on between the pope and the English Church for eight years. In 1082 the great struggle of Gregory was past. His grand schemes were crossed, and he was rapidly sinking. In his despair, he wrote with much bitterness to Lanfranc: “Though you have frequently been invited to Rome,” says the mortified pontiff, “upon matters of import to the Christian faith, yet out of pride, or negligence, you continued to abuse my patience: the fatigue of the journey ought to be no excuse; you have urged no canonical impediment. If you come not before the Feast of All Saints, I shall suspend you from your office.” (Baron. Annal. 1081, § 19.) This contest ended by Lanfranc again justifying his former conduct, and denying his claim to obedience from him as Archbishop of England. (Lanfr. Epist. viii. Opera. p. 305, edit. Dacherii, fol. Paris; or p. 29 of the recent edition by Dr. Giles, 8vo, Oxon. 1844.)

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

As a powerful or wealthy commoner in our limited monarchy may be elevated by his sovereign to the peerage, and consider himself bound therefore in gratitude and honour to support and uphold the measures of his sovereign to the utmost of his power; but still refuses his obedience so far as to betray the privileges of the people, break the written laws, violate the dictates of conscience, or infringe the rights of his newly-adopted order—so it was that the ambition of the pontiffs was frequently opposed and checked by the very men whom they raised and honoured, when they exacted more from them than they could justly yield. The imperial, regal, and ecclesiastical power of the several countries of Europe, were all in their turn caressed, courted, and favoured by the pontiffs, and they all in their turn desired to be grateful. The misfortune, however, of Rome was, “that its appetite did grow by what it fed on.” Claim led to claim, and one act of power led to another, till the yoke became unendurable. *Its whole history is the narrative of perpetual encroachment and perpetual resistance*—of encroachment upon the ecclesiastical as well as civil power; and of resistance by those who desired, but in vain, to be the friends and upholders of its dominion. Hildebrand was succeeded by one of those of his own party whom he had named as worthy of the pontificate.

Victor III. continued the war against the imperial party with much success, and confirmed in a council at Beneventum⁵ the decrees passed against investitures. Guibert, however, who had been made pope by the imperial party, remained in the pontifical see one year after the death of Gregory, and neither he nor Victor interfered in the affairs of England⁶. The scruples of Gregory, however, with respect

⁵ Labb. Concil. x. 418.

⁶ I agree with Gibbon in his remarks on the succession of pontiffs after Gregory VII. After remarking that Gregory died in exile in Salerno, he observes, “Six and thirty of his successors, till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal conflict with the Romans. Their age and dignity were often violated; and in the churches the solemn rites of religion were polluted with sedition and murder. A repetition of such capricious brutality, without connexion or design, would be tedious and disgusting; and I shall content myself with some events of the twelfth century, which repre-

sent the state of the popes and the city.”—Gibbon, xii. 259.

Gibbon accordingly confines himself to these objects. I shall briefly direct attention to the continued clashing between the papal power of Rome and the ecclesiastical power of England. I omit, therefore, all reference to the contests between Matilda and the emperor; the war between Guibert and Victor; and the combination between the pope, Genoa, and Pisa against the Saracens. It is sufficient to say, that the pope was now a great temporal prince, the chief ruler of Europe, and the arbiter for 500 years between all the nations and princes of the civilized world.

to the sincerity of the English clergy, led him apparently to apprehend, that the unsettled state of the country might afford his rival an opportunity of forming a party in opposition to his authority ; and the lukewarmness of the king and Lanfranc served to increase his apprehension.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

A jealousy of the power and influence possessed by the clergy over the people of England, was evidently dreaded as much by William as by the pope, and he consequently diminished it in every possible direction. He withdrew from the clergy all public trusts, which had been chiefly placed in their hands. He placed Norman abbots over the monasteries, and gave the lands belonging to them into secular hands upon the feudal tenures of baronage and knight's fees. He united with Lanfranc in the subdivision of dioceses into archdeaconries and rural deaneries⁷; and, in short, converted

⁷ Though many of the changes introduced into the administration of the English Church by the Norman king and his chosen metropolitan, Lanfranc, were for the purpose of supplanting the more ancient Saxon customs, and substituting a system more in conformity with the new projects of Hildebrand; yet William and the primate seem to have been aware of the impolicy of permitting the power which had fallen into their hands to pass over into the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. Under the Saxons, the authorities of Church and State had gone on hand in hand. By the laws of Athelstan, Edgar, and Edward the Confessor, in the county courts, the united presence of the bishop of the diocese and of the magistrate of the county were required, the former to explain the laws of God, the latter those of the realm. (Spelman's *Præf. ad Conc. Brit.*, citing *Lambard. Leg. Æthelst.* pp. 45. 53. *Leg. Edgar*, pp. 62. 101. 111. 138.) William and Lanfranc caused the ecclesiastical and civil appeals to be separated; and a law was enacted, by which bishops and archdeacons were forbidden to hear ecclesiastical causes in the civil courts, and by which consistory courts were ordered to be held for the time to come in the respective dioceses. (*Concil. Brit.* ii. 14.) By this change it became necessary, also, for the government to provide for civil appeals, by the periodical attendance of itinerant judges to hold county and

hundred courts; and for business of the more weighty kind, the king's bench, the exchequer, and the common pleas were established. This separation of the courts and setting up of the consistory, changed the forms of ecclesiastical proceedings so much; that to bring the affairs of the Church to suit those of the state, and to preserve in the new system the analogy to the ancient division into counties and hundreds, the bishops divided their dioceses into archdeaconries and deaneries, making the courts of the archdeacons agree with the secular division of counties from which they severally took their titles; and the districts of the rural deans being also answerable to the hundreds, into which counties were divided. Some conformity to the ancient division was preserved in the new regulations (*Harpsfield, Hist. Eccles.* p. 258; *Bishop Stillingfleet's Duties of Parochial Clergy*, pp. 146, 147); though these changes were made, in all probability, at the instigation of the court of Rome, and with a view to bring England under the same consistorial regimen which had extended itself wherever the subtle influence of Rome had been diffused. Indeed, it was one of the finely contrived movements in the compound machinery of Nicholas and Hildebrand, by which the Churches and states of the Christian world were to be guided in all their motions and directions. The unwillingness of William and Lanfranc

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

the ecclesiastical as well as civil departments of the state into one entire feudal property, of which he himself determined to be sovereign lord, without admitting the pope to any share whatever in the control which he exercised over both Church and state.

CLIX. *Urban II., died 1099.*

Otho, the Archbishop of Ostia, one of the three mentioned by Gregory on his death-bed as a person able and eligible to succeed him, was chosen by Matilda and the Gregorian party to succeed Victor⁸. He had gained the favour of Gregory by the satisfactory execution of a mission into Germany, where he had been sent as his legate to excite the people to rebellion against Henry. In the first year of his pontificate, he issued a bull to endow with its ancient privileges the city of Toledo⁹, in Spain, which had been recently recovered from the Moors by Alphonsus. Bernard, a Benedictine monk, was unanimously chosen metropolitan of the see, as well by the clergy as by Alphonzo the Sixth, king of Leon and Castile. Urban vested him with legatine authority over all the other provinces of Spain. The Spanish bishops of Narbonne and Tarracon opposed this grant, but in vain. They contended that the former Archbishops of Toledo had never any power in their provinces, as the bull asserted; but the pontiff would listen to no objections, and Bernard was not a man to abate any thing of the utmost rigour of discipline, warranted by the authority which his office conferred¹.

In 1089, this pope called a large council² at Rome, which excommunicated the emperor, Clement III. the antipope, and all the bishops of Germany except five, who were opposed to the emperor, and consequently adherents of the Gregorian party. Urban then went into Apulia, and assembled a council in the city of Melfi³. He was here met by

to be curbed by Gregory, and the desire of the English episcopacy afterwards to assert an independence of pontifical control, were great barriers to the progress of the spiritual monarchy of Rome. Though at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries some advances had been made in the settlement of the consistory courts in England, yet it was not until 200 years after, that the

organization of the papal system was effected, by which Celestine III. and Innocent III. were enabled to overcome the integrity of the guardians of the English Church.

⁸ Labb. Concil. x. 420.

⁹ Id. v. 1635.

¹ See Pagi, A.D. 1088, § 7, 8, Labb. Concil. x. 459.

² Labb. Concil. x. 474.

³ Id. col. 476.

Roger Guiscard, Duke of Calabria, and all his nobles, in whose presence the decrees of Gregory against lay-investitures were renewed. Several other laws to enforce celibacy, repress simony, and limit the facility of ordination, were also enacted. But the chief incident of this meeting was the investing of Roger Guiscard with the dukedom of Calabria and Apulia, after his oath of fealty to Urban, and of homage to the apostolic see, and after having been presented with the divine standard of St. Peter.

The imperial party in Italy was much weakened by the rebellion of Conrad, son of the emperor, who, in the absence of his father in Germany, consented to be crowned king of Italy, and so betray his trust.

The King of France had incurred the anger of his nobles and bishops by divorcing Bertha, and marrying Bertrada, who had deserted her husband Fulco, the Count of Anjou. The French bishops complained of the conduct of the king to the pope. Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, who had been excommunicated by Victor III., was received into favour by Urban, and made his legate of France⁴. A commission was granted to him to enquire into the conduct of the king. He summoned a council at Autun (A.D. 1094)⁵, by which Philip was excommunicated, and the same sentence was also pronounced against the emperor, and the antipope, Clement III. The king sent a deputation immediately in his behalf to Urban, who suspended the sentence. *The pope was now restless as the umpire of national disturbances.*

The great council of Placentia⁶ was summoned by the pope in 1095, at which all the bishops of France, Italy, and Germany were desired to be present. About 200 attended, with nearly 4000 other ecclesiastics, and 30,000 laymen⁷. King Philip, by ambassadors, appealed for further suspension of the sentence pronounced against him, which was granted⁸. The faithful were forbidden to attend any services performed by clergymen who had not put away their wives, who are abusively termed concubines; and to add all possible ignominy to his sentence, Clement III. was anathematized as an usurper of the apostolic see, with lighted candles⁹. Am-

⁴ Labb. Concil. x. 463.

⁵ Id. x. 499.

⁶ Id. col. 500.

⁷ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. lib. liv. lxxiv.

⁸ Labb. Concil. x. col. 501.

⁹ Id. col. 501.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

bassadors were sent from Alexius Comnenus, emperor of the East, to make known the grievous sufferings of the Christians in the East, from the depredations and persecutions of infidels. The pope urged the powerful nobles who were present to combine in affording the relief so earnestly entreated. Numbers declared their readiness to engage personally in the expedition for their rescue, on which preparations for the crusade were immediately commenced.

Another council was summoned to meet at Clermont, in Auvergne, in November of this year, 1095, at which Urban presided, and preached sermons yet preserved¹. Twelve archbishops and eighty bishops are said to have been present, besides a great number of abbots and inferior clergy. William Rufus was at this time too much offended with the pope to permit any bishops from England to attend. Lorraine, Germany, and Hungary, also, in consequence of the many insults and provocation of which the emperor had to complain, declined sending any members to the council. At this assembly, Philip, King of France, was again excommunicated for not dismissing Bertrada. Among the decrees, one was passed which declared it unlawful for a bishop or priest to take an oath of allegiance to any layman; another, forbidding kings and princes to grant investitures, and the clergy of every country from receiving preferment from the hands of any secular person². *By another it was ordered, that every class of the clergy should part with their wives on pain of suspension*³.—A law which had been passed by a council of Aquitaine in 1041, and had since been re-enacted by several subsequent councils, entitled the “Truce of God,” was likewise confirmed by this council, with injunctions for the strict observance of it. By this useful law it was provided that every lord, and all his vassals, should abstain from arms, from fire, rapine, and every kind of violence on one another for four specified days of every week; and from its being esteemed a treaty of a very sacred character, it was called *Treuga Dei*—the truce of God⁴. By this council the first

¹ Labb. Concil. x. 512. 514.

² Canon. 15—17.

³ Id. 9—11.

⁴ See especially the Concilium Rotomagensis, A.D. 1096, canons 1—4, ap. Labb. Concil. x. 599. The oldest

document on this subject is the Sermo et Confirmatio SS. Patrum, A.D. 1041, by Rayinbaldus Arelatensis Archiepiscopus, Benedictus Avenionensis, Nitardus Nicensis, Abbas Odilo, and all the Gallic clergy to the clergy of

crusade, which had been partially agreed upon at the councils of Placentia and Clermont, was decided upon, chiefly from the representations of Peter the Hermit; who in his pilgrimages to Jerusalem, had witnessed the miseries to which the Christians of Palestine were subjected from the unresisted devastations and conquests of the barbarians in that part of the world. Urban consequently seized upon the occasion solemnly to exhort all to take up the Cross. The bishops were enjoined, by his special command, to preach and promote unanimity in this holy warfare, through their respective provinces. Those who engaged in the enterprise were absolved from all unrighteousness and sin; and the certain reward of eternal happiness in the world to come was promised to all who lost their lives in the cause of the holy Cross⁵. The history of these enthusiastic expeditions is too well known to require further notice, than as remarkable facts, which serve to illustrate the intellectual and spiritual condition of the popes and princes, and of all whom they then governed.

Lanfranc died in 1089, two years after the accession of Rufus, much and deservedly lamented by the English. The king at his death kept the see of Canterbury vacant three years. Other vacant bishoprics, also, were not filled up, while the revenues of all were consecrated to the king's use. The pope did not interfere, because the schism at this time at Rome between Guibert and Urban, and the war between the imperialist and Gregorian party, prevented it. Anselm, at this time, was Abbot of Bec in Normandy.

Italy recommending the *Treuga Dei*:—Quicumque hanc pacem et Treuvam Dei observaverint, ac firmiter tenuerint, sint absoluti a Deo Patre Omnipotente, et Filio Ejus Jesu Christo, et Spiritu Sancto, de S. Maria cum choris virginum, et de S. Michaelae cum choris Angelorum, et de S. Petro cum omnibus sanctis. Qui vero treuvam promissam habuerint, et, se sciente, infringere voluerint, sint excommunicati a Deo Patre, etc. maledicti et detestati hic et in perpetuum, et sint damuati sicut Dathan et Abiron, et sicut Judas, qui tradidit Dominum, et sint demersi in profundum inferni, sicut Pharao in medio maris, si ad emendationem non venerint.—Martene et Durand. Anecd. i. 161.

⁵ Urbanus dolens, quia Saraceni occupaverant Sanctam Civitatem Hierusalem, prædicavit remissionem peccatorum, et vice sibi tradita a Deo omnibus dedit, quicumque Hierusalem tenderent, et civitatem et terram transmarinam, quæ a Saracenis possidebatur, liberarent. Adjiciens etiam hoc, ut si quisquam in via, sive in pugna, pro Christo moreretur, in numero martyrum absolutus ab omnibus peccatis suis computaretur. Et dum totus mundus post eum curreret, avidus remissionem peccatorum accipere, et in numero SS. martyrum esse, contigit, ut hoc prædicans prædictus summus pontifex devenerit Thyetum.—In Muratorii Script. Rerum Ital. ii. pt. ii. p. 372.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

During the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, Hugh Lupus, the Earl of Chester, was seized with sickness, and he repeatedly requested Anselm to come over into England and visit him⁶. Anselm was a pious, sincere, and good man⁷. Though he was a zealous Gregorian, and desired, as his subsequent conduct proved, to raise the mitre above the crown, rather than to see the crown above the mitre—though he believed in the doctrine of transubstantiation, and other errors, as points of faith which had now become incorporated in the Articles of the Church of Rome; his meditations, prayers, and directions to the clergy on the right mode of preparing the sick and dying for death, may be still read with profit and advantage. To the question by the minister—Do you expect to be justified by faith alone? the answer is directed to be given in the affirmative⁸. He had, however, imbibed the now prevailing notions, that the cause of God and the salvation of his own soul were both identified with obedience to the Bishop of Rome; and *he was made miserable, as we shall see, by the contest of feelings which his divided allegiance produced* when he was subsequently elevated to the chief post in the English Church. He repeatedly refused the invitation of Lupus⁹, lest he should be suspected of aspiring to the vacant archbishopric¹. While he thus hesitated, some circumstances occurred which induced his brethren in the monastery of Bec to request him to leave them. He then visited England, and attended the Earl of Chester, whom he

⁶ Anselmus, in quem Normanorum et Anglorum etiam oculi, tanquam in splendidissimum ecclesie sidus aspicerent, et quavis sine dubio infula dignum ——— datis ad eum literis, missisque nunciis, ut in Angliam trajiceret, operique pio manum apponeret, magnis precibus obsecravit.—Alfordi Annales, iv. 113; see also Eadmer's Life, p. 13, edit. Gerberon, fol. Par. 1721, appended to his edition of the works of S. Anselm.

⁷ Had Anselm lived to see a papal legate convening councils in his province, and presiding in them, it is not too much to suppose that he would have repented of the ill-bestowed zeal and attachment which he had exhibited in promoting all the aggrandizements of popery. By the misemployment of his acknowledged piety and learning, he opened the way for those

unwarrantable pretensions of Rome, which the English Church and nation afterwards held in abhorrence.

⁸ See Anselmi Opp. p. 194. The dialogue proceeds thus:—

Credis te non posse nisi per mortem Christi salvari?

Crede.

Age ergo dum superest in te anima; in hac sola morte totam fiduciam tuam constitue; in nulla alia re fiduciam habeas: huic morti te totum committe: hac sola te totum contege: hac morte te totum involve.

⁹ Hugonis preces semel iterumque rejicit.—Alford. Annales Eccles. iv. 114; Baron. Annal. A.D. 1093, § 11, seqq.

¹ Angliam intrare noluit, ne se hujus rei gratia intrasse quispiam suspicaretur.—Eadmer, lib. i. p. 34.

found convalescent. While he continued in England, the nobles and bishops complained to the king of the continued vacancy of the see of Canterbury, and Anselm was requested to compose a form of prayer for the nation. The king at this time became ill, and Anselm attended him at his palace near Gloucester. The bishops, also, waited on him, and entreated him to appoint a successor to Lanfranc. He at length nominated Anselm, who was, says his biographer Eadmer, taken as by force to the Church amidst the acclamations and eulogies of the people. Now began, however, that series of contests between the kings of England and the archbishops of Canterbury, which convulsed England till the murder of Becket. Anselm refused to receive investiture from the hands of the king, by accepting from him the ring and the pastoral staff². Earnest and vehement protestations against this decision were made by the bishops, who were present when he thus refused to receive investiture. *They were evidently no supporters of the Gregorian pretensions, which at this time were convulsing the rest of Europe.* They drew him apart from the multitude, and expostulated with him in the most energetic language, but in vain³. He pleaded his age, and desire of repose⁴, his attachment to his monastery of Bec, his responsibility to his sovereign in Normandy, and his canonical obedience to the archbishop of the province in which his monastery was situated. They then brought him to the king, who was still suffering from sickness. Rufus, stern and cold-hearted as he seems to have been, was moved almost to tears⁵; and implored him, with many arguments, to accept the vacant see. The bishops, at the king's command,

² Collier says, that Anselm made all "decent opposition" imaginable. He would imply by this expression that Anselm was insincere. I have already declared my opinion of Gregory, Anselm, Becket, and all the Gregorian party. They were sincere, and they thought their duty to God was so identified with homage to the pope, that they were required to prefer allegiance to the pontiff to allegiance to their king; if their duty to one seemed in their conscience to clash with their duties to the other. If men could think conscientiously that they did God service by killing His Apostles,

could they not be equally conscientious and sincere in mistaking Christ's vicar for Christ, and therefore for God; and rendering to this god the homage which they believed to be superior to the homage they owed to Cæsar?

³ Quid agis? quid intendis? Quid contraire Deo niteris? Vides omnem Christianitatem in Angliâ fere periisse; omnia in confusionem venisse.—Eadmer, p. 35.

⁴ Id. p. 36.

⁵ Contristatus est rex pene ad suffusionem oculorum; et dixit, Oh! Anselme, quid agis?—Eadmer, p. 35.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

threw themselves at his feet; and on his still refusing the pastoral staff, they took him by the right hand, and dragged him to the couch where the king was lying⁶. The king stretching forth the pastoral staff, Anselm closed his hand. The bishops endeavoured to open his hand by force, till he complained of the pain. The pastoral staff was, at length, forced into his still half-closed hand, and retained there by the bishops. The multitude shouted, "Long live the archbishop." The bishops, with the higher clergy, began the *Te Deum*, and carried rather than led him to the nearest church. Anselm, to the utmost of his power, continued his resistance, and repeatedly uttered the words, "the election is void," "the election is void⁷." Neither did he consent to accept the archbishopric till the king had procured his release from all his continental obligations. It does not, however, appear that he refused to accept the investiture in the usual mode, by receiving from his temporal sovereign the ring and staff, either in obedience to the law of Gregory VII. in 1078, or to that of Victor III. in 1087, or to the law of Urban in 1090. *The Archbishops of Canterbury had not yet compromised the independence of the Church of England.* Their communion with Rome implied great respect, deference, and allegiance, but not even yet implicit submission to the gradually encroaching superiority. The Church of France, too, supported the decisions of Anselm. The Abbot of Bec, in reply to a beautiful letter from Anselm, commanded him to accept his new office, before Urban could have consented to the election⁸. Anselm received investiture on the 6th of May, 1093; but before his consecration he demanded the restoration of the church lands, and claimed to guide the king in spiritual matters, as he would submit to the king in all temporal affairs. He declared that he would acknowledge Urban II. as pope, whom the king had not yet acknowledged; and he desired to apprise the king of this decision, before any difference of opinion on the matter could cause division between himself and his new sovereign. The king objected much to the restoration of all the archiepiscopal

⁶ — rapiunt igitur hominem ad Regem ægrotum.—Eadmer, p. 35.

⁷ — ipso, modis quibus poterat, resistente, atque dicente—"Nihil est

quod facitis—nihil est quod facitis."—Ibid.

⁸ See Anselmi Epp. lib. iii. epp. 1 and 2, Opp. pp. 362, 363.

lands, yet he would not refuse compliance with every request of the archbishop; who behaved throughout the whole proceedings with the utmost fairness, gentleness, and firmness. A synod, council, or parliament of the whole English Church was held at Winchester⁹. Anselm did homage to the king¹, according to the custom of the country at that time. The lands of the archbishopric were restored to him, and he was consecrated at Canterbury in the presence of the Archbishop of York, and nearly of all the bishops of England; who attended for the purpose of paying him yet higher honour on the 4th of December in the same year.

Thus far all had proceeded with comparative smoothness²; but now began the collision between the regal and ecclesiastical power. The cause was simply that which has been already stated. *The ecclesiastical power, as it was represented by the archbishop, had become identified with the pontifical authority; communion with Rome had been gradually changed into submission to Rome.* The pledge of attachment to the common Christianity which was held at Rome, and which had been required, or perhaps taken for granted, on the presentation of the pall, had been turned into an oath of allegiance to the foreign pontiff; and Anselm solicited permission to go to Rome for the pall. Rufus could not be ignorant of the transactions which had so lately taken place on the continent. He must have known of the deposition of Henry of Germany, the alienation of the people from their rulers, the aggressions of the papacy on the rights of princes, and the danger in which his own throne, so lately acquired by his father, would be involved, if he incurred the resentment of the Bishop of Rome. This danger threatened him on his least opposition to the decrees of the pope; and he no doubt imagined that the peace of the Church and kingdom of England depended on his retaining the supreme power over both in his own hands. He had abused that power by refusing for three years to fill up the see of Canterbury, yet it was certain that the non-interference of the foreigner

⁹ Labb. Concil. x. 597.

¹ Homo regis factus est.—Eadmer, p. 37.

² I pass by the discussions respect-

ing the money which Anselm proffered, and which was less than the king expected, with other minor matters.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

during these three years had secured peace to the country. The schism between Guibert, the antipope, and Urban, had also contributed to this tranquillity. Contest between them, prevented obedience to either. No foreign pretensions had been urged upon the Church; and though the canon law was neglected in consequence; the common law of the land, however ill-regulated or undefined, was preferable to that painful clashing of duties which resulted from the conscientious desire to obey Christ and Cæsar; when the duty to Christ was identified with obedience to an ambitious or erring foreigner. *But popery was now Christianity, and Christianity was popery;* and the lessons of experience could not have been afforded to mankind for their subsequent guidance, if the battle had not been fought in these ages between the independent rulers of states, and the claims of the human pretender to divine authority over churches, sovereigns, and the consciences and reason of individuals.

Anselm requested permission to proceed to Rome. So long as he had not received the pall, so long his allegiance to the king was undivided; for he had taken no oath of obedience to the pope, and his investiture had been received from his temporal sovereign. Rufus appears to have believed that an Archbishop of Canterbury could have then as faithfully and efficiently presided over the Church of England without any pall, or without any oath of allegiance to the Bishop of Rome; as Sutton or Howley preside over it in the present day. Anselm thought otherwise. Anselm was a pious and good, though, in this instance, most mistaken man. Anselm was a Norman, a foreign monk, and a Gregorian; or, as we should now call him, a papist. He believed that neither God could be honoured rightly, nor his king served faithfully, nor the Church of England governed lawfully; unless he obeyed the law of a foreign court, and swore allegiance to a foreign bishop: Anselm demanded permission, as we have said, to proceed to Rome to swear allegiance to Urban. The king refused³; and informed him that the acknowledgment of any pope, without his per-

³ Baronius (anno 1094) says, that the king preferred Guibert to Urban— *Occasio (persecutionis) ex eo manavit, quod rex faveret potius Guiberto, etc.,*

mission, was an infringement of the rights of his crown; and that, whoever should attempt to deprive him of the power of either choosing between the candidates for the papacy, or of acknowledging, or not acknowledging, a pope at his own pleasure, should be considered as one who would deprive him even of the crown itself⁴.

Anselm remained firm to his purpose. He had acknowledged Urban to be pope while he was Abbot of Bec, and he considered that he still owed him allegiance as Archbishop of Canterbury; nor would he depart from the obedience and subjection which he believed to be his right to offer⁵. *The king replied in terms which were identical with many expressions used in our more modern controversies: so long has this fatal contest endured, on the same subject.* He affirmed, that the fidelity which was due to the king, and the obedience required to be observed to the apostolic see, were incompatible with each other⁶. Anselm affirmed them to be quite compatible, and begged that a national council might be summoned on this very point—whether he could, or could not, reconcile his allegiance to his temporal prince with the duty and obedience which he had sworn to the Bishop of Rome⁷. And he added, with the same integrity, honour, and sincerity which had characterized him throughout; that if the two kinds of duty implied by the two oaths were proved to be inconsistent with each other; he was willing rather to leave England than to renounce his duty, even for an hour, to St. Peter and his vicar on earth⁸. The king complied with his request. A council was held at Rockingham⁹. Anselm there justified his past conduct. In reply to those who recommended him to submit to the king in all things, he quoted the texts

whereas he was only angry with Anselm for making any request of this nature.—See further, Eadmer, p. 40.

⁴ This appears to be the meaning of a somewhat obscure expression in Eadmer—*Quicumque enim regie dignitatis, ei consuetudines tollit, coronam simul et regnum tollit.*—Eadmer, p. 41.

⁵ ab illis obedientia, et subjectione.

⁶ protestatus est illum nequaquam fidem, quam sibi debebat, simul et Apostolicæ sedis obedientiam,

contra suam voluntatem posse servare. See the conversations detailed at considerable length by Eadmer, pp. 41, 42.

⁷ utrum, salvâ reverentiâ et obedientiâ sedis Apostolicæ, posset fidem terreno regi servare, an non?

⁸ Quod si probatum—fateor malo terram suam—ex eundo devitare, quam Beati Petri ejusque vicarii obedientiam, vel ad horam abnegare.

⁹ A.D. 1094, March 11th.—See Labb. Concil. x. 494, from Eadmer, p. 40.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

so usually urged to justify decisions similar to his own, "Thou art Peter¹," and, "Render to Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and to God the things that be God's." His reasoning was received with respect and attention by his brethren; but their decision, and *therefore the decision, it may be said, of the Church of England at that time*, required submission to the temporal sovereign; without regard to any opinion which the archbishop might have formed respecting the claims of the Bishop of Rome. While the bishops, however, condemned the conclusions of Anselm, they refused to comply with the king's request, that he should be deposed from his see, though they consented to abjure his authority. The lay barons, also, refused to pass sentence of deposition upon him. It was an unhappy discussion, the germ of much future evil. The archbishop would have melted the crown into the mitre: the king would have melted the mitre into the crown. The two will ever flourish together when the episcopal mitre and the regal crown are ruled by the law of God alone; and *when both unite to reject the papal power, which would blend both into one ornament for its own tiara.*

We cannot, at this moment, fathom the motives of all the actors in these strange scenes; yet we may, perhaps, conjecture the motives of Rufus in adopting a measure which appears to one of our modern historians to be absurd or

¹ See on this text, and its meaning, according to the interpretation of the fathers, the admirable compendium of Bishop Hopkins, London, 1839. The argument against the construction put upon the passage, as used in support of the universal supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the Church of Christ, is decisive of the futility of the pretence—*Ecclesiæ Petrus Apostolus, propter apostolatus sui primatum, gerebat figurata generalitate personam. Quando ei dictum est—Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, etc. Universam significabat ecclesiam; est super petram, unde Petrus nomen accepit. Non enim a Petro petra, sed Petrus a petra, sicut non Christus a Christiano, sed Christianus a Christo vocatur. Ideo quippe ait Dominus: Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam; quia dixerat Petrus—Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi. Super hanc ergo, inquit, petram quam confessus es, ædificabo ecclesiam meam.*

—Augustinus de diversis, serm. 108, et in Evang. Joannis Tract. cxxiv. sec. 5, ap. Gieseler, vol. i. p. 262, note 26.

St. Jerome also says, *Petra Christus est, qui donavit Apostolis suis ut ipsi quoque petrae vocentur—Tu es Petrus, etc. (in Amos vi. 12.) At dicis: super Petrum fundatur ecclesia: licet idipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cælorum accipiant, et ex æquo super eos fortitudo ecclesiæ solidetur; tamen propterea unus eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio.—Hieronymus adv. Jovinian. lib. i. The words of Christ to St. Peter are a prophecy, and a commission. A prophecy that the Church should be built upon the confession of his Messiahship; and a commission to Peter to fulfil the prophecy, by being the first preacher of the gospel to the Gentiles.*

ludicrous². The great object of Rufus seems to have been to prevent the archbishop from taking the oath of allegiance to the pope on the acceptance of the pall. He, therefore, resolved to apply to the pope for the pall, that he himself might present it to the archbishop. I cannot imagine that any king, who must always be supposed to be guided by thoughtful counsellors, would do any thing, however absurd or ludicrous his measures may appear to be, without some adequate motive. If the king supposed that he could secure the archbishop by presenting the pall to him—if we can believe that the king imagined he could prevent Anselm from taking the feudal oath to the pope by himself presenting him with the pall—we discover some reasonableness in thus privately sending to Urban, whom he thus acknowledged to be pope, for the archiepiscopal pall, that he might himself present it to Anselm, and thus supersede the necessity of his proceeding to take the oath of allegiance at Rome. Urban sent the pall to Rufus. After many discussions between the various parties, Anselm was received into favour, and was requested to receive the pall from the hands of the king. The archbishop, however, refused to do so, affirming, as consistency might seem to require, that the pope alone, as the successor of St. Peter, could confer that honour. It was then ordered, that the pall should be laid in a silver box, with much ceremony, and accompanied with long processions, on the altar at Canterbury. Anselm consented to take it from the altar as from the hand of St. Peter. He came barefooted in his archiepiscopal robes to meet the pall, which was laid on the altar; and after being kissed with great humility and reverence by all present, Anselm took it from the altar in the manner which had been agreed upon, and celebrated mass in the pall³.

In the course of the discussions at Rockingham, Anselm had been called and treated as the primate, not only of England, but of Ireland and Scotland⁴; and about this time, Murchertac, King of Ireland, sent to Anselm to consecrate

² Lingard—"There is something ludicrous in the result of the contest." That author tells the truth, but not the whole truth. He makes the worse appear the better reason, smoothly relating questionable matters in such

manner that his reader, without suspicion, adopts the conclusions intended by the Romanist historian.

³ Eadmer, p. 45.

⁴ See Brady's History of England, i. 227.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Malcolm, a monk of Winchester, Bishop of Waterford, which was accordingly done. He consecrated, also, the Bishop of Dublin⁵. Anselm, by quoting Stigand as his precedent for consecrating the churches in the dioceses of other bishops, which were built upon estates belonging to the see of Canterbury, acknowledged him as the legitimate primate of England⁶.

A new office of devotion was said to have been drawn up at this time, 1096, and introduced into the English Church, by Anselm, in honour of the conception of the Holy Virgin. He was enjoined to do this, as the legend declares, by an apparition of St. Nicholas walking on the sea in a storm; when the ship in which Anselm was crossing from Brittany, was in danger of sinking. On his pledge to institute this feast the sea became instantly calm⁷. In a provincial synod of London in 1328, the observance of this festival was renewed by a constitution, on which occasion, Archbishop Mepham, who introduced it, said he was treading in the steps of his venerable predecessor Anselm. Durham cathedral was commenced at this time by Bishop Carilelf, who at the council of Rockingham objected to the proceedings of Anselm.

Notwithstanding all the efforts made by William Rufus to retain Anselm in England, the archbishop still determined upon prosecuting his journey to Rome. The bishops and nobles of the kingdom in vain expostulated with him, by reminding him of his oath to the king. *He declared that this oath was taken, as all others must be, with the reservation of his duty to God, which duty he had identified with allegiance to the pope.* The conduct of Rufus in seizing the revenues of abbeys and other ecclesiastical benefices had been most unjust; and he probably feared, in addition to other motives, that if Anselm persisted in going to Rome, and there laying the complaints of the Church before the pontiff, he might be excommunicated, as some continental sovereigns had been; and that the disaffected part of his people might be strengthened in their resistance to his government. He peremptorily assured Anselm, that if he left the kingdom, he would confis-

⁵ Alford. Annal. A.D. 1096.

⁶ Collier's Eccles. Hist. i. 267, and Labb. x. 613, both from Eadmer, pp. 45, 46.

⁷ See Pet. de Natal. Catalog. Sane- tor. lib. i. c. 41, quoted in Bishop Gib- son's Preservative against Popery, vol. iii. tit. xii. sec. 5.

cate the revenues of his see to the crown. Anselm still persisted in his resolution⁸. He went down to Canterbury, and addressed the monks, the clergy, and the people. He assumed the pilgrim's staff and dress before the high altar, and commending all to Christ, took his departure amidst the tears and sighs of the multitude⁹. Thence, says Eadmer, his biographer, they went to Dover, where they found a priest waiting for them by the king's order. They were detained at Dover by contrary winds fifteen days. During the whole of this time the king's messenger ate at the same table and lived with the archbishop. When the wind on the fifteenth day was at length fair, the priest stopped the archbishop on the shore, and commanded him, in the king's name, not to leave England till he had inspected the baggage he was about to take with him. The satchels, or boxes, were then searched, amidst the astonishment and curses of the spectators. Nothing, however, was taken; and Anselm setting sail, safely arrived in France, and proceeded to Lyons. He there addressed a letter to the pope, in which he detailed at length the conduct of Rufus; and the impossibility of his previously attempting to visit Rome. He complains of the new burthens imposed by the king upon the archiepiscopal lands, and the violation of the canons¹. He affirms the necessity of appealing to the see of Rome, and implores the pope to permit him to withdraw to his former tranquillity and retirement.

On the receipt of this letter, Urban pressed him to come to Rome, not only that he might there relate the affairs of England more fully, but that he might attend the Council of Bari². On his arrival at Rome, A.D. 1098, he was received with much honour. The pope wrote to Rufus, and commanded him to restore the lands of the see, and rectify the other abuses of which Anselm had complained. The archbishop sent letters, also, to the same effect. Before an

⁸ The detail of these transactions and negotiations is most interestingly told by Eadmer.

⁹ . . . peram et baculum, peregrinantium more, coram altari suscepit: commendatisque omnibus Christo, ingenti fletu et ejulatu prosecutus, egressus est.—*Id.* p. 49.

¹ *Legem autem Dei et canonicas et apostolicas auctoritates, voluntariis consuetudinibus obrui videbam.*—The letter is in Alford, iv. 152, from Anselm, *Epp.* lib. iii. *epp.* 37. 40, *Opp.* pp. 380, 381.

² *Labb. Concil.* x. 611.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

answer to these letters was received, he again requested the pope to allow him to resign his office. Urban commanded him, by virtue of his obedience, to retain it, and assured him that he would smite the king with the sword of St. Peter, in the ensuing Council of Bari; which he had commanded to be held in October. The council was held, and Rufus was excommunicated and anathematized. The sentence, however, was revoked by the pope at the entreaty of Anselm; who went down upon his knees to obtain its suspension.

The time had not yet arrived when the King of England felt himself compelled, by the fear of losing his throne, to submit to the increasing power of the Church. Rufus, however, thought it most advisable to propitiate the pontiff, though he retained his anger against Anselm for appealing to a foreigner against his authority. On receiving the papal letters, he wrote in answer, that he would not permit Anselm to return to England; and that as he had sworn to confiscate the revenues of the archbishop if he presumed to leave England without the royal permission, he would assuredly keep his word. Urban learned from the messenger, that no other cause of offence was urged by Rufus against Anselm, than that he had appealed to Rome. He bade him return to England, and assure the king that the sentence of excommunication should be issued in a council which he was about to hold the third week after Easter, if he did not comply with the demands of the apostolic see. The ambassador replied, that he was intrusted with some instructions, which he would only communicate privately to the pope. The result of those private communications appeared in the council of 1099. The cause of Anselm was discussed. The King of England, however, did not, and would not, restore Anselm to England, nor give up the revenues of the see. Anselm was not commanded by the pope to return. A decree was passed at the council, after a most vehement declamation against Rufus, by Reinger, Bishop of Lucca, in which a censure was conveyed by implication against the King of England, but without mentioning his name. All lay persons who should give investiture to priests, and all priests who received investiture from laymen, were excommunicated³. The council was dis-

³ Canon. 1, seqq. ap. Labb. col. 615.

solved; and Anselm was permitted by the pope to return to Lyons, where he remained an exile from England till the death of Urban in 1099, and till the death of Rufus two years after.

Such was the result of the first appeal to the pope made by an Archbishop of Canterbury against the conduct of the King of England. The actions of Rufus were most unjustifiable. But he should have been made amenable to the laws of his realm by his people, and by his peers; and the Church should have been contented to suffer rather than to revolt and rebel. *The appeal to the foreigner to rectify the evils of an independent state has been proved by all history to be a remedy, whatever may have been some advantages, worse than the disease.*

In the same year with Urban II., died also Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury. Till this time, though there was much general resemblance between the several liturgies adopted by the various Churches; each episcopal see, according to the custom of the primitive Churches, retained its own liturgy, sanctioned by its own bishop. Osmund combined the principal liturgies into one form⁴, which was received, and long continued, by the whole Church of England. The power of altering or amending the form of public prayer, has never been again committed to the bishops of the respective sees. *It has been consigned to the convocation, or parliament of the Church, as it ought to be.* We permit the sovereign, with the advice of his council, to commend both psalms and prayers to the use of the people; but the convocation, the ecclesiastical part of the senate, alone gives that permanent custom to the Church which the parliament, or lay senate, at their recommendation, changes into a law.

CLX. *Paschal II., died 1118.*

The magnificent usurpation continued. The Gregorian party—the ultra-papal supporters of the divine right of the Bishop of Rome to govern kings, Churches, bishops, and states—were in the ascendant, and the pontificate still gained strength daily. On the death of Urban, Rainerius⁵, a

⁴ In usum Sarum.

⁵ Labb. Concil. x. 620.

Tuscan, who at the age of twenty, when he was sent on a mission from his monastery of Clugny to Rome, had attracted the notice of Gregory VII., and had been promoted by him to the dignity of cardinal, was elected to the see by the title of Paschal II. Two circumstances occurred about, or soon after, his election, which most materially contributed to sustain the power of the Gregorian party. The success of the crusade—the fall of Jerusalem on the 15th of July, 1099—which was considered as a papal conquest⁶; and the death of Guibert, the antipope, who had been supported by the imperial party for twenty years. He died about twelve months after the election of Paschal. He had been an active and energetic opponent of Gregory VII., Victor III., and Urban II. He held possession of St. Peter's and the Lateran palace, and officiated as pope during a great part of the pontificate of Urban II. Three were successively chosen to succeed him. *Albert*, his first successor, fell into the hands of Paschal on the day he was chosen, and was sent a prisoner to the monastery of St. Lawrence. *Theodoric*, after possessing the mere title fifteen weeks, was made prisoner, and consigned to the monastery of Cava. *Magninulph*, an archpriest, was then elected by the Guibertine party, with the title of Sylvester IV., and died suddenly. The strength of the papacy at this time, consisted in the attachment of the common people. Philip, King of France, with Bertrada, were excommunicated in a council at Poitiers⁷; though the Duke of Aquitaine, enraged at the act having been passed, ordered his attendants to put every member of the council to the sword, and was only disobeyed because of the expedition with which all dispersed, except two abbots, whose lives were spared. The king, however, was compelled three years after to beg for absolution. He came barefooted to Paris in the depth of winter to take an oath of obedience to the decision of the council. It is said that he obtained permission afterwards to live with Bertrada, and the rights of their children were never called in question⁸.

The effects of the papal or ecclesiastical sentence of excommunication at this time, upon all the domestic, social, loyal, and honourable feelings, is best learned from the affairs of

⁶ Gieseler, ii, 174.⁷ Labb. Concil. x. 720.⁸ History of the Popes, p. 123.

Germany. The contest proceeded there between the imperialists and Gregorians. Henry, afterwards Henry V. of Germany, was encouraged to rebel against his father. When the aged emperor expostulated with his son, and reminded him of his duty, the prince answered, *that an excommunicated person could be considered neither as a king nor as a parent*. The bishops of Germany followed the defeated emperor to the castle of Ingelheim. They insulted him in the severest language, and tore the imperial tiara by force from his brow. Before he died he was reduced to actual beggary, and supplicated in vain for a small appointment in a church built by himself. The petition was rejected. When he at length died broken-hearted, and abandoned by all, the dead body was not only disinterred; but the clergy of Liege were anathematized for venturing to bury his remains; and this act has been defended almost in our own days¹. So stern, so bitter, so unendurable is the curse of the perversion of a true religion, by a sincere but erring priesthood. Christ could have struck with death Pilate and Herod. *The priests of Christ's Church must learn, that to teach and to suffer are better proofs of their divine mission, than to threaten and anathematize*. The kings of the earth may learn, that the sceptre of temporal dominion is never safely entrusted to the priesthood. The Christian priesthood may be justly permitted to counsel both princes and people; but never, never to hold the temporal dominion, and to rule in political affairs. While their principles must be professedly religious; their motives, and therefore their conduct, are always in danger of becoming identified with their own worldly dignity, greatness, and interests².

At the death of Rufus, and at the accession of Paschal to the pontificate, Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was at Bec. His residence there endangered the throne of Henry, who had unjustly superseded his brother. Robert, his brother, was at this time in the Holy Land. He was a

¹ Apud History of the Power of the Popes, p. 126.

² I purposely omit the contests between Henry V. and Paschal. The preceding view of the efforts of Gregory VII. and his immediate successors, must be considered as a specimen of

the manner in which the various contests between the imperial and pontifical powers proceeded on the continent. The history of the conflicts between the imperial and ecclesiastical powers, ought ever to be the grammar of instruction to states and sovereigns.

firm adherent of the pope, who had now, by the death of Guibert, attained the whole power of the papacy. Henry did not dare to endanger his usurped dominion by venturing to oppose Paschal, his elder brother Robert, and Anselm³. He dreaded the result of excommunication, which would have both armed the continent against him, and have alienated his people from their allegiance; and, as they believed, consigned his own soul to damnation for maintaining the political privileges of his monarchy against the successor of St. Peter. He, therefore, recalled Anselm, with an apologetical letter for permitting the Bishop of London to crown him⁴; and invited him to return to his archbishopric. Anselm complied with the king's request, and was welcomed by the people with every mark of respect and kindness. He attended the court; but maintained, with his former firmness, his refusal to be reinvested in his see by the king. He declared his resolution to be guided in all things by the late council at Rome, which forbade the receiving of investiture by the temporal sovereign. The king was deeply offended; but the power of the Church compelled him to temporize. Both parties sent ambassadors to prosecute an appeal to Rome, and Anselm was replaced in his see⁵.

The Church of Rome, from the very earliest ages, has had the most especial desire to retain England in subjection; and till the yoke was thrown off—we may hope finally—by Elizabeth, it proved this desire by incessant encroachments, which produced no less incessant resistance. When Gregory dispatched Augustine to England, as Archbishop of Canterbury, he appointed him legate of the island; and from that time the archbishop was to be regarded as the pope's legate. This decree is said to have been enforced by Formosus⁶. In

³ This is the view taken of these matters by Alford.—Henrico igitur, cum Roberto fratre, et Paschali papa pugnandum erat, si Anselmo in investiturarum jure adversetur, etc.—Alford, Annal. Eccles. iv. 173.

⁴ Et precor ne displiceat tibi quod regiam benedictionem absque te suscepi.—Epp. iii. 41, p. 382.

⁵ Eadmer, p. 57.

⁶ The bull or rescript which Malmesbury says Formosus sent to Edward on the filling up of several bishoprics then vacant in England, is

not noticed by the author of the Saxon Chronicle, nor by Asser, who was at that time Bishop of Sherborne. The writers of ecclesiastical history who mention the same since Malmesbury, have all quoted him as their sole authority; and as he lost no opportunity that might serve to establish the supremacy of the pope in England, so it seems he, for that purpose, on the present occasion, annexed inferences to facts which were unauthorized.

The facts which relate to the transactions between Formosus and the

this year, however, Guido, the Archbishop of Vienne, afterwards Pope Calixtus, was sent into England with legatine authority. Guido was a notorious Gregorian. He had contended with great industry in favour of the papal usurpations; or, as they were then denominated—the rights of the Church in the matter of investitures⁷. He was probably sent, therefore, to strengthen the decisions of Anselm, and to confirm the authority of the Church over the king. *The people of England, however, were jealous of the innovation on the privileges of the see of Canterbury*; and refused to submit to his mission. Two legates, it is true, had been previously sent—Hermanfrid, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, because Stigand was under the censure of the pope; and Hubert, in the reign of William the Conqueror, who was but an ambassador on temporal business⁸. The resistance, in this case, was successful, and Guido was recalled. Anselm, in this year, A.D. 1101, was the principal upholder

royal and ecclesiastical powers of England at this time, may be gathered from Asser, the Saxon Chronicle, Radulphus, de Diceto, and others, and are briefly these: Plegmund was chosen to fill the see of Canterbury in 889, which he enjoyed till 917. Soon after his appointment he went to Rome for his pall, taking with him presents of considerable value. It was in the pontificate of Formosus that he visited Rome, which continued from 890 to 897. On this occasion he seems to have consulted Formosus on the establishment of new bishoprics in England. The uniform custom till that time had been that every archbishop of Canterbury since the time of Augustine became, *ex officio*, the legate of the apostolic see—"maudatum in Britannia, quemlibet hominum super se vices Apostolicas gerere, nisi solum archiepiscopum Cantuarie" (Eadmer, p. 58); and in the Council of Calcuith held 180 years after the death of Augustine, it was affirmed, "a tempore Augustini pontificis sacerdos *Romanus nullus in Britanniam missus est, nisi nos.*" (Concilia Spelm. i. 195.) The commission of Formosus to Plegmund to act as legate of Rome, was a mere acquiescence in a long established custom which he had no power to gainsay or deny. But out of these facts Mal-

mesbury has sought to make it appear, that the negligence of the royal head of the English Church in not filling vacant sees, had caused an interdict of the kingdom. The silence of contemporary writers on the subject is alone sufficient to prove this an unfounded declaration. It is true that the arrangements could not be all completed for allotting, endowing, and filling up the proposed new dioceses for several years; and Wharton observes, that a fragment of history is extant, supposed to have been written by a monk of Abingdon, which affirms, that in 904 seven English bishoprics were consecrated. This is agreeable to what is said by Diceto, Spelman, and others, and reconciles the anachronisms in the story of Malmesbury; but at the same time, lays him under the conviction of perverting facts to indulge his prejudices.—See Asserii Annal. 901. 909; Angl. Sacra, par. i. p. 554; Cressey's Church Hist. ann. 894; Saxon Chron. ann. 909; Malmesb. de Gest. Angl. lib. ii. fol. 26.

⁷ . . . quem locum merito suo assecutus est, quia magna industria pro ecclesiarum jure, in annuli baculique traditione certaverat.—Alford. Annal. iv. 176.

⁸ Collier, i. 280; Pagi, A.D. 1100, § 16.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

of the throne of Henry against his brother Robert, though he still refused to do homage to the king.

The ambassadors who had been sent to Rome, to ascertain the pope's decision respecting investitures in England, now returned. They brought back a letter from Paschal, in which all the Gregorian principles are reaffirmed to the utmost. He endeavours to prove that the right of investiture is inalienable from the apostolic see. He refuses the right of investiture to the king; and again *identifies the submission of the king to the decision of the pope, with his obedience to the law of God*. He actually has the audacity to tell him, "If you still wish to govern, become subject to God⁹." The king seems to have been maddened by this letter; and though he had so lately acknowledged the great service which Anselm had rendered him by compelling Robert, who trembled at the fear of excommunication, to return to Normandy; he resolutely commanded Anselm to consecrate the bishops whom he had invested, and to become his liege subject¹; or depart from the realm. Anselm answered, that he would abide by his former decision with respect to his obedience to the pope. That he would obey the king as much as that decision permitted: but that he would not leave England, but retire to his see, and there defy any violence which might be intended against him². *This conduct of Anselm evidently afforded the precedent which was subsequently followed by Becket*³. Many of the king's ministers in this emergency were anxious to disengage the king from any further regard

⁹ Si vis diutius imperare, subditus Deo esto.

¹ . . . exegit ab eo, ut aut homo suus fieret, et eos quibus, etc.

² . . . ad ecclesiam meam ibo, et faciendo que me debere facere intelligam quisnam mihi vel meis aliquam velit violentiam inferre considerabo.

³ In the dispute between William II. and Anselm, the reasoning of Hildebrand decided the latter. In one of his epistles to Pope Urban, he seems to glory in the abject condition which he had imposed on himself by exile, and by refusing to submit to a secular sovereign. "He could not," he said, "with safety to his soul live in a country where he saw the canons of the Church forced to give way to the laws."—Anselm's Epist. Eadmer, lib.

ii. p. 43, n. 40.

The same pride and obstinacy founded on the same Hildebrandine doctrine, dictated the behaviour of Becket to Henry II. "Kings receive their authority from the Church," says the prelate to the king, "and not the Church from them, but from Christ." "God had appointed that ministers should not be judged by secular princes or laws." "Who can doubt whether the ministers of Christ ought to be accounted the fathers and masters of kings and princes, and of all the faithful? How absurd is it for the son to command the father, and the scholar his master!"—Hoveden's Annal. fol. 284, 288; Baron. Annal. 1166, § 30.

to the see of Rome⁴. *The time, however, had not arrived for this bold step.* It is probable, indeed, that if the king had done so, he would have lost his kingdom; for the common people appear, by their conduct to Anselm, to have been fully convinced that the cause of the pope was identified with the glory of God, and the salvation of their souls. The lever still rested on the unseen world, by which the papacy moved this world at its pleasure. It was resolved, therefore, to make another effort to conciliate the pope. It was decided that three bishops should proceed to Rome as ambassadors from the king, and that two monks, Baldwin of Bec, and Alexander of Canterbury, should accompany them on the part of Anselm. On the public audience of the representatives of the Church and king, the pope declared, that he preferred the forfeiture of his life to compliance with the king's request⁵. These were bold words. They are such as are more usually adopted by those who are firmer in their intentions, than in their actions, and final decisions. The conduct of Paschal, towards the close of his life, under his oppressions from the Imperialists, did not justify the adoption of these expressions. After the audience, letters were sent to the king and to the archbishop. Those to the king were to the same intent as the former; those to Anselm encouraged him in his resistance, and confirmed the exemption of the see of Canterbury from the power of any legate. On the arrival, however, of the ambassadors in England, the three bishops declared that the private opinions and professions of Paschal were inconsistent with the contents of these letters. The monks affirmed that the pope's private and public conclusions were the same. This inconsistency produced a further suspension of any settlement of the quarrel till the pope should be again consulted. The king, in the mean time,

⁴ Eadmer, and see also Collier, i. 284, folio edition.

⁵ As William had refused to swear allegiance to Gregory, so did Henry I. to Paschal. He even threatened to withdraw from all spiritual obedience to him—*fidelitatem facere nolui* (said the Conqueror to Hildebrand) *nec volo: quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio*: and Henry I. consented to

allow to Paschal the same honour and obedience which his predecessors had granted to the pope, but he refused to diminish for him the dignities and prerogatives of the crown. "*Habita igitur,*" (says the king,) "*charissime Pater, utiliori deliberatione, ita se erga nos moderetur benignitas vestra ne (quod invitus faciam) a vestra me cogatis recedere obedientia.*"

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

invested two newly elected bishops, one to Salisbury, and the other to Hereford, with the pastoral staff.

*The great and chief safety and strength of a nation consists in those laws which secure to the people the power of expressing their opinions, on the principles and measures of their civil rulers. The same privilege ought ever to be secured to the people in ecclesiastical matters. This privilege existed in every age, and in every episcopal Church, from the earliest period. It ever existed in the Church of England till the discussions which arose on the controversies in the reign of Anne, and at the commencement of the reign of George I. These privileges are now but too obsolete. Every age has its peculiar errors: but as the perpetual discussions of political subjects in a civil senate, promote and elicit truth, wisdom, and strength; so also, the continued examination of, and enquiry into, ecclesiastical laws and religious conclusions, would encourage perpetual elucidation of truth, prevent the permanency of error, uphold the influence of public opinion, and enforce the discipline of the Church. A national council was held in 1102, during the suspension of the disputes between the king and Anselm, in which some useful enactments were passed; while others of a most objectionable kind were decreed. Among these, the fourth canon preemtorily ordained the celibacy of the clergy⁶. God's own ordinance of holy matrimony had hitherto resisted all attempts to confound celibacy with chastity, or marriage with vice. The marriage of the clergy in some of the canons of the councils of this period is called "detestable." To refrain from marriage was declared to live the life of angels. *The argument would be correct if the future world and the present world were the same; or if, in the resurrection, our body of glory was the same with our body of humiliation. But now experience has too amply proved, that greater evils accrue from enforced celibacy than permitted marriage. "Aspiring to be angels, men rebel." They rebel alike against the impulse of their nature, the good of society, and the laws of God.**

The time, however, had now arrived when the long discussion between the imperial and civil, and the ecclesiastical and papal

⁶ Labb. Concil. x. 729.

powers, respecting investitures, was to be terminated. After the Council of London, the king commanded the archbishop to consecrate the two bishops whom he, the king, had invested. Anselm consented to consecrate one, because he had declined accepting the pastoral staff from his temporal sovereign. He refused to consecrate the other. The angry king punished the bishop who was guilty of the supposed contumacy to himself; but he was still compelled to temporize with Anselm till his ambassadors returned from Rome. He even visited him during the Lent of 1103, at Canterbury, after the return of the usual answer from the pope; and even permitted the archbishop himself to proceed to Rome in order to obtain the consent of Paschal that the king of England should grant investitures. Anselm proceeded accordingly; and remained at Bec in Normandy, where he was visited with great respect by Adela, the Countess of Blois, mother to King Stephen; and also, though he continued to resist the king, by Henry himself. The controversy in the mean time proceeded. Letters were received by Anselm from the Queen of England, from Paschal, and from the people, A.D. 1104, who seem to have passionately desired his return. It became absolutely necessary that either the state or the Church, the king or the archbishop, should yield; for Anselm had warned the Countess of Blois of the danger of excommunication, which the king had incurred. He began to believe it to be his duty to proceed to this extremity, which, in the state in which the king's affairs were at the time, might have placed his brother Robert on the throne of England; and the report began to be spread that the sentence would be speedily issued. Expostulatory letters continued to be sent to the king from England; and to Anselm, to urge him to return, at all hazards, to his see. A petition by two hundred of the priesthood in their habits was presented to the king, but without redress; and the English bishops united to implore the archbishop to return. As the king and Anselm, however, had both consented to appeal to the pope, Anselm still refused to leave his place of refuge till the arrival of the final answer from Rome. The king had punished many of the clergy for certain alleged offences against the canons, by his temporal authority. Anselm expostulated with him, and both parties were so exasperated by the continuance of this

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

prolonged controversy, that civil war, the deposition of the king, a general rebellion, the severest measures against the clergy, or a total separation from Rome, appeared to be the alternatives presented to the contending parties. The agents of the king and Anselm at length, A.D. 1106, brought the final answer. It was decided that the Church should retain the right of investiture, but that the bishops should do homage to the king⁷. At this time Anselm was sick in his favourite monastery. Henry visited him there. A victory gained by the king in Normandy was imputed to the blessing of God upon their reconciliation. Anselm, on his recovery, returned to England, where he was received with rapturous demonstrations of joy. The queen herself headed the procession of his friends, and ordered the preparations for his triumph on the road. So terminated the first great contest between the king and the Church, on the subject of investitures. The same concessions to the civil authorities were soon after granted by the ecclesiastical power on the continent; and were confirmed at the Council of Rheims, and subsequently by the First General Council of Lateran.

Anselm died honoured and beloved, three years after this victory over his sovereign. His learning, piety, and virtue, were acknowledged by all. If he had not believed that firmness in resisting all interference by the laity, in the granting of investitures, was his bounden duty to God, he might have been charged with ingratitude in refusing a favour to the queen, who had so courteously befriended him; in spite, too, of the flattering language of her letters⁸. The queen wished the archbishop to present Ernulphus to the abbacy of

⁷ . . . investiturasque ecclesiarum Anselmo in perpetuum in manum remisit; eodem concedente ut propter hominum regi factum nullus arceretur a benedictione.—Malmesb. de Pontif. lib. i. 227, apud Alford. Ann. iv. 219.

⁸ Speaking of his letters, she says, Non his desunt Frontonica gravitas Ciceronis, Demosthenis, aut Quintiliani. In his sane doctrina quidem redundat Pauli, diligentia Hieronymi, elucubratio Gregorii, explanatio Augustini.

In the Paris edition of Anselm's Works, (folio, 1721,) are many beautiful letters to the Queen Matilda; but these, with numerous other letters to his friends and contemporaries, to

the king, and to various bishops, are undated. Much light would be thrown upon the history of this period if they were rightly arranged. His work on the causes why God became man, as well as his Sermons and Meditations, abound with beautiful thoughts. He defended, however, especially from the Fathers, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and was a zealous worshipper of the Virgin Mary. After a life of austerity and ascetic penitence, he died on sackcloth and ashes, æt. 76, 1109. An interesting and touching account of the last moments of the archbishop is given by his friend, Eadmer, p. 26.

Malmesbury. He refused to do so, because he had offered Anselm a bribe.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

In the year before the death of Anselm, another council was called in London⁹, at which the most severe and atrocious laws were again passed to compel the non-marriage—I will not call it as it is usually called—the celibacy of the clergy. This was a national synod, rightly and duly called. The archbishops, the bishops, and the clergy, by their majority, represented the English Church. Alas for the arguments which identify apostolical authority with apostolical truth! Alas for the theories which represent the Fathers of the Church, in any age, as infallible, because their mission from their Lord is divine! The errors of the true Church—the follies of the best, holiest, wisest, noblest assemblies that can meet together upon earth—are the principal sources of political and ecclesiastical evil. This yoke and badge of slavery, absurdity, and folly, was not fastened on the neck of the English priesthood by Rome alone, but by their own hands; and the subdued minority, even if it had been reduced to one individual, would have been right, as we now in this day acknowledge, against the whole body of their brethren. *Celibacy may be sometimes justly encouraged by a Church. But to enforce it is a monstrous crime.* In this synod immediate separation from their wives was commanded¹ to the clergy. Their wives were prohibited to meet them, either in their own houses or elsewhere. Six witnesses were required to disprove the allegation of informers, that they ever met their husbands. The clergy who refused obedience to the law were declared infamous. If they attempted to discharge their duties, they were to be excommunicated. The officials of the clergy were commanded to swear, that they would take no bribes to relax these laws. Those who had hitherto refrained from putting away their wives were subjected to penance; and those who relapsed were fined or imprisoned. Many of the clergy refused to acquiesce in those abominable enactments; but the opinions and manners of a nation depend upon their laws. Laws eventually become changed, in the course of two or three generations, into customs, if they are not repealed; and custom, if not constantly checked,

⁹ Labb. Concil. x. 756.

¹ Canon ii. col. 756.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

is the most tyrannical enforcer of an unjust or absurd law. The married clergy, soon after the holding of this synod, nearly ceased, till the reign of Edward VI., when wiser and opposite laws again permitted their marriage.

Anselm died at Canterbury in the year 1109. The last act of his life was to write a letter to the archbishop elect of York, who had long been endeavouring to emancipate himself and his see from the canonical primacy of Canterbury, to expostulate with him on his delay. He wrote also to Paschal to beg him not to send the pall to Thurstan till the canons of the English Church in this matter had been obeyed; and he sent another letter also to the English bishops, commanding them, under the penalty of excommunication, never to acknowledge him, till he had professed obedience. *Excommunication was now beginning to be a familiar weapon to enforce political opinions in political quarrels*; and it will ever be so, when the Almighty is supposed to enlist in the squabbles of kings and bishops. Henry enforced the decision of Anselm, though he desired to appoint the Archbishop of York without further difficulty. He permitted the pope's messenger, therefore, to give Thurstan the pall, after he had sworn canonical obedience to Canterbury; for he declared himself unwilling to incur, for an hour, the Divine displeasure, by subjecting himself to the excommunication pronounced by Anselm. So deep and so implicit was the deference universally paid, in this its palmy hour, to the ecclesiastical authority. The piety of the age continued to be ascetic. About this year Goderic retired to his hermitage at Finchale, near Durham, where his devotions and his actions were equally miraculous. We shall consider the effect of his miracles on the controversies of the day, when we come to the age of Thomas Becket.

Five years elapsed between the death of Anselm and the appointment, in 1114, of his successor, Ralph, Bishop of Rochester. In this interval the noble university of Cambridge began to be distinguished as a seat of learning, by the preaching and lecturing of the Abbot of Croyland, and four of his monks; who devoted their large revenues to instruct the youth of the day, and to the rebuilding of their monastery, which had been burnt down.

The king was most unjustifiable in retaining the revenues of Canterbury in his own hands ; and omitting, through the long period of five years, to fill up the see. We may almost believe that if he had not feared the power of the people, he would have retained them as a fief of the crown in perpetuity. The king was wrong in oppressing the Church, the pope was wrong in ruling as a temporal sovereign over sovereigns. The laws of each country are the proper regulators of both the sovereign, and the people. But when we remember that the influence of Rome continued through the whole of the barbaric period of our history—when successive kings were as rude and violent as they were ignorant, we may believe that the power of the pope has been overruled to the preserving the Church of England, till the day when it began to be the instrument of that great good, which England is intended to accomplish for mankind. No persons of English origin were, at this time, promoted to the higher ecclesiastical benefices in England or in Normandy.

The conferring of the pall upon the archbishop by the pope was now considered indispensable to his performing any of the duties of his office. *The popes required the candidate for the honour of the pall to attend at Rome in person.* The Bishops of England, however, with the Church of Canterbury, sent commissioners to Paschal to solicit the pall without the personal attendance of the new archbishop. This was consented to, but with great reluctance, by Paschal, who sent over with it Anselm, the nephew of the late archbishop. In compliance with the usual custom, the ambassador was met by the archbishop and his suffragans at Canterbury. He proceeded in great pomp of procession to the church, and laid the pall on the high altar ; whence the archbishop reverently received it, and solemnly made his vow of canonical obedience and fidelity to the Bishop of Rome. Communion had become subjection, and continued to be so till the yoke was broken four centuries afterwards by Cranmer, *who took the oath to the pope under a public, solemn, open reservation of his duty to his temporal sovereign.* Expostulatory letters were sent from Paschal, by Anselm, with the pall, upon the refusal of the English to receive his legates. Guido had not been acknowledged as legate, neither was Anselm, nor many others after him. This encroachment continued to be re-

sisted; and the legate sent, even in the time of Mary, was required to return, because the Archbishop of Canterbury was the only papal legate recognized by the canon law of the Church of England².

The most presumptuous attempt, however, which had yet been made to intimidate the King of England, and to rule over the English Church, took place this year, 1115. The king summoned, at Westminster, his nobles and bishops to consult on public affairs. When the assembly met, Anselm delivered a letter from Paschal to the king and bishops; in which he had the insolence to reprove the sovereign and the bishops for their venturing, without his authority, to hold synods, and to manage, within their own realm, the discipline and government of the Church, without any consultation with the see of Rome. The letter is extremely useful as a record, demonstrating the continued independence of the English Church in spite of the papal pretensions, and their management of the Church within themselves³. It proves that they decided, even at this time, questions of Church government at home, without acknowledging the necessity of appealing to the pope; or having any recourse to a foreign authority. The suffragan bishops swore canonical obedience to their metropolitans alone; who were the only prelates whom the ever-gradually increasing usurpation of Rome required to attend at Rome for the pall. Anselm quotes the decretals to confirm his pretended authority⁴; and dares to reproach the king for translating bishops, which ought not to be undertaken without the papal permission⁵. The king con-

² In General Councils of the Western Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury had the precedence of all other archbishops.—Burns' *Eccles. Law*, voce Bishop, i. 197, apud Hart's *Eccles. Records*, p. 20.

³ See the admirable view of this matter in Collier.

⁴ Vos autem (inconsultis nobis) etiam episcoporum negotia definitis, cum Martyr Victor, ecclesie Romanæ pontifex, dicat: quamquam, comprovincialibus episcopis, accusati causam pontificis scrutari liceat; non tamen definire, inconsulto Romano pontifice, permissum. Zephyrinus quoque martyr et pontifex, Judicia, inquit, episcoporum majoresque causæ a sede apostolica, et

non ab alia, sunt terminandæ. Vos oppressis apostolicæ sedis appellationem subtrahitis; cum sanctorum patrum concilii decretisque sancitum sit, ab omnibus oppressis, ad Romanam sedem appellandum.—Alfordi *Eccles. Anglicanæ Annales*, vol. iv. p. 254; see also Pagi, ad an. § 12.

⁵ Vos, præter autoritatem nostram, episcoporum quoque mutationes facere præsumitis; quod sine sacrosanctæ Sedis Romanæ autoritate ac licentiâ fieri novimus omnino prohibitum. Si ergo in his omnibus, sedi apostolicæ dignitatem ac reverentiam servare consentitis; nos vobis, ut fratribus et filiis, charitatem debitam conservamus; et quæ vobis ab apostolica sede conce-

sulted the bishops on the contents of the letter; and the Bishop of Exeter was sent to Rome to expostulate with the pope on his pretensions. The result is not related. The pope had lately made the attempt to send a legate into France to hold provincial councils; and had suspended, and even excommunicated, the bishops of Normandy for not appearing at his summons. *The bishops of France, however, had never been the mere vassals of Rome.* They despised his excommunication; and as the people did not desert them, the sentence was, as it always will be, powerless.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

This year, 1116, a council of spiritual and temporal persons was held at Salisbury, which has sometimes been considered as the first parliament. The truth on this point has been overlooked by most historians. Secular as well as spiritual affairs were so entirely managed by the ecclesiastics, who were generally either men of the noblest birth and highest rank; or else of that commanding talent which enables the more humbly born, to compel the admiration of their contemporaries, and to obtain influence in their day; *that the councils of the Church might now be called the parliaments of the country.* They were commanded to be held twice in the year; and few matters of public interest could escape discussion in these assemblies.

In this year, 1116, Paschal convened a council in the Lateran⁶, to which all the bishops of the Western Church were invited. On this account it has been called a general council. The pope, at this meeting, condemned *with an eternal anathema* his own act and deed, which he had publicly ratified by taking the consecrated wafer, on a former occasion, at the altar of St. Peter—that he would never anathematize Henry. Bruno, of Segni, called upon all to return thanks to the Almighty for having heard Paschal, with his own mouth, forswear himself in regard to a supposed heretical writing which he had signed in the camp of Henry. Some cried, if the privilege granted were heretical, he who conferred it must be a heretic. An altercation ensued on the application of the term heretic to his holiness.

denda sunt, benigne et dulciter, Domino prestante, concedimus. Si vero adhuc in vestra decernitis obstinatio permanere; nos secundum evangelicum

dictum et apostolicum exemplum, pedum in vos pulverem exentimus.—Ut supra, p. 255.

⁶ See Baron, ad ann. § 1—6.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

To pacify the assembly, and to settle the contest, Paschal declared—the whole world knew that heresy never had infected the Roman Church; *for it was of this Church that Christ spoke when He prayed that Peter's faith might never fail*⁷. What a strange power! A word from Scripture, however distorted to suit any purpose, was sufficient to silence a council; and the pope was permitted to absolve himself from an offence, and still to retain his reputation as an infallible or divine ruler.

Undismayed with the ill success of his persuasions, expostulations, and threats to bring the English throne and Church under submission, Paschal was still determined to make another attempt to introduce his legates into England. The king was in Normandy, and Anselm was sent, as legate, to settle a dispute between the two archbishops. The king gave him a very courteous reception at Rouen, but would not suffer him to proceed across the Channel until the English bishops gave their consent. A great council was consequently assembled in London before the queen. The bishops, lords, abbots, and others present, resolved unanimously to remonstrate against the legateship. The Archbishop of Canterbury was despatched to acquaint the king with the decision of the council; and thence proceed to the pope, to remonstrate against the appointment of Anselm. The answer of the council was sent to Paschal, who was at Beneventum, by messengers who accompanied the English archbishop; the chief of whom was Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich. Paschal received them very graciously: but when he found them determined not to admit his messenger, he confirmed by letter, ambiguously worded, to the see of Canterbury, all the privileges it had enjoyed from Augustine to that time. Anselm was immediately recalled; but having a further commission to execute in England, namely, a settlement of the tribute called Peter's pence, he requested the king to permit him, before his return to Rome, to pass over into England on that business. This also the king refused, and Anselm returned to Rome⁸.

Another circumstance occurred, too, about this time,

⁷ Du Plessis, pp. 263—265, edit. Gorcum, 1662.

⁸ Eadmer, lib. v. pp. 116, 117, edit. Selden.

which gave Paschal an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the English episcopacy. Thurstan, Archbishop of York, as previously intimated, had refused, on his election, to acknowledge the Archbishop of Canterbury as his canonical superior, according to the decision of a council in 1073^o. The archbishop consequently refused to consecrate him; and the king would not permit him to hold the see. Thurstan appealed to Paschal, who wrote to the king, saying, that though he would not allow the privileges of Canterbury to be infringed; he would not suffer those of York to be prejudiced. He, therefore, begged his majesty to do what justice required to the Archbishop elect of York. The answer was unmeaning, but the appeal had been made, and *the policy of Rome encouraged all appeals*. They increased its influence, enlarged its revenues, and confirmed its nominal supremacy.

The emperor, Henry V., who had been excommunicated by the Lateran Council, wished to have the sentence cancelled. He, therefore, marched an army towards Rome. The pope having declared that he himself had observed the treaty, but that the bishops had excommunicated him; and that he could not revoke the decree unless in their presence; Henry became so provoked at this prevarication, that he took possession of the territories of the Countess Matilda, in Lombardy, which she had bequeathed to the pope, but which Henry claimed as an imperial fief. Matilda had died two years previously. The emperor proceeded to Rome, taking the strongholds on the route. The pope fled precipitately into Apulia. The Romans were soon compelled to open the gates to the imperial forces; and Henry was received with great rejoicing by the multitude with Cencius and Ptolemy at their head, two popular citizens who had been excommunicated by Paschal for their steady adherence to the emperor. A meeting of the clergy, lords, and citizens, was called to meet the emperor in the Basilica of the Vatican. He told the assembly that he was come to endeavour to effect a peaceable treaty between himself and the pope, and to receive the imperial crown again from his hands; it having been conferred before, as some said, by force. The clergy

^o See pontificate of Alexander II., supra.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

refused to comply with any of his demands without the authority of Paschal, by whom the Archbishop of Braga, Maurice Bourdin, had been sent as legate to treat with Henry. This legate was induced to perform the ceremony of a second coronation. Paschal consequently summoned a council at Beneventum, and condemned Bourdin as a traitor to the apostolic see. The heat of the season compelled the emperor to retire into Tuscany, on which the pope, assisted by the Normans, marched unexpectedly to Rome, and surprised the Germans who had been left in possession of the city. While preparing, however, to defend the city against the return of the emperor, the pope suddenly died¹.

All the principles of Nicholas had been enforced by Paschal. *The exaction of an oath of obedience and allegiance from all metropolitans had now become a custom, as well as a law of the Churches.* This pope began the custom of dating his letters from the era of his election to the pontificate.

CLXI. *Gelasius II., died 1119.*

John of Gaeta², a learned Benedictine, who had been secretary to Urban II., was elected by the Gregorian party, without any notice being sent to the emperor or his friends. A troop of Imperialists consequently entered the church of the Benedictines at Rome, where the new pope and cardinals were assembled, and carried off John of Gaeta, who had taken the name of Gelasius, prisoner to the house of Cencius Frangipani. Many cardinals and clergy were at the same time imprisoned, stripped of their canonical vestments, and, with the pope, unmercifully beaten. A counter-revolution was soon raised; and Gelasius being rescued, was taken to the Lateran and crowned.

In the midst of these disorders, the emperor unexpectedly entered the Leonine city at the head of his army. Gelasius made his escape by sea to Gaeta, near Naples, and was kindly received by the Norman princes. The emperor sent envoys to offer his protection, provided he would return and renounce all right to investitures. If he rejected this offer,

¹ On the exact date of his death, see a learned discussion in Pagi, ad an. 1113, § 1.

² A life of this pope, written by Pandulfus Pisanus, is printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

he should proceed to the appointment of another pope. The answer of Gelasius was unsatisfactory to the emperor; he, therefore, caused Maurice Bourdin, Archbishop of Braga, to be elected, who, as legate of Paschal, had crowned him in the Vatican. Bourdin took the title of Gregory VIII. on his election; and now, as pontiff, repeated the ceremony of the coronation of the emperor.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

The emperor having left Rome, Gelasius returned; and as he was about to celebrate mass, the royal party, with Cencius as their leader, forced open the church. A fight ensued between the Gregorians and Imperialists, during which Gelasius escaped from the church and proceeded immediately to France, where he was honoured by the king and bishops as legitimate pope. He died soon after his arrival in France, at Clugny, from whence he had intended proceeding to Rheims, where he purposed to have held a council³.

Some short time before his death, the Archbishop of Canterbury had sent agents to him to learn his opinion respecting the dispute between himself and the Archbishop of York. Gelasius is said by Eadmer to have purposed adopting several new and unheard-of measures respecting England. Collier conjectures that he designed to have settled in England another legate besides the archbishop. Paschal had attempted this; and the design was completed in the reign of Stephen.

CLXII. *Calixtus II., died 1124.*

Guido, Archbishop of Vienna, having been recommended by Gelasius as his successor, the Gregorian cardinals and monks assembled at Clugny, and privately elected him with the approbation of their party in Rome. His first act was to call a council at Thoulouse against a sect of heretics who opposed infant baptism, the Eucharist, the priesthood, and marriages. He then summoned a council at Rheims, where he was met by 15 archbishops, 200 bishops, and a great number of abbots and other ecclesiastics. Simony, lay investitures, sacrilege, benefices, and celibacy of the priesthood, were severally discussed, and canons were passed relative to each. The influence of the Church was now increased by

³ Pagi, ad ann. 1118, § 15.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

the appeal of Lewis, King of France, against Henry I. of England, for having seized and kept in custody a Norman duke, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the said King of France. The council, however, declined to interfere.

The emperor was expected at this council to conclude the long dispute on the question of investitures. He did not appear. Deputies were sent to him to invite an interview. He desired that the pope should meet him at the Castle of Mouson. Calixtus left the council; but, as the emperor was encamped with 30,000 men near to Mouson, he stopped short of the proposed place of meeting, and sent an embassy to offer absolution from all sentences of excommunication, if he entirely renounced the claim of investiture. Henry replied that he could not so dispose of a prerogative which had belonged to his ancestors for ages past; and the pope finding further negotiation would be useless, returned to Rheims, and stated the result of his journey. This produced a renewal of the excommunication against the emperor, in which sentence the antipope, Gregory VIII., and all who gave countenance to the proceeding of either the emperor or the antipope, were included.

The dispute between the archbishops of Canterbury and York was again revived in 1119. The former refused to ordain Thurstan to the see of York unless he paid the required canonical obedience to him as primate. York had remained vacant two years. Thurstan had been permitted by the king to attend the Council of Rheims, on his pledge neither to ask nor to accept consecration from the pope; and the king wrote to Calixtus to explain the conditions on which he had permitted Thurstan to be present at the council. In disregard of his own promise, and of the open injunctions of the king, Thurstan received consecration from the pope; and the king resented the insult by the immediate banishment of Thurstan. The pope waited on Henry, who was then in Normandy, and after a fruitless attempt to reconcile Lewis and Henry, Calixtus confirmed to the English king all the privileges of the Church of England; among which its independence of legatine authority was included. The opportunity was not omitted by the pope of pleading in favour of the restoration of Thurstan. The king signified that his oath precluded him from recalling the archbishop. The

pope offered absolution from the oath. His majesty expressed astonishment at the proposal, and promised, after due consideration, to send his reply. He soon after sent to inform Calixtus that he could not accept his absolution—that if oaths and promises could be cancelled by absolutions, faith among men would soon be destroyed—that no man should learn of him to break his oath or promise⁴. Thurstan was at length allowed by the king, under certain restrictions, to enter his see; and by an act of Calixtus, the see of York was declared independent of Canterbury, though it does not seem that the decree was observed.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

After remaining in France about twelve months, Calixtus proceeded into Italy. As the emperor was now in Germany with his army, Bourdin, the antipope, retreated from Rome to Sutri. Though Calixtus was received with much welcome by the Hildebrand party in the city, he did not think himself safe while his rival held Sutri. He, therefore, went to Apulia to solicit the protection of the Norman princes, who consented to afford him whatever aid he might require to expel the antipope. An army was consequently soon in motion, and the emperor being unable at the moment to succour his Italian friends, Bourdin was given up by the people of Sutri to save themselves and their city. He was treated with the utmost contumely, though Calixtus is praised by his friends for saving his rival's life. Bourdin was stripped of his clothes, and his body was clothed with sheep-skins dyed with blood, as a scarlet robe. In this state he was mounted on a camel with his face towards the tail, and carried into Rome amidst the shouts of the Hildebrandine mob. He was afterwards kept in close confinement till he died. He had performed the duties of the pontificate for three years, and occupied the Lateran palace a great portion of that time. Many churches had acknowledged him as lawful pope, and during the whole of his career his functions were exercised in the city of Rome, without any formidable obstruction from his opponents; and apparently without any public measures to invalidate his acts of authority. It was now as in former schisms, might determined right; and violence superseded the dictates of justice.

Upon the removal of his rival, Calixtus sent Leo, a monk of Clugny, to the kings of France and England with the

⁴ Eadmer, Nov. lib. v.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

news. After despatching his business with the French court, Leo waited in Normandy for an answer from Henry to his application for leave to visit England. Permission was granted on condition that he came there as a private person, and not as legate from the pope. He was received by the king as the representative of Calixtus with suitable respect. Having told his errand, he was proceeding to other topics, but his address was cut short with the declaration, that his majesty meant to maintain all the privileges belonging to him, and particularly exemption from all legatine interference. *So jealous was England to preserve its remaining independence.* With this answer the legate was dismissed; and satisfied that no authority or jurisdiction beyond that established over the English Church would be conceded by the king, he set out on his return.

In 1122, in consequence of overtures from Calixtus concerning a settlement of the disputes that had so long subsisted between the empire and the Church, about investitures, the emperor assembled a council at Worms. In this council it was proposed, on the part of the emperor—that no bishop or abbot should be elected without the consent of the emperor; and that the elect should not be consecrated till he had sworn allegiance for fiefs and lands held of the empire, and been invested with the staff and ring by the emperor.

The terms proposed by the other side were—that the emperor should invest the elect with all his temporalities by the sceptre only, without the staff and ring, which were declared to be spiritual tokens exclusively; that homage should be done by bishops and abbots for demesnes which they held of the empire; and that, in like manner, investitures within the empire, but out of Germany, should be performed within six months.

The emperor consented to forego the use of the staff and ring in all future investitures; and with the consent of all present a treaty was prepared according to the terms submitted on the part of the pope. In order, also, that the settlement of this long perplexing contest might be rendered more public, a general council was appointed to meet in the ensuing March, 1123, in the Lateran palace. *This was the First General Council held in the West which is esteemed Œcumenical.* All the others had been held in the East. The oriental Churches, for that reason, or rather, in consequence

of their not having been parties in the disputes which it met to determine, do not acknowledge it to be œcumenical. I annex a tabular view of its proceedings. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

*Synopsis of the Ninth General Council*⁵.

Council X. from Jerusalem.	First Lateran Council.
Date.	A. D. 1123. March 18 to April 5 ⁶ .
Number of Bishops.	Three hundred; while of abbots and other clergy there were at least six hundred ⁷ .
By whom summoned.	Calixtus II. ⁸
President.	The Pope.
Why and against what opinions.	To settle the question of investiture ⁹ .
Against whom.	None individually.
Chief decrees and canons.	The claim of the emperor to the right of investing bishops was compromised by a restriction, that he no longer use the insignia of spiritual authority in the ceremony, but the sceptre only; and that ecclesiastics elected throughout the Teutonic empire, receive their temporal investments from his hands, and do him homage for them. There were XXII. Canons, by which the enactments of former councils were renewed, to abolish the marriage of the clergy. The XIth Canon was intended to inflame the crusading spirit ¹ .
Penalties.	Anathema. Excommunication ² .
Sufferers.	The married clergy who reject their wives.
Emperors.	Henry V. of Germany. John II. Comnenus, of Constantinople.
Pope.	Calixtus II.

⁵ This is the council esteemed by the Latins the Ninth Œcumenical. There were no Eastern bishops present at it. From this to Trent, the Greek

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

The period we have now considered, the two hundred and fifty-four years which elapsed between the last general council assembled at Constantinople, and the first general council, as it is reputed to be, in the Lateran; when the ecclesiastical papal power had attained its greatest height, though not its greatest domination; is one of the most important periods in the history of the Church. We see within this space the disgraceful dissensions and errors between the Bishops of Rome, degrading the apostolical succession; and rendering it totally impossible for all subsequent theologians to appeal with justice to that succession; as the exclusive channel of the grace of God to the Churches. Popes were degraded. The bishops whom they

Church does not receive any council as *general*. The Fourth of Constantinople is the last they acknowledge as Ecumenical.—See Platina, in Vitâ Calixti II.; Van Espen. Caranza does not notice this council.

⁶ Cave, vol. ii. p. 263; Concilia, vol. x. p. 393; Bellarmine, vol. ii. p. 9; Du Pin, vol. x. p. 33; Binius, vol. iii. p. 466; Grier, p. 167; Venema, vol. vi. p. 64.

⁷ See the authorities supra: others say 997, of all kinds, in which Bellarmine and Grier also nearly concur.

⁸ See Binius, Grier, Venema, &c.

⁹ The compromise which was made, gave to the emperor the privilege of investiture by the sceptre only, debarring him from using the staff and ring in the ceremony. The emperor consented not to interfere with any elections which take place in his presence otherwise than to prevent simony and compulsion; and his privileges of investiture are confined to his Teutonic dominions. The election of bishops was also ordered to be confined to the clergy and monks. The emperor on his part promises implicit obedience to the Roman see, and assistance when it shall be required.

¹ The transactions of the council are described by some as more military than ecclesiastic.—Gesner, vol. ii. p. 133.

In quo hæ fuerunt pacis condiciones inter pontificem et imperatorem constitutæ.

Item, ut christianis, qui in Palæstina contra Saracenos bella gerebant, aux-

ilium mitteretur.—Concilia, vol. x. p. 393.

Other canons were passed relating to discipline.

Conditi sunt, præter pacti inter Henricum et papam confirmationem, nonnulli canones disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ et expeditionis sacræ promovendæ.—Venema, vol. vi. p. 66.

² Waddington, with his usual discrimination and good sense, remarks on the settlement of this conflict, "which," he says, "in addition to the usual calamities of international warfare, had excited subjects against their sovereign, and children against their fathers, which had convulsed the holy Church, and overthrown its sanctuaries, and stained its altars with blood—that, on a calm historical survey of the circumstances of the conflict, and of the crimes and errors which led to them, we are little disposed to load with unmixed reprehension any individual of either party. The crimes, indeed, and the passions which produced them, were equally numerous and flagrant on either side. On the one were tyranny, and profligacy, and brutal violence; arrogance, obstinacy, and imposture on the other: pride, and ambition, and injustice, on both. Yet our prejudices naturally incline to the imperial party, because the same or equal vices become infinitely more detestable when they are found under the banners of religion."—History of the Church, chap. xvii. p. 309.

consecrated, and the priests whom those bishops ordained, were deposed from their offices, according to the triumph of a faction, or the movement of a popular, an imperial, or an aristocratical army, in their neighbourhood. Other popes, other bishops, other priests, were appointed in their places. It was impossible to decide which was the true descendant from the apostles; and it is no less impossible to believe that the grace of God was withheld from the pious worshippers in the gradually corrupted Church, because a Stephen deposed a Formosus, after death, and cut off the dead fingers, which had been extended in consecration over the bishops he appointed, from the disfigured carcass. The apostolical succession from Augustine to the present day has been continued in England. The Church of England has done all it could to observe the ancient discipline, and God has blessed it abundantly³: but if the Church of England had been unable to obtain the sanction of any one of the episcopal order to a purer and wiser mode of worshipping God, than the Church of Rome, or than the bishops who had been in communion with the Church of Rome, approved; *the Great Head of the Church would still have accepted the prayers of the people, and blessed the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the sacraments.* So it was, however, that the apostolical succession has been more dishonoured, disgraced, and degraded at Rome itself; than in any other country where the episcopal descent has been traced. Folly, cruelty, worldly ambition, and the continued accession of error, marked every later century of its progress, in spite of the holiness of some popes; and the zeal, prudence, and good government of others.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

This was the period which saw the degradation of the papacy by the government of noble courtezans, and their no less noble paramours, as the world calls those noble who bear the names of distinguished ancestors. The see of Rome was dishonoured by the alternate success of imperial, aristocratic, or popular factions. The chair of St. Peter became saleable: and we can only suppose that it was necessary for the eventual happiness of man that the tur-

³ But see an argument in the Dublin Review, in which the reviewer derides the notion of the continuance of the apostolical succession in the Church of England.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

bulent violence of the rulers of the age, and the popular ignorance of the common mass, which together threatened to extinguish the influence of religion, and to suppress the free circulation of the sacred volume; should be restrained by a power of the same nature with their own, but which was less brutal than the military laity, and less ignorant than the half-civilized descendants of the invaders of the Roman empire. Therefore it was, that the providence of God permitted the Church and Bishop of Rome to become influential over all other Churches and bishops. The re-assertion by Gregory, both before and after his accession to the pontificate, of the principles of Nicholas—the assistance, by the pope's blessing, to the conquest of England, as the result of the resolution of the Gregorians to overthrow the independence of its Church, when Stigand, its archbishop, refused to pay homage to the Gregorian party; on their changing custom into law, respect into homage, and communion with Rome into subjection—have influenced the whole of Europe even to this hour. The controversy still rages. The yoke is not yet broken. No subject is so interesting as thus to trace the emerging of the ecclesiastical power of Rome from its degradations under the caprice, simony, and oppressions of its neighbours; and to observe its extending power eclipsing all other authority among its contemporaries, till emperors, kings, and princes, as well as archbishops, bishops, and their followers, were excommunicated and deposed; and till the very ceremony of investing with their revenues the ecclesiastical subjects of princes, was torn from them by the solemn edict of the Church, under the influence of the Bishop of Rome. It is in this light that the accomplished, though partial, credulous, and therefore unsafe historiographer of this period considers the decree of the First Council of Lateran respecting investitures⁴. He had once been compelled to exclaim, when speaking of the century before the ascendancy of Gregory VII., in allusion to the subjects I

⁴ Cujus memoria summâ cum benedictione in ecclesiâ catholicâ perseverat, utpote sanetissimi pontificis, cui Deus dederit, brevis licet temporis pontificatu, adeo gloriosa peragere et prede-

cessoribus inconcessa perficere; Ecclesiamque imperatorum tyrannide servitutis jugo depressam vindicare ad perpetuam libertatem.—Baronius.

have mentioned—"What was the appearance of the Holy Roman Church? How most foul, when the most powerful and the most degraded prostitutes ruled and governed at Rome; by whose will the sees were changed, and bishoprics given away; and, what is horrible to be related, their lovers, false pontiffs, were thrust into Peter's chair, who are not inscribed in the catalogue of Roman pontiffs except to mark the times. For who could possibly say, that they were legitimate Roman pontiffs who were thrust in by these prostitutes without any law? There is no mention of the clergy either electing, or afterwards giving their consent. The canons were all reduced to silence, the decrees of pontiffs suppressed, ancient traditions proscribed, and the former customs in electing the pontiffs, and the sacred rites, and the early usage, entirely extinguished⁵."

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

Yet all this passed away, and the feeling of exultation is almost enviable, with which the annalist describes the recovery of Rome from this degradation, about the time when Gregory VII., as Hildebrand, began to be influential. He contrasts the storms and tempests through which the Church had passed, and the incipient triumph when its sacred character began to be regained in the time of Leo IX. He imputes the change to the providence of God; and he was right in doing so. But he mistook the means for the end. He imagined that the prosperity of the Church of Rome, was the object of the preservation of the Catholic Church of Christ. It was preserved as a preventive of a greater evil, than its own existence, in the darker ages. It is preserved at present as the depository of a certain mass of truth which will shine forth more clearly after its superincumbent errors shall have been removed. It may possibly be preserved to

⁵ Quæ tunc facies sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ! quam fœdissima, cum Romæ dominarentur potentissimæ æque ac sordidissimæ meretrices! quarum arbitrio mutarentur sedes, darentur episcopi, et, quod auditu horrendum et infandum est, intruderentur in sedem Petri earum amasii pseudo-pontifices, qui non sint nisi ad consignanda tantum temporæ in catalogo Romanorum pontificum scripti. Quis enim a scortis

hujusmodi intrusos sine lege legitimos dicere posset Romanos fuisse pontifices? Nusquam cleri eligentis vel postea consentientis aliqua mentio, canones omnes pressi silentio, decreta pontificum suffocata, proscriptæ antiquæ traditiones, veteresque in eligendo summo pontifice consuetudines, sacrique ritus, et pristinus usus prorsus extincti.—Baron. A. D. 912, § 15.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

be the chief episcopal Church in the West, if its first faith shall be restored ; to hold the first place in future councils ; and to preach the truth which once it persecuted ⁶.

⁶ Hic rogo te, Lector, mecum considera rem bene actam, divinitusque dispositam inveniri, si post innumeras tempestates, adversariorum ventorum impetu agitatas, post frequentes in scopulos illusiones, in syrtes ejectiones, et piratarum aggressiones, diligenti studio, accurata solitudine perlustrata navis, quæ millies periisse debuerat, nulla sit inventa læsione quassata, nullo aperta foramine, nullo denique alicujus momenti affecta detrimento. Ecce post tot tantosque enumeratos superius turbines, quibus (ut antiquiora mala prætermittimus) per centum annorum

curricula fuit miserandis casibus ecclesia Romana exagitata, concussa, elisa, jactata, ut vix tabula juncta tabulæ humana existimatione superesse videri potuisset; ista ipsa obtutu lynceo intus forisque ab adversariis eam perire cupientibus, perspecta, livoris lucerna pervestigata, quæ recta quæque etiam apparare facit obliqua, et bona cuncta mala videri ; nullo revera sit inventa errore ejus compago resoluta, ut eadem penitus esse cogita sit, qualis fuerat ab exordio ante procellas, quibus obrui videbatur in omnibus integra.—Baron. A.D. 1054, § 36.

CHAPTER V.

Increased power of the Church of Rome over the Catholic Church.—Laws against Heresy.—Origin of Scholastic Theology.—Second Council of Lateran, or Tenth General Council.

CLXIII. *Honorius II., died 1130.*

SIXTEEN years only elapsed before the next General Council. In this short period, however, thirty-one considerable councils were held in the several countries of Europe. They treated chiefly on discipline¹, on the marriage of the clergy², the reformation of manners³, the deposition and excommunication of bishops⁴, the establishment of sanctuaries⁵, the reconciliation of kings who had quarrelled⁶, and on other matters affecting the interests of Churches and states. Very interesting are the accounts of these assemblies, bespeaking, as they do, the state of the countries, people, and religion of the times; but we have, alas! in our language, to our shame and disgrace be it spoken, no general ecclesiastical history.

Lambert, Bishop of Ostia, succeeded Calixtus (Dec. 24, 1124). He compelled Roger Guiscard of Sicily to submit to him; and reprov'd, against the advice of St. Bernard, the Bishop of Paris, for placing the diocese and the king's lands under an interdict. *He extended the papal power in England*, by commissioning a legate, John de Crema, to act in this kingdom. The king is supposed to have consented to this arrangement through the persuasions of his daughter, the

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

¹ At London, 1126. At Nantes, 1127. At Ronen, 1128, &c.

² At London, 1126.

³ At Paris, 1129.

⁴ At Ravenna, 1128. At Chalons sur Marne, 1129. At Pisa, 1134.

⁵ At Narbonne, 1134.

⁶ At Burgos in 1135, to reconcile the kings of Navarre and Castile. At Westminster, Oxford, Worcester, Northampton, and many other cities and towns of England and Scotland.

Empress Matilda. This legate was also the bearer of a letter to David, King of Scotland, to desire that he would order the bishops of his kingdom to assist at any councils which his legate might deem necessary to hold. After a tour through the different sees of the island, the legate returned to London, and held a council, at which he presided; though the Archbishop of Canterbury, by his right as primate, summoned the council. It sat three days, and seventeen canons were passed for the remedy of abuses. The fourth canon ordered that no benefice should be received from any layman. By the thirteenth it was decreed, that strict celibacy should be observed by the clergy⁷.

The insolent behaviour of the legate, who is said to have been avaricious, proud, and cruel, was so offensive to the English Church, that the Archbishop of Canterbury proceeded to Rome for the purpose of complaining to the pope; and to submit to the court of Rome, that the canons of the universal Church gave him the authority to preside at councils held within his own province. This step led to the confirmation of the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the legate of Rome in England.

Honorius began his dominion over Churches, states, and sovereigns, by the excommunication of the hereditary Count of Normandy. He ended it by excommunicating Conrad of Franconia, for having claimed the throne in opposition to Lothaire, who had been elected by a majority, and acknowledged by the apostolic see. Anselm, Archbishop of Milan, who had crowned Conrad, King of Italy, and the two patriarchs of Aquileia and Grato, who had acknowledged him, were also excommunicated.

The year before the death of Honorius, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as legate of the see of Rome in England, held a large council in London, at which all the bishops of the kingdom are said to have attended. The clergy who were married were again ordered to put away their wives within a given time. The Archbishop of Canterbury, William Corbel, requested the king to punish those who refused to comply with the injunctions of the council, or, in other words, *to give to the canon law the force of the statute law*. They committed

⁷ Labb. Concil. x. 914.

to his hands the enforcement of their decrees. Henry took advantage of their petition by permitting the clergy to retain their wives upon payment of large fines. He thus raised a large sum of money ⁸.

The retirement of Gratian about this time, 1130, into the monastery of St. Felix, in Bologna, in order to compile his work on the canon law, and thus to reconcile the discordant canons of the Church ⁹, in which the chief laws against heresy are collected and digested into order—the retirement, also, in this year, 1130, of Abelard, from his more public station as the teacher of innumerable students, in consequence of his own folly, and the revenge of the kindred of Heloise, to the monastery of St. Denis—the murder of Arnulphus, an eminent preacher at Rome, at the instigation of the priesthood, whom he offended by declaiming against their wealth and luxury—the burning of certain heretics, or persons so called, a few years after, A.D. 1140, at Cologne, not by process of the public law, but by the populace, in excess of zeal ¹, together with the atrocious burning alive of 1300 persons by Lewis VII. ², and the severe reproof of the action by St. Bernard—remind me of the contest which was now commencing, not against the temporal encroachments of Rome, but merely between reason and authority, the barbarous manners of the times, and the necessity of preventing the excesses of the populace by defined laws. So great was the influence of the Church over the masses of the people, that the populace burnt real or supposed heretics in the streets, in excess of zeal, without examination or trial. St. Bernard condemns the illegal and irregular manner in which they were put to death, even whilst he censures their opinions; and we may infer, therefore, that greater advantages would result to

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

⁸ Huntingdon, p. 230. Concil. London. can. v. ap. Labb. Concil. x. 918.

⁹ Scripsit Gratianus, circa annum 1151, Decretorum Canoniorum Collectanea; seu Concordantiam discordantium canonum, ex SS. Patrum dictis, synodorum canonibus, spuris Rom. P. P. Decretalibus, aliisque Pseudepigraphis collectam.—Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. 216.

But Gratian had retired twenty-one years previously. Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, had already published a code of canon law, divided into seventeen

parts, and numerous compilations existed. The model for the work of Gratian is said, by Alban Butler, to have been that made by certain monks, a copy of which is now in the king's library at Paris.—Life of Ivo, Butler's Lives of the Saints, May 20, note (a).

¹ See Pagi, A.D. 1146, § 17.

² Ludovicus Rex Vetricum castrum Comitum Theobaldi cepit, ubi igni admoto, ecclesiâ incensâ, et in eâ mille trecentæ animæ, diversi sexus et ætatis, sunt igne consumptæ.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

society from the legal and regular infliction of the same sentence. This is still true, though the manners of the people had been produced by the odious laws which identified punishment for opinion with the duty of the state to God. The populace were so generally influenced at this time by the priesthood, that though the proofs of the existence of purer opinions on the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome—purgatory, the worship of saints, images, and the decisions of the Church respecting transubstantiation—were traceable³ through the greater part of Europe; the united influence of the priesthood, the populace, and the severe denunciations of the canon law against heresy and heretics, endangered the lives of all who presumed to teach other doctrines, than those which the Church of Rome espoused. They were in danger from popular excess. *The intolerance of a heretic-burning mob is even more unbearable than the intolerance of a priestly tribunal.* Both are unendurable evils, but it is not improbable that the publication of the canon law, which Gratian now retired to complete, prevented even worse evils than those which had so long desolated the Churches. The people, the priest, the bishop, and the law; the king on the throne, and the peasant or mechanic in the field or in the streets, were generally debased with the same false zeal; and, strange as it may appear, the pope himself was more tolerant than many of the bishops. The Bishop of Paris was reproved by Honorius for his severity to his sovereign in placing an interdict on his possessions, and it was removed at his remonstrance. The crime of Rome is, that many centuries after the shadow of an excuse for intolerance has ceased—when the populace would no longer burn a heretic or any other person for religious opinions, and when the opinions it would punish inflict no evil on society, *the canon laws are still unrepealed by the same authority which enacted them.* Though they are not altogether received in many countries⁴, they are partially received in all which adhere to the communion of Rome. The sanctions by which they are enforced are severe and cruel, yet no council is called, no papal bull issued, to change, rescind, or palliate either their principles or their conclusions.

³ See Milner on the Cathari, cent. xii. chap. iii.

⁴ See the Dissertations of Charles Butler on this subject.

About the time of Gratian's retirement to his twenty-one years' seclusion in the monastery at Bologna, for the purpose of completing the code of laws which riveted for four centuries the chains of pontifical authority on the Churches of Europe; that great collision began between pontifical ecclesiastical authority, and the efforts of human reason to throw off the fetters of dogmatic theology. The theology of the primitive Christians may be defined to have consisted in these three things—the simple reception of the facts now nearly all collected in the Scriptures; the inferences or doctrines strictly deducible from those facts, without venturing upon deep and abstract philosophical speculations; and those rules of holiness which are essential to the government of the motives and conduct, with those rules of discipline which were most useful to the order and harmony of their daily increasing societies. The only difference between the Christians who constituted the mass of societies which collectively constituted the Church Catholic; and the Christians who were denominated *heretics*, consisted, in the deducing by the latter of certain inferences from the same facts; which were first questioned, and then rejected by the former. The history of the Church, from the Ascension of our Lord to the time of Anselm and Gratian, is only the narrative of the manner in which the decisions of the Churches were formed and pronounced, till the whole authority became concentrated in the ecclesiastical papal power of the Bishop of Rome. *That power had now rendered the world subservient to the clergy, and the clergy to the pope.* Europe had become one immense and regular theocracy⁵. *The Church now governed human thought, human liberty, private morals, and individual opinions.* It addressed itself, by its authority alone, to the inward man, to the thought, to the conscience⁶. That very authority, however, not being based, like the civil authority, upon the hypothesis, that resistance on the part of the governed must be reduced by physical force alone, independently of all consideration of the reasoning by which that resistance might be defended; unavoidably permitted the evil which it seemed most zealous to prevent. It denied the right of inquiry, and desired to deprive individual reason of its liberty, yet it

⁵ Guizot's Civilization of Europe, p. 294.⁶ Id. p. 153.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

appealed to reason incessantly⁷. The perpetual councils—provincial, national, general, the incessant correspondence of its monks, bishops, and zealots, engendered and maintained in the Christian Church at all times, that *mental activity and energy which never have been nor can be entirely suppressed; till it has established all that truth which is suitable and useful to society.*

Passing by, then, the implicit faith of the early Church, in which few speculations on abstract or abstruse questions were discussed, excepting, as some new heresies required the more accurate definitions (as in the Arian and Macedonian controversies) of some already adopted article of faith; we find that Origen, at Cæsarea, and before him Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria, had blended philosophy with theology, by accommodating the doctrines of Christianity to the maxims of Platonism. They thus adopted errors which were generally avoided by those who were contented with proving the truth or certainty of the mysteries of Christianity, by passages from Scripture. Origen was the first to compile what may be called a body of divinity⁸. Next to him, and after the several controversies which were decided by the first great councils, the author of the work ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, but who wrote at the end of the fifth century, treated various theological questions according to the principles of the Platonic philosophy⁹. Boethius, the last of the ancients¹, may be called the link between the ancient philosophy of paganism and the scholastic philosophy of Christianity; as he was well versed in the philosophy of Aristotle, and made use of his maxims to explain the mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation—a mode of reasoning which engaged him in discussions

⁷ Guizot's Civilization of Europe, p. 154.

⁸ On Principles. Translated, but with alterations, by Ruffinus.—See Brucker, Philos. vol. vii. p. 543; also Du Pin.

⁹ Brucker gives the following account of the origin and causes of his obscurity—*Incertus in systematico cogitandi artificio fluctuabat Origenes, et syncretisticis studiis detentus, non quid systematis nexus postulabat, sed id animum intendebat, ut dogmata, immo opiniones quoque, inter se diversissimæ, uno sub jugo ire cogerentur. Cum*

autem hoc efficere impossibile esset, nisi varia et fluctuans vocibus atque notionibus affingeretur significatio, vocibus terminisque obscuris, ambiguis, incertis, nihilque solidi significantibus, rem assertam dubiis sensibus involvere coactus fuit. Hinc illa Origenianæ doctrinæ incertitudo, hinc tot incertæ interpretationes, accusationes, excusationes, hisque similia.—Brucker, Histor. Philos. vii. 547.

¹ See Du Pin, cent. xii. p. 192, and Sir James Mackintosh's Dissertation, pp. 87—89.

on very subtle and intricate questions. After him, John of Damascus was the first who undertook to discuss all kinds of theological questions, and to reduce them into one entire body. In the ninth century, John Scotus Erigena applied Aristotle's method and principles to the resolution of several questions relating to points of divinity²; but his subtle notions having led him into error, his doctrines and method were rejected by contemporary and by most subsequent divines. These studies were more neglected in the tenth century, and the philosophy of Aristotle was not taught in the public schools, though it was read in the Arabic schools in Spain; till it was introduced from that country by the European Christians, who made versions of the writings of Aristotle from the Arabic into Latin, and thus, in the eleventh century, gave birth to the scholastic theology³.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

² Du Pin, cent. xii.

³ Sir James Mackintosh, p. 93. But see more especially the view of Thomas Aquinas, and the scholastic philosophy in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, book xi. part ii. p. 797—811, and Sharon Turner's *History of England*, vol. iv. chap. xi., and especially Hampden's *Bampton Lectures for 1832*. I fully agree with Turner in his eulogy on Thomas Aquinas, p. 552, and with the anonymous author of the article in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, p. 793, col. 2, in fin. Dr. Watson, the late Bishop of Llandaff, apologizes for recommending the works of Aquinas to the student of divinity. He need not have done so. The theologian will find, that though there are some absurdities, the study of the *Summa Theologiæ* will amply repay his labour.

As the work is neither much known nor valued by Protestant readers in general, I subjoin here a brief account of its plan, and also of the mode in which it is quoted by his contemporaries. I refer to the Cologne edition, in one large, closely printed thick folio, 1604, of the *Summa Totius Theologiæ*. This book may be called the best compendium extant of the schoolmen, and of Augustine, on all points of divinity. It consists of three parts—the first, treating generally of God, his nature, works, and attributes; the nature and powers of angels and demons; fate, freewill, providence, predestination, &c. &c.

The first division of part the second

treats de ultimo fine humanæ vitæ, and de virtutibus et vitiiis, &c. &c.

The second discusses questions in moral philosophy—of man as a being subject to laws; virtues, vices, grace, freewill, faith, hope, &c.

The third part treats of the incarnation, the Sacraments, expiation, contemplation, action, &c. &c.

To these there is added a supplement, to complete the work, which was left unfinished; treating of the Sacraments, the events that shall follow the resurrection, &c. The whole is completed by most copious and curious indexes, comprising scriptural authorities; the second, of the principal subjects; and a third, of all the propositions, doctrines, and miscellaneous subjects discussed or introduced throughout the book. I subjoin the mode of referring by means of these indexes to the several parts of the book, where the proposition the reader wishes to find, is pointed out. Thus,

In principio Deus creavit cælum et terram, 1^a. q. 46. 2. c^o 3. 0^o. q. 61. 3. 3^a; that is, this passage is explained in part first, question forty-six, article second, in the body of the article, and in the 3rd article of the same question throughout; also, in the same part, in the 61st question in the third article, in reply to the third argument adduced.

Whether Balaam prophesied, &c. &c. 2. 2^e. q. 172. 6. 1^m. Second division of part 2nd, ques. 172, art. 6, reply to 1st argument.

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BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

The maxims of Aristotle were about that time insensibly introduced into divinity, and applied not only to decide and illustrate ordinary questions; but to form a great number of new ones, unheard of until now. The teachers and writers of these times, called the Schoolmen, were themselves ignorant of the Greek of Aristotle. They were properly theologians, employing a borrowed philosophy to define and support the system of Christian belief which was embraced by their contemporaries. The founder of that system, so far as it was independent of Aristotle, was Augustine. The system of the faith, or belief in the Church, may be, therefore, called a mixture of conclusions respecting grace, faith, and predestination, as inculcated by Augustine—of conclusions on the Trinity and the nature of God, sanctioned generally by the Fathers and councils—of certain notions borrowed from Platonism—and of speculations and modes of treating all these, derived from the methods of Aristotle. There consequently arose, about the time immediately preceding Gratian, a passion, which is rightly called by the great historian of philosophy, the Aristotle-mania⁴. Aristotle rivalled the Church; but the Church was so powerful, and the unity of the Church was so universally and justly and jealously preserved; that every teacher was anxious to prove that every opinion he taught was consistent with the conclusions which had been already adopted by the majority of Christians, and by the ecclesiastics who were in authority. *The world was submissive to the Church, the Church was submissive to Rome. Heresy was a crime punishable with tumultuary death by the populace, and with legal death by the tribunals.* The scholas-

The fourth index is a collection of propositions or assertions, with the proofs refuting the heresies of the dissidents from the Roman Catholic Church, and, it may be added, from the Church of England.

The fifth is an index of the subjects treated in the Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and Festivals.

After these is a collection of axioms on the Sacraments, &c., with a Catechism, both by Augustinus Hunneus.

The whole concludes with a short and excellent address to students in divinity, and a list of the authors, philosophers, orators, poets, councils, fathers, and

doctors of the Church, quoted by Aquinas. It is, in short, a book which ought to be in the possession of every theological student, who by means of an assiduous and prayerful perusal of the Holy Scriptures, and regard both for the primitive Church and the Church of the Reformation, seeks for truth, and is enabled by God's grace to distinguish truth from error.

⁴ Nihil vero magis omnem veram philosophandi rationem perdidit, et scholasticos in devia ab illo coegit, quam Ἀριστοτελισμανία, quæ inter eos obtinuit.—Brucker, Hist. Philos. iv. 885.

tics, therefore, of the day forbore to attack received opinions, or any religious creed. Their inquiries could not be restrained. Their conclusions, therefore, must be submitted to the Church. They were metaphysicians. They were theologians. The science of metaphysics is the science of mind, its powers and operations; and the speculations on mind to which that science leads, blended then, as in all ages, with those inquiries respecting Deity; which are safe only when a higher guide than mere reason is permitted to direct us, and unsafe when that higher guide is rejected. They exercised their intellect. They dared to reason, but they were unwilling to forsake their higher guide, whether Aristotle, Scripture, or tradition as found in councils and Fathers. They would not, they dared not, oppose authority. They were contented, therefore, first, to demand the free use of reason; and when they found that this free use of reason led them to clash, unwillingly, with constituted authority; they then proceeded further, and endeavoured to prove all their conclusions consistent with the foregone conclusions of the Church, with the Scripture, tradition, and existing authority⁵. This view of the origin and progress of the scholastic philosophy is confirmed by the history of the several great teachers of the schools. The Church, as Dr. Hampden⁶ has shown, though it was now binding reason in

⁵ This is the view taken of the incipient attempts to reason freely, immediately prior to the age of Gratian. While the popes, says Guizot, sought to usurp the government of the world, while the monasteries enforced a better code of morals and a severer form of discipline, a few mighty though solitary individuals protested in favour of human reason, and asserted its claim to be heard, its right to be consulted in the formation of man's opinions. The greater part of these philosophers forbore to attack commonly received opinions—I mean, religious creeds. All they claimed for reason was the right to be heard. All they declared was, that they had the right to try these truths by their own tests, and that it was not enough that they should be merely affirmed by authority. John Erigena, or Scotus as he is more frequently called, Roscelin, Abelard, and others, became the noble interpreters

of individual reason, when it now began to claim its lawful inheritance. It was the teaching and writings of these giants of their days, that first put in motion that desire for intellectual liberty which kept pace with the reform of Gregory VII. and St. Bernard. If we examine the general character of this movement of mind, we shall find that it sought not a change of opinion, that it did not array itself against the received system of faith; but that it simply advocated the right of reason to work for itself; in short, the right of free inquiry.—Guizot's *Civilization of Modern Europe*, pp. 194, 195.

⁶ Bampton Lectures for the year 1833: "The Scholastic Philosophy considered in relation to Christian Theology." Dr. Hampden has incautiously expressed himself in speaking of certain conclusions now generally believed to be true, as if they were derived from the scholastic philosophy, rather than

chains, and thought in links of iron; could not prevent its victims from endeavouring to escape from the fetters, it had thrown around them. Among the churchmen themselves, there had ever been the feeling of independence; and now that the power of Rome over Europe had induced that repose which always follows submission to authority; though there was no liberty, and though all trembled at resistance to authority, *yet reason began to act, and authority began to be alarmed*. Heresy was discovered in spite of all disavowals of the crime, and the Church endeavoured to repel or subdue the offence. In this collision between reason and authority, we are offended with the picture of Hincmar, a learned theologian, scourging with his own hand Gotteschalc, the follower of Augustine, and the defender of predestination. Ratram and Paschasius, Lanfranc and Berenger, disputed on the doctrine of the change of the bread into the body of Christ. The terms they used were derived from the philosophy of the age; and the doctrine of transubstantiation became established, by the application of metaphysical terms to describe the nature of the change by which the bread, after consecration, was considered to be different from the same bread before the words were spoken⁷. We are brought to the time of the retirement of Gratian. Roscelin, the pupil of Robert of Paris, and the tutor of Arnold of Laon, had disputed with Anselm, who wrote a treatise against his blasphemies on the subject of the Trinity and Incarnation⁸. None of the works of Roscelin are extant. He erred on the subject of the Trinity. Like Berengarius, he professed to be anxious to submit to the Church. He recanted his errors in the synod of Soissons in 1092, and then retracted his recantation⁹. He was desirous to exercise his reason, but to reconcile its use with deference to authority.

from Scripture. He has, however, fully proved that the language of Christian theology, from the time of the ninth century to Luther, whether in or out of the Church of Rome, has been and still is, most materially influenced, and very often most improperly, by the schoolmen.

⁷ See Hampden's Lecture VII.

⁸ The title of Anselm's Treatise is—

“Liber de Fide Trinitatis et de Incarnatione Verbi; contra blasphemias Ruzelini, sive Roscelini.” It is found in Gerberon's edition of Anselm's Works, p. 1, fol. Par. 1721.

⁹ Docuit enim Roscelinus tres in Deo personas esse tres res ab invicem separatas sicut sunt tres Angeli, ita tamen ut una sit voluntas et potestas. —Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. 178.

He was the instructor of Abelard, and is said to have been the founder of the Nominalists ¹.

Abelard was among the great assertors of the privilege of reasoning. St. Bernard was the representative of the authority of the Church. Abelard, in the year 1121, had been compelled, in a council held at Soissons, to cast one of his books on theology into the fire. He thus submitted to the authority of the Church. He still, however, continued to teach the same doctrines ². Certain extracts from his writings were made by William, the Abbot of Thierry, and condemned. St. Bernard advised Abelard to retract them. He accused Abelard of making degrees in the Trinity, with Arius; of preferring free-will to grace, with Pelagius; and of dividing Christ, with Nestorius. A council was held at Sens. St. Bernard, after some hesitation, had consented to be present. Abelard feared, as Otho of Frisingen asserts ³, an insurrection of the people. They could not, perhaps, have been easily prevented from tearing him to pieces, or burning him as a heretic; if he had been condemned for his supposed heresy. He, therefore, made an appeal to Rome, much to the indignation of St. Bernard; who wrote very angrily to Innocent II. on the subject. The Archbishop of Sens, with his suffragans, wrote to the pope to approve this censure. The pope imposed silence on Abelard as a heretic, and excommunicated both him and his followers. He then directed the bishops, together with St. Bernard, to imprison Abelard, and to burn his books. Abelard composed an apology, declaring his unwillingness to maintain any opinion which the Church deemed to be an error; that he had always spoken publicly, being conscious of no bad designs, and that he would willingly correct or erase whatever had been erroneously proposed or defended. He then submits a long explanation of his opinions, and conjures the faithful to put a charitable construction on his writings. After he had written

¹ Hunc autem Roscelinum Nominalium primum fuisse conditorem, camque sectam discipulum Abaelardum propagavisse.—Brueker, *Hist. Philosoph.* ii. 674.

² A very good account of Abelard and his writings is given by Du Pin, *explanation* xii. p. 92.

³ Apud Du Pin, p. 102.—Abelard

feared an insurrection of the people. He had reason to do so. The people of St. Giles's, Languedoc, had seized and burnt Peter de Bruys.—“Quo (Petro) apud S. Ægidium zelus Fidelium flammis Dominicæ crucis ab eo succensus, cum concremando altus est.”—Baronius, *Ann.* 1126, vol. xii. p. 171.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

this apology he set out for Rome, but was detained at Clugny by the abbot. He persuaded him to become reconciled to Bernard, who had accused him of despising the Fathers ⁴, and of publishing also strange notions respecting the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This latter point, indeed, seems to have been uniformly the topic on which Rome, and all whom it denominated heretics, most widely differed from each other in this age—at the time of Luther, and Mary too, as well as at present. Abelard returned to Clugny, and was permitted by the pope, who found that he had many friends at Rome ⁵, to reside there, at the request of the abbot, Peter the Venerable. He soon after removed for his health to the monastery of Marcellus, at Chalons, where he died in the year 1142, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Gilbert Porretanus, Bishop of Poitiers, was another celebrated instance, during the time that Gratian was at Bologna, of a learned ecclesiastic using his reason; yet submitting, whether satisfied or the contrary, to the authority of the Church. He also published several offensive speculations respecting the Godhead. He affirmed, among other things, that the Divine essence was not God—that the properties of the Divine Persons were not the Persons themselves. He was accused of error by St. Bernard, in the council of Paris in 1147 ⁶. He maintained, that that which constituted God the Father, was different from that which constituted Him God. A second council was called at Rheims in the following year ⁷ in consequence of some difficulties; and Gilbert was there compelled to retract certain of his propositions. The reading or transcribing of his books was forbidden till they had been corrected by the Church of Rome. He promised to correct them himself, but this was not deemed to be sufficient. He was permitted to return to his diocese; but many of his followers remained firm to their opinions, and were denounced by St. Bernard as heretics. He died soon after the publication of the Decretum of Gratian in 1154.

Though those celebrated schoolmen had thus submitted to the Church, and though the populace vied with their ecclesiastical rulers, in some instances, in their desire to seize and to

⁴ Epistles of St. Bernard.—Letter clxxx.

⁵ Id. Epist. exciii.

⁶ Labb. Concil. x. 1105.

⁷ Id. col. 1107.

burn heretics; yet there were never so many opponents to the ever-increasing influence of the Church of Rome⁸ in the several countries of Europe as at this time. The taste for metaphysical discussion was so universal among the Churchmen themselves; that though the spiritual power forbade the mind to think for itself, to use its own faculties to examine, to discuss, to object; so that implicit, unlimited, unreasoning obedience to spiritual power was another definition of the term religion⁹—though every man who was instructed in a school of philosophy was taught to think as his superior thought—it soon became evident that some compromise must be effected between the two antagonistical principles—that human reason must and would be exercised in matters of religion; and that the Church or its rulers were unable to suppress every mental effort. The disputes of the day increased rather than diminished. Every one¹ had recourse to the most subtle topics of the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics; and the discussions became more and more full of intricacies and difficulties. At this time, therefore, a temporary remedy was found, by which *authority permitted reasoning, but directed it into the channel which was best suited to its own purposes*. Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, produced the very work, which was exactly such an exposition of Christian doctrine, as might have been expected from this conflict between reason and authority. He compiled an elaborate collection of passages from the Fathers, chiefly from Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine; on the principal questions then debated by the schoolmen². Little reasoning of his own was introduced. He was the supporter of the existing powers. He wished with them that the human mind should make no further progress; and he felt, therefore, that even his own reasoning might be dangerous to the despotism he valued. He avoided all reference to the opinions of heathen philosophers, excepting once to Aristotle; and then not by way of

⁸ See Du Pin's Chapter on the heretics of this age, Mosheim, Jones, Milner, and all the historians, for accounts of the Cathari, Paterini, the Albigenses, and the followers of Peter Bruys; of his disciple, also, Arnold of Brescia, Tanqueline, Terriek, &c. all of whom opposed the principal errors of

Rome; though few of these were free from other errors peculiar to themselves.

⁹ Hampden, Lecture I., p. 38.

¹ Du Pin, century xii. p. 192; Hampden and Brucker, as quoted above.

² Du Pin, ut sup.; Hampden, p. 43.

authority. He endeavours to show that he follows only received opinions, and not his own speculations. His work was, probably, partly written in imitation of a treatise on the Orthodox Faith, by John of Damascus, in the eighth century. This book begins with the profession of its writer, that he sought to establish nothing of his own; but to say only what the wise and good had said before him. It was highly esteemed as a record of the opinions already sanctioned by the Church³. Or it was possibly written—and this I believe to have been the real state of the case—in imitation of the work of the great endower and upholder of the University of Oxford, Robert Pulleyn, who flourished about this time, was a friend of St. Bernard, and resided on the continent; having taken refuge there from the wars which distracted England, some years before Peter Lombard published his work⁴. The sentences of Pulleyn, or Pullus, however, consisted rather of the sayings of the inspired writers, than the opinions of the Fathers⁵. Others, however, are of opinion, that Peter Lombard followed the plan of, or derived his principal assistance from, the work of Abelard⁶, entitled "The Introduction to Theology." To whatever source it may be owing, "The Book of Sentences," (such was the title of Lombard's work,) reconciled the two conflicting powers, namely, the rising spirit of inquiry, and the authority of the Church. It permitted disputation, but marked out the channel of thought. It gave the liberty of commenting and discussing without limit; provided the intellect confined itself within the range of established authorities⁷. *It prevented the full, the free, the noblest development of thought and intellect, by not making that range, within which the mind might expatiate, the Scripture of truth alone.* It fettered the Scripture itself by making the Fathers the walls, gates, and circuit within which the Scripture was confined. It thus prevented all originality, by compelling

³ This is Dr. Hampden's opinion.

⁴ See his Life, and the discussion of the time when he flourished, in Cave, *Hist. Litter.*, vol. ii. p. 223.

⁵ Valde se commendarunt ejus Sententiarum lib. viii. eo quod rationibus potius et Scripturæ dictis, quam Patrum, in decidendis questionibus utitur testimoniiis, neglectisque subtilitatibus metaphysicis, nugisque dialecticis, graviora et solidiora consecatur. —

Brucker, *Hist. Philos.* iii. 767.

⁶ Hujus operis, says Cave, speaking of Abelard's Introduction to Theology, subsidio egregie instructus Petrus Lombardus, Sententiarum libros, ex SS. Patrum, præcipue D. Augustini, scriptis compilavit.—Cave, *Conspectus Sæculi Scholastici*, ap. *Hist. Litter.* vol. ii. p. 275.

⁷ Hampden's Bampton Lecture, p. 46.

the inquirer to arrive at no other conclusions, than those which could be traced to some received opinion. And because under this system the conclusions of the reasoner must unavoidably clash with some inferences which the Church had already sanctioned; the expedient of *distinctions* was invented, by which an acute logician could maintain his own hypothesis, and preserve his devotion to the prescriptions of authority. The consequences were most fatal to the progress of the human mind. The master intellects which arose from among the people, instead of devoting their talents to the spiritual improvement and advancement of their contemporaries; discussed metaphysical questions, became divided into nominalists and realists⁸, and encouraged at once the two great enemies of Christianity—the pride of intellect, and the intolerance of worldly ambition. *The scholastic theology ruined spirituality⁹, strengthened the power of Rome, and riveted the fetters of the Church on the necks of the people.* The scholastic theology enlisted learning, talent, and genius, to defend

⁸ I am perfectly aware of the truth of the remark of Sir James Mackintosh, “that the controversy between the nominalists and realists, treated by some modern writers as an example of barbarous wrangling, was in truth an anticipation of that modern dispute which still divides metaphysicians—whether the human mind can form general ideas; and whether the words which are supposed to convey such ideas, be not general terms, representing only a vast number of general perceptions, questions so far from frivolous, that they deeply concern both the nature of reasoning and the structure of language, on which Hobbes, Berkeley, Stewart, and Tooke, have followed the nominalists; and Descartes, Locke, Reid, and Kant, have, with various modifications, and some inconsistencies, adopted the doctrine of the realists.”—Sir James Mackintosh, p. 103. But these reflections only confirm the truth of my own opinion. Neither Des Cartes, nor Kant, nor Aristotle, nor all the metaphysicians that ever existed, or can exist, have converted one soul from the error of his ways, or brought a sinner to God. “Aristotle,” I again quote from Sir James, “rivalled the Church;” he might have added—and superseded

Scripture. But the Church safely allowed considerable latitude to the philosophical reasonings of those who were only heard in colleges or cloisters, on condition that they neither impugned her authority, nor dissented from her worship, nor departed from the language of her creeds.—Sir James Mackintosh’s Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, by Whewell, p. 104.

⁹ We find from John of Salisbury, says Mr. Turner, History of England, vol. iv. p. 527, note 62, that the more scriptural teachers were not only denied to be philosophers, but were scarcely endured as clergymen. They were called the oxen of Abraham, and Balaam’s asses—*Nec modo philosophos negant, imo nec clericos patiuntur, vix homines sinunt esse, sed boves Abrahæ vel asinos Balaamitis duntaxat nominant, imo derident.*—Metal. p. 746. And the clergy of the Church of England, the true evangelical preachers of the Gospel of Christ, when they preach according to the spirit of the ministrations and services of the Church of the Reformation; are still spoken of with the same kind of contempt by their papal and semi-papal opponents.

the ever-encroaching despotism of the see of Rome; neither would the yoke have been broken till this very day, if it had not pleased God to enable His servants, in His own time, to emancipate the Scriptures from their prison. The long succession of scholastic divines from Abelard to Luther, fully prove to us the nobility and greatness of the human mind; but the union of reason with authority, on any other basis than inspiration alone, deepened the darkness of the people for three centuries; till Luther uncovered the lamp of truth that was going out in the temple of the Lord. The common people were either persecutors in defence of received opinions, or wanderers in search of truth. They believed, therefore, many truths, while they embraced many errors; because their apostolic guides were talking false philosophy, instead of explaining the Holy Scriptures. Learned men were reduced to silence, or permitted only to flatter authority. The kings of the earth were terrified. The Bishop of Rome, placed in the seat of God, was venerated as God. Councils were but echoes of his voice, or the registers of his decrees. Darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people; for the light of the priesthood which was among them was darkness, and how great, therefore, was that darkness! Still more to increase the gloominess, it was at this—this moment of heaviness, that the code of canon law—which confirmed all the pretensions of the papacy, elevated the clergy over the civil power, and exalted the ecclesiastical authority to legal dominion over all laws, states, and sovereigns—was presented in its more perfect state to the world. At the end of the twenty-one years, during which the events I have now digressed to relate took place, the Decretum of Gratian appeared, and retained for three more centuries an unbroken authority over the whole Churches of the Catholic Church of Christ. It still confines and fetters the noble states of the south of Europe in its Mezentian embrace. *So long as the dead carcass of the canon law is fastened to the living body of Christ's Holy Church; so long will the corruption of the dead infect and contaminate the living.* When shall we be able to say of the Churches that are still clasped in the embrace of that unrepealed code of laws which sanctions persecution to the utmost wherever there is strength to persecute, "Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here. He is

risen?"—We shall now, however, pursue the regular order of narrative, as briefly as possible, and consider the publication of the code of Gratian as an event in the pontificate of Eugenius III. Some short view of the scholastic philosophy was necessary to illustrate the state of the mind and intellect of Europe at the death of Honorius, and the accession of Innocent II.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

CLXIV. *Innocent II., died 1143.*

Honorius died in the beginning of the year 1130¹, and was succeeded by Gregory, Cardinal of St. Angelo. A schism of nine years' duration between rival candidates for the chair of St. Peter, gave much peace to England. Petrus Leonis, or Anacletus II., grandson of a converted Jew, a man of great wealth, which he lavishly distributed, was elected pope by a majority of cardinals. His ordinations, however, were eventually cancelled, and himself declared to be schismatical; principally, it is said, by means of St. Bernard, the leader of many councils, and the most influential ecclesiastic of the age. The manner in which the influence of the pope, and of his decisions, was maintained by Bernard, is shown by a singular anecdote². The Duke of Guienne had acknowledged Anacletus. Bernard attended the pope's legate, who proceeded to Guienne, to reconcile the duke to Innocent; and to persuade him to restore some bishops who had been banished by him. The duke refused to comply with his request. Bernard attended at the services of the Church when the duke was present. When the consecration of the wafer was over, Bernard placed the wafer upon the chalice, walked out of the Church, and after fiercely expostulating with the duke on the indignity of his refusing to comply with the requests of the servants of God, he added, "The Son of God, the Lord and Head of the Church which you persecute, is come in person to see if you will repent. Here is your Judge, at whose name every knee bows in heaven, earth, and hell. Here is the revenger of your crime. Will you despise Him?" The duke fainted. Bernard raised him up, and repeated his admoni-

¹ The exact date of this event and the duration of his pontificate, both of which have been questioned, are dis-

cussed by Pagi, A.D. 1130, § 1.

² See Du Pin, cent. xii. p. 43; also Baron. ad ann. 1135, § 1, seqq.

tions. The duke consented to the restoration of the bishops, and the schism was healed at Guienne. Such was the effect of the belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation in this age over the minds even of persons who possessed the best education next to the priesthood. Can our surprise be excited that this tenet should be the favourite criterion by which the Church of Rome decides between its friends and its enemies? *The creators of the Creator felt that they could claim and possess the homage due to Omnipotence, when their more than omnipotent power was thus believed and venerated.* The power of Rome was near its height.

In consequence of a dispute with the King of France, Innocent presumed to lay his kingdom under an interdict, or suspension of the divine services, and cessation of the Sacraments; excepting in the last extremity³. During an interdict, the people were under excommunication. Excommunicated persons on earth were banished from happiness when they died. The prince and the bishop quarrelled, and the people were damned. *This was believed, and the power of princes began to exist only by sufferance.*

The greatest strengthener of all government is an unsuccessful rebellion. The continuance of the schism between the supporters of the two antagonist popes, and the outrage on the happiness of mankind which now began to be committed by Rome, unavoidably compelled resistance; though the learning as well as the ignorance of the world, and though the power of the democracy, as well as the power of the nobles and princes of Europe, were generally in its favour. One of the disciples of Abelard, Arnold of Brescia⁴, rejecting the mysticism of the day, and the doctrine of transubstantiation, denounced the temporal power, the wealthy endowments, ambition, and despotism of the clergy. He became a professed reformer both of the secular and ecclesiastical power of the Church. The bold appeals of Arnold were supported by that virtuous and exemplary conduct which is generally characteristic of reformers in religion; and an active rebellion against the authority of the Church began to divert the attention of the pontiffs from their incessant usurpations over

³ Pagi, ad ann. 1141, § 3.

⁴ The history of Arnold and his opinions, are examined at some length

by Neander in his Life of St. Bernard, of which a translation into English has lately appeared.

the rights of princes and Churches, to the defence of their own government. This bold reformer was not destroyed till the year 1154, when he was burned to death by Adrian IV., in consequence of the terror with which the citizens of Rome regarded his interdict on their city. A cardinal was killed in a tumult. The city was deprived of the privileges of religious worship from Christmas to Easter; and the fickle or superstitious citizens deserted their leader. Sixteen years before this event, Innocent opposed the errors both of Peter of Bruys, Arnold of Brescia, and other supposed heretics, by summoning the Second Council of Lateran⁵. The objects of the council, however, were not wholly religious. It condemned the party of Anacletus, while it branded as heretics the followers of Arnold and Peter of Bruys. It declared that all lay persons who receive tithes are sacrilegious, and incur the danger of eternal condemnation⁶. It deprived usurers of Christian burial⁷. I shall observe here, that while the Christian of the Church of England in the present day must condemn certain doctrines now taught by Rome, such as the worship of the Virgin, purgatory, transubstantiation, and the supremacy of the pope by divine authority over the Churches of the Catholic Church; he will also disapprove many of the opinions which were taught by the various persons whom the Church of Rome condemned, during this time, of errors and heresies. Rome taught the world that two and two made five. Various sects and parties condemned by Rome affirmed that two and two made three. Both were wrong. Both were sincere in their error. Both would have persecuted their brethren to please God. Let us thank God that we belong to a Church which teaches that two and two make four; though it refuses to persecute its brethren who believe them to equal either five or three. I subjoin a brief view of the Second Council of Lateran.

⁵ A.D. 1139, ap. Labb. Concil. x. 999.

⁶ Can. 10.

⁷ Can. 13. See Godolphin's Abridgment of Ecclesiastical Law, p. 216.

Synopsis of the Tenth General Council.

Council XI. from Jerusalem.	Second Lateran Council.
Date.	A. D. 1139, April 20th ⁸ .
Number of bishops.	One thousand ⁹ .
By whom summoned.	Innocent II.
President.	The Pope.
Why and against what opinions.	To condemn heresies, repress schismatics, and correct depraved morals. In consequence of the schism caused by the rival pope.
Against whom.	Arnold of Brescia and Peter de Bruys ¹ .
Chief decrees and canons.	Thirty canons enacted, the greater part of which relate to discipline. Canon VII. forbids the hearing of mass from married priests, annuls their marriages, and exacts penance. X. Orders that laics return the tithes to the bishop under pain of excommunication. XV. Anathema against those who lay violent hands on a clergyman: no absolution, except in case of necessity, but upon appearance at Rome. The ordination of Anacletus the antipope, and all other heretics and schismatics, annulled ² .
Penalties.	Excommunication. Anathema.
Sufferers.	The married clergy.
Emperors.	Conrad III. of the West. John II. Comnenus of the East.
Pope.	Innocent II.

⁸ Cave, *Hist. Lit.* ii. 265 ; Venema, vi. 70 ; *Labb. Concilia*, x. 1110 ; Du Pin, x. 206.

⁹ The foregoing authorities.

¹ Peter de Bruys denied the efficacy of the eucharist, the utility of baptism to young children, and of prayers for the dead. He also contended that

churches should be destroyed, and crosses deprived of all worship and veneration. Arnold, besides, agreeing in some things with Peter, held that temporal power and possessions should be taken away from bishops, clergy, and monks. Petrus eucharistæ, baptismi parvulorum, precumque pro mor-

The Third Canon renews the former penalties against those who hold communion with excommunicated persons. BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

By Canon IX. monks are forbidden to study the code of Justinian which had laid dormant three centuries, having been recently discovered in the ruins of Amalfi, and the regular study of the system had become a favourite study at Bologna and Florence.

Canon XX. enjoins sovereigns, in the execution of justice, to consult the clergy.

Canon XXIII. is against those heretics who condemn the Sacraments.

tuis efficaciam denegavit, templa diruenda, crucesque omni cultu et veneratione spoliandas contendebat. Arnaldus, præterquam quod in nonnullis cum Petro sensit, episcopis, clericis, monachisque dominia et possessiones, quas vocant temporales, admendas esse censuit.—Cave, vol. ii. p. 265.

Arnaldus de Brixia, omnia lacerans, omnia rodens, nemini parcens, clericorum et episcoporum derogator, monachorum persecutor, laicis tantum adularis. Dicebat enim nec clericos proprietatem, nec episcopos regalia, nec monachos possessiones habentes, aliqua ratione posse salvari, cunctaque hæc principis esse, ab ejusque beneficiâ in usum tantum laicorum cedere oportere. Præter hæc, de sacramento altaris, de baptismo parvulorum, non sane dicitur sensisse.—Otto Frisingens. ap. Concil. x. 1001.

Peter de Bruys held—

First. That baptism was of no advantage to infants, and that adult persons only should be baptized.

Secondly. He condemned the use of churches and altars, and he wished them to be overthrown.

Thirdly. He rejected the veneration of crosses, and held that they should be broken.

Fourthly. That the mass was useless, and that none are obliged to celebrate it.

Fifthly. That alms and prayers for the dead are of no avail.—Du Pin, vol. x. p. 87.

Petrus de Bruis negat parvulos infra intelligibilem ætatem constitutos, Christi baptisinate posse salvari, nec alienam fidem posse illis prodesse, qui sua uti non possunt. Deinde templorum vel ecclesiarum fabricam fieri non de-

bere; factas insuper subruï oportere; nec esse necessaria Christianis, sacra loca ad adorandum. Tertio, cruces sacras confringi præcipit et succendi: quia species illa vel instrumentum, quo Christus tam dire tortus, tam crudeliter occisus est, non adoratione, non veneratione, vel aliqua supplicatione digna est: sed ad ultionem tormentorum et ejus mortis omni dedecore dehonestanda, gladiis concidenda, ignibus succidenda est. Quarto, non solum veritatem Corporis et Sanguinis Domini quotidie et assidue per sacramentum in Ecclesia oblatum negat, sed omnino illud nihil esse, neque Deo offerri debere decernit. Quinto, sacrificia, oblationes, elemosynas, et reliqua bona pro defunctis fidelibus a vivis fidelibus facta, deridet, nec ea quempiam mortuorum vel in medico posse juvare affirmat.—Labb. Concilia, x. 1000, 1001.

² Varii sunt conditi canones ad disciplinam, per schisma collapsam, instaurandam. Inter quos sunt, qui nostram merentur attentionem, uti, qui simoniam, investituras laicas, et conjugia clericorum, proseribunt. Laici etiam jubentur decimas aut ecclesias adeptas, reddere ecclesie; omnis usura damnatur, tanquam divinis et humanis legibus contraria. Denique de Treuga Dei definitum est, pæc gavisuros Presbyteros per omne tempus, nec non clericos, monachos, peregrinos, mercatores, rusticos, euntes et redeuntes agricolas. Quoad reliquos, induciæ sunt stabilite a Mercurii suprema die usque ad diluculum diei Lunæ, ab Adventu Domini usque ad octavas Epiphaniæ, a Quinquagesima usque ad octavas Paschæ.—Venema, vi. 71.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

Canon XXV. deprives of their benefices those who have received them from the hands of the laity.

By the XXVIIIth Canon it is ordained that canons are not to exclude religious persons from the election of bishops. Du Pin says, "Persons of known piety;" but it seems more probable to have intended the inmates of the establishment below the order of canons, because the Eighth (Ninth) General Council, c. 22, prohibits the interference of princes and others in the election, and confines it to bishops and monks. This appears to extend it to others of the clergy.

The influence of the Church of Rome in England was increased by the usurpation of Stephen four years before the Second Council of Lateran. He strengthened his claim to the crown by promising immediately to fill up the vacant sees, and to grant other privileges to the clergy; and his title was consequently confirmed by the pope. *It was further strengthened by an appeal which the canons of St. Paul's Church made to Innocent respecting the election of the Bishop of London*³. The dean and his party made a counter appeal. The election was cancelled as being made without the knowledge and consent of the dean. These appeals afforded a pretext and an opportunity for Innocent to send Albericus, the Bishop of Ostia⁴, as legate to England. He made a visitation of several dioceses. The king and the peers long hesitated whether they should acknowledge his authority. Albericus presided over a synod at Westminster, and shortly after over one at Canterbury, on the election of an archbishop. He commands the clergy and people of Canterbury to select proper delegates to whom the power of election might be committed, and to send them to London; to a synod which he purposed to hold there. Theobald, the Abbot of Bec, in Normandy, was elected, and proceeded to Rome, after his consecration by Albericus, to receive the pall. *The weakness of the usurper betrayed the Anglican Church to the foreigner.* He had the title of Legatus Natus bestowed on him, though Henry, Bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, had both the character and authority of the pope's legate. Theobald, with the Bishops of Winchester, Coventry, and Exeter, and the Abbot of Evesham, were present at the Second Council

³ See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 176.

⁴ Pagi, A.D. 1138, § 11.

of Lateran. They were honourably received, and brought a copy of the canons into England as an addition to the laws of the Church⁵. Stephen having imprisoned two bishops for not surrendering their castles to him, was summoned by his brother, as legate from the pope, to answer for his conduct in a synod at Winchester. The legate affirmed that any charges against bishops should be debated in a synod, according to the canons, before they could be found guilty and punished. The king's advocate, Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, affirmed that the canons did not permit bishops to hold castles. The bishops threatened to appeal to Rome. Stephen answered that he would himself make that appeal. The synod was dissolved without coming to any decision. The time had not yet come when the crown was to be laid at the feet of the pope's legate⁶.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

The legate, though he possessed only an usurped power which the Bishop of Rome had taken upon himself to confer upon him, behaved well and wisely in endeavouring to mediate between Stephen and the empress respecting their rival claims to the crown. The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, having sworn homage to Stephen, refused to recognize the empress; but, in a synod at Westminster, at which the legate presided, Henry of Winchester, the king's brother, though the archbishop was present, pronounced the empress to be the Queen of England, in preference to his brother Stephen. The legate soon after changed his party, and absolved from excommunication the members of the council who had condemned the cause of the king. These occurrences made the interference of the pope acceptable. The confusions of the nation were removed, the authority of the king was acknowledged, and the war was suspended.

In the pontificate of Innocent, the power of Rome was extended over Ireland. Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1139, sent his crozier to Malachy as his successor. There is no account of his having been otherwise appointed. He went immediately to Rome for his pall. This Innocent refused to grant, till he had an order to receive it from a general council of the kingdom, which he was desired to convene immediately on his return home. This wish to have the warrant of a national

⁵ See Collier's History of this Council, and the authorities adduced by him.

⁶ See the account in Labb. Concil. x. 1014.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

council before granting the pall to the Irish archbishop, was at variance with the practice which made the will of the pope the sole and absolute authority in the dispensation of this official badge to metropolitans. I mention it here on that account⁷. Though Pope Innocent might not deem the appointment of Malachy to be strictly canonical, yet as the authority of the canons had for ages been considered as inferior to the rescripts of popes; the sending Malachy back to Ireland for the consent of brethren, was a novel act at this period. St. Bernard, too, in his Life of Malachy, states that such was the esteem and respect with which he was received by Innocent; that the pontiff took the mitre from his own head, and put it upon that of St. Malachy; and that he appointed him his legate for all Ireland.

The few last years of this pope were passed chiefly in warfare with the Italian princes. I omit, however, particulars both of these, and of the schism with Agapetus. I shall only say, that in 1140, Innocent attempted to force Apulia, and its neighbouring principalities, from Roger, King of Sicily, who had received his royal honours from Anacletus. The pope failed in his enterprise, and was carried prisoner to the camp of the prince. To purchase peace and his own liberty, he reinvested Roger with the title of king over all the states in his possession, on condition of his swearing allegiance to the vicar of St. Peter; and consenting to pay a yearly tribute to the holy see. By this treaty the principality of Capua, which, till that time, had been an independent state, and which, with its prince, Robert, had always been, and was even then, a faithful ally of the popedom; was transferred to the Sicilian sovereign. All the other cities of southern Italy submitted by capitulation or force, and thus was the sovereignty, which has since been called the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, fully established⁸.

It was in 1141 that Innocent quarrelled with the King of France, to whose friendship and generosity he had been indebted for an asylum during the several years of his expulsion from Rome by his rival Anacletus. *The pope, without consulting the king, invested and ordained Aimeric, one of his favourite*

⁷ See Pagi, A.D. 1137, § 19, 20, who has some good observations upon the date of this event.

⁸ Baron. Annal. 1140, § 14; Pagi, ad ann. § 10, seqq.

cardinals, as *Archbishop of Bourges*. The king was desirous to have his own friend, Cadurcus, raised to the same dignity; and was so much displeased and offended at the insult, that he refused to suffer Aimeric to set foot in his kingdom. The pope was determined to compel the king to submit to the appointment he had made; and consequently interdicted the performance of divine service in any church of France in the presence of the king; and this interdict remained in force till after the death of the pope, which occurred September 24, 1143⁹.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

⁹ Baron. A.D. 1141, § 3; Pagi, ad an. § 3.

This Pope Innocent was the man who had the celebrated picture painted of the Emperor Lotharius kneeling before him to receive his crown, to which the following distich was attached:—

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius
urbis honores;

Post homo fit Papæ, recepit, quo
daute coronam.

This picture had a conspicuous place assigned it in the Basilic of St. Peter.

CHAPTER VI.

The power of the Gregorian party in the Catholic Church still continues to increase.—Character and influence of St. Bernard.—Frequency of appeals to Rome.—Thomas Becket.—Third Lateran Council, or Eleventh General Council, 1179.

CLV. *Celestine II., died 1144.*

BOOK III. CHAP. VI. SIX popes governed the western portion of the Churches of the Catholic Church; and forty years elapsed between the Second and Third Lateran Councils. *During the whole of this period*, notwithstanding the four antipopes who were supported by the imperial party against Alexander III., *the power of the Church of Rome continued to increase.* The first of these was Guido de Castello, a Tuscan, who was elected unanimously¹. He removed the interdict imposed by his predecessors on the King of France. The controversy between Theobald and Henry of Winchester respecting their legatine authority was still continued. Celestine restored the legateship to the archbishop². A council was held in London against the depredators of the possessions of the clergy³. It was a lawless period, and much injustice was committed by the military retainers of Stephen, of which a fearful picture is drawn by the writer of the Saxon Chronicle, evidently an eye-witness. The robbers of churches were justly excommunicated, for the sacraments ought not to be given to the violent and impenitent spoliator; yet we may hesitate to

¹ Pagi, A.D. 1143, § 4.

² Du Pin says, that Ivo, Bishop of Fresecati, was sent over this year, 1144, as legate. He gives no authority for the assertion, and I do not find the

circumstance mentioned by the authors before me, Alford, Baronius, Collier, and Pagi. I cannot verify the reference, but I believe Ivo died this year.

³ Labb. Concil. x. 1033.

say with the historian, that the offender was consequently eternally damned⁴.

CLXVI. *Lucius II., died 1144.*

Lucius the Second succeeded Celestine. His pontificate is remarkable for the attempt made by the Italians to carry into effect the principles of Arnold of Brescia, who at this time, though an exile at Zurich, possessed great influence at Rome. Arnold had taught that temporal dominion, and the possession of territorial power, were inconsistent with the spiritual avocation of the pontiffs. On the election of Lucius, therefore, the Romans refused to acknowledge him as their prince, though they professed themselves willing to pay him all reverence as their bishop⁵. They consequently elected Jordano⁶, son of Peter Leo, as chief patrician, and invested him with the royal power. They expelled all civil officers appointed by the pope, substituted others, and claimed the temporal revenues as the right of their new prince. Both parties sought the protection of the Emperor Conrad. The popular party offered to put him in possession of the city, with all its fortifications. The pope had sent Guido, Chancellor of the Roman Church, as the legate to Conrad, who, though not able to afford any assistance in subduing the rebels, was favourable to the cause of the pope. A senate was re-established by Jordano and the people, by which edicts were issued after the ancient custom. These changes gave the pope great alarm; and in order to recover his temporal possessions, he put himself at the head of an army of priests and soldiers, and proceeded against the capitol, where the senate was then sitting. The attempt to take the patrician and people by surprise failed. The pope and his troops were vanquished, and in a few days after Lucius died from the wounds he received, having held the see somewhat more than eleven months. *These events had no effect in diminishing the power of the popes, excepting for a short time, in Italy*⁷.

⁴ Robert of Marmion, for his conduct to the monks of Coventry, was excommunicated—*et excommunicatus morte depascitur sempiternâ*, says

Alford, iv. 33.

⁵ Baron. A.D. 1144, § 4—9.

⁶ Pagi, A.D. 1144, § 8.

⁷ Baron. ad ann. 1145, § 1.

CLXVII. *Eugenius III., died 1153.*

Lucius was succeeded by Bernard, Abbot of St. Anastasius, a disciple of St. Bernard, who was born at Pisa. The citizens of Rome were making at this time great efforts to throw off the yoke of their bishop. The senate consisted of fifty-six members, over whom Jordano, the chief patrician and popular magistrate, was elected president. Lucius having lost his life in his attempt to suppress the restoration of the secular authorities in the city, Eugenius, soon after his election, fled from Rome to France, (where he was hospitably received by the king,) to avoid being compelled either to ratify the establishment of the popular magistracy, or share the fate of his predecessor⁸.

In our brief and cursory view of the events which have taken place from the Ascension of Christ to the present day, which were to be overruled to the production of the greatest possible good, by bringing about "the times and the seasons which the Father had set in his own power," I could not but be struck with the remark of a modern writer⁹. (He is speaking of the efforts by which the Italian cities obtained independence.) How many unknown and disastrous efforts must have been made before the successful one! It is only after a vast number of unknown attempts apparently hopeless—after a host of noble hearts have fallen into despair, convinced that their cause was lost—that it triumphs. *The truth of the remark is evidenced by the numerous attempts at change within the four centuries, before the great change (which restored the early faith to the more influential portions of the Catholic Church) called the Reformation.*

The efforts to obtain political and religious liberty at this moment—for the object of the insurrection in Rome was thus twofold—were made by the followers of Arnold of Brescia. If the people had succeeded, and established the opinions of their leader, they would have overthrown much of error and despotism, but they would have established much error also

⁸ Baron. ad ann. 1145, § 11—22.

⁹ Guizot (Civilization of Europe, p. 213), the magnificent generalizer of the inferences deducible from history, whose deficiency arises chiefly from his not sufficiently keeping in view the ultimate object of Providence in per-

mitting and overruling evil for good. He makes man too much the arbiter of his own destiny; instead of considering him as an instrument in the hands of the divine power who has ordered all from the beginning.

in their place. The evil under which they groaned began to be intolerable; but the *disease of mankind had not effected its purpose*. So it was, also, with the attempts at reform under Wycliffe¹⁰. The labours of that noble servant of God were blended with many errors. *The time had not yet come when the Reformation was to be effected*. The times of the human race, like those of each individual, are in the hand of God; and the Lord reigneth—the earth may rejoice; and the multitude of the isles—England, Ireland, and their dependent isles—may be glad thereof.

Eugenius returned from France, and armed against the citizens of Rome the inhabitants of Tivoli. He was only permitted, however, to occupy the city by recognizing the senate. The tumults did not entirely cease, and he again fled to France. Arnold of Brescia, in his absence, returned to Rome from his exile, followed by 2000 Swiss. He proposed to restore the consuls, tribunes, and the knights of the ancient time. He might as well have proposed to restore the kings, the dictators, or the emperors. He proposed, also, to allow the pope no civil authority or power, and to make the emperor paramount over the bishops, and their own acts of government. Eugenius, in 1149, again returned, again fled, and again occupied the city in 1153, when he died¹. These events, which were attended with many mutual unjustifiable atrocities, had no effect in diminishing the influence of the papacy. It was now too deeply identified in the minds of all nations with the desire to please and serve God. *Resistance to the bishops of Rome was deemed by so many to be resistance to God, and to Christ, and to the Virgin Mary, whom they venerated as much, and often more than either; that all these efforts at resistance were hopeless.*

The power of the Church of Rome over the Churches of France, Spain, and England, became, about this time, even more decidedly established. The Archbishop of Rheims, 1146², was deprived of his pall for crowning Louis at Bourges, the bishop of that city claiming the privilege. The bishops of Spain were again commanded, 1152, to obey the Archbishop of Toledo as their metropolitan. Henry, the

¹⁰ Le Bas, Life of Wycliffe, pp. 340. contain the authorities on which these statements are based.

¹ The annals of Baronius and Pagi ² Pagi, ad ann. § 7.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

Bishop of Winchester, exercised the legatine power over his own metropolitan, the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the Council of Rheims, 1148³, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Worcester, Bath, Chichester, and Exeter, were present. Theobald, the archbishop, attended, contrary to the express command of Stephen, for which he was banished on his return. By way of retaliation, he had the insolence to publish an interdict on all the places in England which acknowledged the authority of the king. The Archbishop of York was deposed by Eugenius, against the opinion of his cardinals, because, as the sentence stated, he had been nominated by the king before his election by the chapter⁴. *Another papal innovation was, also, now made upon the rights and privileges of the see of Canterbury.* The Irish prelates had formerly been consecrated by the primate of England⁵. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, having sat three years, resigned his archbishopric to Pope Gelasius; and two years after took a journey to Rome to procure two palls—one for Armagh, the other for a city not then consecrated, but of which see, the erection had been proposed by Celsus, the former Archbishop of Armagh⁶. Innocent II. made Malachy his

³ Labb. Concil. x. 1107.

⁴ The capitular election of metropolitans was now exercised in England; and the account to which such election was to be turned by the sovereign pontiff was obvious, in the promotion of Henry Murdac to the see of York. William, a canon of that Church, a relative, also, of King Stephen, was chosen by a majority of the canons. Murdac was Abbot of Fountains Abbey, in Yorkshire. He was a fellow monk with Pope Eugenius under St. Bernard. The cause of Murdac was espoused with vehemence by Bernard, who in his cexxxviiith epistle written to Eugenius, tells that pope that it was said *that not Eugenius but Bernard was pope*. He also speaks loudly against the election of William, whom he calls secular, having no title to the dignity, and otherwise loads him with reproach. Murdac appealed to Rome; and so much at fault was the court of Rome itself for a plea in favour of Murdac, that neither Innocent, Celestine, nor Lucius, could find an excuse sufficient to justify them in ejecting William.

It was, therefore, left for the ingenuity of Eugenius and Bernard to invent a new objection by which a legitimately elected metropolitan might be deposed. This they accomplished. William was expelled on the ground that he had been nominated by the King of England before having been elected by the majority of the chapter. Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, passed the sentence, and this, and no other complaint was alleged. This seems to be the first instance of the court of Rome presuming to overthrow the freedom of election by the chapters of cathedral Churches.—Stub. Act. Pontif. Ebor. col. 1721, ap. x. Script.; also John of Hexham, col. 273, and Gervase of Canterbury, col. 1363, in the same volume.

⁵ Chronic. Norman. p. 983, quoted by Collier, i. 340.

⁶ For an account of Celsus, see Butler's Lives of the Saints, St. Malachy, Nov. 3. Collier says, Celsus erected a new metropolis in Ireland. Butler corrects this, and supposes that Tuam was intended.

legate for Ireland, but refused his request about the palls. Nine years after, Malachy set out for Rome, but died on his way thither, at the monastery of Clairvaux, in France, 1148, of which his friend and biographer, St. Bernard, was then abbot. Three years after, Eugenius sent John Papyrius, his legate, into Ireland with four palls, for the erecting of four archbishoprics, assigning to each metropolitan five suffragans.

In the present day, the mistake is too frequently made, that the invasion of Ireland by Henry II., under the sanction of the bull of Pope Adrian IV., was the commencement of the power of the Church as well as of the state of England over that country; whereas, *the spiritual jurisdiction of Canterbury was acknowledged for many ages prior to that time over the Irish Churches*; till Eugenius exercised the new power of sending the palls, and thereby engrossing the future control of the episcopacy of that country⁷. The successor of Eugenius only completed the pontifical usurpation by sending Henry, as his son in the faith, to reduce the inhabitants of Ireland to the dominion of his papal father⁸.

One principal circumstance contributed at this period to exalt the power of the Church—the character, influence, and austerity of St. Bernard. St. Bernard, the great upholder of the papal chair of Innocent II., the chief preacher of the crusades, the denouncer of the heresies of Abelard, Henry, Arnold of Brescia, and Gilbert Porretanus, was not only venerable for his learning, eloquence, or cheerful piety⁹, but for his asceticism, and his attachment to the Roman see. His language respecting the papacy describes his veneration, love, and devotion. His treatise on *Consideration* is addressed to Pope

⁷ The insidious and silent manner in which the popes acquired power may be partly understood by the circumstance of the Irish Church being at last compelled to surrender an independence which it had preserved from the pontificate of Leo the Great till that of Eugenius III.; throughout a succession of more than one hundred and twenty popes, by the artful introduction of one Cistercian monk into its episcopacy; for the express object, as the result would seem to prove, of its overthrow. It was hardly possible for human sagacity to suspect, that the ruin of the independence of the Irish

Church was projected by placing Malachy, first in the see of Down and Connor, as a step to the primacy.

⁸ The four archbishoprics were Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Connaught. Baronius tells us, that in the Vatican library a fuller account is found of these sees—plenior descriptio, &c. When will the treasures of the Vatican be thrown open? When will the jealousy of Rome cease?

⁹ Erasmus says of him, he was—*Christiane doctus, et sancte facundus, et pie festivus.*—Erasm. in c. i. Rom. p. 243, ap. Butler, Aug. 20.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

Eugenius. He urges on him the necessity of considering well the duties and the dignity of his office; and reminds him that he has no arbitrary dominion over the Churches. He tells him that the civil government and the spiritual government of the Church cannot well co-exist: but when he describes the spiritual dignity, he labours for language to express his opinion of the excellence of the pontifical power. He calls upon him to be humble, though he holds the supremacy over the Churches. "Who art thou¹?" he exclaims. "Thou art the Great Priest, the Highest Pontiff, the Prince of Bishops, the Heir of the Apostles! Thou art Abel in primacy, Noah in government, Abraham in patriarchal honour, Melchizedek in order, Aaron in dignity, Moses in authority, Samuel in judicature, Peter in power, Christ in divine appointment over the Church! Thou art he to whom the keys are delivered, to whom the sheep are entrusted;" and so he goes on to affirm, that whatever be the rank of other bishops, the pope is more glorious than all². If these extravagant affirmations had been made by a worldly-minded sycophant, who was anxiously seeking only temporal advancement and earthly greatness, the effect upon the people would have been but slight: but when they were uttered by one who was the admiration of his contemporaries for his ascetic virtue, in an age when this kind of piety was esteemed to be superior to all other, his errors became truths to the vulgar. The face of Bernard, says his biographer, was emaciated, and exceeding pale and wan, and his whole body was attenuated—visible marks of his austere penitential life. He punished himself for taking satisfaction in his conversation with some secular friends, by praying prostrate at the foot of the altar, twenty-five days in sighs and groans³. He went to his meals as to a torment, and the sight of food seemed often his whole refec-

¹ Quis es? Sacerdos magnus, summus pontifex. Tu princeps episcoporum, tu haeres apostolorum, tu primatu Abel, gubernatu Noe, patriarchatu Abraham, ordine Melchisedek, dignitate Aarou, autoritate Moyses, iudicatu Samuel, potestate Petrus, unctione Christus. Tu es, cui claves traditae, cui oves creditae sunt. Sunt quidem et alii caeli janitores, et gregum pastores: sed tu tanto gloriosius,

quanto et differentius utrumque praeceteris nomine haereditasti. Habent illi sibi assignatos greges, singuli singulos, tibi universi credite; uni unus, nec modo ovium, sed et pastorum, tu unus omnium pastor.—Du Mesnil, vol. iv. p. 387.

² See further of this hyperbolical phraseology, in the last quoted note.

³ Butler, Lives of the Saints, p. 232, Aug. 20.

tion ⁴. Though his devotion, according to our more scriptural, and therefore more enlightened views of the way to please God, was useless and unrequired ⁵—though we shall now hesitate to believe, among other miracles, that he excommunicated the flies in the Church of the monastery of Foigni, in the diocese of Laon, and they all died—though his devotion to the Virgin Mary was the chief act of his life that could have offended her, if she is indeed cognizant, as so many of our brethren imagine, of the actions of her votaries ⁶—though he identified the wafer with the Son of God, and thus anticipated the decision of the Council of Lateran, that the bread in the Sacrament was transubstantiated—though he called on Lothaire to punish schismatics ⁷—though he misled the crusaders by vainly promising them success, and imputed the failure of his prediction to the sins of the people—though he was an enthusiastic devotee of the pope, and though we see, therefore, in his actions and in his writings,

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

Much that we love, and more that we admire,
With all that we abhor—

St. Bernard will ever be reckoned among the great and the good. He opposed the more cruel advice of his contemporary, who advocated the extirpation of the Jews. He boldly expostulated with Celestine on his indulgence to a monk who had offended his bishop ⁸. He corresponded with religious persons in every part of the world, extended the rules and discipline of his monasteries, and laboured without ceasing to extend the form and spirituality of Christianity, as he was able to understand it. He warns one against revenge ⁹, another against too much severity ¹. He dissuades one from going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem because he could be more useful at home ². He comforts another under persecution ³. He charges others in many letters to peace, virtue, charity, humility, and a life of spiritual devotedness to God. He wrote to Pope Innocent, complaining boldly and freely of the consequences which would result from the frequent

⁴ Butler, Life of St. Bernard, p. 242.

⁵ Butler, Aug. 20, p. 241.

⁶ Id. pp. 243. 252. 255. 259.

⁷ Epist. S. Bernardi, cxxx.

⁸ Id. ccxxxi.

⁹ Id. lxxx.

¹ Id. lxxix.

² Id. lxxxii.

³ Id. lxxxiii.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

appeals to the pope against the metropolitans and bishops, and the destruction of discipline which followed in the several dioceses of the universal Church⁴. He mediates between the pope and the King of France, and expatiates on the folly of schism, and the danger of raising the question on the relative limits of the regal and sacerdotal powers⁵. The bishops at this period had the power of fettering and imprisoning heretics. They dealt with them as incarnate evil, and showed them no mercy. They considered that pity was, in itself, a dangerous error; and St. Bernard seems to have been of the same opinion, though he does not appear to have advocated the wholesale murders and burnings of his immediate successors. He writes a severe letter to Ildefonsus, the Count of Toulouse, on the protection which he had afforded to Henry, the disciple of Peter de Bruys. He accuses Henry not only of error, but also of criminality; and assures the count⁶, that authority is entrusted to him to extirpate this plant of bitterness, with the assistance of the bishop, and especially of the Cardinal of Ostia. The next generation witnessed more severe proceedings against these unfortunate people. Bernard went to Toulouse and preached against the errors of the Henricians. He is said to have been most influential among them⁷. He was then recalled to his monastery. Henry was seized, bound in chains, and delivered to the bishop. Bernard did not interfere, but wrote to the people of Toulouse to exhort them to reject all heretics, and to receive no preachers, especially the ignorant and strangers, but those only whom the pope or their bishop approved⁸.

Though Bernard did not rise above the spirit of his age in not condemning all punishment of the body for the conclusions of the mind, when those conclusions did not encourage the wickedness which destroys society; he willingly incurred the resentment of the influential monks, as well as the anger of the pope, when he deemed that his duty required it. His apology to William, the Abbot of Thierry, proves the

⁴ Epist. clxxviii.⁵ Id. cexix.⁶ Id. cexli.⁷ Du Mesnil, vol. iv. lib. l. sec. ix. p. 377.⁸ Henricus tandem captus et catenatus episcopo traditus est. Sed Bernardus ad Tolosanum dedit, epistolam,

adhortans eos ad perseverantiam, et monet, ut solícite fugiant et ejiciant hæreticos, nec quosvis admittant prædicatores, præsertim ignotos et extraneos, nisi missi vel a papa, vel ab eorum episcopo prædicaverint.—Du Mesnil, vol. iv. lib. l. sec. ix. p. 377.

former⁹; his treatise on Consideration the latter. The other treatises of Bernard, his Sermons, and Discourse on the Love of God, may be read with delight and advantage. He has been called the "Last of the Fathers," because he adopted the manner of the ancients, and not of the scholastics. The expression is absurd, for those who followed him were as pious, holy, zealous, and spiritually-minded as himself, and in many respects more free from error. Taylor, Hall, Bull, Usher, Barrow, and Pearson, deserve the name of Fathers in the Church of Christ, as much as many who bear that noble title. The epithet, however, denotes respect to his person, and estimation of his writings. His language is animated. His sentences are redolent of Scripture. The kings and princes of the earth regarded his arbitrations of their differences as laws. The bishops revered his knowledge, and deferred to his advice. The popes regarded him, and with justice, as the firmest supporter and consolidator of the holy see. The common people venerated him as the best, holiest, humblest, wisest, ecclesiastic of his age¹. His great error was that which is common to all mankind, and which is more peculiarly characteristic of the zealous supporters of the Church of Rome. *When he condemned the errors of others, he forgot that it was possible that he might have errors of his own.* He did not believe that councils, bishops, and popes, might perchance be wrong; and, therefore, that to enchain and imprison, or even to burn, a real or supposed heretic, was an absurdity and a crime. His fault was that of his age. His virtues were his own. Christianity makes none perfect. One only is perfect, the God whom St. Paul and St. Peter, even in the hour of their divisions, desired alone to serve; as if it were designed to prove to us, that *the universal possibility of error, should demonstrate the necessity of universal toleration.*

⁹ Du Pin, cent. xii. Life of St. Bernard.

¹ Baronius says of Bernard:—Vere apostolicus vir, immo verus apostolus missus a Deo, potens opere et sermone, illustrans ubique et in omnibus suum apostolatam sequentibus signis, ut plane nihil minus habuerit a magnis apostolicis. Hic vivens jam centum sexaginta monasteria ubique terrarum erexit. Sed ista minora censeuda respectu illorum que extra

claustra in diversis orbis ecclesiis, potissimum vero pro Romana est operatus ecclesia. Qui et apud imperatores, reges, aliosque principes, pro omnium sublevatione, atque ipsorummet principum salute, tot tantaque peregerit. Et qui dicendus sit totius ecclesie Catholice ornamentum simul ac fulcimentum; Gallicane vero in primis ecclesie predicandus sit summum decus, summa gloria, summa felicitas. —Vol. xii. p. 378, ad ann. 1153.

He died at his monastery worn out with labour. He had composed and published a work on the Canticles, and his comfort on his death-bed was derived from his contemplations on the verse, "By night, on my bed, I sought him whom my soul loveth;" which he illustrated by the words of St. Paul², "We are not the children of the night." His comfort, like that of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ with sincerity, was derived from the exercise of the best earthly privilege which God has given to man—the study of that Holy Book which contains the lessons of immortality, and which is the connecting link between the present world and the future. Some of my Protestant brethren may be offended with the affirmation, that the death of Bernard may be compared with the death of those who derived their consolation and hope from the same sacred sources; while they abhorred the conclusions of the Church of Rome. True it is, that *the personal piety of the papist must never render us indifferent to the intolerable consequences of his being invested with power*—never should induce us to adopt the falsehoods, which may be believed with sincerity, and therefore with personal piety. We may, however, admire his virtue while we abhor his opinions. All we desire of the Church of Rome is, that it retain its scriptural and primitive faith, and give up its unscriptural additions to its fulness; that it retain its piety, and resign its uncommanded self-tormentings. *Bernard*, in his monastery of Clairvaux, comforting his parting spirit with the remembrance of Him whom his soul loved; *Cranmer*, pondering his vacillation, and punishing his unshrinking right hand in the bright red flame; *Fisher*, pale and withered from his cruel imprisonment, when he denied the king's supremacy, and declaring that the words he read from the New Testament of a bystander—"This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent"—were sufficient to enable him to die in peace; *Hooker*, contemplating the order of angels; *the last dying child* which sunk in death, gazing on vacancy, and crying with fainter and fainter tones, as if the veil of the temple had been already rent, and the various angels were seen, "What a number! what a number!"³

² 1 Thess. v. 5.³ These were the last words of one dying. I hope to meet again her, and my father, and my many friends and kindred, from whom the providence of

the humble and reposing communicant of the English Church, who avoids alike superstition or excitement; ay, and the last nobleman, gentleman, ecclesiastic, mechanic, peasant, shopkeeper, and shopkeeper's wife or child⁴, whose obituary and happy death is recorded in a journal, or discoursed of among their friends—all, all drink of the same cup of suffering, enjoy the same consolations, and understand the same felicity as the martyr Stephen, who died in peace with man, praying for his murderers, and commending his soul to his Redeemer—"Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." If they so die, we may weep, smile over, hate, abhor, and avoid their real or supposed errors; but they have all one Lord, the Creator, one faith in the Atoner, one baptism from the Sanctifier! They are children of the same Father, aspiring to the Father's blessing. Why should we any longer, in this our short pilgrimage, fall out by the way? *Why will not Rome repent?* Why should we not endeavour to have but one bond of communion upon earth; and that bond be the same which will unite us in one Church, in the worship of Christ in heaven?

Eugenius died on the 8th of July, 1153⁵. He had recovered many towns which had long been lost to the holy see, and his epitaph commemorates his doing so in an expression which in our day has occasioned much discussion⁶. Bernard died on the 20th of August in the same year.

God has separated me for a short time only. Si modo dignus ero, I add, with Bishop Louth, in the language of his epitaph on his daughter.

⁴ He sees with equal eye, as Lord of all,

A peasant perish, or a monarch fall.

St. Bernard comforted himself with the words of the song of Solomon, and thought of Him whom his soul loved. The dying weaver will express the same thought in the language, perhaps, of the neglected Watts—

Thou, whom my soul admires above

All earthly joy, all earthly love.

Where is the difference? We may thank our God that there shall be neither Popery nor Protestantism in our immortality, but the peace of God through Christ alone. Popery must be resisted to the death in this world, as the usurpation, by ambitious priest-

craft, over the truth, liberty, and religion of Christ's Holy Catholic Church; but the victim and the persecutor may meet before God. As they sleep in one grave, they may awake to one resurrection:—at least, I hope so.

⁵ See Pagi, A.D. 1153, § 2.

⁶ Regalia multa longo tempore amissa Beato Petro restituit.—Baron. Annal. xii. 377.

For the meaning of *Regalia Petri*, see the pages of the Bishops Doyle and Phillipotts, and the work of Sullivan and Phelan, on the evidence before the House of Lords. Its use in the epitaph of Eugenius certainly proves that it could not refer to spiritual privileges or superintendence only. The towns which the pope recovered as a part of his temporal dominion, had never forfeited their spiritual obedience to their bishop.

CLXVIII. *Anastasius IV., died 1154.*

The pontificate of Anastasius IV. lasted only about seventeen months. His compliance with the nomination by Frederick⁷, of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, was supposed by his reproaching cardinals to have weakened the claims of the holy see. *The pretensions, however, of the Bishops of Rome were more strengthened by the frequent appeals now made to Rome.* One of the principal appeals made to Anastasius was that of Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, against Henry, the Archbishop of York. On the death of William de Sancta Barbara, Bishop of Durham, in 1153, Hugh Pudsey, a young man, the king's nephew, treasurer of York, was elected in his place. Henry, the archbishop, objecting to his age and demeanour, refused to consecrate him. The electors and the elected appealed to Rome. When they arrived there, Eugenius, the fellow pupil at Clairvaux, under St. Bernard, with Henry, was dead, and Anastasius possessed the see. The archbishop fell sick and died at Winchester, and Pudsey was consecrated by Anastasius⁸.

William also, the Archbishop of York, who had been deposed, again appealed to Rome. The chapter of York elected him a second time to obviate any objections. He declined insisting on the validity of his former disputed election. He was honourably received, consecrated, and presented with the pall by Anastasius. The question of papal supremacy began to be a question of money; and the ambitious and the discontented began to appeal to the papacy more and more against their own princes. From this time the custom of appealing to Rome began to be more frequent, and *very large were the sums of money extracted by this practice from England, and from other Churches.* The profits that accrued to the chancery and other courts of Rome, impoverished the English, and enriched the popes and their adherents. When the sweets of the gains accruing to Rome from these appeals had been once experienced, scarcely any controversy arose in any

⁷ I purposely omit in this brief narrative of the rise and progress of the papal power, the contests between the imperialists and the papalians, the crusades, &c. The view of the pontificate

of Gregory VII. illustrates the reign of every subsequent pope.

⁸ See Pagi, A.D. 1154, § 10. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 307.

country which was not instantly made the subject of an appeal to Rome. The papal emissaries, to whose inspection every western nation was now subjected, were too vigilant to suffer any royal or clerical disputes to escape the judgment of the supreme court. To manage these appeals, proctors, notaries, agents, and advocates, were required in all distant localities; while judges, civilians, canonists, scribes, clerks, referendaries, and other functionaries, great and small, were no less constantly employed at Rome. *All required payment.* Bulls, briefs, citations, sentences, references, with innumerable other processes, were multiplied and extended indefinitely, to the frequent ruin of both plaintiff and defendant⁹. The greater weight of these charges began to be first felt in England at the time of Anastasius, two years before the death of Stephen; who was *a traitor to his people by subjecting them to the popes*, to secure to himself the usurped throne. Before this time they were comparatively unfrequent and unusual¹. Stephen, the Bishop of Tournay, who flourished at this time, inveighed also against the abuse of appeals to Rome. He not only censured the substitution of the study of the canon law, after the publication of Gratian, for that of the Fathers. He bitterly condemned² the appeals made to the holy see by inferiors to avoid the correction of their superiors; and demanded, as the bishops of France had previously done, that the authority of the bishops should not be impeded and rendered nugatory, by the power of appealing to Rome. He complained that the Churches were impoverished by the expenses of obtaining bulls from Rome. The seals of many of the bulls were made of lead. Lead being required to cover the Church of St. Genevieve, which had been burnt by the Normans, he applied to the King of Sweden, and to the King of Denmark, and his bishops, to send him money to purchase lead; which at this period was generally procured in England. The Churches, he says, are roofed by the Eng-

⁹ See a treatise entitled "The Romish Horseleech," a collection of surprising items of expenses paid uselessly and needlessly to Rome, while England was subjected to its dominion. pp. 33, et seq.

¹ Inusitate enim erant in Angliâ appellationes, sicut prælibatum est,

nsque quo Henricus extitit Wintoniensis episcopus.—Gervase of Canterbury, ap. X. Scriptt. 1667, in fin. This Henry, brother to King Stephen, became Bishop of Winchester in the year 1129.—See Le Neve's Fasti, 285.

² Epist. cclv. ap. Du Pin, cent. xii. p. 169.

lish lead. They are *unroofed by the Roman lead*³. Anastasius died on the 2nd of December, 1154⁴, and was succeeded immediately by Nicholas, a native of St. Albans, in England⁵.

CLXIX. *Hadrian IV., died 1159.*

Nicholas had been the legate of Eugene to the people of Norway, and was at Rome when Anastasius died. His character so much recommended him to the people, that he was unanimously chosen to the pontificate⁶. He assumed the name of Hadrian IV. He strengthened the power of the Roman see, and suppressed the political republicanism and religious opposition of Arnold of Brescia, by burning that reformer⁷. He maintained the personal pretensions of the pontiffs to superiority over princes, by reproving as guilty of arrogance and insolence, Frederick, the Emperor of Germany, for presuming to place his name before that of the Bishop of Rome. He was justified in doing so, for the master is higher than the servant; and Hadrian had previously degraded Frederic to the rank of his feudal groom, when he required him, not in vain, to hold the stirrup of his horse in the presence of his whole army⁸.

The name of Hadrian is familiar to the student of English history in consequence of his memorable donation of Ireland, as one of the islands of the ocean, to the King of England, Henry II. The Church of Ireland, we have already seen, after having been so closely united with that of England, that its bishops received consecration from the Archbishops of Canterbury; shook off its allegiance to that see; became more closely united with Rome by the exertions of Malachy,

³ Anglieo plumbo teguntur ecclesie, nudantur Romano.

⁴ Pagi, A.D. 1154, § 1.

⁵ Concerning the parentage and early history of Hadrian, see Brompton, col. 1047, and Knyghton, col. 2393, both of which writers are to be found in the Decem Scriptores.

⁶ Erat enim vir valde benignus, mitis, et patiens; in Anglica et Latina lingua peritus, in sermone facundus, in eloquentia politus, in cantilena precipuus, et predicator egregius, ad irascendum tardus, ad ignoscendum velox, hilaris dator, in elemosynis largus, et

in omni morum compositione preclarus. — Vita Adriani, ex Card. Arragon. ap. Muratori, Scrip. Rer. Ital. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 441.

⁷ See Vit. Adrian. ut supra. The reader should consult Neander's Narrative of "St. Bernard's Controversies with Abelard and Arnold of Brescia," in his Life of St. Bernard, p. 124, for an estimate of the opinions of those reformers.

⁸ For the correspondence between Hadrian and Frederick, see Labb. Council. x. 1147, seqq.

and received four palls from the hands of Hadrian's legate for the four metropolitans of Ireland. The professed objects of Pope Hadrian in the gift of Ireland to Henry, were to bring "the rude and uncultivated people of Ireland," as he calls them, "to the truth of the Christian faith, and to enlarge the bounds of the Church." The true meaning of these and many other ambiguous expressions in the pope's letter, is not easily discerned. It was written the year after Becket was made chancellor, in the second year of Henry II. Henry, on the accession of Hadrian, had written to him a congratulatory letter; in which he urges him in general terms so to govern the Churches that all may bless his nation; and that his own country especially may have reason to rejoice in his elevation⁹. The notion which a king may be supposed to entertain by these expressions, would probably refer to the anticipation of the temporal greatness of his kingdom being increased; for he sent a solemn embassy to Rome, and solicited Hadrian to permit him to invade Ireland, to subjugate the country, and to reduce to the faith and to the way of truth its less than human inhabitants¹. To this uncourteous letter, so far as it described the Irish, Hadrian, their self-chosen lord, sent the celebrated reply. He congratulates Henry on his desire to honour the Church, instruct the ignorant, and take counsel of Rome; and assures him, that such virtue must command success. He then proceeds to say—"You have signified to us, dear son in the faith, your desire to subdue Ireland and its people to Christian laws²; and to render from each house the annual penny to St. Peter; and that you will maintain the rights of the Churches unaltered. We approve your design. We grant your petition. That you may accomplish your great objects, invade the island, and execute there whatever pertains to the glory of God, and the salvation of the *people*, we grant that the people of the

⁹ *Ecclesias omnes ita reficere, quod beatam omnes dicant generationes vestre beatitudinis nationem.*

I fix the date of this letter in 1155, contrary to the opinion both of Baronius and Alford, for the reasons assigned by Collier, i. 345.

¹ ——— rogavit papam ut sibi liceret Hiberniæ insulam hostiliter intrare, et terram subjugare, atque ho-

mines illos bestiales, ad fidem et viam reducere veritatis.—*Matt. Paris. ap. Alford, vol. iv. p. 35.*

² ——— ad subdendum populum legibus Christianis. The letter from Hadrian to Henry, in which that monarch is encouraged to invade Ireland, is preserved by Ralph de Diceto, col. 529, in the *Decem Scriptores*.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

land receive and venerate you as their lord³.”—Hadrian then proceeds to give the reason for his thus assuming to give away the island of Ireland to his petitioner⁴. “It is indeed true,” he says, “that all islands which are illumined by Christ the sun of righteousness, are a portion of the patrimony of St. Peter⁵, and the Holy Roman Church, which law your excellency recognizes. Go on then. Study to improve this nation. Labour both by yourself and others who are qualified for the office, in faith, word, and deed, that the Church may be there honoured, and the religion of Christ be planted and extended. Whatever pertains to the honour of God, and the good of souls, let it be so ordered that you obtain reward in heaven, and imperishable renown upon earth.” Such is the substance of the bull of Hadrian, which has been the charter of the English possession of Ireland. Fourteen years elapsed before the king acted upon its assumptions. The real meaning of the usurping pontiff, who thus suddenly after his elevation to the holy see presumed to command the Irish nation to transfer their allegiance, and to submit implicitly to a new sovereign, has remained enveloped in much mystery. The appeal of the King of England to Hadrian to exercise the unhallowed power of subjugating to him a peaceable and friendly nation, over whom he had never before pretended to exercise any jurisdiction; was a circumstance so unheard of, as to seem too dishonest to succeed, unless craftily managed. The bargain, novel as it was, from the barefaced manner in which the king asks the favour, and the pope grants it; has the appearance of having been transacted on both sides, as though it were nothing new. The popes

³ . . . illius terræ populus te recipiat, et sicut dominum veneretur.

⁴ I give but few clauses to show the confidence with which Hadrian proceeds to dispose of an entire nation of people, as if he were supernaturally vested with the ownership of the world. Collier, in his translation, has followed the order of Hadrian’s letter as it is printed in Alford. The author of the History of Popery, a book which loses much of its value by the references having been omitted, places the assertion of the pope’s power to give away all islands, before the grant. The copy of the bull as printed in the Decem

Scriptores is beyond suspicion, and has been followed in these observations upon the transaction to which it relates. The whole clause is worth transcribing. “Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas, quibus Sol Justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ receperunt, ad jus beati Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit, non est dubium pertinere.”—Decem Script. col. 530.

⁵ *Jus* must here denote that right, power, privilege, by which Peter, and therefore the pope, is the inheritor of the honour of Christ and God.

now claimed by the newly-published canon law, as well as by the old decretals, a superiority over kings. This act of the English king in asking for Ireland as a gift from the pope, and the act of the pope in making the present, are instances calculated strongly to confirm the doctrine of the decretal and canon law, as to the papal supremacy. Henry, on his part, fully acknowledged by his appeal, the superiority of the pope to the king; yet his own crown, by the same law, was placed at the disposal of Hadrian, and the authority thus usurped was subsequently exercised upon his son John. Hadrian boldly asserts his right to all isles of the ocean, far and near, wherever the Christian faith had spread, and insists that the king himself is well aware that they belong to him, and are at his disposal. Having thus unscrupulously declared himself the sovereign of all islands, he proceeds to declare his motives for putting the King of England in possession of Ireland. Many of his expressions are so obscure, that they are almost incomprehensible⁶. Suffice it here to say, that *by the cession*

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

⁶ As early as the reign of Theodosius the Younger, Christianity, through the diligent and successful labours of Patrick, and his coadjutor Palladius, had overspread the whole of Ireland. *Confessio Patricii*, Works, Edit. Jac. Warus, London, 1658; Usher's *Eccles. Antiq.*, 4to, Dublin, 1639; *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, by Sir W. Betham, Dublin, 8vo, 1826; Bernard, in *Vit. S. Malachie*, c. x. St. Patrick fixed upon Armagh as the seat of his bishopric. The violence and distress which the English Churches suffered from the incursions of the Saxons, and other pagan adventurers, caused their priesthood to withdraw, with their congregations, for the sake of personal safety, among their Christian brethren in Wales and Ireland (see Gildas and Bede), where the Gospel had been planted in a more tranquil region. For six centuries the Churches of Ireland flourished without being torn and afflicted with similar calamities to those with which the Churches of England and other nations had been assailed. From the foundation of the see of Armagh, whose bishops were always acknowledged as the primates of Ireland, neither these primates, nor the successive metropolitans of Dublin, Tuam, nor Cashel, had been ever dis-

tinguished by that *plenitude of honour* with which the pall was supposed to dignify metropolitans. All the functions of primate and archbishop were performed in Ireland without either palls or legates, or any other interventions of Rome. Nothing, therefore, could more unequivocally prove the independence of the Irish prelacy, than the total absence of the pall; either as a token of union, or, as the court of St. Peter meant it, as a badge of subjection, from the first introduction of Christianity into the sister isle until the middle of the twelfth century.—Bernard, in *Vit. Malachie*.

The biographer of Malachi, St. Bernard, has inadvertently unveiled the mystery of the great liberality of Hadrian to Henry Plantagenet. "Your majesty knows very well," says the pope, "that all the islands of the ocean, which have embraced the Christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter;" and he bids the king reduce the Irish to the Christian faith and to obedience. When we remember that Ireland was anciently called the island of saints, we may justly wonder what were the peculiar sins which caused the pontiff Hadrian so much anxiety, to have "the rude and uncultivated people brought into the way of sal-

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

of Ireland, the dominion and power of Rome was greatly enlarged and strengthened. Few doubted at the time that the Bishop of Rome was empowered to act as Hadrian had done; and let us hope that the words of the bull which served as the deed of gift, may be prophetic of the day when the monarchs of England may be honoured as the dispensers of a better form of Christianity than that professed by Hadrian—the Christianity of their fathers before the corruptions of Rome began; when Ireland was the island of saints in the West—the Christianity of a scriptural creed which they have so long rejected; because they hated the hands by which the book of life was opened to them, and the lips by which the truth of God was spoken to them.

Another act of Hadrian was no less presumptuous than the granting of Ireland to Henry. Many will esteem it still more so. Henry had taken a solemn, though unwilling oath, at the command of his father, that he would not set aside any part of his father's will⁷. The observance of this oath

vation." St. Bernard has explained that the primates of Ireland had been guilty of the unpardonable iniquity of having wives, and being fathers of families. The archbishops and bishops also of the island had never, for upwards of six centuries, complained to Rome to redress this heterodox grievance. On the contrary, the prelates and clergy were so lost to a due sense of shame, as to prefer matrimony to celibacy; and to make a common practice of following this example of their primates. This furnishes sufficient reasons for the inference, that great necessity existed for "the truth of the Christian faith" being better taught among the rude natives.

Not only, too, was the marriage of the clergy general, but we learn from the same authority, that for many generations the sons of the married primates had been chosen to succeed their fathers in the see of Armagh. The appointment of the rigid Cistercian monk, Malachi, to the primacy in 1132, was the first step taken by Rome to rectify these ancient customs of the Irish Church. Malachi had been previously introduced into the island as Bishop of Down and Connor; and upon the death of Celsus, was consequently on the spot watching for the opportu-

nity of presenting himself as a candidate for the primacy, which he seized as soon as an opening occurred. Mauritius, a descendant of the former primates, was his opponent. It was with the utmost difficulty that the papal influence, strengthened by the popularity and exertions of St. Bernard, could overcome the resistance to his appointment, which was made by the friends of Mauritius. A firm and unvaried attachment to the canonical rites of the primitive Church; a contempt for that *plenitude of honour* which appertained to the pall, as well as for that plenitude of assumed power which forbade metropolitans to exercise their official duties unless authorized by the popes or his legates; a participation in the blessings of the holy estate of wedlock with their secular fellow-Christians—these things, with the resistance offered to the despotic intrusion of the Romish clergy, to whom they bore the utmost repugnance; these were the true reasons of the overthrow of the last free and independent Church of the western world. *England conquered the people, but Rome conquered the clergy.*

⁷ The body was to remain unburied till he consented. The nobles urged him not to be guilty of the sacrilege of leaving it unburied.

he believed to be contrary to his interests. It was not contrary to virtue, to religion, or to morality. Hadrian granted him a dispensation from its obligations. BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

It was now in the pontificate of Hadrian that we first meet the name, as a public functionary, of Thomas Becket⁸. We shall find him celebrated in the next pontificate for his appeals to the successor of Hadrian, and his contests with his temporal sovereign. I may take this opportunity, therefore, of relating here the origin of his influence with the king; and also of his conduct to his benefactor. They have not been sufficiently observed by his biographers. He was now Chancellor of England, but not yet Archbishop of Canterbury. His influence with the king probably originated in the advice he gave to Theobald, the archbishop, to withhold his assent from the attempt of Stephen to obtain for his son Eustace, after his death, the throne of England; contrary to the agreement made in a solemn council, by which it had been secured to Henry. Becket, at that time, 1154, was Archdeacon of Canterbury⁹. His father, who had been sheriff of London, was the intimate friend of Theobald. They had both come from the same part of Normandy¹. On the death of his father, who died in 1138, when Becket was twenty-one years of age, Theobald invited the young man to become an inmate in his family; and under his auspices Becket was presented to various preferments, till he was made Archdeacon of Canterbury. This post was considered to be most influential next to those appointments in the Church which entitled their holders to a seat in the parliament; and it was probably in this station that he obtained the first notice of Henry.

The conduct of Becket to the king, which appears to have been so ungrateful, I consider to have originated from the bias which he received in the university of Bologna. He proceeded thither, by permission of Theobald, to study the canon law at the very time when Gratian resided there, preparing his *Decretum* for publication. He would there imbibe all the more decided opinions respecting the power and

⁸ The more modern form, Thomas à Becket, is unsupported by any authority of antiquity, and is here abandoned.

¹ The author of the anonymous *Life*, printed by Giles, ii. 73, says that Gilbert Becket was a native of Rouen.

⁹ *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 11.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

authority of Rome. The members of the several Churches, in spite of all the papal usurpations, were still not unanimous respecting the extent of that authority. Rome has ever been resisted. *Implicit submission to Rome has ever been partial, never universal.* Becket, like Anselm, was opposed by his own brethren when he endeavoured to exalt the ecclesiastical, too much over the temporal power; but his studying at Bologna, his probable intimacy with Gratian, his deference to Theobald, his frequently being employed by him in embassies to Rome, where his Gregorian principles would be still more strengthened, all predisposed him to exert his great powers for the advancement of the papal usurpations. Under the patronage of Theobald, before he went to Bologna, he had studied at Oxford. He then devoted himself to the obtaining a more complete knowledge of the canon law at Paris. On his return to England, he was elected to a high judicial office in the city of London²; and distinguished himself at an early age by his capacity in public affairs. After this, he was admitted into orders, and after living some time as a parish priest at Oxford³, he proceeded to improve his knowledge of the canon law at Bologna, and rendered himself the accomplished jurisprudent, which enabled him to fulfil his embassies to Italy with honour, and to commend himself to the favour and intimacy of his sovereign.

Before his elevation to the archbishopric, no quarrel had taken place between the king and Becket. *Nothing, I believe, but the most absolute necessity would have induced Henry to contend with the principal ecclesiastic of his kingdom.* I infer this from the language he addressed to the predecessor of Becket when he came to the throne. A dispute had occurred respecting the archbishop who was to crown him. It had been reported that he was to be crowned by the Archbishop of York. He denies this; and declares that he would act as the archbishop required him to do; and that nothing should induce him to offend the archbishop⁴. The witness

² Butler's Lives of the Saints, December 29. Butler calls it clerk or secretary to the court of the city.

³ Vit. S. Thomæ, auct. Will. fil. Steph. ap. Giles, i. 185.

⁴ "Sciatis," he says, "quod nullo modo me ibi coronabit; nec alibi, contra dignitatem vestram—me coronabit,

sicut mandastis, Lincolnensis episcopus, si presentiam vestram habere non potero quam multum desiderarem—nec in his, nec aliis, quamdiu coronam portabo, vestram offendam gratiam nec divinam dignitatem."—See the Letter in Alford, Annal. Eccles. iv. 71.

to this letter was Thomas Becket himself, who had recently been made chancellor; and who could not therefore be ignorant of the king's desire to maintain to the utmost the honour and privileges of the see of Canterbury. Not only so, the power of the Church was now so great that we cannot believe he would willingly offend it. We may give to Henry the benefit of this concession, in his ensuing controversy with Becket. It was evidently his interest to conciliate the pope, and to remain at peace with the Church. The power of the Church, however, was greatest, as it so often has been, at a distance from Italy. Though Hadrian had conquered the Roman republicans, by placing Rome itself under an interdict, William the Bad of Sicily had compelled Hadrian to recognize his title; and the firmness of Frederic induced the bishops of Germany to take the oath of allegiance, and for a time to receive from himself the investiture of their sees. Hadrian died September, 1159⁵, at the very moment when he pronounced the excommunication of the Emperor Frederic.

CLXX. *Alexander III., died 1181.*

Hadrian was succeeded by Roland, Chancellor of the Roman Church, a native of Sienna, in Tuscany, Cardinal Presbyter of St. Mark⁶. Though his election was so vehemently opposed by the minority of the cardinals, that a troop of armed men, hired by his rival Octavian, drove the electors from the Church—though both bishops, Roland, who assumed the name of Alexander III., and Octavian, who assumed the name of Victor, mutually excommunicated each other as schismatics and apostates—though the emperor of Germany, Frederic Barbarossa, summoned a council in favour of Victor, and held the stirrup of his horse in token that he acknowledged his superior claims to the pontificate—though four several antipopes, Victor⁷, Paschal⁸, Calixtus⁹, and Landus¹, divided with Alexander the allegiance of Christendom till the last year but one of the long pontificate

⁵ Pagi, A. D. 1159, § 4.

⁶ Baron. ad ann. § 29.

⁷ Victor died while contending for the see, April 22nd, 1164.

⁸ Paschal died during his contest with Alexander, September 20th, 1168.

⁹ Calixtus renounced his claim, after an arduous struggle for the dignity, August, 1178.

¹ Landus, who took the name of Innocent III., was made prisoner by Alexander, and confined for life.

BOOK III.
 CHAP. VI.

of this Bishop of Rome—Alexander must still be regarded as one of the principal completers of the still increasing power of the holy see. He conquered, as so many of his predecessors had done, by firmness and perseverance under the most adverse circumstances. *His pontificate beheld the King of England whipped at the tomb of a rebellious ecclesiastic by the monks of his metropolitan cathedral.* The emperor, after many years of opposition, hatred, and open war, acknowledged his supremacy; and held the stirrup of his horse as the token of allegiance, as he had previously held that of his rival. When the Romans conjured him to sacrifice, in the siege of the city by the Germans, 1167, his title, to their safety; he declared that the sovereign pontiff is not subject to the judgment of any mortal, neither of kings, nor of people, nor of the Church itself². He had previously told the ambassadors of the emperor, when they informed him that their master had summoned a council at Pavia to decide on the validity of his election to the pontificate; that none could summon a council without the sanction of the Bishop of Rome; and that the emperor, therefore, had exceeded his authority. *He obtained from the King of England, as one chief result of the contest respecting Becket, the allowing of all appeals from England to Rome,* the chief source of the papal power over its more distant dependencies; and he consolidated that power by commencing those more intolerable and inflexible decrees against heresy and heretics, which constituted the staple bolts of the fetters, which bound the reason of man in the dungeons of the papal darkness.

The story of his granting the sovereignty of the Adriatic to the Doge of Venice, as a compensation to the republic for its hospitality; as well as the story of his placing his foot upon the neck of the emperor, and repeating the words of the ninety-first Psalm—"Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder;" and the reply of the emperor—"Not to thee, but to Peter;" with the retort of the pope—"To me, and to Peter," have both been denied. They do not seem to be sufficiently supported by contemporary evidence. Let them be resigned. We cannot resign what is of more importance, the history of Becket, and our review of the laws against heresy. The former

² Vit. Alexandr. Pape III. by Cardin. Arragon. p. 458, in the Collection of Muratori.

is interesting to us, as it illustrates the clashing nature of the two opposite systems of Saxon and papal law, which divide the allegiance of the civilized world. *The latter is interesting to us as members of the Catholic Church, which is based upon the foundations of truth, received upon proofs convincing the reason; and not upon authority appealing to persecution, instead of satisfactory evidence.*

The contest between Henry II. and Becket, his Archbishop of Canterbury, may be called the *most important and instructive event in the history of England*. We have mentioned Henry's letter to Theobald, expressing to him the king's respect and love for the Church. Henry is described by Hume as the greatest prince of his age for wisdom, virtue, and ability. Lingard represents him as checking his ambition by caution, and as uniting, under a fascinating outside, a heart that could descend to the basest artifices³. Whether he were wise or subtle, we may be certain, that neither wisdom nor subtlety would permit him to endanger his throne; alienate one-half of his people, and needlessly violate his oaths and promises to the Church and bishops; as he is supposed to have done by the admirers and friends of Becket. In the second year of his reign, he granted and confirmed to God and the Church all the customs which his grandfather Henry had given; and he commanded that holy Church should have and hold, freely and undisturbedly, in peace and integrity, of him and his heirs; whatever had been given and granted by the charters of his grandfather⁴. No man commits a crime without a motive. It is impossible to believe that Henry would wantonly, needlessly, and contrary to all those solemn engagements, resist the Church in the height of its power. He had permitted a council at Oxford, before his contest with Becket, to condemn as heretics, thirty poor persons who had taken refuge in his country. He had inflicted the first punishments hitherto pronounced in England against these miserable refugees; and we can only believe, concerning

³ The chief events of Henry's reign are amply discussed by Lord Littelton in his voluminous history of that monarch—a work of great and deserved reputation.

⁴ Quare volo, et firmiter præcipio, quod sancta ecclesia omnes illas con-

suetudines, et donationes, et libertates, et liberas consuetudines, habeat et teneat, libere et quiete, bene et in pace, et integre, de me et heredibus meis, sicut Henricus avus meus eis dedit.—Spelman. Concil. ii. 74.

the collision into which he was brought with the Church, that some of its influential ecclesiastics, and not the wise or subtle monarch himself, must have been the originators of the dispute.

The friendship of Henry to the Church was further proved by his conduct immediately preceding the elevation of Becket. He had united his forces to those of the King of France against the Emperor Frederic, in favour of Alexander III.⁵ He had visited Alexander in the monastery of Bobbio, paid him homage, saluted his slipper, presented him with money, and received from him the kiss of peace, the token of friendship, intimacy, and alliance⁶. Refusing to place himself on a chair of state prepared for him, he sat with his barons at the feet of the pontiff⁷; and a short time after held the stirrup on one side of the horse, while the King of France his feudal brother groom, performed the same office on the other side, while his holiness mounted. Is it probable that he would rashly or needlessly quarrel with the pope, who could command Louis and Frederic to unite their forces both against his provinces in Normandy, and the kingdom of England; *unless he had been compelled, by an overwhelming sense of the duty which he owed to his crown, to prevent its total degradation; and to his people, to prevent their abject slavery to an ever usurping priesthood?*

Becket was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on Whitsunday, 1162, and was cruelly and shamefully murdered in his cathedral in December, 1171. The eight years and a half during which he held the archbishopric, may be said to be the most important in the annals of England. *It was the time of trial between two opposite systems of polity—between the civil power and the ecclesiastical.* The question was to be decided, not whether the pope or the king, the papal crown or the regal, should be highest: the King of England would have trembled at the thought, that the Bishop of Rome should not be regarded as higher than the kings of the earth, in an undefined and undefinable sense; but the question was, whether the subject should be greater than the sove-

⁵ Baron. Annal. A.D. 1162, § 12.

⁶ . . . post oscula pedum aureis oblati muneribus, ad oscula pontificis est receptus.—Baron. A.D. 1162, § 14.

⁷ The narrative proceeds . . . in

preparato sibi faldistorio sedere declinans, circa pontificis pedes in terra voluit cum baronibus suis humiliter considerare.—Ibid.

reign, the canon law than the statute law, the clergy than the magistrate and judge?

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

The first bounden duty of the legislature in every country must be to protect life—so to punish murder that murder may be prevented; and to permit no reasoning, no theories of religion, no claims to greater liberty, a purer creed, or any abstract pretensions whatever; to interfere with the rigid and impartial protection of the lives even of the commonest subject in the realm. Before Becket was elevated to the archbishopric, the influence of the canon law, by which the clergy were rendered amenable to their bishops and ordinaries alone, and not to the common law of the realm, had produced the greatest interruption to the happiness and peace of the kingdom. The king had already demanded that those clergymen who had been guilty of plunder, theft, murder, or other great crimes, should be tried and punished in the secular courts; after they had been degraded by the ecclesiastical courts. *He considered that ecclesiastical punishments, were not sufficiently preventive of the crime of murder.* The king believing that Becket⁸ would assist him in effecting this reform, resolved to make him archbishop. As he had already acted as chancellor, he was probably acquainted with the old Saxon laws. He was an Englishman, and would therefore, it might be thought, be attached to the interests of the common people; which were so universally protected by those more free institutions. His military reputation, (for he had served in the expedition, undertaken in the year 1159, against Toulouse, at the head of 700 gentlemen of his own dependants,) the gratitude he must have felt towards the king for his confidence; the attachment he had displayed to Henry before his elevation to the crown; his splendid style of living when he was chancellor; his popularity, generosity, and attention to the comforts of his guests and visitors, beyond what was usual in that age⁹; might all have induced the king to believe that he was not animated with the temper of a Gregorian monk: but that he possessed more enlarged and patriotic views of the increasing aggressions, of the ecclesiastical upon the regal authority. In addition to all this, he had been sent by Archbishop Theobald to Rome to obtain from the pope the restoration of the legatine power to the see of Canterbury. The

⁸ Brady's History of England, i. 379.

⁹ See the details in Brady, as above.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

king, induced by these and many other favourable considerations, nominated Becket primate of all England, in May, 1162. The suffragans of the province unanimously approved the king's choice. Becket was consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester. He was known personally as well as by reputation to Alexander, who sent him the pall by the hands of Becket's uniform friend and chaplain; the companion of his subsequent exile, and the witnesser of his death, John of Salisbury¹.

If these were the motives which induced Henry to promote Becket to the see of Canterbury, no disappointment could have been greater than that of the King of England, when the whole demeanour of the archbishop became so soon changed upon his elevation to the archbishopric. Then followed the unrequired surrender of the chancellorship, the hair shirt, the dirty swarming sackcloth, the Benedictine habit, the early matins, the washing of the feet of pilgrims, the weeping at the mass; with the frugal archiepiscopal table so strongly contrasted with the sumptuous fare provided for his baronial and other noble guests. All these pronounced to Henry the downfall of his hopes, and spoke intelligibly, though silently, that Becket was the votary of Rome; the supporter of the canon law of the Church against the common law of England; and that the whip of scorpions was to be continued. The ecclesiastics had become a caste. They were not merely set apart from the rest of their brethren to instruct the people, to administer the sacraments, to pronounce the fitness or unfitness for the reception of the Lord's Supper. They were the dispensers of God's blessings for political purposes. They commanded the thunders of God's wrath, and the light of his countenance, at their pleasure. They did more. They brought down his own holy Presence corporeally, in the same flesh and blood which He had temporally assumed on earth; and who should presume to judge the *commanders* of the invisibly, though personally manifested Redeemer of man? *Thus claiming to be more than God, they proved themselves to be in other respects the same, or less than other men.*

¹ Reference has already been made to the recently collected edition of the epistles and biographical accounts of Becket, edited by Dr. Giles; among these are many of the letters of John of Salisbury, the elegant author of the *Policraticus*.

They were the same, for the age was lawless; and many of the priests, while some affected an ascetic austerity which was useless, were as lawless in their vices as their unordained brethren. They were worse, for they claimed to be more holy than others, while they separated morality from religion². A hundred murders, it is said, had been perpetrated since the king's accession, by ecclesiastics. They were committed by holy priests. They were unpunished. If the murders had been committed by the profane laity, the murderers would have been executed. Holiness became the apology for murder. Priesthood is a blessing—priestcraft a curse to mankind. All deep-dyed crimes were committed with impunity by ecclesiastics, who claimed to be exempted from trial on criminal accusations in the king's courts of justice, because of the sacredness of their character; and whose claims were allowed for no other reason than the fear of incurring the censure which the Church would inflict upon that magistrate; who dared to incur the accusation of heresy, by infringing on this most injurious authority.

The first offence given by Becket to the king, was his acting on that law of the decretals which decides, that lands once granted to the Church can never be justly alienated. Becket, in his own courts, demanded the Castle of Tonbridge from the Earl of Clare. He then excommunicated one of the king's tenants *in capite*—the lord of the manor of Ainesford, for presuming to eject a clerk whom the archbishop had presented to the living of that manor; when the lord of the manor claimed the right of presentation. The offence was evidently cognizable by the common law. Excommunication is the punishment for spiritual offences. At that time excommunication was the most terrific punishment that could be inflicted. It reduced a man to infamy, beggary, hatred, and unpunishable insult. The king insisted on the rescinding of the decree. Becket replied that the pronouncing or withholding the sentence of excommunication belonged to the

² . . . The clergy had greatly multiplied in England, and many of them were consequently of very low characters; crimes of the deepest dye, murders, robberies, rapes, and adulteries, were daily committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics. It had been found, on inquiry, that no less

than a hundred murders had been committed by men of that profession who had never been called to account for these offences; and holy orders were become a protection for all enormities.—Neubrigen, p. 394, ap. Hume, ii. 29, edit. London, 1810.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

priest, and not to the king—that is, *the priest, or the Church, possessed the power of inflicting a more terrible earthly punishment for a civil offence*; than the sovereign could inflict for a criminal offence, and the king could grant no remedy. Excommunication, or banishment from the sacraments, when justly pronounced by the priest, ought to be considered as the severest punishment that can be inflicted; but it ought to be regarded as the spiritual punishment for a spiritual offence, and no civil consequences ought to follow. So much ought the contrary theory to be adopted, that if the delinquent, who is thus given back out of the Church to the world, derides the Church and its ministers for so doing; they are required to submit to the insult, and to leave the matter to that God in whose name they have spoken.

This, however, was but the commencement of the crimes committed by Becket against the common law. When the king demanded that the clergy who were guilty of murder, or other great crimes, universally cognizable by the general laws of all nations, which commit the care of life to the supreme legislature of the state; and that such clergy, after degradation, should be committed to the secular courts,—though the other bishops were of opinion that this ought to have been done,—Becket refused to permit a double trial for the same murder; and justified his decision by the assertion, that the bishops could not expose any man to death, for they could not be present at a sentence of blood. This remark in a layman would have been considered hypocrisy. With the student of the canon law, and its distinctions, it was only casuistry. The king requested to know whether the clergy would obey the royal customs or laws? The answer was in the affirmative, with the proviso, “saving their order” in all things. When the bishops perceived the king to be indignant with the answer, (which would have been a very proper one, if it had referred to the denial of the episcopal power in general, or to any of the privileges conferred by Christ upon his ministers; but which was most improper when it referred to the present dispute, and therefore may be said to have merely denoted their claim to give ecclesiastical impunity to the crimes of the wicked members of their order,) they consented to omit the clause. Becket was immovable. He placed his firmness on the foundation of his duty to God,

and declared that he would curse an angel from heaven if he advised him to make such an acknowledgment. He declared he was ready to die for the liberties of the Church³. Becket was sincere in his terrible energies, and his sincerity was the point and edge of his cursing. *It has always been the policy of Rome to urge its most presumptuous claims, under the plea of suffering some intolerable injustice or grievance.* No doctrine of Christianity was involved in the dispute. The only question was that which to this very day agitates the civilized Christian world. The archbishop quoted the canon laws, as if they were superior to the laws of the realm. He spoke of the liberties of the Church as if those liberties consisted in the freedom of an irresponsible tyrant trampling on the liberties of all others, in the indulgence of his own caprice. He identified, as others had done, Christ with the pope, the Catholic Church with Rome, and the acceptableness of the soul in the sight of God with subjection to the canon law. He declared, on a subsequent occasion to the Earl of Leicester, in the council of Northampton, 1165⁴, that as the soul is of more worth than the body, by so much the rather was he bound to obey God than an earthly prince. Becket was quite right in this declaration. To obey God rather than man, is the noblest motive which can actuate the human soul. *The only question will be, whether God is obeyed or not ; and whether God requires the kind of obedience which the zealot is willing to pay to Him.* The obedience which Becket offered was compliance with the canon law, rather than compliance with the common law. *He was beginning the Catholic question.*

But this was not all. An ecclesiastical magistrate at York, a dean, had fined a burgess of Scarborough a certain sum of money, and adjudged his wife to penance as an adulteress, without any proof, contrary to the common law. The dean was summoned before the king, certain bishops, and lay peers. When sentence was to be pronounced on him for his injustice, the ecclesiastical judges decreed only that the money be returned. The chief justice, a lay peer, would have it decreed, that some satisfaction be rendered to the

³ The usual historians give the account of these transactions.

⁴ Quanto dignior est anima quam corpus, tanto magis Deo et mihi teneris

obedire quam terreno regi. Nec lex nec ratio permittit ut filii patrem judicent vel condemnent.—Labb. Concil. x. 1437.

BOOK III. defendant. This was refused, because the plaintiff was an
 CHAP. VI. ecclesiastic.

In an action at Dunstable, a priest was inadequately punished for a libel. The common law was compelled to submit to the canon law, which inflicted the lesser penalty⁵.—An ecclesiastic of Worcestershire was accused of debauching a daughter, and murdering her father. The archbishop refused to permit the offender to be tried in the king's court.—Another ecclesiastic stole a silver chalice from a church in London. The king required that the offender be tried in the ordinary court. He was tried in the archiepiscopal court, and a severer sentence than would otherwise have been inflicted was pronounced to please the king. To remedy these and other grievous mischiefs; before proceeding to extremities, Henry summoned the Council of Westminster, and subsequently, the Council of Clarendon. The result is too well known. At the Council of Westminster the king demanded that the clergy should be tried in the king's court for crimes; and he demanded of the bishops whether they would submit to the law of his grandfather⁶. The archbishop replied with the usual reservation. The bishops adhered to him, but were afterwards divided. Alexander finished the dispute, by sending Philip de Eleemosyna to request Becket to comply with the king's request without the clause. Becket obeyed the pope, though the canon law ought to have been equally binding upon both the Bishops of Rome and Canterbury; and he promised to obey the king upon the faith of an honest man⁷.

The submission of the archbishop was made privately to the king at Woodstock. That the convention between the ecclesiastical and regal power might be more solemnly guaranteed; Henry summoned a general parliament, or judicial assemblage of his peers and bishops, at Clarendon. The

⁵ In this instance, the canon law seems to have been more just than the common law. This, however, is not the question. Napoleon had no right to make even just laws for England. Neither has the Bishop of Rome the privilege to do so.

⁶ The laws of Henry I., says Twysden, are express, for they approve the ancient institution, that—*generalia comitatum placita certis locis et vic-*

bus convenire debere. That judges in those courts be *episcopi, comites, vicedomini, &c.* The causes they dealt in, and order of proceeding—*agantur primo debita veræ Christianitatis jura, secundo regis placita, postremo causæ singulorum.*—*Historical Vindication of the Church of England, chap. v. sect. 9, p. 101.*

⁷ "*Bonâ fide, et sine malo ingenio.*"

preamble of an act of parliament explains the causes and object of its proposed enactments. So it is in the preamble of the Constitutions of Clarendon, which were ratified by all, and even by Becket himself, though with much persuasion, and after much difficulty and delay. The preamble then professes to declare, "that on account of the dissensions and discords which had often arisen between the clergy and the justices of our lord the king, and the barons of the realm," concerning its customs and dignities, the following recognition of such customs has been made. The constitutions, or several articles, then follow. They were affirmed to be such of the customs of Normandy, and of the ancestors of Henry, and of his grandfather, as ought to be observed and kept in the realm⁸. *The Constitutions of Clarendon may be called the solemn decision of the Church and state of England against the usurpations of Rome, of the popes, and of the canon law.* Long before the unfortunate word Protestant—which being used by all seceders from Rome, adequately describes none—was adopted among us, the clergy and people of England, even when they were in constant communion with Rome, protested in this memorable document against the domination of the Bishop of Rome. It is true that the effort to throw off the yoke of submission to its dominion, was at this moment ineffectual. The ecclesiastical power of Rome triumphed after this for more than three centuries, but this record is left us of the principles of our illustrious ancestors; and we have reason to rejoice that we have now established by law that exemption from Rome, for which, in the present instance, King Henry, the Church, and the peerage of England contended in vain. I shall briefly mention the various articles of these Constitutions, with Pope Alexander's approbation or condemnation upon each of them; the true cause of the irreconcilable quarrel which ended in the murder of Becket, and the degradation of the king.

The first provided that questions respecting patronage should be tried and decided in the king's courts⁹.—As

⁸ They are printed in Labbe's Councils, x. 1425, and elsewhere. Among the names of those present, I observe that of Robert, Earl of Leicestershire, the

persecutor of the Albigenses.

⁹ "controversia tractetur et terminetur."

one great object on the part of the Church of Rome was to secure the claim to appeals, the expression *terminetur*, which seemed to exclude the right of appeal from the king's courts to the papal courts, was probably the cause of its condemnation.

Secondly. That churches which are the fee of the crown should not be granted in perpetuity without the king's consent.

Thirdly. That the clergy be tried for civil misdemeanors in the king's courts, and for ecclesiastical offences in the ecclesiastical courts; and the protection of the Church was to cease if the Church found the accused party guilty of the crime¹.

Fourthly. The departure from the kingdom of all archbishops, bishops, and clergymen, was forbidden, without regal permission, or security for good behaviour.—This was intended to prevent appeals to Rome, and possibly the oaths of allegiance to the pope, from which all the confusion began.

Fifthly. It was provided that any favouritism on the part of the ecclesiastical courts² should be rectified by a jury.

Sixthly. It was directed that excommunicated persons should be considered subjected only to ecclesiastical punishment³.

Seventhly. None of the king's tenants *in capite* should be excommunicated without the king's consent, legally given in his courts of justice.

Eighthly. Appeals in ecclesiastical causes were to be made from the archdeacon to the bishop, thence to the archbishop, thence to the king, whose legal decision was to be final.

This is the present law. The king or the sovereign is, in all cases, and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme. No appeal to the pope from the decision of the king, is legally binding on the subjects of this realm. The Constitutions of Clarendon

¹ Si clericus convictus vel confessus fuerit, non debet eum de cætero ecclesia tueri.

² This was allowed by Alexander, probably because the trial by jury was to take place before the bishop.

³ I consider this to be the probable meaning of the original, which is obscure. The clause was condemned as interfering with the claims of the Church to command secular punishment to the excommunicated.

were the restoration of Saxon ecclesiastical independence, and the anticipation of the eventual re-establishment of the monarchical over the papal authority. They were an incident in the history of the Catholic question.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

Ninthly. It was decreed that a jury should decide whether disputed questions were more properly ecclesiastical or temporal; and actions were to be brought according to the verdict, in the regal or episcopal courts.

Tenthly. It was provided that the king's tenants *in capite* might be interdicted from Divine service if they offended the Church; but not excommunicated unless after sentence in the king's courts.

Eleventhly. The higher ecclesiastics were commanded to observe the conditions on which their lands were granted to them.

Twelfthly. The election of bishops is provided for. They were to be elected by deputations from the chapters in the Chapel Royal, with the consent of the king, and the approbation of his council. Before consecration the bishop elect was to do homage and fealty to the king; but a clause provided that this be done "saving the privilege of his order." The revenues of sees during vacancies were to be paid into the royal exchequer.

Thirteenthly. The king and the bishops were mutually bound to respect and defend the lands of each other. The lands of the bishops were to be protected by the common law. The lands of the king by the terrors of excommunication.

Fourteenthly. It is forbidden that chattels forfeited for treason should be protected by the Church, and thereby detained from the king's exchequer.

Fifteenthly. That all actions for debt should be considered as civil, and not ecclesiastical suits; whatever were the circumstances of the contract.

Sixteenthly. It was decreed that the sons of "rustici" should not be ordained without the consent of the lord of the manor. This article, with II. V. XI. XIII. and XIV., were allowed by the pope. All the rest were condemned as hostile to the liberties of the Church⁴.

⁴ Rome had now set up a new plea for further aggrandizement, and the perpetuation of its sovereign control over kings and governments. Its policy

Such were the Constitutions of Clarendon. They all were confirmed by the peers and the bishops, and they became, therefore, for the time, the law of the land. *The events which took place four hundred years after, again made them the public law of England.* Yet the providence of God decreed that the great controversy between the ecclesiastical and monarchical powers should not be decided by these Constitutions. Becket agreed to them, with the rest of the peers, temporal and spiritual. Even if he had remained firm to his signature, if he had rejected his interpretation of the archiepiscopal oath to the pope, which bound him to the Gregorian policy; the people of England were so much attached to the foreign pontiff at this time, that many of them would probably have been ready, as they subsequently were in the reign of John, to join with any invader whom the pope had commissioned to attack the kingdom. But even if this had not taken place, if the Constitutions of Clarendon had become law; one part only of the gigantic evils which the Anglican Church was doomed to suffer by its own error and ignorance, would have been done away. It would only have removed the supremacy of the pope, in all matters of appeal from the regal to the papal courts. This, it is true, would have been a great advantage, yet it would have been but one. The real contest which the churches were now waging was not with the pope alone, but with the ecclesiastical power generally; as that power was wielded by erring councils and imperious bishops. Shortly before the summoning of the assembly at Clarendon, a council had been summoned by Alexander at Tours. The king gave his consent to the attendance of the English bishops. Becket, who was met before he approached the town by all the cardinals,

was based on protestations against every other power of a secular nature infringing on some ecclesiastical privilege, and thus persisting in one encroachment after another. It could hardly go on further to make complaints on its own account, after it had subdued bishops and churches, sovereigns and nations, to its will. The head of the Roman Church under such paramount ascendancy as it had acquired, could not with any pretence talk of its liberties being too abridged, after it had engrossed such unbounded control

over the world. It, therefore, in order to secure and strengthen its immense spiritual and temporal greatness, began now to complain of the liberties of the universal Church being invaded. The Church would be naturally led to join in the cry, and thus a further consolidation of authority would be acquired over nations and secular governments; by a general combination of all ecclesiastical orders in defence of every alleged infringement on the liberties of the Church.

except two, who were in personal attendance upon Alexander, was placed next to the pope at the meeting of the council ^{BOOK III.} ^{CHAP. VI.} ^{5.} He was attended by many of his suffragans, abbots, and priors. They may be justly said to have represented the Church of England ^{6.} At that council, ten canons were promulgated as an addition to the canon law of the universal Church ^{7.} Arnulph, the Bishop of Liseaux, was commanded by the pope to open the proceedings ^{8.} He did so in a very eloquent address, which commanded general approbation. He insisted much on the unity and liberty of the Church ^{9.} By *unity*, he probably meant obedience to Alexander; by *liberty*, the freedom of ecclesiastics from secular control. He then proceeded to recount the evils under which the Church laboured, and declaimed against the ambition of schismatics, meaning probably thereby Octavian, or Victor and his party; and against the violence of tyrants, or the princes who had not submitted to the pope. He exalts the dignity of the bishops as the opponents of heretics, and the upholders of the unity of the Church. He affirms, that the people were to receive from their fulness, as they in their turn received from Christ; and he illustrates his meaning by an analogy between the fulness which descended from Christ to the bishops, and from the bishops to the people; and the oil which descended from the head of Aaron, or Christ, to the beard of Aaron, which denotes the prelates of the Church, and thence to the robes of Aaron, which are the people. He quotes many passages of the Holy Scriptures to illustrate this dignity of the bishops. He speaks with religious contempt and pity of the Emperor Frederic, and exhorts the bishops to persevere; and concludes, in very devotional language, by comforting those who had suffered for the cause of the Church ^{1.} The council then proceeded to business. Alex-

⁵ Turonis jam appropinquans, civitatem ingressurus, audito ejus adventu, mox universa civitas commovetur, et obviam exeunt universi, non solum cives et indigenæ. . . .—Pagi, A.D. 1163, iv. 609.

⁶ This view is taken also by Collier, vol. i. p. 349.

⁷ Labb. Concil. x. 1418.

⁸ — jubente papa, says Baronius, A.D. 1163, § 3; and the allusions in his speech to this command are very

curious and courtierlike. He contrasts his own inability with the duty he owes to the pope. Quis ego sum qui in auribus tot tam prudentium, tam venerabilium personarum quemlibet mihi debeam usurpare sermonem? Sed et quis ego sum, qui mandato Romani Pontificis audeam obviare?—See also Labbe, x. 1411.

⁹ Parag. iv. in the speech as given by Baronius.

¹ The conclusion itself is perhaps

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

ander again excommunicated his rival Victor; and the council decreed the observance of the ten canons, among which the IVth², repeating the substance of the XXIVth and XXXth of the Second Council of Lateran, 1139, condemns the heretics of Toulouse; compares them to serpents, commands the bishops to be vigilant, to anathematize them, and to command that none should shelter or protect them. *No communion of buying or selling was to take place between heretics and the faithful*, that all the consolation derived from affection and society being taken from them³, they may be compelled to depart from their heresy. Whoever opposed this law was to be anathematized. The heretics who were discovered were to be apprehended, committed to prison, and deprived of all their property⁴. Many of the canons were useful regulations. This, however, was one of those which marked that incipient severity against the unfortunate inhabitants of Gascony and Toulouse; which ended in the atrocities of the Albigensian crusade, and in the fearful establishment of the thought-searching and thought-punishing Inquisition. England had already partaken of the crime of persecution. The University of Oxford⁵, the council of ecclesiastics, and the king himself, had already permitted thirty poor miserable outcasts

lost. The speech terminates abruptly. — *meâ sententiâ*, says Baronius, *sine carere ipsa videtur oratio*. But it is the same in the copy given by Labbe.

² Labb. col. 1419.

³ The language of the original is—*solutio saltem humanitatis amisso*—which Collier translates, “being thrown out of all advantages of civil society.” The expressions imply much more than this.

⁴ — *omnium bonorum amissione mulententur*.—Ibid.

⁵ Gerard, the leader of these emigrants, and their teacher, who answered for the rest before the council, stated, that they were Christians, and believed the doctrine of the apostles; but their answers respecting Baptism, the Lord’s Supper, and Marriage, are said to have been perverse, and given with contempt. The council turned them over to the secular power, therefore, to be punished. The king caused them to be branded in the forehead, and then publicly whipped out of Oxford, and forbade all his subjects to relieve

them, so that in a little time they all perished in a miserable manner. Du Pin calls them *Vaudois*; and Mezeray says, the *Vaudois* of this age, 1157, held nearly the same opinions as the Calvinists. All writers agree that, in the midst of their sufferings, they behaved with great calmness and temper, and blessed God who had called them to suffer for righteousness’ sake. They sang, on being led to receive their sentence, “Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and persecute you, for my name’s sake;” which serves to show that their imputed crime of heresy was of a very innocent character, and that Rome had succeeded in its combination of ecclesiastics and seculars for the rooting out of all who disobeyed its decrees. These are said to be the first victims who suffered death in England for religious opinions, since it received Christianity.—Chron. Hemingf. Hist. Angl. Script. p. 494, ap. Inett, vol. ii. chap. xii. sect. 8. See also Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. vol. viii. ann. 1160. Mezer. ann. 1163.

to perish in the highways and fields; though they committed no injury, nor denied Christianity, but maintained some opinions which were condemned by the ecclesiastics of the day; and now its Church and king, by consenting to the decree of the council of Tours, increased their guilt, and partook of the degradation and punishment, which will ever follow the forcible suppression of peaceful reasoning. Becket was murdered, the king dishonoured, and the nation subdued for four successive centuries, to “the *worst of superstitions, and the heaviest of all God's judgments—Popery.*”

It was well, therefore, that the Constitutions of Clarendon were eventually rescinded. Though they would certainly have rescued England at this early period from its vassalage to the Bishop of Rome, and re-established at home the majesty of the native law; they would still have left England the slave of the ecclesiastical power, as that power was embodied in the conciliar and canon law. The nation would have implicitly received, as we find it did, the decrees of the councils of Lateran; which improving, or rather extending the canon of the Council of Tours, determined the anathematization of heretics; and their extirpation by the tribunals, by beggary, hunger, sword, and fire! It would have retained among its laws the decrees which took away the Scriptures from the people, because some readers of the sacred page had not found therein the papal supremacy; with the laws which made transubstantiation an article of faith, and which decreed that auricular confession was a necessary preliminary to the reception of the Holy Sacrament. *The time had not yet come when the people could bear the light.* It was necessary that the heavy yoke of Rome should still co-exist with the unscriptural errors in question. When, however, the fulness of the time arrived, and the burthen of the papal usurpation became intolerable, the same spirit of resistance and inquiry which rejected the supremacy in the twelfth century, rejected, also, the other great spiritual errors of the churches. *There is a time for every thing—for the permission of evil, and for the removal of evil.* God reigns, and the multitude of the nations may be glad thereof. God does all things in their season and in their order, wisely and well; and one employment of our immortality will possibly be, the contemplation of the plans of his providence, by which He is still

BOOK III. leading his Church through the wilderness, not only to a
 CHAP. VI. heavenly, but to an earthly rest.

The repentance of Becket for agreeing to the Constitutions of Clarendon, his voluntary penance, and absolution by Alexander; the frivolous pretences by which Henry (who did not dare to bring the archbishop to trial for high treason, nor to refer to the true motives of his own indignation) attempted to impoverish and ruin his tormentor; the adherence of the temporal peers to the king, and of the spiritual peers, with some exceptions, to the archbishop, in 1165; Becket's exile to France; the king's severity towards his family and friends; the intention of Henry to join the antipope, 1166; the partial and insincere reconciliation of the king and Becket; the rejection by Becket of the legates sent from Alexander at the king's request; the appointment of Becket to the legatine authority; his excommunications of his opponents; his eventual reconciliation to Henry, (who feared an interdict,) and his return to England; the exasperation of the king, and the rash expressions when the bishops whom Becket excommunicated on his arrival in England, appealed to him in Normandy, with the result of those expressions upon certain noblemen of his court, who proceeded to Canterbury and murdered Becket in his cathedral—all these things are familiar to every student of history, and need not be further insisted upon in this place. Two things only are worthy of remark—the *undoubted sincerity of Becket*, and the *result of this great controversy* in the success of the papal or ecclesiastical pretensions to superiority over kings and their subjects. The Constitutions of Clarendon were overthrown, and the legality of appeals to the pope was established as a principle of the public law. Every object, in short, for which the most staunch Gregorian could contend was obtained. Alexander imposed his own terms of penance on the king, and the pope became—though the English often objected to, and expostulated against, the conduct of his successors in various instances—the unrestrained and irresistible supreme head of the Anglican Church; till the sceptre was wrested from his hands by the sturdy monarch, who resisted the Bishop of Rome, while he still professed to adhere to the doctrines of his Church.

The expression, "*the sincerity of Becket*," will offend many, but I argue this sincerity from the usual proofs

which would lead us to infer sincerity in all similar cases; of opposing the enactments of man from supposed obedience to the laws of God. Conscience is defined by Locke to be, our own opinion or judgment of right or wrong. Others define it to be an innate sense, or instinct, by which a man is enabled to distinguish between right and wrong, fit or unfit, good and evil, as an animal decides without instruction on the right choice of food. Whether it be the result of education, or of unavoidable and innate bias, it is certain that the conclusion which we believe to be right or wrong, is so generally the result of the first instructions we derive from others; that the most free, deliberate, thoughtful use of reason, can seldom separate wrong conclusions from right premises, by its own unaided efforts. *The right premises on which Becket acted were the same as those on which every good Christian, whether he be Puritan, Papist, Sectarian, or Churchman, will ever act*—the conviction that God is to be obeyed rather than man; and that, as the soul is more worthy than the body, by so much more is God to be obeyed than an earthly prince⁶. The instructions he had received in his infancy, youth, and manhood, were those which were now uniformly impressed on the minds of all men by the clergy, and by religious persons generally—that obedience to God was to be shown by obedience to the pope. The words of God were uttered by the pope⁷. Early education; the common mode of interpreting Scripture⁸; the constant application of scriptural language to clothe his repentance, grief, and resolutions to persevere in the path he deemed to be right⁹; all convince me of his sincerity. He made a solemn declaration to his suffragans that he had invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit before he condemned and excommunicated the exactors,

⁶ This was his reply to the Earl Marshal in the council of Northampton, as already quoted.

⁷ "Regis, et tuum, et aliorum iudicium declino," he said to the Earl Marshal at Northampton, "sub Deo solo, a domino papa, iudicandus."—Labb. Concil. ut supra.

⁸ He quoted the usual sentence—*Tu es Petrus*—to the king.

⁹ I give but one instance. When he had agreed to the Constitutions of Clarendon, and inflicted on himself a voluntary penance—"Silebo, sedens in

mœrore," he exclaimed, "donec visitaverit me Oriens ex alto, ut per ipsum et dominum papam merear absolvi."

The historian, describing his grief, then proceeds to mention the power of the pope to absolve. Becket sent, he says, to the Roman pontiff, to whom it pertains to heal the broken in heart, &c.—*ad Romanorum mittit Pontificem, utpote cujus est sanare contritos corde, et alligare contritiones eorum.*—See Alford, iv. ii. 121.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

defenders, advisers, and promoters of the Constitutions of Clarendon¹. The temper of the times, the spirit of the age, the progress of improvement, or whatever else may have been the absurd terms, by which a politician of the hour would have declared the consummate wisdom of the day in which he lived; were all in favour of Becket. The heretics were the despised, the poor, the persecuted. They held much error among the truths they espoused, and amidst their opposition to the papal supremacy; and we may justly believe, therefore, that the conscience of Becket might be satisfied that he was right, and that he was, therefore, sincere. Any opinion, I again observe, may be entertained sincerely. St. Paul was as sincere before his conversion, when he was a persecutor, as he was after he had fallen to the ground on his way to Damascus; overpowered by the manifestation of the God of his fathers, who appeared to them in the wilderness, as to him in Syria. The Lancastrian and the Yorkist, the Whig and the Tory, the supporter of popular rights and the supporter of regal prerogative, may all be sincere. The advocate of the worst pretensions of the Church of Rome in the darkest ages, or in the present day, may be sincere; and very difficult it sometimes is, to know how to apply to circumstances the principles that are in themselves true. And the great, the only danger of the relapsing of civilized man under that old yoke, arises, not from the hypocrisy of its supporters; but from the mistaken sincerity which still retains the canon law, founded upon this theory, that man doeth God service by punishing the body for the benefit of the soul.

We can form but a very inadequate notion, in the present day, of the power of the Church in the time of Becket. *The laity are scarcely able, in this present age, to bear the least rebuke from an ecclesiastic.* To reject the most notorious offender, as it is the bounden duty of the clergy to do, from the sacrament of the Eucharist; would be considered by many an indictable offence, a libellous action, an unpardonable effort of priestcraft, or a violation of the personal privileges which the upholder of an Established Church ought to possess; however

¹ *Invocatâ Spiritus Sancti gratiâ, Suffraganeos suos, ap. Hoveden, A.D. publice condemnâvimus et cessâvimus 1165, and Baron. Annal. A.D. 1164, universos observatores. — Epist. ad § 6.*

unworthy he may be of its spiritual blessings. We have proceeded through the abuse of a just principle, to an opposite extreme. But, in the time of Becket, the sentence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or of the Bishop of Rome, was regarded as the voice of God; and so identified with Christianity itself, that the greatest moral courage was necessary to resist this authority. *Every thing was believed which the Church of Rome chose to teach.* No learned man dared to write against it, no philosopher to reason, no Christian to object, no ignorant man to inquire; unless they possessed the rare talent, which is divine rather than human, to submit in the cause of truth to degradation and infamy, as well as to injustice and cruelty. The very love of the olden liberty of England was now enlisted in the service of Rome. The English people adored the memory of Edward the Confessor², the last of the Saxon kings; and he had also many admirers among the Norman race. All classes in England, therefore, united to venerate him. The pope had flattered this general feeling by canonizing Edward. (1161.) The extraordinary power was now assumed by the Church of Rome of declaring to the Church, that certain persons whom the pope had sufficient reason to believe holy; were undoubtedly admitted into everlasting happiness, and were also, rightly and properly, objects of invocation as intercessors between God and man before the throne of God. In the early days of the Church, the names of good men, especially if they had been martyred, were inserted in the sacred diptychs, or rolls of names which were read or commemorated in the churches. The custom was similar to that still in use in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and in some private Collegiate Chapels, on the commemoration days; or days when the partakers of their bounty commemorate the gifts and graces of their benefactors. The custom was perverted from commemoration into beatification, or pronouncing the person blessed. *The beatification was changed into canonization, or declaring the beatified*

² His bull, or decree of canonization, is addressed, not to the universal Church, but to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other rulers of the Church in England. Becket was an Englishman. The majority of the other ecclesiastics were Normans. The

pope says in his bull, that the king, as well as the prelates, had solicited the canonization of Edward—*tam clarissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus, &c. quam vos ipsi, nobis instantius porrexistis, &c.*—Bullar. Magn. i. 67.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

person a mediatorial intercessor, or saint, who could pray for his adherents. The triple custom, thus insensibly changed, was at first common to all metropolitans. It had now, as we might have expected, become the peculiar privilege of the pope. Since the time of Alexander, at least, the privilege has been assigned only to the Bishop of Rome. Alexander exerted this privilege in the present instance by canonizing Edward the Confessor, and in so doing materially strengthened the influence of the Church. He enrolled a favourite king among the saints. He qualified his presumption, by complying with their request so far as he had power with God so to do³. But he proceeded as if God had given him the power, and declared Edward to be enrolled among the venerable confessors whom God had honoured and glorified; and assured them they were right, piously to worship, and studiously to venerate him, whom the holy see commended to their devotion and worship. He requires them to honour the new saint, so that by his intercessions they may deserve to obtain pardon; and to inherit a glorious reward in eternal happiness⁴. Two years after this canonization, the body of Edward was removed, or, as the expression is, was translated by Becket, in the presence of the king and of his court; to the shrine where he was to be worshipped. The body was said to be uncorrupted. The assertion, whether it was a pious fraud or not, was intended to affirm that the Almighty approved the joint action of Alexander and Becket; and that the peculiar protection of God would be granted to their friends, and withheld from their enemies. Miracles, also, were wrought to prove the same point. Goderic, the hermit of Finchale, near Durham, a man eminent for most incredible acts of austerity, who worked many miracles, maintained an active correspondence with Becket, and received from the archbishop an indulgence to relax his austerities; predicted, it was said, and believed, his exile, restoration, and death. This gifted saint sanctioned all the proceedings of Becket; and the will of God was demonstrated to be in favour of the pope and of the Church, by the descent of a crucifix from the high

³ — postulationes vestras, quantum cum Deo possumus, liberali animo admittamus.—Exordium to the Bull of Canonization.

⁴ — ut ipsius intercessionibus apud districtum Judicem mereamini veniam obtinere, et gloriosum in æterna beatitudine præmium invenire.—Ibid.

altar, to move by an invisible power round the Church; out of the side of which crucifix a beautiful child came, and placed himself on the top of a figure of the Virgin, and after bestowing its blessing on the saint, returned to its place⁵.

Strange as it may now seem to us, the credulity, simplicity, or devotion of the age, believed all these things. The strongest minds were overcome, and we ought not to wonder, therefore, at the voluntary penance by which one of the most powerful and daring of the Kings of England⁶, on arriving within sight of Canterbury, stripped off his robes, and with naked feet, and covered with a coarse tunic, entered the city. Fasting, weeping, and praying, Henry passed the whole of a night and a day, without sleep, at the tomb of Becket⁷. He is said to have then submitted to receive upwards of eighty lashes from the monks. Very amusing are the criticisms of Harpsfield and Alford on the indignation of Goodwin and Parker, at the flogging which Henry received from the Becket-avenging monks of Canterbury. He was not compelled, they say, to receive these lashes. Oh, no! he was only commanded six things by the pope—to acknowledge Alexander alone; to permit freely all appeals to Rome⁸; to go to the Crusades, or to pay for the omission; to recall the exiles; to restore the revenues to Canterbury; and to abolish the Constitutions of Clarendon. He was not commanded by the Church to perform this penance at the shrine of Becket; and it is unjust, therefore, to impute to the Church of Rome, to the Bishop of Rome, or to the clergy of the Church of Canterbury,

⁵ See a Life of St. Goderic, written by Reginald, a monk of Durham, on the eve of publication by the Surtees Society; also the *Acta Sanctorum*, May 21. Of St. Goderic it is related, that an angel made his bed—lectum composuit—on his way to Rome. He inspired wild beasts with respect, passed fifteen days and nights without sleep, rolled himself among briars and thorns, stood all night up to his neck in the river, checked an inundation of the Wear with his staff, commanded the plundering hares and stags to venerate his garden, commanded a cow to attend him to its pasture and to return, received a visit from John the Baptist, who informed him that he had delivered St. Goderic's mother from purgatory,

and had brought her with him to attest the fact; and heard, saw, and did many other remarkable things which are gravely told, and were implicitly believed.

⁶ "Præcipio tibi," says the decree of Henry against appeals to Rome, "quod si aliquis clericus vel laicus, de baillivâ tuâ Romanam curiam appellaverit, eum capias, et firmiter custodias, donec voluntatem meam percipias.

⁷ — apud quod sepulcrum, solum eum diem, noctemque insequentem, in jejunio, precibus, et lacrymis vigil perseveravit.—Harpsfield, *sec.* xii. c. 17.

⁸ Yet even at this hour of his degradation, he was permitted to demand securities of the suspected.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

treason, for striking the king; priestcraft, in degrading the king; or disloyalty, in complying with the wish of the king. The naked, fasting, weeping, wakeful sovereign voluntarily demanded the infliction of that penance. *He solicited the bishops and the monks to flog him.* If they scourged him as Raymond of Toulouse was scourged, the royal blood must have marked the pavement of the Church. But he was in the full prime and strength of manhood bodily, whatever might have been the infancy or the weakness of that manhood mentally; and he could spare the loss of blood. *He entreated that he might undergo the penance.* Flog then—flog the King of England! Not with eighty lashes, as many imagine; but with *three hundred* lashes⁹. Scourge the King of England! The royal will commands it. Do not rebel against the will of the sovereign; but render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. He has opposed the Church and the pope, and the Church requires to be satisfied by penance, even if it be voluntary penance; and the voice of the Church is the voice of God. Scourge then the King of England! Render to God the things that be God's! And he was scourged—and the degradation of the King of England was the triumph of the Church of Rome; till the better hour arrived, when the repentance of the soul, as in the early days of Christianity, was no more confounded with the infliction of stripes and penance on the body. The power of Rome was at its height.

“Still to new heights Rome's restless wishes tower;
Claim leads to claim, and power advances power;
Till conquests unresisted cease to please,
And rights submitted, left it none to seize.”

In the remainder of the ecclesiastical history, till the sceptre over the civilized world passed from Rome to England, we read of little more than the continued enactment of new laws against heresy; and the power of the monastic and mendicant orders. Every influence had now submitted to Rome. *The philosophy of the day* had been enlisted in its service. *The warlike spirit of the times* urged on the crusades against the enemies of the Church. *Emperors* were changed into grooms

⁹ Virga ab episcopis quinquies, a —Harfsfield, ut supra, ap. Alford, singulis monachis (quorum numerus iv. ii. 263. erat supra octoginta) ter cæsus est.

and tributaries. *Kings* were scourged by monks at the tombs of holy rebels. *The generality of the common people* were no less attached to the Church. Rome, while it humbled the pride of temporal sovereigns, provided, by the Truce of God, rightly and wisely for the protection of the husbandman and the plough. The peasant was always safe if he was quiet. The monarch was never safe, for he was unavoidably exposed either to rebellion from his subjects, or to invasion from his neighbours. The pope had become the arbiter of the destinies both of kings and of states. All seemed to be submission to the decrees of the Church; and but one enemy remained yet to be subdued. To the conquest of that enemy every effort of the Church was directed; and the remaining history of the ecclesiastical power is little else than the story of resolute attempts on the part of Rome to destroy those, not who really were, but those whom Rome called heretics; and to extirpate that doctrine, whether true, or false, or doubtful, which Rome was pleased to call heresy.

The free use of Scripture, and the no less free use of reason, which had been the happy privilege of the early Christians, before the domination of Rome presumed to deny both; had led, as we still see they do in our own age, in spite of the discipline of the Churches, to the dissemination of much truth, and much error. *Instead of permitting the tares to grow together with the wheat*, and encouraging to the utmost the cultivation of the latter—instead of being contented to be despised and to suffer, after appealing to, warning, and endeavouring to persuade mankind; *the Church of Rome*, in the resistless plenitude of its power, *proceeded to pull up the tares*, and to punish with torture and death, the opponents of its faith and discipline. It resolved to root up and to burn the tares of heresy and heretics. It is useless to discuss at length the truth or falsehood of the imputations, cast upon those whom the Church called heretics. All were heretics who doubted concerning the Catholic, that is, the Romish faith, or who neglected to observe those things which the Church of Rome commanded, or decreed should be observed¹. Other definitions of heresy may be given², but

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

¹ Hæreticus est qui dubitat de fide Catholicâ, et qui negligit servare ea quæ Romana Ecclesia statuit, seu servare decreverat. — Lyndwode — De Hæreticis.

² See, for the numerous and various

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

all may be included, or summed up in the refusal of obedience to Rome. The most opposite and contradictory accounts are given of the real or supposed heretics³; but whatever may have been their various errors, they were all described and condemned as persons who were known or believed not to have embraced the decisions and opinions of the ecclesiastical rulers of the Church. The innovations of these ecclesiastical rulers were more heretical, because more novel and contradictory, than many of the doctrines of the heretics themselves. It would be absurd to attempt to justify the opposite errors of both parties. The Christian will be comforted by observing how much scriptural truth was maintained by both in common. Though some nobles, and even bishops, were said to be heretical in all countries, the heretics were generally the poorer people; and being so, we may justly believe that they maintained the Christian doctrine in greater purity than those who were always perverting it by false learning; or wresting it to the purposes of avarice or ambition. They were known by various names, which alluded either to their declarations, that they abhorred the innovations of Rome; or that they were of the poorer and depressed classes of society. They were Cathari, as pure, or free from the encroaching errors of their superiors; Paterini, from their sufferings; Petrobrussians, Henricians, Arnoldists, from their leaders; Insabbati, from their wooden shoes, or sabots. Sometimes they were named from the countries or cities in which they abounded; Lombards, Albigenses, Bulgarians, Bohemians. They were called by opprobrious and disgraceful epithets, as might have been expected, and especially Manicheans. Like the Church of Rome itself, they were not free from error. They may, however, be said, with few exceptions, to have maintained the same truths which distinguished the primitive Church up to the Council of Chalcedon; which are now held by such of the episcopal Churches as are not permitted by Rome to hold communion with her; and which are not anxious to do so, till there has been a revision of her articles of faith, a surrender of her claims to domination, and a formal resignation of her pretensions to punish the body

definitions of heresy, and of the contradictions which they include, the subsequent section on heresy.

³ See the references, Gervase, Hoveden, &c., in Collier.

for the benefit of the soul. They held the sufficiency of Scripture as the one source of faith and religious conclusions; the apostles' creed; two sacraments; three orders—bishops, priests, and deacons. They rejected, with the episcopal Churches at present, images, transubstantiation, relics, masses for the dead, purgatory, monasticism, and the papal supremacy⁴.

The confusion arising from the numerous epithets by which the heretics are distinguished, sometimes embarrasses the student of history. The subject may, perhaps, be illustrated by what we see in England at this hour. Baptists, Arians, Wesleyans, Independents, Swedenborgians, and Quakers, all differ from each other; and depart to a greater or less extent from some truths of the Gospel. They disagree more among themselves, in many instances, than with the Church of England. They are all known by the general name of Dissenters, among those who, either from ignorance, indifference, or contempt, give themselves no trouble to become acquainted with the peculiar tenets of each; and they are stigmatized by many with terms of reproach or scorn. So it was, also, with the supposed or real heretics of this period. They differed among themselves. They rejected the authority of the Church. The various epithets described their peculiarities. Some one most expressive term of reproach, such as Manichean, described the mass. Let us now imagine that the doctrines of toleration, being either unknown or disregarded, the whole English nation resolves

⁴ Venema, Hist. Eccles. tom. vi. sec. 115—126.

The usual term of reproach by which they were designated was Manichees, or Manicheans. The chief are principally known by the name of Albigenes, from the city of Albi. Mr. Hallam, in his History of the Middle Ages, vol. iii. chap. ix. part ii. pp. 461—465, quotes from Planta's History of Switzerland, an extract from a MS. Chronicle of the Abbey of Corbey, of the twelfth century, a complete explanation of the reason for which the heretics were called Manicheans. It was not because they maintained the absurdities of Manes; but it was given as a term of reproach because they refused to worship images, saints, and relics, and lived abstemiously—*nonunt imagines venerari, reliquias sanctorum aversantur, olera*

comedunt, &c. Appellamus eos idcirco Manichæos.

See the refutation of Mr. Hallam's opinion that the heretics of this day were justly called Manicheans, in Jones's Ecclesiastical Lectures, vol. ii. Lect. xl. xli.

Albigensis, Albigentium, was the name given to the whole territory of the Viscount of Albi, Beziers, and Carcassone; hence became from this time a name, at first, against all those who fought against the crusaders, and then for the Cathari.—History of Languedoc, iii. 553.

In this contest, when Arnold was asked by the crusaders, *Quid faciemus, Domine? Non possumus discernere inter bonos viros et malos: i. e.* between the Romanist and the heretic: he replied, *Cædite eos, novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus.*

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

to extirpate these heresies and heretics. Let us imagine the king and the archbishop popular among the influential portion of the people, supported by the bishops, assisted by the convocation, strenuously aided by the nobility, the army, the gentry, the yeomanry, and even the peasantry of the country upheld by the laws of ages, and honoured for their zeal in identifying their resolutions with the laws of God—let us, I say, imagine that all these commence a war of cruel mockings, and scourging, and torture, and death, against all dissenters of whatever name, opinions, or behaviour. Legal severity and treachery in their beginnings, are always disguised under the mask of moderation and candour. The tribunals, or the preachers, who would be sent forth to execute the *public justice*, as *these intolerant mandates would be called*, would begin by exhorting the incorrigible to change their conclusions; and to be converted to the opinion of the majority. As the matter related to religion, the assumed moderation of those who would attempt to enforce the decisions of the Church, would be encouraged and supported by the convocation, with the archbishop at its head; in order to give its decrees ecclesiastical sanction, for the intended suppression of heresy. The war would begin, and the result would be, the temporary extermination of the opposition to the arbitrary despotism.

Such was the conduct of the universal Church, or of the greater part of the Churches of which it was composed. It was not Alexander only who began the crusade against heresy, in this hour of darkness. The heads of the whole Church resolved to extirpate heresies and heretics. The Emperor Frederic was their bitter foe. The Kings of England and France sent the Bishops of Berry and Narbonne, of Bath and Poitiers, with a cardinal legate, and several other ecclesiastics; to restore the heretics to the Church, or to expel them from its communion. The confessions of faith by the heretics were declared to be unsatisfactory, and they were excommunicated⁵. A general council, the convocation of the universal Church, was summoned by Alexander. The Archbishops of Dublin and of Tuam, with five or six Irish suffragans, and other prelates from Scotland, obeyed the summons; and swore, on their arrival in England, on their way to Rome, that they would do nothing against the interest of the king or king-

⁵ Hoveden, ap. Collier, vol. i. p. 390.

dom. Four English bishops—Durham, Norwich, Hereford, and Bath, attended the council. The more bitter war against heretics and heresy, which has continued even till our own times, may be said to have begun from the holding by Alexander the Third Council of Lateran ⁶.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

Synopsis of the Eleventh General Council.

Council XII.	Third Lateran Council ⁷ .
Date.	A. D. 1179. March 5th to the 19th ⁸ .
Number of Bishops.	Three hundred ⁹ .
By whom summoned.	Alexander III. ¹
President.	The Pope ² .
Why and against what opinions.	To decide upon the election of popes. To settle questions of discipline. To adopt measures for the suppression of heresies ³ .
Against whom.	Cathari—Publicans—Paterini—Albigenses, and others ⁴ .
Chief decrees and canons.	The first canon ordained that the election of no Pope should be valid, unless at least two-thirds of the cardinals should form the majority. The second condemns Octavian, Guido, and John, the antipopes. III. to XIX. reforms in the Church ⁵ .
Penalties.	Excommunications—Proscriptions—Anathemas.
Sufferers.	The Albigenses, and all denominations of heretics.
Emperor.	Frederic I.
Pope.	Alexander III.

⁶ The Third Lateran Council was under Frederic I. and Alexander III. Europe had been divided into parties by the contentions for the pontificate between Alexander and Octavian, Guido, and John. This strife was

still further increased by the condemnation of the Albigenses to the merciless vengeance of their enemies.

⁷ Palmer argues that the Third Lateran Council was not œcumenical, because the Latin bishops only were

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

We may observe here, that many enactments of this council continue to form a portion of the canon law of England at present. I therefore notice the subject of each act.

I. No pope duly elected, unless at least two-thirds of the cardinals agree in his appointment.

summoned. Neither were any bishops of the Oriental Church present. The Western Church esteems it to be one of the universal councils. The bull of Alexander is addressed only to the bishops of Italy; but he sent legates throughout Christendom to invite the prelates from all Churches. Two legates came to England, but they took an oath to do nothing to the king's prejudice.—Collier, i. 389; Palmer's Treatise on the Church, i. 217.

⁸ Venema, vi. 87; Concilia, x. 1505; Binius, iii. 560; Du Pin, x. 207; De Lahogue, Tractatus, &c., p. 435; Grier, p. 174; Bellarmine, ii. 9.

⁹ See the references, ut supra.

¹ Alexander summoned the council. The summons (Lab. x. 1506) did not mention any heretics or heresies by name; it was confined to general expressions only. It begins by remarking that thorns and thistles grow in the field of the Lord, which is the Church; declares the power of the pope in the language of Jeremiah, "I have placed thee over the nations to pull down and to destroy, to build and to plant;" and decrees the calling of the council—"ad promulganda quæ salutem fidelium visa fuerint expedire, de diversis partibus personas ecclesiasticas decrevimus evocandas.") The bull concludes with that kind of devotional and scriptural language in which the assumptions of the Church of Rome are so generally conveyed. It calls upon the ecclesiastics, &c. to come to Rome, that God leading them, and the grace of the Holy Spirit co-operating with them, we may by our united council and effort lift up the ark of God, as well by correcting enormities, as in resolving upon those things which are pleasing to God.

² See the authorities, ut supra, note 8.

³ Binius gives a particular detail of the offences with which those heretics are charged, whose conduct is to be adjudged by the councils—*Inter multa dogmata, quæ iis attribuntur, hæc sunt potissima: Romano pontifici non esse obediendum; ejus decreta nullius*

esse momenti; a judicio sanguinis simpliciter omnibus esse abstinendum; laicos justos consecrare et absolvere posse; sacerdotes impios potestatem consecrandi et absolvendi amittere: semel tantum in anno, idque in Cœna Domini, absque forma verborum, Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo septies Pater Noster, et benedicendo panem et vinum consecrabant. Indulgentias per prelatos Ecclesiæ datas irridebant, purgatorium, sanctorum invocationem, et miracula in Ecclesia fieri posse negabant. . . . dies festos, jejunia Ecclesiæ, Salutationem Angelicam, et Symbolum Apostolorum contemnebant. . . . omneque juramentum prorsus illicitum esse docebant; cum multis aliis.—Bini Concil. iii. 563, 564.

⁴ A modern writer, of whom I am anxious to speak only with respect, on account of his learning and services to the Church, seems to deserve the disapprobation of his readers by the manner in which he speaks of this Third Council of Lateran. The heretics called Cathari, Paterini, or Publicani, were, he says, for very good reasons excommunicated.—Treatise on the Church of Christ, designed chiefly for students in theology, by the Rev. William Palmer, of Worcester College, Oxford, 2 vols. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 217.

⁵ A translation of a few of the clauses of the twenty-seventh canon of this council, has been already given in the brief abstract of the several acts of the council. It is far too long to insert as a note in the present place; and as a section will be expressly appropriated to the laws against heresy according to their progressive dates, the consideration of the enactment of this Council of Lateran, which is designed to destroy heresy of every denomination, root and branch, must be deferred. Its rigorous and inhuman injunctions may be found at length in the Concilia, x. 1522, and in Du Pin, x. 91. See also Reinerius, Sacco. c. iv. p. 54; and for the tenets taught by those against whom the decree of this Lateran Council was more especially directed, see Du Pin, x. 89.

II. Deposés Octavian, Guido, and John, the pseudo-popes; annuls all their ordinations, and excommunicates all who conspire to support the schism.

III. Decrees that none under 32 years of age shall be bishops, nor priests under 25: both to be moral men.

IV. Rules for visitations, and for protecting the inferior clergy from the oppression of bishops and archdeacons.

V. Requires that a person for ordination, shall have a title and a certain income.

VI. Rules to be observed in making appeals in ecclesiastical courts.

VII. Prohibits fees for induction to benefices, burials, blessing of nuptials, conferring sacraments, and any new exaction.

VIII. No preferment to be promised till vacant, and when vacant to be filled by proper persons within six months.

IX. Forbids the admission of excommunicated persons into churches, and Knights Templars and Hospitallers from receiving churches from the hands of laymen.

X. Prohibits the reception of monks into religious houses for money.

XI. Forbids clergymen living with females, and visiting nuns; and condemns unnatural crimes.

XII. Prohibits the clergy from pleading as advocates in secular courts.

XIII. None to hold more than one ecclesiastical office under pain of deposition.

XIV. Restrictions on conferring livings on incumbents. Christian burial to be denied to such as withhold tithes.

XV. Prohibits the purchase of episcopal jurisdiction; and provides against other acts of injustice.

XVI. Ordains that the affairs of chapters shall be ruled by a majority.

XVII. Settles the manner of proceeding, when more than one person has been presented to a church by lay patrons.

XVIII. Provides that every cathedral shall have a school-master to teach the youthful members.

XIX. No taxes to be levied on churches and ecclesiastics, under pain of anathema, unless by consent.

XX. Condemns tournaments.

XXI. Establishes and confirms the Truce of God.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

XXII. Protects those engaged in husbandry from feudal service and new taxes.

XXIII. Allows lepers to have churches and cemeteries of their own, on specified conditions.

XXIV. Forbids the plunder of shipwrecked persons. None to serve in the Saracen armies, or supply them with arms.

XXV. Denies the communion and Christian burial to manifest usurers.

XXVI. Forbids Jews and Saracens from having Christian slaves, and anathematizes those who prefer Saracens to Christians.

XXVII. Anathematizes the Cathari, Publicans, and Paterini, their defenders and receivers, and those who show them kindness, or trade with them. The same sentence is passed on the people of Brabant, Arragon, Navarre, &c. who put Christians to death. Two years' penance forgiven those who take up arms against them to subdue them. Those who disobey their bishops in these injunctions to be denied the body and blood of Christ. Those who march against heretics, as well as those who visit the Holy Sepulchre, to be secured in their possessions and persons. Excommunication to be enforced on those who injure them, and not to be taken off till satisfaction is made; with many other awful and presumptuous anathemas and proscriptions⁶.

Alexander III. died in the year 1181, the same year in which the King of France made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Becket. It was the same year, also, in which Henry, the Bishop of Albi, collected troops for Gascony, to expel the heretics. The sight of the soldiers terrified the people, and they recanted their errors. On the retirement of their military converters, they recant their recantation. The burning of heretics on the Loire and other places began. Many of the persons who were condemned to this cruel death, appear to have been eccentric or insane.

⁶ Labb. Concil. x. 1507, seqq.

CHAPTER VII.

The power of Rome at its greatest height.—Fourth Council of Lateran.

CLXXI. *Lucius III., died 1185.*

Six popes reigned, and thirty-six years elapsed between the Third and the Fourth Councils of Lateran. The Third Council of Lateran had decreed that the new popes should be elected by a majority of at least two-thirds of the cardinals. Humbald, or Hubald, an Etruscan, cardinal, Bishop of Ostia, succeeded Alexander by this mode of election. He obtained in consequence much unpopularity at Rome. We are briefly considering, under each pontificate, the circumstances by which every succeeding Bishop of Rome added something to the greatness of his see. To this pontiff, who ruled the Church four years only, some attribute the founding of that fearful tribunal—that proper executioner of the legislature of that Church which had now become the kingdom of this world—the Inquisition.

When Christ commanded his apostles to go forth to establish his religion, “I send you forth,” He said, “*as sheep among wolves*; and the time cometh when he that killeth you will think he doeth God service.” The successors of the apostles, in this fatal, blood-stained age, seemed to have received a mission of a very opposite nature. They went forth *as wolves among sheep*. They thought that by slaying others they did God service. The divine commission of Christ to the clergy is—Go teach; make disciples; and *endure suffering*. The manner in which that commission was

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

now executed was—Go teach; make disciples; and cause and *inflict suffering*. The remainder of the history of the ecclesiastical power is principally the detail of the wars against opinions, partly good and partly evil, which had not received the sanction of its own ministers. Christianity is like the food we eat; it is the gift of God, but it may be abused. It is like the light of heaven; we may walk by its beams, or close our eyes to its brightness. It preaches liberty, but liberty may be perverted. It enforces submission to authority, but authority may teach and enforce error; and they who are themselves in error, will cling more closely to an absurdity when they are reprov'd, hunted, imprisoned, and persecuted by brethren who are guilty of greater errors than themselves. Alexander III. is said by many to have been the founder of the Inquisition by the edict of the Council of Tours, 1163. Others date its commencement from the Council of Verona, under Lucius, 1184; and others again from the pontificate of Innocent III., and in various years, both before and after the Fourth Council of Lateran. Whatever be the different opinions respecting the origin of the Inquisition, it is certain that its commencement may be dated from about this time. This, therefore, seems to be the proper place to consider the laws against heresy which preceded the establishment of this tribunal, ending with the bull of Lucius; the circumstances which more immediately caused its institution; and the consequences of its permanency to the Churches.

Some of the most severe and fearful laws against heresy in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian, have been already considered. We have traced, also, the growth of the power of Rome from the period of the purity of its doctrines, and the simplicity of its early bishops, up to the period when supremacy was claimed by Nicholas. We have noticed the exercise of that assumption by Gregory VII.; and the continued increase of its actual influence under the successors of Gregory to the accession of Lucius. It may be expedient here to review the question of the punishment of heresy as it is now brought more prominently before us; and its consideration seems necessary for a proper understanding of the whole argument.

By the analysis of the laws against heretics contained in the Theodosian code, which I have given in its place¹, it will be found that confiscation, banishment, imprisonment, forfeiture of testamentary privilege, torture, and death, were legalized in those early times. These enactments were included in the codex of Justinian² with considerable additions and rigours, placing heretics as guilty beyond the reach of human mercy. The imperial edicts of Leo and other emperors, encouraged spies and informers to bring accusations before the ecclesiastical courts; and these, though not always designated by the term used afterwards to denote the great tribunals of the West for the condemnation of heretics, may be regarded as the original elements of the system of persecution. Absolute authority to take cognizance of crimes against states, as well as those against Churches, was granted to the court of every archbishop and bishop³.

The division of the empire after the death of Charlemagne, and the want of energy in his successors, caused the influence of the ecclesiastical power to be still further extended over Church and state. By a decree of Charlemagne, designed principally to purify the rural districts from vice and impiety, every bishop had been required to visit his diocese at least once a year; and among other things, to search after, and examine into, all defilements of the Gentiles⁴. By another law of this great emperor⁵, bishops are also required to proceed round their dioceses to make inquiries concerning evils which are contrary to God⁶. The unlimited jurisdiction

¹ See supra, book ii. ch. viii.

² See supra, book ii. chap. ix., and Cod. Just. lib. i. tit. iv. to xii.

³ "Sanximus, sicut edicti nostri forma declarat, sententias episcoporum, quolibet genere prolatas, sine aliquâ ætatis discretione, inviolatas semper incorruptasque servari: scilicet, ut pro sanctis semper ac venerabilibus habeatur, quicquid episcoporum fuerit sententiâ, terminatur. . . . Omnes itaque causæ, quæ vel prætorio jure vel civili tractantur, episcoporum sententiis terminatæ perpetuo stabilitatis jure firmantur: nec liceat ulterius retractari negotium, quod episcoporum

sententiâ deciderit."— De Electione Judicii Episcopalis cuivis indulta, de que sententiæ ejus vi. Extrav. de Episc. Jud. Cod. Theod. Gothof. vol. vi. p. 303; also, Capit. Carol. M. lib. vi. c. 281, and Gratian, 36, xi. q. 1.

⁴ "Statuimus, ut singulis annis unusquisque episcopus parochiam suam sollicitè circumeat . . . investigare, etc. omnes spurcicias gentilium."— Capit. Carol. A.D. 769.

⁵ Ibid. A.D. 813.

⁶ "Ut episcopi circumeant parochias sibi commissas, et ibi inquirendi studium habeant de malis quæ contraria sunt Deo."

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

and discretionary power with which the episcopacy was invested by these laws, may be compared with the canons of Lateran, on the authority of which the Inquisition became established; the affinity between them will be readily discerned. Quite enough was inscribed in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian, and in the capitularies of Charlemagne, to justify Innocent III. and his successors in reorganizing the system of persecution: and the words of the decrees which empowered the bishops to search after, apprehend, try, judge, and condemn heretics, are nearly the same as those used in the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils. About the middle of the ninth century, the ecclesiastical authority, under the influence of these decrees, attained the summit of its power. The metropolitan prerogatives had not yet been yielded up to Rome, and the episcopacy had acquired dominion over, not only communities, but over kings. King Lothaire was brought to trial in 842, and deposed; and Charles the Bald in 858, both by the bishops of France.

Passing over the numerous canons framed upon the re-scripts, bulls, edicts, and epistles of Nicholas I. and Gregory VII., which further tend to stimulate and strengthen the inquisitorial functions of the bishops; passing over, also, the acts of the synod of Tours, in 1163, and that of Lateran, in 1179, which both proscribed, with fearful anathemas, the Albigenses, and all who harboured them, all who dealt with them, conversed with them, or countenanced them in any manner,—we come to the celebrated circular proclamation, or charge, of Lucius III., which embodied the proceedings of the Council of Verona, A.D. 1184, for the extermination of heretics; and in which many of the most stringent laws alluded to appear remodelled⁷. The following clauses show the additional force which the canonists of the hierarchy gave

⁷ It is introduced by this heading—*Hæreticus, male sentiens, vel male docens de sacramentis ecclesiæ, excommunicatus est; et convictus, nisi se correxerit, et errorem abjuraverit, si clericus est, degradetur, et curiæ seculari tradatur: per quam etiam laicus punietur. Eadem etiam est pœna suspectis de hæresi, si se non correxerunt, et relapsis omnino au-*

dientia denegatur. Seculares principes, qui jurare nolunt, de ecclesia contra hæreticos defendenda, excommunicantur, et terræ eorum supponuntur interdicto: civitates vero ipsorum resistentes, aliarum commercio et episcopali dignitate privantur: exempti vero subsunt ordinariis super his, quæ contra hæreticos instituuntur.

to decrees, when any special object was to be sanctioned, by interweaving ancient authorities together, till the laws were perfected which commenced the more intolerable inquisition⁸.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

This is sufficient to show the manner in which the capture, trial, judgment, and execution of heretics was ordained under the administration of the episcopal tribunals; which had long possessed all the powers of the Inquisition before their prerogatives, which they exercised individually and at discretion, were usurped exclusively by the pontifical court; as soon as the vigorous measures subsequently introduced by Innocent III. were brought into operation. Scarcely any thing was left for Innocent to do in the establishment of what afterwards was significantly termed the Inquisition, but to complete the labours of the bishops and of Lucius III., by instituting the Dominican and Franciscan orders. To these he committed the whole work of hunting out, accusing, prosecuting, judging, sentencing, and executing, and "letting slip the dogs of war" on all who presumed to think differently from the members of the papal communion. The progress and acts of the Inquisition, in its future stages, will necessarily require notice under other pontiffs; it is, therefore, only necessary here to add, that as the bishops' courts, to which proceedings against heretics were as yet confined, were not sufficiently lost to all sense of humanity to carry on the work of death fast enough for the satisfaction of the "head of the Church," they were to be cast off as unfit for the "holy office," of which the Dominicans and Franciscans were to be future conductors.

⁸ Ad hæc, de episcopali consilio et suggestionem culminis imperiali et principum ejus, adjecimus ut quilibet archiepiscopus vel episcopus, per se, vel per archidiaconum suum . . . parochiam, in qua fama fuerit hæreticos habitare, circumeat: et ibi tres vel plures boni testimonii viros, vel etiam totam viciniam, si expedire videbitur, jurare compellat, quod, si quis hæreticos ibidem scierit; vel aliquos occulta conventicula celebrantes, seu a communi conversatione, fidelium vita et moribus dissidentes, eos episcopo vel archidiacono studeat indicare. Epis-

copus autem vel archidiaconus ad præsentiam suam convocet accusatos, qui, nisi se ad eorum arbitrium juxta patriæ consuetudinem et objecto reatu purgaverint; vel, si post purgationem exhibitam in pristinam fuerint relapsi perfidiam, episcoporum judicio puniantur. Si qui vero ex eis, jurationem superstitione damnabili respuentes, jurare forte noluerint; ex hoc ipso hæretici judicentur, et pœnis, quæ prænominate sunt, pereantur. — Decretal. Greg. lib. v. tit. vii. c. ix. De Hæreticis, Boehmer, vol. ii. p. 745; also, Labb. Concilia, x. 1737.

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

It is, however, worthy to be observed, that in England, from the year 1400, when the act *De Hæretico Comburendo* was passed, until its repeal in 1678, the jurisdiction concerning heretics was not given up to the mendicants, but retained by the bishops⁹. Every diocesan, without the intervention of a synod, might convict of heretical tenets; and unless the heretic abjured his opinions; or if, after abjuration, the convict relapsed, the sheriff was bound *ex officio*, if required by the bishop, to condemn the unhappy victim to the flames, without waiting for the consent of the crown.

If the human mind exercises that first and noblest privilege with which its Creator has endowed it—the searching after truth—there will unavoidably be, according to the degrees of evidence; the weakness or strength of intellect; the biasses of education, or other circumstances by which conclusions are affected; a great variety of opinions, which, however harmless, would not be sanctioned by authority. Some laws against heresy could consequently be directed against certain specific unauthorized conclusions, or opinions, to which the inquirers had arrived. When, however, these would be found to be endless, the laws against heresy would be enacted not only against the conclusions themselves, but against the exercise of the privilege by which men arrived at those conclusions. On the review of the laws against heresy in the canon law as it existed between Justinian and Lucius, with the definitions of the crime, and the numerous sects who held opinions not sanctioned by authority; it will be found that the war which Rome and the ecclesiastical power first waged against heresy, was made against some specific conclusions; and then, against the right, privilege, and blessing of exercising the reason at all, unless in the manner pleasing to the Churches, and with deference to the conclusions at which they had previously arrived.

We find a long list of real, supposed, and undoubted heresies from the apostolic age to the middle of the sixth century in Gratian¹⁰, copied from the Pseudo-Decretals, of which I subjoin an abridged translation. I call those real and undoubted heretics, not who differed merely from the Church

⁹ 1 Hal. P. C. 395.

¹⁰ Boehmer, *Corpus Juris Canon.* ii. 859, edit. 1747.

of Rome, but whose conclusions were contrary to the Scriptures.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

I. Simonians, named after Simon Magus, whom Peter cursed, because he wished to purchase from the apostles, with money, the power of conferring the Holy Spirit.

II. Menandrians, from Menander, a magician, a disciple of Simon Magus, who asserted that the world was not made by God, but by angels.

III. Basilidians, from Basilides, who, among other blasphemies, denied that Jesus suffered.

IV. Nicolaitans, from Nicolas, a deacon of the Church of Jerusalem, who, with Stephen and others, was ordained by Peter. Leaving his wife on account of her beauty, he said that any one who wished might take her. John in the Apocalypse alludes to him, "Thou hast this, that thou hast hated the deeds of the Nicolaitans."

V. The Gnostics. They were so named from their affectation of superior knowledge. The name was given to a great variety of sects.

VI. Carpocratians, called from Carpocrates, who said that Christ was only man, and produced by both sexes.

VII. Cerinthians, from Cerinthus. They, among other things, observed circumcision. They taught that, after the resurrection, there would be 1000 years of voluptuousness. Hence, in the Greek, they are called Chiliastæ, and in the Latin, Millenarii.

VIII. Nazarenes, so called, because, while they confessed Christ (who was called a Nazarene from the city of that name) to be the Son of God, they yet observed all parts of the old law.

IX. Ophites, from the serpent, in Greek called ophis—*ὄφις*. They worshipped the serpent, saying, that he introduced the knowledge of virtue into Paradise.

X. Valentinians, from Valentinus, a Platonic philosopher, who introduced æons—*αἰῶνας*, that is, ages—into the origin of the creative Deity; that Christ took nothing of the body from the Virgin, but passed through her as through a canal.

XI. Appellitæ, from Appelles, who made the Creator of

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

the world a glorious angel, but not the supreme God; and affirmed that the god of the Jews was this malevolent god, and that Christ was not manifest as God in reality, but as man in appearance¹.

XII. Archontiaci, who held that the universe which God hath made is the work of archangels.

XIII. Adamites, so called because they imitated the nakedness of Adam. They also prayed naked, and men and women met together naked.

XIV. Cainites, so called because they adored or worshipped Cain.

XV. Sethites. They took their name from Seth, the son of Adam, saying that he was Christ.

XVI. Melchizedecians, so called, because they affirmed that Melchizedec, the priest of God, was not man, but an attribute of the Deity.

XVII. Angelics, because they worshipped angels.

XVIII. Apostolics. They took their name from this cause, that having nothing properly their own, they would by no means receive those who used what was their own in this world.

XIX. Cerdonians, named from Cerdon, who held two contrary principles, good and bad.

XX. Marcionists, called from Marcion, a Stoic philosopher, who, following the dogma of Cerdon, asserted that there was one God good, and another evil, as the two foundations of creation and goodness.

XXI. Artotyrites, called from their oblation, because they offered bread and cheese, saying, that by the first men an oblation was made of the fruits of the earth, and of the fruits of the flock.

XXII. Aquarii, because they only put water in the chalice of the Sacrament.

XXIII. Severians, sprung from Severus, who drank no wine. They neither received the Old Testament, nor believed in the resurrection.

XXIV. Tatians, from Tatian; who are also called Encratitæ (continent), because they abominated flesh.

¹ The account of Gratian is obscure, de Hæresibus, No. 23, vol. viii. p. 7, but the student may refer to Augustine, Benedictine edition.

XXV. Alogians, so called, as if without the Word, for the Word in Greek is called *λόγος*. They believed not the Word to be God; and rejected the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse.

XXVI. Cataphrygians took their name from a province in Phrygia (Perpuza), where they flourished. Their authors were Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla. They asserted that the Holy Spirit did not descend upon the apostles, but upon themselves.

XXVII. Cathari, so named on account of their purity; for, glorying in their own merits, they denied forgiveness of sins to the penitent. They condemned widows who marry again, as adulteresses. They declared themselves holier than others.

XXVIII. Paulianists, from Paul of Samosata, who said that Christ was not eternal, but had a beginning from the Virgin Mary.

XXIX. Hermogenians, called after Hermogenes, who, introducing unproduced matter, compared it to the uncreated God, asserting that it was the mother of the elements, and a goddess, whom the apostle reproved as in bondage to the elements.

XXX. Manicheans took their rise from a Persian called Manes. He held two principles and substances; *i. e.* good and bad; and asserted that souls flowed from God as from a fountain. He rejected the Old Testament, and received only part of the New.

XXXI. Anthropomorphites, so called, because they thought that God hath human members.

XXXII. Hierachites, from Hieraches. They received only monks, despised marriage, and did not believe that little children obtained the kingdom of heaven.

XXXIII. Novatians, from Novatus, a Presbyter of Rome, who, attempting to invade the sacerdotal chair in opposition to Cornelius, objected to receive apostates, and rebaptized the baptized.

XXXIV. Montanists, so called because in times of persecution they lay hid among the mountains, by which custom they separated themselves from the Catholic Church.

XXXV. Ebionites, named from Ebion, or from the He-

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

brew word signifying poverty. They believed that Christ was but a righteous man of human origin. Hence they might be duly called Ebionites from poverty of understanding; for they were semi-Jews, and so received the Gospel that they might at the same time carnally obey the law.

XXXVI. Photinians, from Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium, in Gallo-Græcia, who, restoring the heresy of the Ebionites, asserted that Christ was conceived from the natural connexion of Joseph and Mary.

XXXVII. Aërians, called after Aërius: they refused to offer sacrifice for the dead.

XXXVIII. Aëtians, from Aëtius, called also Eunomians, from Eunomius, a dialectitian, and disciple of Aëtius, which name they generally take. They taught that the Son was unlike to the Father, and the Holy Ghost to the Son. They also held that no sin would be imputed to those who continued in the faith.

XXXIX. Origenists, from Origen, said that the Son cannot see the Father, nor the Holy Spirit the Son. They held, also, that in the beginning of the world souls sinned; and for their divers sins were expelled from heaven to earth into sundry bodies, as it were in chains, and by this means they were made pure.

XL. Noëtians, from Noëtus, who said that Christ, and the Father, and the Holy Spirit, were the same: they received the Trinity itself in the names of offices, not in persons. Whence, also, they are called Patripassians, because they said that God the Father suffered.

XLI. Sabellians are said to have arisen from the same Noëtus, whose disciple they allege Sabellius to have been; by whose name they are chiefly distinguished, and thence called Sabellians. They asserted one person to be Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.

XLII. Arians, from Arius, presbyter of Alexandria, who, denying that the Son was co-eternal with the Father, asserted a difference of substance in the Trinity, contrary to that which the Lord said, *I and the Father are one.*

XLIII. Macedonians, from Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, denied that the Holy Spirit is God.

XLIV. Apollinarists, from Apollinaris, said that Christ took a human body only, without a human soul.

XLV. Antidicomarites, called so, because they denied the virginity of Mary, affirming that after the birth of Christ, she had connexion with her husband.

XLVI. Metangismonites, take such name from *ἄγγος*—a vase; for they assert that the Son was within the Father, as a small vase is within a larger.

XLVII. Patritianists, from Patritius, who declared that the substance of human flesh was formed by the devil.

XLVIII. Colluthianists, from Colluthus, who said that God did not make evil, contrary to that which is written—*I, the Lord, create evil.*

XLIX. Florianists, from Florian, who asserted the contrary, and said that God created evil, in opposition to that which is written—*The Lord made all things good.*

L. Donatists, from Donatus, an African, who asserted that the Son was inferior to the Father, and the Holy Spirit to the Son, and rebaptized Catholics.

LI. Bonosians, from Bonosus, a bishop. They held that Christ was the Son of God by adoption, and not his own Son.

LII. Circumcelliones, so called because they were rustics. For the love of martyrdom they slew each other, and were slain by violence in order to be called martyrs.

LIII. Priscillians, from Priscillian, who concocted, in Spain, a heresy mixed with the errors of the Gnostics and Manichees.

LIV. Luciferians, from Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia. He condemned those bishops who, in the persecution of Constantius, agreed with the tenets of the Arians; and who, repenting of their error, desired to be received, and were received, into the Catholic Church; as Peter after his denial. On this account he withdrew from the communion of the Church.

LV. Jovianists, from Jovian, who asserted that there is no difference between married women and virgins; and no distinction between the abstinent, and those who eat with temperance.

LVI. Helvidians, from Helvidius, who said that Mary bore other sons to Joseph after Christ's nativity.

LVII. Paternians, from Paternus, who thought that the inferior parts of the body were made by the devil.

LVIII. Arabicians, from their having sprung up in Arabia. They said that the soul dies with the body, and that both will rise at the last day.

LIX. Tertullianists, from Tertullian, a presbyter of Carthage, who thought that the soul is not immortal, but corporeal; and that after death, the souls of wicked men are changed into demons.

LX. Tessaescædecaritæ, so named because they contended that Easter should be observed, with the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon.

LXI. Nyctages, from sleep; because they thought the observance of the night watchings appointed by the Church, to be superstitious.

LXII. Pelagians, from Pelagius, the monk. They placed free will before divine grace, saying, that the will is sufficient to fulfil the divine commands.

LXIII. Nestorians, from Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who maintained that the Blessed Virgin was not the mother of God, but of the man Christ only; that there was one person of the flesh, another of the deity; neither did he believe one Christ in the Word of God, and in the flesh; but separately and disjunctively, he preached that Christ as divine was the Son of God; and Christ as human was the son of man.

LXIV. Eutychians, from Eutyches, Abbot of Constantinople, who denied that Christ, after the assumption of the human, existed in two natures, and asserted that his nature was wholly divine.

LXV. Acephali, that is, without a head, no founder of them being known. These opponents of the three Chalcedon chapters, denied the unity or identity of two substances in Christ, and acknowledged but one nature in his person.

LXVI. Theodosians and Gaianites, from Theodosius and Gaianus, who, in the reign of Justinian, were ordained bishops in Alexandria. Following the errors of Eutyches and Dioscorus, they rejected the Council of Chalcedon. They asserted that, from two, there was one nature in Christ, which

the Theodosians contended was corrupt, and the Gaianites incorrupt.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

LXVII. Agnoïtes and Tritheists, sprung from the Theodosians, of whom the Agnoïtes are named from their ignorance, because to other errors they added this—that the Divinity of Christ is ignorant of the future things, which relate to the consummation of all things.

LXVIII. Tritheists are so called, because they said, that as there are three Persons in the Trinity, so also there are three Gods, contrary to that which is written, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord.*

Other heresies there are, says Gratian, without authors, and without names. Of these, some think strangely of God; others say, the divinity of Christ suffered; others give to the nativity of Christ from the Father, a beginning in time; others do not believe that by the descent of Christ into hell, a liberation of mankind took place; others deny the soul to be the image of God; others think that the souls of the wicked are changed into demons and into animals; others differ concerning the form of the world; others think there are many worlds; others make matter co-eternal with God; others walk with naked feet; others eat not with men. These heresies have sprung up against the Catholic faith, and have been condemned by the apostles, by the holy Fathers, or by councils; who, although they are divided among themselves by so many errors differing each from the other, yet, under the common name of heretic, are alike opposed to the Church of God.

Other remarkable heresies before the age of Lucius III., may be selected from Spanheim.

LXIX. Monothelites, so called from their principal dogma, that in Christ one will only operated, the Word willing and operating by himself; but in reality, they asserted against the Eutychians, the two natures in Christ—divine and human, though in denying the exercise of two wills, they neutralize the operation of Christ's human nature.

LXX. Iconoduli, called also Iconolatræ, names by which the worshippers of images were generally denoted.

LXXI. Felicians, from Felix, Bishop of Urgel, their author. They asserted that Christ, according to his Divine

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

nature, was truly the Son of God; but, according to his human nature, He was only so by adoption: from which latter opinion they were called Adoptians.

LXXII. Transubstantiators, so termed from their opinion that the sacramental bread and wine are changed by the act of consecration, from their own substance into that of the real flesh and real blood of Christ. Spanheim traces the origin of this heresy to the seventh synod of Constantinople, in 754, when the great image controversy was discussed.

LXXIII. Berengarians, from Berengarius, who denied the change of the substance of the bread and wine of the Eucharist into the true and proper body and blood of Christ: but he admitted that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

LXXIV. Waldenses. Various opinions prevail respecting the origin of this sect. By some it is said that Peter Waldo, a rich citizen of Lyons, was their founder, and conferred the title. Others say, they are called Vallenses from their chief seat being among the valleys of Piedmont. Others suppose their name to have been from *Wald*, a German word for *Wood*. The name Vaudois was given them from the place of their abode, says the learned historian, Dr. Allix², which the inhabitants called *Les Vaux de Lucerne et Angrogne*—the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne—whence came the Latin name *Vallenses*. The same author shows, also, that they separated from the Church of Rome long before Waldo's time. They held doctrines nearly the same as those which the Protestant Churches, from the time of the Reformation, have esteemed orthodox.

LXXV. Albigenes, from Albigeois, in Languedoc, the country in which they most prevailed. They were not of so much importance as to be noticed much in history before the twelfth century; and have frequently been confounded with the Waldenses, who were but their earlier brethren, and probably their parents. It is, however, a common error to suppose that the Albigenes, as well as the Waldenses, were not each of them early converts to the Gospel, and faithful adherents to the Church of Lyons, which was always their

² History of the Ancient Church of Piedmont, p. 175.

diocesan Church. They maintained the same inveterate objections to the doctrines and customs of the Church of Rome which the Waldenses had constantly preserved, and which are now almost universal.

LXXVI. Bogomili, called also Bogarmitæ, a sect whose tenets proved offensive to the Eastern Churches, on which account their founder, Basilius, was burnt in the time of Alexius Comnenus. It has been alleged by their enemies that they did not admit the incarnation of Christ; but other authors who mention them, do not allege against them the rejection of any fundamental doctrines.

LXXVII. Abelard, though an eminent theologian, is better known as an admirer of Eloise. He had a numerous school in Paris, and his disciples were much attached to his doctrines, which created the envy of those who had opposite interests at stake. He was guilty of believing that the mysteries of religious faith might be submitted to the scrutiny of reason, without endangering the cause of revealed truth; hence he incurred the condemnation of Rome.

LXXVIII. Arnold of Brescia, was another of the divines of this age who advocated the employment of reason in support, not in denial, of the truths of revelation. He asserted that Divine Truth could not suffer by such a test, nor those had cause to fear investigation who taught what revelation really was; but only those who taught *what it was not*. The supposed heretic was burnt alive amidst the exultations of the friends of Pope Hadrian IV. His particular followers were called Arnoldists.

LXXIX. Gilbert de la Porrée, another heresiarch of the same school as the two preceding, who on account of his profound learning being employed in teaching that human merit was less efficacious than divine grace, and that Christ alone was "the way," was condemned by Pope Eugene III., in a council of Rheims.

LXXX. Cathari, supposed to have sprung from a remnant of the ancient Manicheans. They are said to have come from the East into Thrace, whence they spread to Bulgaria, and thence into the western parts of Europe, where they became confounded with the Albigenses, whom their enemies called Manicheans and Cathari, by way of reproach. The name

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

corresponds with the modern term Puritans, and probably was given in reproach, from their professing greater purity than the Christians around them. In Germany, says Du Pin, we call them Cathari; in French, Tisserauds, because many of them followed the employ of weavers. They were a plain, unassuming, harmless, and industrious race of Christians, condemning by their doctrine and manners the whole apparatus of the reigning idolatry and superstition; placing true religion in the faith and love of Christ, and retaining a supreme regard for the divine word. Many decrees were passed against them in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, and very severe punishments inflicted upon them.

LXXXI. Paulicians, said to have first appeared in Europe in 1017, when they held religious assemblies at Orleans. They were accused of Manicheism, and many were burnt, though considered innocent of any heresy except refusing to worship the Virgin Mary and the Cross; and refusing to partake of the sacraments of the Roman and Greek Churches, whose doctrines and ceremonies they held to be contrary to apostolic precept and practice. They called themselves *Paterini*, from *patior*, to suffer; because like the martyrs, *expositi passionibus*, they were exposed to sufferings and martyrdom for the Catholic Faith.

LXXXII. Tanchelini, disciples of Tanchelinus, or Tanchemus, of Antwerp. They are said to have denied the corporeal presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist, which, without the absurdities alleged against them by those who held different opinions, was sufficient to procure their condemnation.

Such are the names of some of the principal heretics up to the time of Lucius III. We cannot, however, form an accurate idea of the meaning of the word *heresy* in the ages prior to this time, unless we consider the descriptions of heresy in general. Thought was heresy. Doubting was heresy. The receiving of a truth which the Church of Rome approved, without accepting it on the authority of the Church, was heresy. The right definitions of heresy which were adopted by Jerome and Augustine, and spoken of in the divisions in

the early churches, were adopted by the Church of Rome to describe the persons who hesitated to receive the successive novelties which it sanctioned. No distinction was made between the doctrines of the early Church, and of the Church of Rome in its later character. The consequence was, that the *application of the same terms*, and the same definitions, *to the denier of the Trinity, and to the doubter of the papal supremacy, made both guilty of the same crime, and deserving of the same punishment.* All these definitions are to be found in the canon law. The Church of Rome, which upheld the Divinity of Christ before its bishop became the supreme pontiff; and the Church of Rome, which still maintained that divinity, and submitted to the papal supremacy, was called the same Church. Resistance to this Church was the same crime of heresy. The resister was always the heretic. The chain of tradition could not be broken, and nothing but fatal experience could rectify the error.

We find the following definitions of heresy and heretics in Barbosa, Conrad Bruno, and in various portions of the canon law.

I. Heresy is said to be derived from the Greek word for election, because every one chooses, as we may say, that form of discipline for himself which he thinks best. Whoever, therefore, understands Scripture otherwise than the Holy Spirit by whom it was written demands, although he have not separated from the Church, he may yet be called a heretic.

II. A heretic is he who, for any temporal advantage, but chiefly for repute, and for the advancement of his own power, either broaches or follows false or new opinions.

III. Whoever in the Church shall hold any unsound or corrupt opinion, if being reprov'd, so that they may understand rightly and truly, they contumaciously resist; and are unwilling to amend their foul and poisonous dogmas, but rather resolve to defend them, let them be accounted heretics.

IV. A heretic is he, who thinks contrary to that which the Church proposes for belief.

V. It is heresy to assert that the pope is not the one prelate, who is the highest of all patriarchs.

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

VI. Seeing the pope is the vicar of Christ our Lord, he makes one and the same tribunal and consistory with Christ; therefore they are guilty of heresy who appeal from the judgment of the pope to Christ, as though they believed the pope were not the vicar of Christ.

VII. They are heretics who are receivers or friends of those who are excommunicated.

VIII. He who attempts to take away the privilege delivered to the Roman Church by the head of all churches Himself, without doubt falls into heresy. He should without doubt be called a heretic.

IX. If there be among any of those [belonging to the Albigenses, or sects] before named, who are unwilling to swear unequivocally that they will reject, on their oath, their damnable superstition; they are thus demonstrated to be heretics, and let them be punished.

X. Such as are found not to shun and abhor the way of the heresiarchs of Gascony, and the other provinces, and their followers; and observe not the decree by which we command that those who any where associate with them, or support, or screen them, or afford them any place wherein to harbour themselves, they are equally partakers of their heresy for having presumed so to do; and we pronounce the anathema on them, and the interdict of divine worship.

As the Church of Rome thus exclusively appropriated to itself the peculiar blessings which are promised to the Catholic Church in general; and as it referred all the ancient definitions of heresy and heretics, to the doubting and the doubters of any of its own novelties; so also did it lay the foundation of its own intolerable laws against heresy, on the severe language in which the general crime of heresy was condemned in the true Catholic Church by the Fathers. Language of this sort, for instance, is found in the canon law.

I. The offerings of heretics is a curse. It is not meet to accept blessings of heretics, for they are rather curses than blessings³.

³ This is a law founded on Canon 367, which declares, "that the eulogies xxxii. of the Laodicean Council, A.D. of heretics ought not to be received, for

II. Upon the blessings of heretics God sends curses. "I will curse your blessings:" that is, whatsoever is blessed by you shall be accursed by me ⁴.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

III. Things offered by heretics are displeasing to God. Thus God said, This people are all heretics in my sight; for every thing they do, and every thing they offer to me, whether vows either for honouring me, or appeasing, or for sin-offering, or trespass-offering, or burnt-offering, or for alms, or fasting, or abstinence from meats for continence sake; they will be all unclean in my sight. For although those things which are offered by such may seem righteous in their own sight, yet because they have been touched by him who is polluted in soul, all their offerings are polluted ⁵.

IV. They offer sacrilegious bread, and they give alms, and seem to follow after humility. I understand such burnt-offerings, when they are done faithfully; but when they forsook the knowledge of God, in vain did they boast themselves when they had separated from the head, that they remained members of the body ⁶.

V. God hates the sacrifices of heretics, and spurns them from Him; and as often as they congregate in the name of the Lord, He so abhors the stench of them that He shuts his nostrils ⁷.

VI. Without the Church of God, which is the body of Christ, there are neither priests duly consecrated, nor true sacrifices; none, unless from the condition of our nature the true pope recover us, and the true blood of the spotless Lamb cleanse us ⁸.

they are rather *alogies*, that is, nonsensical things, than *eulogies*, that is, blessings." By the term eulogies are meant the holy mysteries of the Lord's Supper, which the ancient Christians were accustomed to send from one church or diocese to another, in token of brotherhood and communion.—Laodicean Canons, Johnson's Vade Mecum, vol. ii. canon ii. p. 113, and canon xiv. p. 103, paraphrased by Gratian in Canon Law, cause i. quest. i. c. 66. Boehmer, edit. vol. i. p. 320.

⁴ See Malachi ii. 2, which has been introduced into the canon law of the Romish Church by Gratian, from the Writings of Jerome against Origen.

⁵ This is also a canon introduced

into the Roman code, from texts of Isaiah i. 13, 14, Haggai ii. 14, cited by Jerome in his violent invectives against Origen. 61. i. q. 1, Gratian.

⁶ The substance of this canon against heretics is compounded partly from Hosea ix. 4, 5, and ii. 11; and from the interpretation of Jerome. 63. i. q. 1, Gratian.

⁷ Isaiah i. 14; Amos v. 21, 22; Hosea viii. 13, ix. 4; Jeremiah x. 12, 14, from the invectives applied by Jerome to the tenets of Origen. 62. i. q. 1, Gratian. De Sacramentis Hæreticorum.

⁸ An extract from an epistle of Leo the Great to the Bishop of Constantinople about the year 451.—Gratian,

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

VII. It is not meet for the clergy or laity to communicate with heretics, because they are greater curses than blessings; neither is it lawful to pray either with heretics, or with schismatics⁹.

VIII. Hold firmly, and in nowise doubt, that every heretic or schismatic, although he may do many charitable deeds, and even shed his blood for the sake of Christ, will with the devil and his angels partake of the burning of everlasting fire; unless before the end of his life he be incorporated and established wholly into the Catholic Church. To every man who does not hold the unity of the Catholic Church, neither baptism, nor alms, however liberally bestowed; nor death itself suffered for the name of Christ, can profit any thing to eternal salvation¹⁰.

De Sacramentis Hæreticorum, 68. i. q. 1.

⁹ A canon of Pope Martin, supposed to have been decreed at a council held in Rome against Eutyches and others, who had caused much disorder in the Church in the seventh century, by their support of Monophysite doctrines.—Gratian, 67. i. q. 1. De Sacramentis Hæret.

¹⁰ From Augustine of Hippo, De Fide Catholica; Gratian, De Hæreticis; Decret. Greg. lib. v. tit. vii. c. 3.

As there may be some difficulty on the subject among students, I subjoin here an account of the manner of quoting the Roman Canon Law.

The Decree consists of three parts, of which the first contains 101 distinctions, each distinction being subdivided into canons: thus, 1 dist. c. 3, *Lex* (or 1 d. *Lex*), is the first distinction, and third canon, beginning with the word *Lex*.

The second part of the decree contains 36 causes, each cause comprehending several questions, and each question several canons: thus, 3 qu. 9. c. 2. *Caveant*, is cause the third, question the 9th, and canon the 2nd, beginning with *Caveant*.

The third part of the decree contains five distinctions, and is quoted as the first part, with the addition of the words *de Consecratione*: thus, *de Consecr.* dist. 2. can. *Quia corpus* (or can. *Quia corpus*, 35 dist. 2. d. *Consecr.*), means the second distinction, and the 35th canon of the treatise *de Consecra-*

tione, which chapter begins with *Quia corpus*.

THE DECRETALS are in three parts, of which the first contains Gregory's Decretals in five books, each book being divided into titles, and each title into chapters; and these are cited by the name of the title, and the number of the chapter, with the addition of the word *Extra*, or the capital letter X: thus, c. 3. *Extra de Usuris*, is the third chapter of the title in Gregory's Decretals, which is inscribed *De Usuris*, which title, by looking into the Index, is found to be the 19th of the 5th book. Thus also, c. cum contingat 36. X. de Offic. et Pot. Jud. Dec. is the 36th chapter, beginning with *cum contingat*, of the title in Gregory's Decretals, which is inscribed *de Officio et Potestate Judicis Delegati*; and which, by consulting the Index, we find is the 29th title of the first book. The sixth decretal, and the Clementine Constitutions, each consisting of five books, are quoted in the same manner as Gregory's Decretals; only, instead of *Extra*, or X, there is subjoined *in sexto*, or in 6, and in Clementinis, or in Clem. according as either part is referred: thus, c. si gratiose 5. de Rescript. in 6, is the 5th chapter, beginning with *si gratiose*, of the title *de Rescriptis*, in the 6th decretal; the title so inscribed being the 3rd of the 1st book: and *Clem. 1. de Sent. et Re Judic.* (or *de Sent. et R. J. ut calumniis*, in Clem.; or c. ut calumniis, 1. de Sent. et R. J. in Clem.), is the first chapter of the Clementine Constitu-

IX. Whoever has deservedly received the sentence of anathema, if he still desire to remain in his opinion, none shall have power to relax the decree ¹.

X. An obstinate heretic is eternally damned; to whom baptism is of no profit, neither alms-giving, nor martyrdom, nor any other good deed whatsoever, so that he may attain to eternal life ².

XI. Heretics are also to be excommunicated after death ³.

XII. Rather ought every one to submit to death, than to receive the sacrament of communion from the hand of a heretic ⁴.

XIII. He who is doubtful in matters of faith is an infidel; neither is any trust to be placed in those who are unacquainted with the true faith ⁵.

XIV. Let all decrees of the apostolic see be received, as

tions under the title de Sententiâ et re Judicatâ; which chapter begins with *ut calumniis*, and belongs to the xith title of the 2nd book.

THE EXTRAVAGANTS of John XXII. are contained in one book, divided into 14 titles: thus, *Extravag. ad Conditorem* Joh. 22. de V. S. means the chapter beginning with *Ad Conditorem*, of the Extravagants of John XXII.; title, *de Verborum Significationibus*. Lastly, the Extravagants of later popes are called *Communes*; being divided into 5 books, and these again into titles and chapters: thus, *Extravag. Commun. c. Salvator* de Præbend., is the chapter beginning with *Salvator*, among the *Extravagantes Communes*; title, *de Præbendis*.

¹ Leo, Epist. xiii. to the Patriarch of Constantinople, concerning the Eutychian heretics, has afforded the canonists this clause.—Gratian. 5. xxiv. q. 2.

² This is the interpretation, by Gratian, of the canon at the head of which it stands, taken from the work of Augustine, *De Fide Catholica*, and being an application of the judgments threatened by the Mosaic law against apostates from the faith (Deut. iv. 23, 26), which upon conversion into the canon in question thus decide—Firmissime tene, et nullatenus dubites, omnem hæreticum vel schismaticum, cum diabolo et angelis ejus, æterni ignis incendio participandum, nisi ante finem

vitæ Catholicæ fuerit incorporatus et redintegratus ecclesiæ.—Decret. Greg. lib. v. tit. vii. c. iii.

³ By the fifth general council held at Constantinople under the Emperor Justinian, some of the debates led to the decision that the writings of Origen, Arius, Macedonius, and others who had been long before dead, were heretodox. It was decreed that they might still be anathematized for their errors, and a law to that effect was consequently passed, from which comes the canon of the Church of Rome, of which the following is an extract—Sane profertur a quibusdam, qui dicunt, oportere post mortem hæreticos anathematizari, et sequi in hoc doctrinam sanctorum patrum, qui non solum viventes hæreticos condemnaverunt, sed et post mortem, utpote in sua impietate mortuos: sicut eos, qui injuste condemnati sunt, revocaverunt post mortem, et in sacris diptychis scripserunt.—See Fifth Gen. Counc. act. v.; Gratian, 6. xxiv. q. 2.

⁴ From the dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great, published about A.D. 593.—Gratian, 42. xxiv. q. 1.

⁵ Dubius in fide infidelis est, nec eis omnino credendum est qui fidem veritatis ignorant—alleged to be from a letter addressed by Pope Stephen to all bishops, about A.D. 256; but adjudged to be pseudo-Isidorian.—Decret. Greg. De Hæret. lib. v. tit. vii. c. 1.

BOOK III. though they came from heaven confirmed by the mouth of
 CHAP. St. Peter⁶.
 VII.

XV. He who defends the errors of others is much more damnable than they who err; because he not only errs, but is prepared to make good also, and to confirm the misunderstandings of him who erred to other persons; so that, because he becomes a teacher of error, not only is he a heretic, but he may be called also a heresiarch⁷.

XVI. A damnable heresy has now for some time appeared in the country about Toulouse, which having by degrees extended itself as a cancer, has at length infected many in Gascony, and other provinces. Wherefore we command all bishops and priests to keep watch, and to anathematize all who presume to give the followers of this heresy shelter, assistance, or protection. They are to take care, also, that none buy or sell with them, that every comfort of human intercourse being taken from them, they may be compelled to repent and turn from their error. And whoever attempts to oppose these commands, let him be considered an accomplice in their guilt, and share in their anathema. Let those, moreover, who shall be apprehended, be punished with the loss of all their estates, and be delivered to the custody of the catholic princes. And inasmuch as numbers of them frequently assemble from various places into one retreat, and who, excepting being unanimous in error, have no cause of meeting under one roof; let such conventicles, or places of resort, be diligently traced out and searched into, and prohibited with canonical severity⁸.

⁶ This is a decree which was passed in a council convoked at Rome by Agatho, A.D. 680, upon the affairs of the British Church, while under the government of the illustrious Archbishop Theodore. The dogma was afterwards circulated by a general epistle of Agatho to all Churches.—Gratian, Distinction xix. c. 2.

⁷ Nothing more need be said of this canon, than that it was borrowed from the rescripts of Urban II., who within a year after the death of Hildebrand inherited his autocratic spirit, as well as succeeded him in the holy see, by whom the Emperor Henry IV. was excommunicated, and Philip, King of France, deposcd.—32. xxiv. q. 3, Gratian.

⁸ His acts of tyranny, and restless activity in reducing civil sovereigns to submission to his supremacy, have been sufficiently exemplified in the pontificate of Alexander III., to prove that canons from him on every subject will be characterized by severity. The faith of the Waldenses, about the middle of the twelfth century, began to be rapidly embraced, and one of Alexander's objects in summoning the Council of Tours, was to aim at the life of every one who lived on neighbourly terms with the Waldenses, or their friends.—Concil. Turon. act iv. 1163, Concilia, x. 1419. This was the first attempt to annihilate the Churches of the Waldensian Christians.

XVII. Because in Gascony, Albigeois, and the parts round about Toulouse, and other places, the damnable perversity of those heretics whom they call Cathari, Publicani, Paterini, and by other names, gathers strength; so that now, not in private as elsewhere, but in public they manifest their error, and draw to their opinion the unsuspecting and the wavering; we therefore decree that they, their defenders and receivers, be anathematized; and we forbid, under anathema, that any person presume to keep them in their house, or to support them in their country, or to transact any sort of business with them. If they die in this state, let no oblation be offered for them, neither let them have Christian burial⁹.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

XVIII. Whoever shall be apprehended in evident heresy, if he be of the clergy, or of a feigned religious society, shall be deprived of the prerogative of the whole ecclesiastical order; and thus being deprived of every ecclesiastical office or benefice, shall be left to the decision of the secular power to undergo deserved punishment; unless, immediately after the discovery of his error, he shall of his own accord return to the unity of the Catholic faith, shall publicly abjure his error, at the desire of the bishop of the place, and give due satisfaction. But a layman, unless, as hath been decreed, his heresy having been abjured, and satisfaction given, he instantly return to the orthodox faith; shall be left to the decision of the secular prince, to receive punishment proportioned to his crime.

XIX. Those who are branded even by the suspicion of the Church, shall be subjected to the same sentence, unless they demonstrate their innocence by some proportionate proof, at the option of the bishop; according to the circumstances which have caused suspicion, and according to the rank of the suspected person. We decree that those also, who after the abjuration of error, or after having purged themselves by

⁹ This is a canon framed for the same object as the preceding, and promulgated by the same pope. It is part of the xxviii act of the Third Lateran Council, which denies Christian burial to all who deal with, or hold intercourse with, any persons called heretics. The date of the law is 1179, and as it includes no expression for sending forth commissioned spies to search out the

abodes and places frequented by those dissatisfied with the principles and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, it is not likely that any plan was yet contemplated for the institution of a system of inquisition, independent of the episcopal courts. In the Pontifical Code, *Decretales Alexandri* III. tit. i. cap. iii. *De Hæreticis*, this Lateran canon remains still in force.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

examination before the proper authority, are found to have gone back into the heresy they had forsworn, shall be left to the secular judgment without any further hearing.

XX. We decree, moreover, that all counts, barons, rulers, and consuls of cities, and other places, in pursuance of the warning of the archbishops, shall promise on oath personally, that they will in good truth, by faithful and effectual service; afford all the help they are able, in all commands, and whenever they shall be required, against all heretics and their accomplices. But if they are unwilling to swear to perform this, let them be deprived of the honour they have obtained, and let it be disposed of to others; let them also be excommunicated, and the churches in their territories placed under interdict ¹⁰.

¹⁰ These are three clauses contained in the Rescript, or Edict of Lucius III. before mentioned. Though they bear date only five years after the Third Lateran Council, they plainly indicate the near approach towards those awful times, when the cities, towns, and villages of Provence, Languedoc, and Aquitaine, were doomed to become one flaming holocaust, sacrificed to papal superstition, of which memory should never lose the picture.—Decretal. Greg. lib. v. tit. vii. cap. ix.; Boehmer's Gratian, vol. ii. pp. 744, 745; see also idem. cap. xiii. sec. 5, p. 751; Barbosa, vol. iii. p. 70, c. 2; Simanca, de Cath. Inst. tit. xxxvi. n. 3; Bruno, de Hæret. lib. iv. c. 14.

These are a few of the laws against heresy, selected from the multitude contained at the present time in the authorized code of the canons of the Church of Rome. The subject of heresy is that to which they all apply; and it has been chosen, because it is on the plea of this charge that the see of St. Peter claims the right to depose sovereigns, by absolving all Roman Catholic subjects from their oaths and duties of allegiance. It will be observed, that the selection here exhibited presents a series of canons extending from the infancy of the pontifical power to the death of Lucius III., when the episcopal jurisdiction is about to undergo a momentous amputation. All the judicial power which the bishops individually exercised, was designed shortly to be transferred to legates, who were to act the part of leaders to

numberless mendicant friars; created solely for the purpose of scouring the face of the earth from such as disowned or doubted what Romish priests alleged to be true. The great plan proposed, was by this means to centralize the whole sum of human power in the hands of the pope. The canon law was to be the infallible justification of all his claims, measures, and proceedings. It had been carefully culled from all sources of authority to suit that one great end. The ancient Fathers, as well as their followers among the hierarchs of Rome, in their controversies had used texts of Scripture in support of the numerous matters of opinion for which they contended. Thus it will be seen, that the canon law of Rome is compounded of texts of this sort from very old imperfect MS. versions; often also from perverted scraps quoted to give solemnity and weight to some absurd dogma; often again is found a passage separated from its context for the sake of legalizing something upon the authority of the name of a worthy father of the Church: to these dexterous ways of framing laws, may be added that of forging decretals and other documents, for all which the darkness of centuries afforded every advantage. All was contrived to bear upon the completion of one object—the universal supremacy of the pope. These laws were ratified, *en masse*, by the Trentine decrees, and consecrated by the Trentine creed. Having thus presented a view of some of them against heresy, chronologically taken, to the

The exactions and penalties by which these laws were enforced against heresy and heretics, under various pontiffs, were uniformly severe. The punishment of vivi-comburation was adopted to prevent heresy from the time of the canons of Orleans, to the age of Lucius. *The laws against heresy under the ecclesiastical power, gradually became as severe as those of the civil power under the emperors.* The first who suffered death for heresy, as we have seen in its place, were Priscillian and his followers¹. A continued succession of capital punishments may be traced, though often at great intervals, from that time to the age we are now contemplating, and till the reign of Innocent III. and Frederic the emperor, who decreed the death by fire as the fixed punishment of convicted heretics. These decrees are still preserved in the canon law. We cannot, therefore, wonder to find the following bull of Pope Lucius III. already referred to, which has been justly called the basis of the Inquisition:—

“We, therefore, together with our dearly beloved son Frederic, the illustrious and august emperor of the Romans, (says the bull,) and supported also by the universal body of our brethren, patriarchs, archbishops, and princes, who have assembled from all quarters; by our present decree, condemn, by our apostolic authority, by whatsoever name their various falsehoods may be known, the Cathari, Paterini, and those who falsely call themselves *the humble*, or the poor men of Lyons, the Paterini, the Josephini, and the Arnoldists, and decree that they be placed under perpetual anathema. And because some, under pretence of piety, defend their right to preach, regardless of the words of the apostle, ‘How shall they preach except they be sent?’ *all, therefore, who presume to preach, either publicly or privately, being prohibited from so doing, or not having received authority to preach from the Bishop of Rome, or from the bishop of the diocese; all those also, who do not fear to think and teach respecting the sacrament of the body or blood of Christ, or baptism, or the remission of sins, or matrimony, or the other sacraments of the Church, otherwise than the holy Roman Church*

present epoch, we now take leave of them; though, as perpetual and universal declarations of war against all mankind, excepting those who belong to the papal communion, and as a standing

body of anathemas against the whole antipapal world, they will demand further consideration when we examine the Trentine decrees.

¹ Baronius, ii. 663.

BOOK III. preaches and observes ; and generally, also, all persons soever
 CHAP. whom the same Roman Church, or any bishop in his own
 VII. diocese, with a council of his clergy, or the clergy themselves
 in a vacancy of the see, with the sanction (if they have the
 opportunity of obtaining it) of the neighbouring bishops,
 shall decide to be heretics, we condemn equally, with per-
 petual anathema.

“Their receivers and defenders, and all those who afford them consolation, protection, or favour, on any pretence whatever, we bind by the same sentence. We moreover decree, that every archbishop or bishop, either by himself, or his archdeacon, or by some other fit and qualified person, twice, or at least once in every year, shall visit the district in which heretics shall be reported to dwell. There he shall require three or more men of good report, or if it be necessary, the whole neighbourhood, to swear whether they know of any heretics, or secret conventicles ; or those who differ from the manners and lives of the faithful, and point them out to the bishop or his archdeacon. And the bishop or archdeacon shall summon before him those who are accused ; who, unless they clear themselves from the imputed guilt, to the satisfaction of their judges, according to the custom of the country ; or if after acquittal they relapse into the offence first charged against them, *shall be punished by the sentence of the bishops*. And those who shall refuse to take this oath shall be deemed heretics from this circumstance alone, and be sentenced to the aforesaid punishments.”

Thus link after link was added to the chain by which the struggling opponent of the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome was bound through the whole of this period, till the event with which it concludes—the Fourth Council of Lateran. By this hateful tribunal was the inquisitor armed as the red right hand of Rome, to wield the flames and fury which were not derived from heaven. Fire from above was refused to the zealous disciples who desired to destroy the Samaritans. *Fire from above is ever refused to a Christian priest to burn the enemies of God*. But the fire had been often kindled at their word to consume and to destroy ; and now the Tophet flame of the Inquisition, seven times more hot than it was wont to be heated, was about to be prepared for the harmless,

the gentle, the blameless, and the pure in heart; who were identified under one name of Manichean and heretic, with real criminals who were deserving of the severest punishment of the civil law, and of the indignant reprobation of mankind.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

The heart of a humane and thoughtful student of history sickens at the events which speedily followed the enactment of the Bull of Lucius III. The deep feeling of personal piety among the most severe and remorseless persecutors—the savage joy with which ladies were hurled into wells, and mangled among the ruins of their own castles; while thousands of citizens were thrown into the flames, amidst tumultuous exultations, that God was honoured by their tortures—the momentary pause in the work of cruelty to demand whether time should be permitted to separate the orthodox from the heterodox, and the sanguinary response, “Kill, kill them all; God will know his own”—the picture of zealous crusaders, for that honourable name of chivalrous madness was given to the knights of the papal mandates, leaving the Church at the elevation of the host to proceed to their own death in battle against the heretics; exclaiming², “Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation”—(the same expression was used by Father le Tellier, in uttering which he died, when he signed the revocation of the edict of Nantz³)—these, these things fill the mind with horror at the inconsistency of mankind; who could thus blend with their baser fires the light of Christianity. The thunder which the poet gave to the Jupiter of antiquity was composed of triple materials. The materials of the thunder, which the arm of the papal Jupiter, seated like the former, as a deified mortal in the temple of God, wielded against the minor deities of the lower world, whom he governed as God, were threefold also. That thunder of papal Rome, uniformly, in every age, was composed of the *calumny* which withers the soul, the *treachery* which betrays it, and the *cruelty* which insults, torments, and murders! The thunder which was hurled from the Olympus of the Vatican, struck down

² Simon de Montfort, anno 1218, the rest of the psalm as he went to June 25. heaven.

³ His biographer says that he sang

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

by its *calumny* from the side of its victim, the friend who shrunk from the affection, which was stigmatized as infamous. It destroyed by its *treachery* the confidence which relied on generosity, honour, and kindred. It consigned the wretched object of its vengeance to the united *cruelty* of contempt and the dungeon; of protracted wasting sorrow; and an unpitied and dishonourable grave. Few words have excited so much horror as that which is henceforth to be familiar to the readers of history—the Inquisition. This was the word which opened the doors of houses, and summoned the parent or the child to the black chariot, and the deep dungeon. The Inquisition forbade inquiry; suppressed sympathy; changed the tears of mothers or children into crimes; checked gaiety at its height. The terror of its power pervaded all society. It dragged the monarch and his family from their palace to hear the records of prisons, and the guilt of heresy; and then commanded them to gaze with joy on the pale victim whom the torture and the rack had not killed. It was a word which more than any other yet uttered by man, expressed at once the whole contents of the roll which was given to the prophet, written within and without—lamentations, and mourning, and woe—the Inquisition!

This, however, will only be regarded as declamation, unless, as we have considered the gradual accession of the laws respecting heresy, we now also consider the manner in which those laws were executed; and, therefore, the chief acts of power against heresy on the part of the bishops and Church of Rome, until the dreadful tribunal was established in all its horrors. The difference between the punishments of heresy before the appointment of the court of Inquisition, and those which followed the establishment of this tribunal, did not consist in the punishment itself. It consisted in this—the Churches did not condemn the heretic until he had declared himself to be opposed to their doctrines or discipline. The Inquisition, or the inquisitors, were commanded to search and explore a country to discover concealed heretics; to inquire into thoughts, words, opinions, actions, manners, habits, and looks⁴, as well as conclusions; to annihilate the

⁴ Qui autem inventi fuerint sola suspitione notabiles (Decret. Greg. lib. v. tit. vii. c. 13, sec. 2), to which is added by way of note—Hoc argumentum prolixo admodum scripto persecutus est DANDINUS *de suspect. de hæresi*. Novum

existence of doctrinal error, and thus to introduce the most intolerable tyranny that has cursed the Church and the world. The Council of Tours, in 1163, and the numerous epistles of Alexander III., which from that time were addressed to all Churches, commanded every bishop in his own diocese to search after, apprehend, and punish real or supposed heretics, and thus to suppress heresy. The bull of Lucius III., dated 1184, commanded every bishop "to send persons duly qualified, twice every year, to traverse their dioceses, who should compel the people of every parish to declare upon oath, if they knew of any heretics, or any persons who frequented private conventicles, or who departed from the usual manners of the faithful in their common conversation or habits⁵." This bull was acted upon throughout the Churches. The bishops began to search out heretics, and a court of inquisition may be said to have been instituted, therefore, wherever there existed an episcopal or diocesan court. The Inquisition, properly so called, was a tribunal established by the popes in the dioceses of bishops, partly to co-operate with them, and partly to act independently of episcopal jurisdiction. *The popes were not satisfied with the slow progress of the extermination of heresy by the bishops*; they established, therefore, not only separate courts of inquisition, but appointed inquisitors to discover where heresy existed, by tracing it within the bosoms of mankind. The celebrated Dominic, in a sermon preached at Toulouse,

hoc crimen suspecti præter illud, quod jus civile in doctrina de tutela agnoscit, jus canonicum in scenam deduxit, quod sola mente et cogitatione etiam hoc crimen peragatur, quæ per varias suspiciones editur. Ita quidem jus canonicum: ab hoc tamen dissentiunt theologo ecclesiæ Romanæ, ut observat DANDINUS, Cit. Tr. Prælim. xix. n. 2.

And on the clause—seu a communi conversatione fidelium vita et moribus dissidentes, we have the following note—Sub hoc involucro vel innocentissimi opprimi et in suspicionem hæreseos trahi possunt. Id agnovit BARONIUS ad ann. 1016, § 5, et inveteratum hoc malum in clero Romano jam olim viguisse fatetur, adeo, ut vel ex suspicione impetu ferentur in innocentissimos. Sed addit, ut contingit sæpe

pecuariis canibus in amicos ferri, quos cum extraneo indutos habitu viderint, existiment inimicos, ita huic contigit clerico Simeoni. Etenim, licet ab omni heresi alienus esset, de quo loquitur—tamen clerici, a moribus ejus dissidentes, clamabant: nonne omnes videtis in visu, et incessu, et totius corporis gestu, hunc pravum et impostorem hæretice agere? Tale fatum mansit ab antiquo iis, qui pessimis in clericis mores taxarunt, et sanctiores desiderarunt; quia hi a conversatione communi eorum dissidebant. Conversationem communem formant tum præcipue clerici tum laici.—Letter of Lucius III., Boehmer, vol. ii. col. 745.

⁵ The notes already given may be consulted in confirmation of this statement.

in 1216, declared himself appointed to a *new office* by the pope. He declared that if a spiritual army were not sufficient to defend the doctrines of the faith, he was resolved to excite and compel the Catholic princes to take other arms against heretics, that their very memory might be destroyed⁶. The chief *Court of Inquisition*, specifically so called, under the Dominican administration, thus commenced in Toulouse, upon the authority of a bull of Innocent III.; but how long the Saints Dominic and Francis might have previously signalized themselves as the spies of the holy court, and have employed their organized trains of subordinate emissaries for the detection of heretics, it is not easy to determine. In what manner, also, the episcopal courts of inquisition were conducted is uncertain. Limborch affirms that the office of proceeding against heretics being at first committed to the bishops, to whom the government and care of the Churches were entrusted, was executed according to the received decrees of the Church of Rome⁷. This is rather ambiguously expressed. The decrees alluded to are not given; nor is reference made to them. Pope Eugenius III. and Alexander III., as well as their successor Lucius III., each issued bulls, rescripts, or decrees, for the purpose of apprehending and punishing heretics, and suppressing heresy. By those of Alexander and Lucius, addressed to the bishops of Toulouse, and other parts into which the Albigenses⁸, in their time, principally flocked to pursue in peace their more spiritual and humble devotions; the first known episcopal courts of inquisition may be considered to have been opened. Here it was that the Dominican and Franciscan friars were most conspicuous in their completion of the inquisitorial system. Here the dark red spot upon the page of the history of mankind is seen fixed: and we may pause here, therefore, briefly to recapitulate the singular

⁶ See Limborch's History of the Inquisition, i. 61, Chandler's translation, 4to, 1731, where Ussher, De Success. Eccl. in Occid. lib. ii. tit. i. c. 1, no. 13, is cited.

⁷ Id. chap. x. p. 60.

⁸ Various sects of Dissenters from the Church of Rome, either in its doctrines or ceremonies, had, in the twelfth

century, overspread the South of France, from the Pyrenees to the Bay of Biscay, and from the districts of the Loire North, to the Mediterranean South; who, however different in their opinions from the Vaudois Churches, were condemned by the see of St. Peter, as objects for utter extermination, under the name Albigenses.

series of events by which the Bishops of Rome were enabled thus to concentrate their power—to inflict more cruelty, inspire more terror, and to maintain a more enduring, as well as a more intolerable despotism, than has ever been known among the most arbitrary of the ancient monarchies, or the severest of the oriental sovereignties.

From the time when Christianity was promoted under the imperial sanction by the conversion of Constantine, the ecclesiastical power as well as the doctrines of Revelation, acquired influence in every corner of the empire. The codes of Theodosius and Justinian augmented its general strength, but in the two hundred years which elapsed from Constantine to Justinian, the Church of Rome had acquired no undue predominance. The decrease of the imperial power in the West, and the precarious state into which the Italian provinces had been brought by the establishment of a foreign dynasty in Rome, caused its chief legislator Justinian, to interweave the imperial with the pontifical authority, by conceding to John II. the elements of temporal power as a viceroy, or accredited governor. The influence which was thus obtained by the Bishop of Rome, was soon greatly increased by the transactions between Boniface III. and Phocas⁹. The several pontiffs carefully upheld the temporal privileges which were granted by successive princes, until the vast accession of territorial dominion conferred by Pepin and Charlemagne completed the foundation of the ecclesiastical monarchy.

The theory of an universal spiritual absolutism, was next framed by Nicholas I. on the basis of the forged decretals. The subjugation of metropolitan jurisdiction which immediately resulted, sufficiently evinced the judgment with which this foundation had been laid. This masterpiece of human policy is worthy of the closest study. The decretals contain a complete body of those principles on which was erected that superstructure of exclusive right to supreme dominion over the moral world; on which all the Hildebrandine aspirants to undivided, unconfined, and uncontradicted sway uniformly acted, in afterwards prosecuting their aggressions upon

⁹ The increase of power of each of these popes is discussed under their respective pontificates.

thrones, kingdoms, churches, bishops, and patrician authorities, and in asserting for themselves superhuman impunity¹.

The allegiance demanded from metropolitans, of which the pall was made the badge—the custom of confirming the choice of bishops, and, when possible, of making the nominations—the exaction of oaths of submission from suffragan bishops—the exclusive right of summoning councils, and of giving their decrees the validity of laws—the sole power of transferring and punishing bishops—the new and pernicious form in which appeals from all episcopal courts on matters of all kinds was maintained—the power of annulling the decisions of councils—the almost entire monopoly of the administration of justice to the subjects of foreign princes—the gradual rejection of the old canon law to which the universal Church, with one consent, had submitted, and the substitution of a new and complex code founded on the Isidorian decretals—these having all now become matters of course, were held indispensable as parts of the papal canonical system. From these important effects produced by the practical working of the theory of universal power, planned and laid down in the decretals and in the rescripts of Nicholas I., may be perceived the gradual development of the most profound system of spiritual tyranny, that human ingenuity and the dreams of ambition could have devised.

Not content, however, with this almost boundless absolutism, the desire of the continued enlargement of his power seemed to inflame every successive pope. The exclusive rights of absolution, of dispensation, of indulgence, of canonization, of the disposal of benefices, of extorting from all churches an endless amount of fees and assessments, and many other impositions, still went on. Innumerable legates, commissioned with undefined and indiscriminate power, were spread in every direction; by whom no complaints, no resistance, no temporal authority, were regarded. Bishops and princes were compelled to submit as vassals to their dictates. Such was the state of the western world, when preparations were made to silence every tongue which was disinclined to obey and admire the pope and his host of representatives.

¹ See the remarks upon the pontificate of Nicholas I.

A canon was passed in a council held at Rheims, in 1148, by Eugene III., commanding every one, under pain of interdict and anathema, not to harbour or defend the heretics of Gascony and the contiguous provinces. This forms the first attack made by the Church of Rome, as a separate power, against those theologians of the age, who were opposed to interpretations irreconcilable with Scripture, whom Rome called heresiarchs, and their many followers, whom it stigmatized as heretics. *It was the preparatory step towards the inquisitorial system.* The Council of Tours, in 1163, seems to have been the first public assembly in which the project was concerted, of terrifying all mankind into submission to the will of the Romish hierarch, by a vigorous spy system.

The decree of the Council of Rheims rested the rigorous execution of its provisions on the interdicts, anathemas, confiscations, and denounced vengeance of God; which were to follow in the event of any of its injunctions being neglected. The decree of Tours against heretics went much farther. It commanded all bishops and priests to keep up a constant watch upon the movements of reputed heretics; also, to diligently search after them in their conventicles and places of resort; and by perpetual anathemas, to destroy them, their friends, and all who traded with them; so that being deprived of all human comforts, they might depart from their error. And whoever disobeyed these edicts, were to be treated as partakers in their guilt, their estates to be forfeited, and given to Catholic princes; and their persons to be subjected to the sentence inflicted on heretics. *This decree may be considered as the real foundation of the diocesan inquisitions.* It seems to have been designed as a provision against any murmurs which secular authorities might make against the more bold decree of this council; which was to deprive them of all control over their subjects, and leave them little of royalty but the title. In fact, the whole transactions of this council were well adapted to put down all secular rule, authority, and power, that the popes might have all their enemies, except death, under their feet.

Alexander III. did not fail, upon the termination of this council, to follow up its great object by means of bulls, rescripts, and precepts, commanding the clergy to fulfil its decrees. More than three hundred of these mandatory epistles

were written to the English Church alone, a great proportion of which were addressed through Becket, who may be regarded as the most forward champion in this campaign against secular power². The union and the liberty of the Church was the war-cry from East to West, and from North to South. The Churches had long been strangers to peace, particularly since the war waged against thrones by Hildebrand; and the whole blame of heresy, schism, and distraction which they had suffered, was imputed to the infringements, by the secular authority, of the privileges of the universal priesthood. This was to be remedied by the enforcement of the decree of Tours, which was so constructed as to guarantee impunity to every one of the clergy who leagued in the proposed combination. The decree against heresy was subservient to this mighty usurpation. The ancient laws of Theodo-

² Baxter on this subject says—
“The epistles of Alexander are so full of usurpation and treason against princes, that Binius thought it best to omit them, and give you but the titles. Those that concern England are, however, in Matthew Paris, whom Binius referreth you to, though he oft reproach him for speaking the truth.”
—Church History, p. 388, § 178, 4to, London, 1680.

The Life and Epistles of Alexander III. occupy, in the tenth volume of Labbe's *Concilia*, 275 folio pages, of which it is impossible to give here even the titles. The papacy is considered by most writers to have attained its meridian during the period of Innocent III., A.D. 1200—1216, twenty years after Alexander and Becket had propagated the new principles, upon which future usurpations were to be based and effected. To those who are unable to consult these voluminous documents, the only means of acquiring an idea of their effects will be from the historical development of consequences, which succeeded each other in the several pontificates from Lucius III. to the Council of Trent, of the chief events of which a brief abstract will be compressed in the subsequent pages.

Still, as the future pretensions of the Bishops of Rome to supremacy over Churches and thrones, over ecclesiastical and civil judges, over the conversations and the consciences of all men, were about to be enforced by

an impetus entirely new, it is essential to understand, that the watchword by which the revolution against civil sovereignty was to be organized, was *the liberty of the Church*. It is essential, also, to recollect that the struggle commenced in England between Henry II. and Becket; that between three hundred and four hundred epistles were addressed by Alexander to Becket, and the Anglican bishops, to encourage them in their treasonable object; that the epistles, bulls, edicts, and decretals of Alexander III. have furnished, in the classification of the canon law of Rome, one of the major divisions, entitled, *Decretales Alexandri III. in Concilio Lateranensi Tertio Generali, anno MCLXXIX. celebrato, editæ, et ex Codice MS to Bibliothecæ Hasso-Casselanae pervetusto et egregio fideliter descriptæ, in quo plures novæ decretales ab Harduino omisse et ordine longe diverso traduntur, containing 576 canons*—that a great portion of these canons are from treasonable letters addressed to Becket and the English Church, all which are still in force among the present laws of the Roman Church.

Mr. Froude has given translations from other collections of Becket's letters, and defended most unadvisedly the conduct of the archbishop. I had completed, but I purposely omit, a survey of Mr. F.'s labours. His body rests in peace. His soul, I believe, is with God, and has repented of his errors.

sus and Justinian against heretics, as well as the additions contributed to their codes by the canons of numerous popes, had furnished pretexts for charges of heresy upon the slightest ground; and the punishments and unmerciful severities which followed accusations, seemed sufficient to deter the most dauntless from incurring the fearful consequences of the charge. At the time when Alexander and Becket met at Tours, the Albigenses were under the heavy imputation of propagating doctrines adverse to those of Rome; and by the law of that synod, and the decretal epistles of Alexander, and his successor Lucius III., they were to be consigned to the mercy of spies and informers, to be dealt with as to the bishops and their proctors might seem meet.

The bishops dispersed from Tours to their respective sees, and the law for transferring appeals from civil to ecclesiastical courts was simultaneously brought into operation, from England to Hungary, and from Hungary to Sicily³. From the proceedings of the council, it is evident that the design of the Inquisition on its first basis was, to close the lips of those who had cause to complain of the universal and absolute supremacy; which the decrees of Tours were meant to confirm to the hierarch of Rome, at the expense of the civil magistracy, from that time forth for ever. The mind of Alexander III. does not appear to have been equal to the formation and execution of this perfection of the Hildebrandine policy. No man of that age seems to have been so qualified

³ Sed Deus mirabilis, says Baronius, in consiliis super filios hominum fecit, ut dum pugnat Alexander papa pro ecclesie juribus adversus Anglorum regem, nec proficit; alium hoc eodem anno vincat regem, qui sponte se illi subjiciat, cedens penitus volens libensque, detentis haecenus injuste usurpatis sancte ecclesie juribus. Nam hoc eodem anno Hungarie Rex sanctam Romanam ecclesiam in integrum restituit in iis que sibi idem Rex usurparat adversus ecclesiasticam libertatem, deque his ejusmodi diploma conscripsit, quod asservatur in Vaticana Bibliotheca.—Baronius, ad ann. 1169, § xlviij.

Cardinal Baronius wrote the profane taunt contained in the above pas-

sage, during the reign of Elizabeth. He had seen the bulls, vows, prayers, and anathemas of Pope Sixtus V. with respect to the conquest of England by the Spanish armada. He outlived Elizabeth four years, and had consequently seen the forty-five years of her splendid reign, and the total disrepute of popery and its abandonment for ever, I hope, as the ruler of the mind of England. As a wise man, the cardinal should have abstained from such exultation on the remorse of Henry at the assassination of Becket; and how much more as a Christian ought he to have hesitated to abuse the sacred name, by introducing it to colour his political prejudices!

for the task as Becket. No ecclesiastic of the time had the reputation of being more deeply skilled in the duplicities of the earlier and later canon law. The attempt which he had made at home to degrade the sovereign power—the unprecedented extent of the correspondence between Alexander and Becket, till the hour of his murder—the several letters of the pope to his legates in France to do nothing concerning Church or state without consulting Becket—these, with the mutual acquiescence in all his requests before mentioned, are strong indications *which point out Becket as the author of the Inquisition in its less offensive, and consequently more obscure form*, before it was made a distinct branch of ecclesiastical judicature. The terrific character which it ultimately assumed, has certainly made the episcopal administration of the Alexandrine and Lucian Inquisition much less odious; and consequently, less noticed than it became under Innocent III. But it was this deficiency of rigour in the bishops which dissatisfied Innocent III., and caused the institution of the Dominican and Franciscan brotherhoods, that it might be conducted with less remorse; and certainly the merit of its ultra-violence may be awarded to the friars, rather than to the papal bishops. We read much of the crusade which Innocent III. excited against those congregations in the south of France, who differed from the religious views of Rome. Dissenters from the papal Church no doubt existed there in a more compact body, than in other districts of Europe. The country was, therefore, doomed to be the theatre of forty years' slaughter, proscription, and desolation; for the sake of example and intimidation to the kings and commoners of all other states. It was from Gascony and the bordering countries, that the world was to learn the terrible consequences that awaited the indefinite offence of heresy; yet it is not to be supposed, that in other countries there were not numbers who abhorred the papal corruptions as much as the Christians in the South of France; and who, though unknown to history, became the secret victims of the same unchristian and tyrannical system. Lucius III. died in the year 1185, fifteen years after the murder of Becket.

CLXXII. *Urban III., died 1187.*

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

Umbert Crevelli, Archbishop of Milan, succeeded Lucius III. He was called Turbanus, as the common disturber of Europe. He excommunicated the Danes because they permitted the marriage of their priesthood⁴, and died as he was about to pronounce a sentence of excommunication against the Emperor of Germany. *The bishops of Germany complained to him*, but in vain, of the heavy exactions to which they were subjected by the agents of the apostolic see. Urban is said to have died of grief on hearing of the ill success of the Crusaders, and the surrender of Jerusalem to the Saracens.

CLXXIII. *Gregory VIII., died 1188.*

Albert, Chancellor of the Roman Church, succeeded, and reigned only two months. At this time Europe was in consternation at the overthrow of Jerusalem. The consequence was, that the zealous soldiers of the Church, who were either unable or unwilling to proceed to Asia, obeyed with greater alacrity the command to make war on the Albigenses. Gregory published in his short pontificate, two bulls on the recovery of the Holy Land; and urged on the Crusaders greater austerity if they hoped for success. The second of these bulls is very short. The first is clothed in scriptural language, and breathes the most devout and pious sentiments. The manner in which the words of Scripture are introduced, to express more effectually the feelings of the writer, is very beautiful. But the object of the bull was war—war to the knife. *If the Church of Rome would consider the manner in which its popes in their bulls have torn passages of Scripture from their context, and compelled them to serve purposes for which they were not intended by the inspired writers; it would say, "Physician, heal thyself."* It would cease to condemn its brethren. The most ignorant sectarian, who presumes to teach without the requisite knowledge, which would obtain for him the sanction of an ecclesiastical superior; cannot be guilty of more strange, absurd, and partial

⁴ Pejora his molituro Urbano, si per fata lieuisset, quando *Dei nutu percussus interiit*: Undè *Turbanus* a multis est appellatus. Idem quoque Danos, quod sacerdotibus conjugium permitterent, excommunicavit.—Genebrardus, apud Spanhemii Opera, i. 1590.

tion on the Church of Rome, *that the world cannot retrograde, but that Rome must change, or be forsaken.*

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

We must observe here, that the exactions of Rome began to be regarded as a burthen to England. Richard expostulated with the Bishop of Ostia, when the bishop visited the king's ship in the Tiber, on his way to Messina, on the avarice and simony of Rome. He complained that the pope had exacted 1500 marks from the Bishop of Ely for granting him the legatine commission. He objected, also, to other transactions of the same nature. The German bishops had already resisted the papal demands. *The supremacy began to be more and more a question of money, as well as of faith*; but the time had not come when the resistance of the most powerful sovereigns could be effectual against Rome⁷.

But perhaps the most atrocious act of the reign of Clement was, his placing the kingdom of Scotland under an interdict, because King William hesitated to submit to the dictates of the apostolic see⁸.

Clement laid claim, also, to the kingdom of Sicily, because William, surnamed the Good, king of that island, had died without an heir.

His pontificate expired 28th March, 1191. He died suddenly, when he was about to crown Henry, the son of the Emperor Frederic.

CLXXV. *Celestine III., died 1198.*

Hyacinth, Cardinal of St. Mary Cosmedin, at the age of eighty-five succeeded Clement, by the name of Celestine III.⁹

⁷ Alford's Annals, which terminate with the events of this year, 1189. He was a Jesuit, learned, clever, partial, and therefore untrustworthy, unless corroborated by other testimonies.

⁸ *Inter alia, in Wilhelmo Scotorum Regem interdicti sententiam decrevit, nisi pareret iudicio apostolicæ sedis.*—Hoveden, ap. F. Spanhemii Opera, Lugd. Batav. i. 1590.

Mr. Wright, in his abridged translation of Spanheim, adds the following observation on this history. "The effects of this interdict were dreadful. There was a total abandonment of clerical duties. The children were not bap-

tized. There were no marriages. The churches were closed, and divine service suspended. The sick were not visited, nor the dead buried. Society was thrown into the utmost confusion."

Mr. Wright has given no reference to the authorities whence his notes have been derived; but such a calamity as Pope Clement inflicted on Scotland, ought to have roused any nation of people at once to emancipate themselves from such disgraceful bondage.

⁹ Fleury, lxxiv. § 19; Baron. ad ann. 1191, § 1.

He sought to strengthen the temporal power of the see by excommunicating, according to his approbation or disapprobation of their political conduct, either his friends or his enemies. The truth was, that as opposition to God was heresy, the pope being as God, opposition to the pope was heresy. The pope, therefore, had now only to declare what opinion he chose to adopt in questions which divided states, and what party he would espouse in the political contests of the people; and *the objector to that opinion became subjected to the charge of heresy*, liable to excommunication, and to all the fatal consequences, similar to those which began at this time to desolate the provinces of Languedoc and Toulouse. There was, indeed, but one king of Europe, one sovereign of the *civilized* West, one Bishop of Rome. Richard of England was now (1191) at Cyprus, which he had captured on his way to Palestine. He had left his kingdom under the care of a regent, William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and papal legate. Political disputes arose respecting the wisdom and justice of his administration; and the pope excommunicated, or separated from everlasting happiness, all who refused obedience to his legate. We must not, however, suppose that even this monstrous power was an unmixed evil at this period. When the law of God among men as Christians, and the law of honour among them as knights and gentlemen, were both silent; the law of the Church supplied the place of that international law, by which the princes and sovereigns of Europe are now governed. The power of the Bishop of Rome was never more honourably exerted than when the gallant Richard was captured by the Duke of Austria. The pope commanded the duke to return the ransom he had exacted for the deliverance of Richard. It is not known on what account the pope refused to comply with the entreaties of the queen to insist on his release. The duke refused to yield up the money, and was excommunicated June 6th, 1194¹. The sentence of the pope, however, soon caused obedience. The duke, not long after, being injured by a fall from his horse, returned the money. He sent back the hostages when at the point of death, and was absolved from the excommunication.

One of the principal sources of power to the popes in all ages

¹ Baron. ad ann. 1194, § 3.

has proceeded from the submission of the people to the canon or papal laws respecting marriage, and the yoke of Rome can never be broken, where the laws of any country on a subject which interests every family and individual among its people, are made by any power but its own. Matrimonial causes are affirmed to be a part of the greater causes, which were to be determined by the pope. The King of France, Philip Augustus, had divorced his wife on the plea of consanguinity. The Gallican bishops confirmed the divorce. Celestine rescinded their decree; and the decision was enforced by his successor. Such was the authority of Celestine over France. In Scotland, its Church was separated from the jurisdiction of York by Celestine, and the Archbishop of York was summoned to Rome. The interference of the pope with England, too, was still incessant. Richard exceedingly lamented the state of the monarchy, and with the utmost mortification pronounced himself but the shadow of a king²: and he had reason. *The patronage of the crown* was lost through the right of investitures. *The power to convene synods* was engrossed by papal legates. *The supremacy* was yielded to Rome by concession of the right of appeals. *The interests of the Church* were separated from those of the state, as though the one had nothing whatever in common with the other; and as if the privileges and liberties of the Church consisted in the degradation of the monarchy to foreign homage and control.

The celibacy of the clergy was not even yet the universal law of the Churches. Legates were sent to enforce it in Poland and Bohemia. In Poland they were not resisted. In

² The court of Rome treated him, he said, as if he was their pupil; forced his people to purchase their bulls, encouraged strife, multiplied appeals, prevented the administration of law and justice, confounded truth and peace to enrich themselves; and how, saith he, shall we answer these things at the great day of account? He conjured the bishops to assist him in the redress of these abuses. He told them that England, formerly a rich and flourishing kingdom, was now cantoned out and divided among the several orders of the religious, all which pretend to be exempt from the impositions the government require—the black

monks have one part, the white monks another, the several orders of canons have all their shares; besides, the monasteries abroad have great revenues in England.

After the king had stated these grievances to the bishops, it was agreed that the most likely way to cure all these mischiefs, was to build collegiate churches near to all those establishments which consisted of religious, and to fill them with secular canons; who will, saith the king, be dutiful both to you and me, and if occasion require, will resist *the thievers of Rome*.—Gervas. Chron. ad an. 1196, ap. Twysden's X. Script. col. 1595.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

Bohemia they were rescued with difficulty by the Bishop of Prague from the hands of a mob, threatening them with personal violence. Celestine, after a pontificate of nearly seven years, died early in the year 1198³: Richard I. of England the year following.

The student of ecclesiastical history loses at this year, 1198, three of his principal (though partial) guides over these neglected wastes of the past—Du Mesnil⁴, Pagi⁵, and Baronius. The last of these was one of the most learned, indefatigable, and zealous champions of the Gregorian, or Ultramontane party, who has hitherto adorned the annals of the Church of Rome, or opposed the great writers among its antagonists. He was born at Sora in 1538, in the Terra di Lavoro, and was carefully educated at Naples and at Rome. Philip of Neri, the founder of the congregation of the Oratory, encouraged him to cultivate the study of ecclesiastical history; to deliver lectures on the history of the heretics, and to commit all to writing. The first volume of his ecclesiastical annals, containing the first century, was published in the year of the sailing of the Spanish Armada, in 1588. The twelfth and last, which ends with the death of Celestine, in the year 1198, was published in 1607. The work has gone through many editions. It was certainly intended to destroy the effect produced by the compilation of the Magdeburgh Centuriators⁶. It were almost absurd and unreasonable to believe that the annals of Baronius could have been otherwise than partial, unfair, and unworthy of implicit dependence,

³ Before his death he had placed the kingdom of France under interdict, as it is called, that is, he had forbidden that the rites of prayer, baptism, burial, and all other services be performed by the priesthood in any places of worship. He also left the world with sentences of excommunication on his lips against the Emperor Henry VI. and Leopold, Duke of Austria.

⁴ *Doctrina et Disciplina Ecclesie ipsis verbis sacrorum Codicum, Conciliorum, Patrum, et veterum genuinorum Monumentorum*, 4 vols. folio, Cologne, 1730.

⁵ Pagi was a French Franciscan, one of the Friar Minorites. He was born at Rognes, in Provence, in 1624.

He applied himself to the study of ecclesiastical history, and collected a large mass of remarks on the annals of Baronius, rectifying many errors in his facts, and more especially chronology. They were published after his death in four volumes, folio. The last paragraph of his book well expresses its object—*qui licet in eo scribendi genere excelluerit, quia tamen nihil ex omni parte perfectum, ut vulgo dicitur, eosdem suppluisse ac illustrasse inutile, uti spero, non erit.*—Pagi, iv. 719, last clause of last paragraph.

⁶ See an account both of these and of Baronius, in Dowling's *Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical History*, 1 vol. 8vo, 1838.

unless confirmed by other and undoubted authority. *I have relied, however, as much as possible on the writers of the Church of Rome*, that I might be more entitled to the attention of its members, when I make my eventual appeal to them on the results of our survey of the past. But I am sure, if they will remember that Baronius wrote at Rome when the controversy between the friends and antagonists of the Church of Rome was at its height; under the patronage of those who were most deeply interested in the establishment of the extreme Gregorian principles; that they will agree with me, that little surprise ought to be expressed at his pages not being characterized by the calm and dispassionate spirit of philosophical inquiry, which is demanded in the present day. The Council of Trent had but lately ceased its sittings. The Anglican Church had decided against the continuousness of many opinions which its Fathers had received, and which were embodied in the creed of Pope Pius. The bulls of Pius V. and of Gregory XIII. had been launched against Elizabeth. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, the sailing of the Armada, the deadly cruelties of the bloody tribunal of Alva, and of the Spanish and Austrian chiefs in Flanders; the invasion of Ireland, and the notorious and undeniable conspiracy to destroy a senate by gunpowder, inflamed the minds of the encouragers of Baronius, and stimulated their champion. *Never were the enemies of Rome more bitter against popery. Never were the friends of Rome more inveterate against heresy.* Never was the war so deadly, so fierce, so implacable. Baronius was the Ajax whose shield could at once receive the darts of the foe, and shelter the assailant. Baronius was the hero selected to defend to the utmost those principles on which alone the deeds which convulsed and incarnadined Europe, could be defended. He believed that the pope was the possessor of the throne of Christ on earth; that to oppose him was eternal death; to destroy that opposition was to save souls; and, therefore, to commit actions which, though wicked in themselves, were sanctified by such motives, was just and right. Convinced that the Church of Rome was divinely founded, had never erred in doctrine, and had never sinned in practice; the principles of Baronius were quite fatal to a fair and candid exhibition of the history of the Church. Determined to find in every age the existence of an

ecclesiastical monarchy, and the opinions and practices of modern Rome; he makes havoc of primitive history, and grievously distorts Christian antiquities. Every fact is extended on the bed of Procrustes, and cruelly stretched or curtailed at the will of the literary tyrant. Every witness must freely bear testimony to the Romish views of history; or a reluctant confession is extorted from him by the rack. Heretics and schismatics are less the objects of pity, than of passionate abuse. Temporal princes who have rendered themselves obnoxious to the enmity of the spiritual power, are assailed with vehement, violent invective. The author is the very ideal of an Italian Romanist. He never descends from his towering principles. Hildebrand himself would have been satisfied with his historian. Yet, as an effort of literary labour, the work of Baronius largely demands our admiration. It formed a most important step in the progress of Church history. The form of annals in which it is arranged, is convenient and natural; and we constantly find in perusing it, that the author, who had at his command the documentary treasures of the metropolis of the Christian world, availed himself of his advantages with laudable industry, though with partial zeal. It is one of those rare books, which never can be superseded as a collection of authorities not to be found elsewhere; and it will be ever indispensable to all who desire a knowledge of the ecclesiastical history of the past⁷. The twelfth volume of the annals of Baronius, dedicated to Paul V., (on the 24th of May, ninth of the calends of June,) contains an address to the reader, soliciting him, if he peruses any thing in the book useful to him, to offer up a prayer to God for the soul of the author. This also he adds—"I, in my turn, will seek for thee, that God will grant thee always to live piously, and to inherit the best blessings."

I believe that his soul cannot require my prayers. I believe that if I offered my prayers for the dead, God would not hear them. But I trust that his soul is pardoned, that it is with the souls of the righteous, in the hand of God; that no evil shall touch it; and *prayers and sentiments like these of Baronius make me long for the removal of error, and for the union of Christians.* The volume ends with the description of the feelings

⁷ See Dowling, art. Baronius, pp. 124, 125.

of the author on the completion of his labour. He reminds me by its complacency, but in no other respect, of the celebrated expression of his satisfaction uttered by Gibbon; when he laid down his pen in the summer-house at Lausanne, and contemplated the extent of time, and portion of his life, which his work had occupied⁶. "The present volume," says Baronius, "was finished the month after Paul was created pontiff." He then proceeds to relate in scriptural language, or rather by the application to himself of certain passages of Scripture, the difficulties against which he had contended in the progress of his labours—his doubts, despair, petitions⁷, and eventual resolutions still to persevere.—He alludes to the peace and safety of the Church under his patron, to whom he wishes life and happiness⁸.—He then goes on to contemplate, with serenity and satisfaction, the end of his labours.—"As the servant," he says, "desires the shadows of the evening⁹, when, worn down with toil and heat, he faints beneath the rays of the burning sun; so have I desired repose after I have now so long borne the burthen and heat of the day. As the hireling expecteth his wages, so have I waited to receive from the Master of this family, that best reward, the coin stamped with the image of Him, who said to the father of the faithful; 'I am thy shield, and thine exceeding great reward¹.' I have laboured, unweariedly laboured, by His help to cleanse the wells which our fathers digged, from the stones which the Philistines had heaped upon them; and now, at the last hour of my day of life, death knocking at the door, I rush to Thee, my Father, as thy son; but like him thy prodigal son, imploring only thy mercy. Refuse not Thou to meet me. Withdraw not thine embrace. Withhold not thine undeserved kiss of peace. Cover me with the best robe. Put the ring on my hand, and the shoes on my feet; the pledges of

⁶ "It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public."—Last sentence of Gibbon's Rise and Fall.

⁷ Laboravi clamans, raucae re ipsa tunc facte sunt fauces mere, exclamans ad Omnipotentem Davidicum illud:

Mitte manum tuam de alto, libera me de aquis multis.—Baron. xii. 789.

⁸ — cum universâ ecclesiâ Catholicâ feliciter acclamamus; Paulo Pape Quinto, a Deo electo, salus et vita.

⁹ Job vii. 2, sicut servus desiderat umbram, cum sub aestuantis solis radiis, &c.

¹ Ero ego merces tua magna.—Gen. xv. 1.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

thy love; the tokens of thy favour; that I may be indeed thy son, and so be worthy to be called the heir of God, and the joint heir with Christ.”—

This was the prayer of Baronius at the conclusion of his laborious work; and I would that it had ended with these, or with some suchlike words. If it be possible, as some have imagined, that the spirits of the dead in the unseen world, can be cognizant of the proceedings of those who are still alive upon earth—if the words and thoughts of those who continue to bear the burthen of the flesh, can give joy or sorrow to the souls of the departed—I am sure, that, as their joy must be increased by all that increases the honour of God; their sorrow must be promoted by all which gives his glory to another. If the felicity of which the Blessed Virgin partakes in the presence of God her Saviour, in whom her spirit rejoiced on earth, can be diminished by the actions of men; *then, and then chiefly, would it be lessened, when her glorified soul became conscious of such prayers as that with which Baronius proceeds*—He thus concludes his prayer—“But because fear, and the consciousness of my faults, diminishes this holy hope; I desire to follow the example of Jacob, who apprehending the curse rather than the blessing of his offended father, obtained the wished-for blessing by the counsel and assistance of a wise and interceding mother; so, behold, humbly to thee I appeal, our Mother, the Mother of God, that through thyself I be deemed worthy to obtain that blessing.”—

The prayer to God we may hope was granted; but we may be permitted to regret, that the annals of every portion of the Church of Christ which remains under the influence of the Church of Rome, abound with instances of similar addresses to the Blessed Virgin. Very strange are the notions which have been formed respecting her by many of the best Roman Catholic divines. *One of the most indecent books, among the very many indecent works which the peculiar inquiries commanded by the Church of Rome to be made in the Confessionals by the priests, compel their clergy to study*²; is professed by its author to be written to the honour of God, and of the Immaculate Virgin³. I am grieved to mention these

² See Directions to Confessors, a work published under the authority of Gregory XIII.

³ See the last sentence in Sanchez, *De Matrimonii Sacramento*: atque hæc ad laudem et gloriam Omnipoten-

things. I would not, and I will not believe, without examination and inquiry, the allegations which have been so repeatedly, and even to this hour, affirmed concerning the effects of such books on such subjects. I grieve to say, that the questions which *I know* are commanded by authority to be proposed by the priest to the penitent, and the conversation which must be the result of such questions, are indescribably polluting and contaminating to the youthful mind; which should be required to send away, rather than to retain its imaginations. I grieve to say, that books are written to direct the choice of such very questions; and the whole mass of "*dead men's bones, and all uncleanness,*" is covered over with the name and garb of religion; and becomes the whited sepulchre of a foul and loathsome hypocrisy. That such books should be dedicated, too, to the Mother of Christ; is indeed the dishonour and the degradation of the Blessed Virgin. I mean her degradation among men; for I believe her holy soul to be incapable of any other degradation; and that the happiness of her immortal spirit is neither diminished by the purer prayers of Baronius, nor by the impurer teachings of the Jesuit Sanchez.

The ideas of devotion which unites the worship of saints and angels, with the homage which is due to God alone; resemble the ideas of devotion entertained by the artist who designed the wood-cut with which the twelfth volume of Baronius concludes. The Virgin Mary, her head surrounded with glory, is holding in her lap an infant Christ, whose head is surrounded, also, with a lucent flame. One of her hands is lifted over the left shoulder of the child; the other embraces his body. The infant is extending one hand, as if in the act of blessing; the other hand grasps a globe. Both are surrounded with an oval fire, from which forked or divided flames proceed on all sides. Small cherubs, or children's heads, with wings under their chins, but with no bodies, gaze on the vision. On each side are three angels—two on the right-hand bend their heads, one over a harp, the other over a violin on which it is playing. A smaller angel in the distance is singing from a music-book. Two on the left-hand look up to the Virgin, one striking a triangle, the other tuning

tis Dei ac Intemeratæ Virginis. — mento, &c. tom. iii. p. 396, Antwerp, Sanchez, De Sancto Matrimonii Sacra- 1652.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

a guitar. Another angel at a distance is also singing from an open music-book. It is true that harping and singing are scriptural emblems, to describe the happiness of the future: but as all such visible representations degrade the anticipations of the intellectual and spiritual felicity of the future; so does all intermixture in any form of the worship of angels, or of the Blessed Virgin, or of any human beings, with the one God, the one Mediator, and the one Holy Spirit; degrade the character of the intellectual worship, which, both at present and in future, are required by the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier.

In parting with Baronius, I am deserted by another friend in my long journey, and am introduced to his successor, Raynaldus. I shall not avail myself so much of his labours, as I shall consider the remainder of the interval from Innocent III. to the Council of Constance, to be well known; and shall be contented with but brief memoranda respecting the *laws against heresy*, the *vacillations of the papal power in England*, the *extortions of the pope and his priesthood*, and the *symptoms of declining strength*, till the sceptre of its unlimited despotism began to depart from Rome.

CLXXVI. *Innocent III., died 1216.*

Celestine was succeeded by Lotharius, of the house of the Counts of Segni, which had already given several bishops to Rome⁴. *Under this young and ambitious pontiff*⁵, *the successors of St. Peter attained their meridian greatness.* Young, noble, learned; inferior in knowledge and talent to none of his predecessors; the best civilian, and the best theologian of his age, having the way for his advancement prepared for him by the united influence of his reputation and family, we cannot be surprised at the elevation of Innocent III. At once ambitious and enthusiastic, he delighted in the influence which follows the exertion of mental power; more than the terror which results from the severest enforcement of authority. The divisions of Germany between Philip of Suabia and Otho of Saxony—the jealousy between Philip Augustus of France; and Richard, and John of England—the aspirations

⁴ Innocent III., Gregory IX., Alexander IV.

⁵ Gibbon, vi. 108, 109, edit. 1788.

of the states of Italy for deliverance from the imperial yoke—the death of Tancred of Sicily in 1194, followed by that of the Empress Constance in 1198, who to secure the papal favour when pressed by contending parties, had yielded many new concessions⁶—the government of that kingdom falling to the pope at her death, as guardian of her son⁷—the burning, passionate zeal against heresy which had become identified with the warlike and chivalrous temper which led to the crusades, as well as the crusaders themselves; all these concurred to predict success to the pontiff who should resolve to carry out to their utmost extent the principles of Gregory VII. This pontiff was Innocent III.⁸ *In viewing his actions we seem to ascend that exceeding high mountain from which the tempter showed the kingdoms of this world to the Son of God; and to witness the certainty, that they were presented as a gift to the mortal head of the Church upon earth. Their glory and power, their crowns and thrones, were at the disposal of the Bishop of Rome; and he exercised the right which Satan alone claimed, “All these are given to me, and to whomsoever I will I give them.”*

Innocent was no sooner secure in his pontifical chair, than he required the citizens of Rome to take their oath of allegiance to the pope as their temporal sovereign. He abolished

⁶ On the accession of Innocent to the chair of St. Peter, he became, by the will of the Empress Constance, guardian to her son Frederic, then only nine years old; and King of Sicily, Duke of Apulia, and Prince of Capua, in right of his mother, whom he soon after set on the imperial throne of Germany, after deposing Philip his uncle, and Otho his cousin.

⁷ — Post mortem imperatoris infra tres menses obiit Celestinus, et substitutus est Innocentius, rebus taliter et aliter variatis. Imperatrix vero Constantia, reversa Panormum, misit ad ducissam Spoleti, quæ filium suum in Marchia nutriebat, et perductum ad se coronari fecit in regem, cœpitque cum illo regnare.—Ipse vero sagacissimus pontifex diligenter attendens quod privilegium concessionis indultum primo ab Adriano, et renovatum post modum a Clemente, super quatuor capitulis, viz. electionibus, legationibus, appellationibus, et conciliis, derogabat non solum apostolicæ dignitati,

verum etiam ecclesiasticæ libertati; mandavit imperatrici ut illis capitulis renuntiaret omnino, cum ea non esset aliquatenus concessurus.—Gesta Innoc. III. cap. xxi. xxiii. Baluz. tom. i. p. 5, epist. 410—417. lib. i. tom. i. p. 241, et seq. folio, Paris, 1682.

The empire had been contested at the death of Henry VI., father of Frederic, by Philip his brother, Otho his nephew, Conrad of Swabia; and Richard, King of England, William, Count of Holland, Alphonso, King of Spain, with Ottocar, of Bohemia, were also competitors for the empire. The advantages which accrued from these collisions, and the use made of them by the sagacious and enterprising pontiff, are useful in accounting for the acts of Innocent, and this ascendancy.

⁸ A life of this pope has recently appeared in Germany, written by Hurter, one of the most important contributions to the history of the middle ages, which has been issued of late years.

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

the consulate, and reinvested the imperial prefect with the mantle which betokened his authority. He did not rest till he had procured the enactment, as a part of the law of Europe, that none should be regarded as a bishop without the confirmation of the pope. The election of the emperor was declared to be dependent on the pope; the election of the pope to be independent on the will of the emperor. *It was at this moment*, says Muratori, *that the imperial authority at Rome breathed its last sigh*⁹. Legates were successfully sent to many of the principal towns of Italy, to persuade them to place themselves under the dominion of the pope. The chief cities of Tuscany and Lombardy, also, withdrew themselves from their imperial master to acknowledge the protection of Innocent; and agreed to receive no emperor whom the pope did not approve.

This was the beginning of his career. He compelled Sicily to resign to Rome all the peculiar privileges which had been granted to it by his predecessor Hadrian. *He presumed to excommunicate the three chief princes of Europe*—the Emperor of Germany as a political offender; the King of France for refusing to receive his wife; the King of England for withholding his sanction to the archbishop, whom the pope compelled the monks of Canterbury, then at Rome prosecuting an appeal on the subject, to elect, and submit to him for consecration. *The oriental Church may be said to have submitted to him* in the person of the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, whom the crusaders had appointed to that see; and whom the pope re-appointed on his acknowledging the Bishop of Rome to be supreme over the universal Church. He rescued the Bishop of Salerno from an imperial prison. He bestowed the crown of Wallachia on Johannicius; that of Bohemia, after raising it from a duchy to a kingdom, on Primislaus; and that of Arragon on Peter II.; from whom he demanded the oath of allegiance to the pope, that they would faithfully preserve their kingdoms in obedience to Rome, and prosecute heretical pravity; an oath which was afterwards made subservient to the purposes of the Inquisition, in making it a duty incumbent on sovereigns to execute its decisions. When the King of France told Innocent that it did not belong to

⁹ Spirò qua l'ultimo fiato l'autorità degli Augusti in Roma.—Muratori, *Annal. Ital. ann. 1198.*

popes to interfere in the disputes of kings; *unjust war*, replied Innocent, *is a crime, and all crimes have the holy Church for their judge*: I fulfil, therefore, a pontifical office only in disarming both parties¹. The degradation of the King of England—the crusade against the Albigenses—the proposing and decreeing the canons of the Fourth Council of Lateran by his own authority, are three actions by which the memory of Innocent has been made more familiar to all, than that of any other Bishop of Rome. John of England has been charged with cowardice and weakness in yielding to the threats of Innocent. Yet he could not be ignorant of two things—that the Norman conquest was the result of a measure very similar to that to which Innocent had recourse, in order to compel his submission. He had been excommunicated. His kingdom had been placed under an interdict, which in many parts had been vigorously enforced. He had been deposed; and the military chiefs of Europe, as well as the King of France, were invited to take possession of his realms. Sixty thousand men are said to have been ready to sail against England under the King of France, or his son; who was not unwilling to act the part of William the Norman. John resigned his crown to the legate, and took the usual oath of allegiance to the pope as his sovereign². Neither could John

¹ That is, says Fleury, the pope is the judge of all wars among princes, and the sole sovereign of the world.—Fleury, Eccles. Hist. l. 79, § 8, tom. xvi. p. 581, edit. 1719.

² The oaths of feudal fidelity to the popes increased in strength of language at different times. The deed by which the resignation of the crown to Pandulph, the pope's nuncio, was solemnized, is in the following servile terms—Johannes, Dei gratiâ, Rex Angliæ, &c. —Omnibus Christi fidelibus, &c. salutem. Universitati vestræ per hanc chartam nostram, sigillo nostro munitam, volumus esse notum, quia, cum Deum et Matrem nostram, sanctam ecclesiam, offenderimus in multis, et proinde divinâ misericordiâ plurimum indigere noscamur, nec quid dignè offerre possimus pro satisfactione Deo et ecclesiæ debitâ faciendâ, nisi nos ipsos et regna nostra humiliemus; Volentes nos ipsos humiliare pro illo, qui se pro nobis humiliavit usque ad mortem, gratiâ Sancti Spiritûs inspirante,

non vi inducti nec timore coacti, sed nostrâ bonâ spontaneâque voluntate, ac communi concilio baronum nostrorum, offerimus et liberè concedimus Deo, et sanctis Apostolis Ejus Petro et Paulo, et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Matri nostræ, ac Domino nostro Papæ Innocentio ejusque Catholicis successoribus, totum regnum Angliæ et totum regnum Ibernæ, cum omni jure et pertinentiis suis, pro remissione peccatorum nostrorum et totius generis nostri, tam pro vivis quàm defunctis; et amodo illa a Deo et Ecclesiâ Romanâ tanquam feodataris recipientes et tenentes, in præsentia prudentis viri Pandulphi, domini Papæ subdiaconi et familiaris, fidelitatem exinde prædicto Domino nostro Papæ Innocentio ejusque Catholicis successoribus et Ecclesiæ Romanæ, secundum subscriptam formam facimus et juramus, et homagium ligium in præsentia Domini Papæ, si coram eo esse poterimus, eidem faciemus; successores et hæredes nostros de uxore nostrâ in perpetuum ob-

be ignorant that, just before this very time, 1214, when the kingdom of England was insolently presented by Innocent

ligantes, ut simili modo summo pontifici, qui pro tempore fuerit, et Ecclesie Romanæ sine contradictione debeant fidelitatem præstare et homagium recognoscere, &c. The pledge then proceeds to assure the payment of one thousand marks sterling annually as tribute-money, with all other obligations due by custom from the kingdoms of England and Ireland to the apostolic see.

Humiliating as this act of deposition was to the king himself, and triumphant as it was to Innocent III., to have brought so completely underfoot a nation which had proved refractory for eight centuries, in resisting every attempt to subdue it to papal domination, yet this was not enough. The crown and kingdom were placed at the disposal of the pope and his successors, and the tribute-money pledged as far as treaty could secure them; but more perfectly to realize the feudal title, homage was insisted upon as a customary part of the contract, and this was secured by the following additional degradation: Ego, Johannes, Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ et Dominus Ibernæ, ab hæc horâ inantea fidelis ero Deo et beato Petro, et Ecclesie Romanæ, ac Domino meo Papæ Innocentio, ejusque successoribus Catholicis intransibus; non ero in facto, dicto, consensu, vel consilio ut vitam perdant, vel membra, vel malâ captione capiantur. Eorum dampnum, si scivero, impediam et removere faciam, si potero; alioque quam citius potero, intimabo vel tali personæ dicam, quam eis credam, pro certo dicturum. Consilium quod mihi crediderint, per se vel nuntios seu per literas suas, secretum tenebo; et ad eorum dampnum nulli pandam, me sciente. Patrimonium beati Petri, et specialiter regnum Angliæ et Ibernæ, adjutor ero ad tenendum, et defendam contra omnes homines, pro posse meo. Sic Deus me adjuvat, et hæc Sancta Evangelia.

Teste meipso, apud domum militiæ Templi, juxta Doveriam: W. Comite Arundelli. xv^o die Maii anno nostri regni xiv^o.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. part i. pp. 111, 112; and also, id. p. 115, for the second resignation.

But John of England was not the only royal vassal whom Innocent com-

pelled to swear fealty to the representative of the prince of apostles. In 1203, Don Pedro II. of Arragon paid a visit to Rome, to obtain the favour of his coronation, when he was required to pay annually a tribute of 250 double pistoles, 421l. 5s., in acknowledgment of his crown being a feudal tenure, and himself a slave. The following is the oath of fidelity:—"Ego Petrus, Rex Aragonum, profiteor et polliceor quod semper ero fidelis et obediens Domino meo Papæ Innocentio, ejus Catholicis successoribus, et Ecclesie Romanæ, regnumque meum in ipsius obedientiâ fideliter conservabo, defendens fidem Catholicam et persequens hæreticam pravitatem. Libertatem et immunitatem ecclesiarum custodiam, et earum jura defendam. In omni terrâ meâ potestati subjectâ justitiam et pacem servare studebo; sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc Sancta Evangelia." The narrative of Baronius is in these words:—"Deinde præfatus Rex cum multo laudis præconio, et favoris applausu coronatus, rediit juxta Dominum Papam ad Basilicam Sancti Petri, super ejus altare sceptrum et diademata deposuit, et de manu ejusdem Domini Papæ militarem ensam accepit, regnumque suum beato Petro Apostolorum Principi obtulit, illudque sibi constituit censuale per privilegii paginam, quam eidem Domino Papæ tradidit super ipsum altare, ejus tenor est talis, &c." The oath then goes on to bind himself and his successors, to pay to Innocent and his successors, the annual tribute above-mentioned.

The fidelity of Innocent, in the attempt to establish one universal feudal dominion, on the principle of exacting allegiance from churches and states, which had been planned and acted upon by Hildebrand, will be perfectly evinced by comparison of the two following oaths with the two preceding. It will probably be remembered, that from the time when Leo IX. was raised to the throne of St. Peter, the sway of Hildebrand commenced. He was made subdeacon of Rome by Leo, and archdeacon by Nicholas II.; and all the important acts passed in the name of the six popes who immediately preceded Hildebrand, ought

to the most successful adventurer who might re-invade it; the warlike hordes of other parts of Europe, five hundred thousand in number, had been precipitated upon the territory of the unfortunate Raymond of Toulouse; to the utter ruin of

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

rather to be placed to his account than to theirs.

The first actual step of the feudal-hierarchical system was taken by the administration of Nicholas, in 1059, in the following oaths of vassalage, demanded from Robert Guiscard, the chief of the Apulian Normans:—“Ego Robertus, Dei gratiâ et Sancti Petri, Dux Apuliæ et Calabriæ, et utroque subveniente, futurus Siciliæ, ad confirmationem traditionis et ad recognitionem fidelitatis de omni terrâ, quam ego propriè sub dominio meo teneo, et quam adhuc ulli Ultramontanorum umquam concessi ut teneat; promitto me annualiter pro unoquoque jugo boum pensionem, scilicet duodecim denarios Papiensis monetæ, persolutorum Beato Petro, et tibi domino meo Nicolao Papæ, et omnibus successoribus tuis, aut tuis aut tuorum successorum nuntiis, &c.” To which another and further pledge of bondage is appended:—“Ego Robertus, Dei gratiâ et Sancti Petri, Dux Apuliæ et Calabriæ et utroque subveniente, futurus Siciliæ, ab hac hora et deinceps ero fidelis Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et tibi Domino meo Nicolao Papæ. In concilio vel in facto, unde vitam aut membrum perdas, aut captus sis malâ captione, non ero. Consilium quod mihi credideris, et contradices ne illud manifestem, non manifestabo ad tuum damnum, me sciente. Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ ubique adjutor ero ad tenendum et ad acquirendum regalia Sancti Petri, ejusque possessiones, pro meo posse contra homines: et adjuvabo te, ut secure et honorifice teneas Papatum Romanum terramque Sancti Petri et principatum; nec invadere, nec acquirere queram, nec etiam deprædâri presumam, absque tuâ tuorumque successorum, qui ad honorem Sancti Petri intraverint, certâ licentiâ, præter illam quam tu mihi concedes, vel tui concessuri sunt successores. Pensionem de terrâ Sancti Petri, quam ego teneo, aut tenebo, sicut statutum est, rectâ fide studebo ut illam annualiter Romana habeat ecclesia. Omnes quo-

que ecclesias, quæ in meâ persistunt dominatione, cum earum possessionibus, dimittam in tuâ potestate, et defensor ero illarum ad fidelitatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Et si tu vel tui successores ante me ex hac vitâ migraveritis, secundum quod monitus fuero à melioribus cardinalibus, clericis Romanis, et laicis, adjuvabo ut papa eligatur et ordinetur ad honorem Sancti Petri. Hæc omnia supra scripta observabo Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et tibi, cum rectâ fide; et hanc fidelitatem observabo tuis successoribus, ad honorem Sancti Petri ordinatis, qui mihi firmaverint investituram a te mihi concessam. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta evangelia.”—Baronius, ad ann. 1059, § 63, 64.

Gregory VII. required from the patriarch of Aquileia, the following solemn acknowledgment, which, in conjunction with the preceding forms, was to become the basis of that spiritual and temporal supremacy, which is yet pertinaciously claimed:—“At hac hora et in antea fidelis ero beato Petro et Papæ Gregorio suisque successoribus, qui per meliores intraverint. Non ero in concilio, neque in facto, ut vitam aut membra, aut papatum perdant, aut capti sint malâ captione. Ad synodum, ad quam me vocabunt vel per se, vel per suos nuntios, vel per suas litteras, veniam et canonicè obediam; aut, si non poterò, legatos meos mittam. Papatum Romanum et Regalia Sancti Petri adjutor ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine. Concilium autem quod mihi crediderint per se aut per nuntios suos, sive per litteras, nulli pandam, me sciente, ad eorum damnum. Legatum Romanum eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in necessitatibus suis adjuvabo. His, quos nominatim excommunicaverint, scienter non communicabo. Romanam ecclesiam per secularem militiam fideliter adjuvabo, cum invitatus fuero. Hæc omnia observabo, nisi quantum sua certa licentiâ remiserit.”—Baronius, ad ann. 1079, § ix.

his states and people. John could not be ignorant of these things, and of the terrific power which his enemy wielded. *None was then able to make war with that power whose seat was on the seven hills, and on whose horns were all the crowns of Europe.* He may have remembered, too, the degradation to which his father had been subjected, in consequence of having resisted the authority of Alexander III., and his *protégé* Becket. We may, therefore, pity the profligate and murderer, as he is reputed to have been, who was compelled to the alternative of submitting to the foreign priest; or endangering the safety of his dominions at the risk of war. John resigned his crown, took the feudal oath of allegiance, resumed from the hands of the insulting legate of the pontiff, the diadem which a free people alone should confer or withhold; and gave another instance to the world of the debasement to which the freedom of monarchies must descend; if they permit, on any pretence whatever, the ascendancy of *ecclesiastical supremacy* over the civil power. The King of England was reduced to submission, and the oath which he took was the usual oath of the vassal to his lord, or the secondary chieftain to his feudal sovereign³: and when the archbishop who had been thus imposed on him returned from the continent, and attended him at Winchester, John threw himself, with tears of sincerity, hypocrisy, indignation, or repentance, at his feet, and prayed forgiveness, and professed affection where he had resolved to punish.

The chief guilt of instituting the Inquisition, though shared with former councils, and former popes—with Alexander III.

³ The subjection of the kingdom to the see of Rome by King John, was an extraordinary event, and it was attended by very singular effects. It produced an immediate and entire change in the language and conduct of all parties concerned. In particular, the pope, who had poured out upon the King of England the heaviest curses as the worst of men, and the greatest enemy of God, now loaded him with blessings as the best of sovereigns, and the prime favourite of Heaven. The imbecile and infatuated John, who had maintained a passionate opposition to the ambitious pretences of the pope, and

threatened to pull down his power, now became the warmest advocate for those pretences, and took shelter behind the papal chair. On the other hand, the English barons, who had affected to revere the dictates of the pope as the commands of God, and to dread his fulmination as the artillery of Heaven, while pointed against King John, treated them with the most sovereign contempt when they were turned against themselves. Such is the shameless versatility of unprincipled politicians. — Jones's *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 116.

and Lucius III., with whom may be joined the Bishop of Toulouse, and Ildefonsus, King of Arragon—*principally rests with Innocent III.* Every opponent of Rome who refused to welcome, as articles of faith, the decisions of that Church, was a heretic, or a Manichean, infamous, unworthy, hateful to God and man. In 1198, two legates, Guy and Rainier, were despatched to the South of France, who were directed to stimulate the clergy to greater diligence; to watch the conduct of the nobles, and to demand from the authorities the most summary proceedings against the supposed heretics. These legates were commanded to transmit to the pope all the information they could procure; and submit to him on every question connected with their proceedings. They were not commanded to convert only, but to punish. They were to burn the leaders as “embodied evils,” to disperse the flocks, to confiscate the property of all who refused obedience to the Church of Rome. The heretics were rebels to Rome. Princes were their executioners. The spoil was divided in two ways—the prince took their lands, the pope took their power. In pursuance of this crafty management, Innocent wrote to Philip Augustus to urge him to take up arms against all heretics; and to divert from himself in this manner the suspicion of the crime. When the lords of the soil refused to exterminate their vassals, who paid their rents and tribute, and who only desired, whatever were their opinions, to live in peace; the legates commanded the neighbouring princes to seize the whole territory, which they declared to be infected with heresy. The legates, with their companions, traversed the country, and preached much from Psalm xciv. 16, “Who will rise up for me against evil doers?” They excited the common people to madness against the supposed enemies of God. They challenged the heretics to public disputations; pressed them with the minute subtleties of the schools; compelled them to absurd declarations; or by silencing them by arguments which failed to convince even when they could not be refuted, reduced them to appear as obstinate and wicked heretics. These arts of disputation would of themselves have been of little moment. The attempts to excite the hatred of the people by the legates and preachers, failed at first to rouse the hatred and indignation which could alone extirpate the here-

tics. The Bishop of Osma, and the zealot, Dominic de Guzman⁴, afterwards the founder of the court of Inquisition, inquired of some of the Narbonnese, "Why do you not drive out the heretics? Why do you not exterminate them?" "We cannot," was the answer; "we love them—they are our kindred—we know them." At length their perseverance succeeded. The perpetual exacerbating, irritating efforts of the inquisitors effected the deposition of the prelates who were indisposed to severity, the Archbishop of Narbonne, and the Bishops of Toulouse and Viviers. They alienated from them the regular clergy. They tormented the Count of Toulouse, and the feudal lords of the county, by incessant accusations of deficiency of zeal; and they thus laid the train which required but one spark to kindle the same flame in Europe, which had already burnt towards Asia, and tossed the brands of a consuming enthusiasm upon the infidel minarets of the East. Innocent saw his danger. He perceived that if the free use of Scripture, and the free permission to interpret the divine pages, were continued to the people of any part of Europe, that the temporal supremacy of Rome would be soon endangered; and he resolved to pluck up the tares—to burn out the gangrene—to raze the walls of heresy to their very foundations. *Popery is the government of reason and conscience by authority disdaining to afford conviction.* He determined to rule by authority without regard to conviction; and the well-known opportunity was presented to him in the murder of his legate by a friend of Raymond of Toulouse.

The word crusade had become sacred in military and religious Europe. It described zeal towards Christianity, and love to Christ, devotion to the Church, purity of faith, piety of motive, and austerity of practice. Chivalry, honour, devotion, and heroism, were included in the character of a crusader. The crafty pontiff well knew how to avail himself of the popularity of that word. He designated every expedition to which his ambition prompted him by the word crusade. Every chief, soldier, or adventurer who promoted his designs

⁴ An opportunity will be afforded us, in speaking of the Dominicans, to mention their founder.

was a crusader. His gathering the forces of Europe against John of England was a crusade. When he affected to become the arbiter of the divisions of the Hungarians, he preached a crusade against the party he opposed. When he desired to depose the King of Norway⁵, he spoke of a crusade. And now that he determined to extirpate the Albigenses, he proclaimed a crusade against heresy. Under this honourable word he concealed the cruelty, ferocity, and treachery which was now to be let loose against the miserable population whom he never ceased to harass; till their very name became a by-word, and their existence seemed to have ceased in Europe. The story is too well known to be related here, except some few particulars which throw light on the subtle and novel policy of Innocent. Raymond had been excommunicated, and his kingdom placed under an interdict, because he would not consent to admit into his dominions an army to destroy and exterminate his people. This was the same year, 1208, in which Philip, the Emperor of Germany, was assassinated by the Palgrave, Otho de Witelspach, for marrying his daughter to Otho, Duke of Brunswick; but I find it impossible to notice the contests in Germany between the pope and the emperors. He was excommunicated by the papal legate. The pope's remedies for disobedience were interdict, excommunication, deposition, crusades, vivi-comburation, disposing of kingdoms. Innocent III. confirmed the sentence of the legate against the Count of Toulouse, and began to preach a crusade against his people. Raymond was terrified, and made the required concessions. The legate professed to believe that he did not proceed to exterminate the heretics with sufficient severity; he reproached the count to his face as a perjured favourer of the enemies of God. He then again excommunicated him. This took place on the night of January 14th, 1208. On the next day the legate again disputed with a friend of Raymond respecting heresy, and its proper punishment. Very irritating language was used by Castelnau, and the gentleman to whom he addressed it, drew his dagger and killed him on the spot. Innocent, on hearing of the assassination, without further inquiry, in-

⁵ See History of the Popes, p. 167.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

stantly addressed a bull to all the counts, barons, and knights of the four provinces of the southern part of France. He denounced Raymond. He publicly anathematized him in the churches. He absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, because faith is not to be kept with heretics. All Catholics, saving the right of the principal lord, were required to pursue his person, and to occupy and retain possession of his territories. This bull was speedily followed by others to the same effect. Philip Augustus was exhorted to take the cross. The same indulgences were granted to all who proceeded against the Albigenses, as had been to those who went to the Holy Land. Adventurers from every part of Europe assembled. They were placed under the peculiar protection of the holy see. They were exempted from the payment of debts, and the power of civil tribunals. The service they were to render was an expiation of all crimes. The crusade became more popular than the expeditions to Palestine itself. The Cistercian monks, with Arnold Amalric, their abbot, at their head, preached the crusade through Europe. Innocent appointed a new congregation of preaching friars, of whom St. Dominic was chief, to go on foot through the villages, two by two, to preach the tenets of the Church of Rome, and so obtain information of the number and dwellings of the heretics, to burn them when the crusaders arrived; and thus began the systematized Inquisition under the preaching friars⁶.

The efforts of the Count of Toulouse, of his nephew Raymond, the Viscount of Albi, with their friends, to deprecate the rage of their coming enemies, were in vain. Innocent charged the ecclesiastics who were leading the crusade, to employ dissimulation towards Raymond, that he might be crushed the more easily, when other heretics were defeated. The storm at length burst in the spring of 1209, in the form, it is said, of 500,000 fanatics thirsting for blood, and *impatient to kill for the honour of God*, the glory of the Church, and the salvation of their immortal souls. Castles and cities were taken, and all their inhabitants—men, women, and children—

⁶ For an account of Dominic, the founder of the order of preaching friars, see Butler's Lives of the Saints, August 4, vol. viii.; and for the Life of Francis, the same work, October 4, vol. x.

indiscriminately cast into the flames, amidst the *Te Deums*, the rejoicings, and acclamations of the pious assailants. Never did the fiends who exult over human frailty, more loudly exult—if they do exult over, as well as accuse and tempt mankind—than when the savage captors of Beziers were commanded to kill all, for God would know his own! Or when the wives and children of the refugees from the country, who had taken shelter in the churches, were murdered to the last victim round the altars, as one great holocaust to the God of Christianity, on the one vast funeral pile of the burning city; or when four hundred prisoners were burnt alive—the survivors of the ruin of Carcassone ⁷.

So ended the first crusade against the Albigenses. *Cruelty, treachery*, and strange, yet not less true, to say, *personal piety* no less characterized the second and third, till the southern provinces of France became a desert. The French, the Germans, and the English, assembled with joy to prosecute the new enterprise. The Cistercian monks industriously preached extermination, nor did they preach in vain. One monstrous blaze, which covered the whole square of the Castle of Minerva, consumed one hundred and forty who voluntarily threw themselves into the conflagration. Raymond again and again submitted to every degradation but that of consenting to permit the savage invaders of his estates, to burn his people at their pleasure ⁸. He was compelled to continue

⁷ See Raynaldi Annal. A.D. 1209, § 23, with the authorities there cited.

⁸ Raymond's ambassadors were received by the pope with apparent indulgence, but the terms on which absolution was offered to the count could scarcely have been more severe. He was required to make common cause with the crusaders, to aid them in the extirpation of the heretics—that is, his own subjects—and to give up seven of his best castles as a pledge of his sincerity. Innocent declared, that if Raymond performed these conditions, he would not only be absolved, but taken into special favour; yet at this very moment, the pope was inflexibly resolved on the count's destruction, as appears from the following extract

from a letter addressed by Innocent to the Abbot of Citeaux. "We advise you, according to the precepts of the Apostle Paul, to use cunning in your dealings with the count, which in the present case, should rather be deemed prudence. It is expedient to attack those separately who have broken the unity of the Church, to spare the Count of Toulouse for a season, treating him with wise dissimulation, in order that the other heretics may be more easily destroyed, and that we may crush him at our leisure when he stands alone."—History of the Popes, ii. 102.

Books I. II. V. X. XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. of the Epistles of Innocent, with his Gesta, Decretals, &c. have been collected by

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

his resistance to save the wreck of his miserable subjects. The most ardent reader of the exciting details of military prowess and horrible narrative, shrinks from the perusal of the relentless resolution of Innocent to eradicate the heresy of Languedoc, and its neighbourhoods. When the breach in the walls of the town of La Vaur was declared to be practicable; the bishops, the Abbot of Cordieu, and all their attendant priests, put on their garments of unholy holiness, and coming out to encourage the knights and soldiers to the indiscriminate slaughter of the heretics; struck up the sublime hymn which Innocent himself was said to have composed—*Veni Creator Spiritus*⁹. The Spirit of peace, and love, and truth, and comfort, was invoked by the clergy, with all the zeal of devotion, when their soldiers rushed on to the slaughter of their brethren.

“Creator! Spirit, by whose aid
 The world’s foundations first were laid;
 Come, visit every pious mind;
 Come, pour thy joys on human kind!
 From sin and sorrow set us free;
 And make thy temples worthy Thee;”

were the sacred words they sung when the swords were drawn, and the wall was scaled. Resistance was useless.

Baluzius, and form two large folio volumes. The IIIrd and following Books to the Xth, were found in MS. in the Vatican. They are worthy of more observation than I can here bestow upon them, as a fund of the secret instructions given from headquarters to the legates and agents of the see of Rome, to guide them in their policy towards the different states over which they were dispersed.

Writing to the Abbot Thedisius, on his being appointed legate in 1212, Innocent gives him these private instructions:—non utique quod ei legationis officium committamus, cum etsi laudata sit satis ipsius bonitas, nobis tamen per experientiam non sit nota, sed ut tanquam delegatus quod eidem injungimus exequatur; ante omnia et in omnibus observato, ut prorsus in verbo vel opere non procedat nisi quemadmodum

ei tu dictaveris procedendum, sed in proponendis gerat se velut organum, et in disponendis se tibi exhibeat instrumentum, in liamo sagacitatis tue positus quasi esca, ut per eam piscem capias fluctuantem, cui tanquam saluberrimam tue piscationis abhorrenti doctrinam quodam prudenti mansuetudinis artificio severitas ferrum necessarium est abscondi, quatinus exemplo dicentis apostoli—cum essem astutus, dolo vos cepi, &c. &c.—Epistolarum Innocentii III. tom. ii. lib. xii. epist. 156, p. 394, Parisiis, 1682.

⁹ Innocent III. is said to have composed the hymn, “Veni Creator Spiritus.” Composuisse quoque fertur Spiritus S. sequentiam, “Veni Creator Spiritus.”—Venema, Hist. Eccles. vi. 202. The historian of Vausernay gives an account of this same occurrence. See Raynald. A.D. 1211, § 15.

The castle fell. Its noble master was hanged ; his lady thrown into a pit, and heaped over with stones as an execrable heretic. Eighty of his knights were massacred with avidity and exultation. The work of frenzy was only suspended to glean from the relics of the siege and of the sword, the victims for the faggot and the flame ; *to the greater glory of God, and the higher honour of his holy Church.* They collected them, and they burnt them. They slew none, for they exulted in their torments. They preserved alive, and committed all, with great joy, four hundred in number, to the flames¹. Sixty more were burnt at Carcassone, and so the war proceeded. Legate succeeded to legate, to continue with new exhortations the work of fire, blood, and demolition. Troop followed troop. Citizens, peasants, and outcasts, mingled under frantic leaders, performed in turn their deeds of havoc upon the wretched Albigenses. The stake was erected to consume the last wandering heretic whom the vagabondizing, pope-commissioned preachers had denounced. *Veni Creator* was still the chorus of the murderers, when the bodies of the witnesses against Rome were literally mingling their ashes with ashes, and their dust with dust ; while their spirits returned to the God who gave them, to be judged by their more merciful Judge. The resolution of Pope Innocent was effected. The Fourth Council of Lateran, and the permanent establishment of the Inquisition, secured to Rome, for three centuries, the triumph it had thus fearfully achieved. Three hundred years elapsed from the termination of the third crusade against the Albigenses, and the calling of the Fourth Council of Lateran, till Luther published his *Theses* against the practices of the Church of Rome ; and his voice was heard, as the voice of the indignation of the civilized world.

Stephen Langton, cardinal, Archbishop of Canterbury, was present at the Council of Lateran, though he was under sentence of suspension from the pope. The most despotic monarch is compelled to act with some deference towards his chief and tried counsellors. The Archbishop of Canterbury was the bishop next in importance to the Bishop of Rome himself. His influence was greater than that of any of the

¹ See Raynald. A.D. 1211, § 16.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

cardinals; for the allegiance of England to the holy see may be said to have depended on the conduct of its archbishop. *We must never forget that the world was governed by the ecclesiastical power rather than by the pope*, in the same manner as we are governed in England rather by the monarchical principle, than by the individual monarch, who may be said to hold only the highest office in the monarchical republic. The popes, in the highest plenitude of their power, never dared to act towards their own cardinals, bishops, and councils, as an oriental despot acts towards his viziers and satraps. They professed, indeed, to have unlimited authority over all; and they ruled all Europe by this claim. But they never in fact separated themselves from that large and influential body of ecclesiastics, who believed that this claim was a trust committed to the Bishops of Rome for the benefit of the universal Church; and they were always compelled to pay some deference to the counsellors who supported their pretensions. Such was the case with respect to Cardinal Langton. He was an Englishman by birth, and was educated at Paris. The power of the pope over England immediately prior to the nomination of Langton by himself to the see of Canterbury, was so great on the death of Baldwin, that the building which the suffragan bishops of the see of Canterbury had raised at Lambeth, that they might meet there to elect an archbishop, was pulled down by an order from Innocent III.², on an appeal by the monks of Canterbury, who claimed the right of electing an archbishop, although the King of England, Richard, and Hubert, the Archbishop of Canterbury, were both most anxious for its preservation. They deemed it to be their duty to obey the papal command, and the chapel was taken down in 1119. On the death of Hubert, Langton was elected by the Canterbury monks, who were at Rome, on the nomination of Innocent III. Until this time, when John, after his long resistance to the pope, submitted to his dictation, and resigned his crown to Pandulph; Langton remained the adherent to the pope. He no doubt believed, that the election and confirmation of metropolitans belonged to the successors of St. Peter; and therefore, that John committed a

² Innocent's bull to this effect is printed in the *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1602, having been preserved in the Chronicle of Gervase, a monk of Canterbury.

crime in refusing to receive him. Many, however, of the English bishops defended the conduct of the king. The Church had not become entirely Gregorian. Langton was probably, as a friend of the pope, wholly of that party. Immediately, however, that John consented to receive Langton, the archbishop acted in the most independent manner towards all parties. The king demanded of his barons that they should attend him on a continental expedition. They refused to do so unless they were aided from the exchequer. John attempted to coerce them. Langton resisted him; and informed him that by adopting military measures instead of appealing to the courts of justice, he violated his oath which he had taken at his absolution. The tyrannical or arbitrary measures of this weak prince, compelled the union of the barons for their own defence. Langton met the confederate lords in London, and assured them that he had compelled the king to swear³ that he would abolish all unjust laws; and cause the good laws, that is, those of Henry I. and Edward the Confessor, to be observed. As the king had submitted to Innocent, and as Langton had thus far opposed the king after that submission, the pope intruded upon the privileges of the see of Canterbury, the archbishop of which was the only canonical legate; and sent Nicholas, the Bishop of Tusculum, as legate into England, to compose the incipient dissensions between the king and his barons⁴. The legate was regarded by the confederates as being too much the favourer of the king; who again resigned his crown to the pope. Nicholas protected John against the demands of those who called upon him for certain damages sustained in consequence of the interdict; and then proceeded further to intrude on all the episcopacy of England by obeying a mandate of the pope, that he should fill up all vacant benefices, and enforce obedience to this mandate by ecclesiastical censure. This was a direct and heavy blow against the independence of the whole Church. The king was destroying their civil, the pope their ecclesiastical privileges. This double tyranny was to be resisted. The archbishop prohibited the legate from proceeding. The legate despised the prohibition, and complained at Rome of the opposition of Langton. In consequence of the

³ See the references in Brady and Collier.

⁴ Raynald. A.D. 1213, § 83, seqq.

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

submission of the king, and by the assistance of Langton, who seems to have wisely distinguished, in this instance, between his duty in opposing the king when the civil liberties of his kingdom demanded, and his duty in supporting the king when he deemed that he had satisfied the Church; the interdict, after six years and a half continuance, was removed in 1214⁵. The king had not yet granted the petitions of his barons, and he had the meanness, when he perceived their resolute determination to persevere⁶, to profess the assumption of the cross⁷, that he might be regarded as under the peculiar favour of the pope; and therefore, that any attempts which his offended peers might make, should be regarded as acts of hostility to the Church. This manœuvre was defeated by the wisdom and firmness of the confederates. Langton still remained at their head. They submitted their demands to the king, and when he refused to grant them, they elected a leader, and prepared an army, and denominated their leader and their army—the Marshal of the Army of God and of the Holy Church. The united cry of liberty and religion baffled both the king and the legate. London joined the barons. The great charters were executed. The usurpation of the legate to present to vacant benefices was rejected by the clause, securing their ancient freedom of election to the clergy. The interests of the see of Rome were protected by allowing appeals to Rome, in the clause which permitted the clergy and others to leave the kingdom at their pleasure—the one great privilege which ought never to have been conceded, because the court of ultimate appeal is always superior to all others, and the pope, therefore, remained superior to the sovereign; but the liberties generally of the people and of

⁵ See Raynaldi, ad ann. § 27.

⁶ It is much to be regretted that Gibbon did not write the history of the barons' wars with John, as he once intended. It would furnish a worthy subject for any historiographer. For the fourth time within four years, we find the kingdom of England disposed of by way of donation, in this war of the barons with their pusillanimous king. The pope, in order to reduce John to obedience, transferred it to Philip, King of France, who had made all needful preparations for taking possession. John, to save himself, made

a voluntary resignation of it to the pope, who permitted him to hold possession of it as his vassal, or gave it back again on the condition of the king paying annual tribute. This conduct of John furnished the plea for the barons to declare war against him; in order to carry on which, against the united power of the pope and his royal serf, the barons called to their aid the French Prince Louis, son of Philip, afterwards Louis VIII., and in their turn gave him the kingdom.

⁷ ——— “timore potius quam devotione,” says Matthew Paris.

the barons were secured. The despicable sovereign now appealed to the pope against his own subjects, instead of peaceably observing the treaty he had signed. Innocent condemned the charters and their abettors. *An Italian priest is no judge of the value of English liberty.* The archbishop and his suffragans despise the interference. The king imprisons many of his nobles. The pope excommunicates the barons, and suspends the archbishop. Langton proceeds to Rome, and is present at the Council of Lateran. He was not before his age in regard to his opinion of ecclesiastical power. He made no protest at the council against those greater intrusions on the liberties of mankind, which were much more grievous than the denial of justice by John to his barons—the canons against heretics. The ambassadors of John appeared at this council, and the sentence against Langton was confirmed. The king caused it to be promulgated throughout England, and prosecuted the war against his barons. His cruelties so disgusted his people, that London and the barons disregarded the censures of the pope. The barons appealed to a foreign power to aid them in their resistance. This was an erroneous decision, and Langton seems to have considered it in this light; for he now gave security to Innocent that he would be directed, after the cause had been heard, by the see of Rome. He desired only not to return into England till peace had been restored to the king and barons. As John had become the vassal of the pope, Innocent commanded Louis, to whom the barons had appealed, to withdraw from England. He affirmed that the kingdom was his own. England was torn to pieces by the contending claims of Louis, the pope, the king, and the barons, till they were ended by the death of John and the accession of his son. This curious history has never been properly treated; neither can we pause to make any commentary upon the events which we have thus very briefly enumerated. I have said thus much on the topic, that I might dwell with pleasure on the remembrance, that *the first serious opposition to the see of Rome in the height of its power, was made by an Archbishop of Canterbury and by the peerage of England.* Long—long may this proud and enviable privilege be continued! May the spirit of liberty so animate our bishops and nobles, that they ever

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

BOOK III. be found in the van of the opponents of the usurpations of a
 CHAP. foreign priest!
 VII.

The soul of Innocent is said to have been deeply stained with that leprosy which is seldom removed till the walls of the tabernacle be taken down—the leprosy of avarice. This vice peculiarly characterized the see of Rome. It had now attained its highest power. *Ambition seeks its gratification among princes and potentates in avarice, as avarice in private life so frequently seeks its gratification in ambition.* Certain prebendaries of York were present at the Council of Lateran. The see became vacant. They elected Simon Langton, the brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The pope disapproved their choice, and recommended to them Walter Gray⁸. He is chosen. The object of his being thus recommended appeared, in his consenting to pay for the pall the enormous sum of ten thousand pounds. Every appeal now became the source of large revenue to Rome. *Every privilege was purchased at a high price.* The bishops who came to the great Council of Lateran are affirmed to have paid large sums for permission to return to their respective sees. They borrowed the sums required, at high interest, from Roman merchants. The pope is declared by the earlier historians to have been not only ambitious and proud above all other men, but insatiably thirsty after money—flexible, and easily influenced by rewards, bribes, or presents, given or promised⁹. John gave and promised, therefore, large sums of money to obtain from Innocent the condemnation of Cardinal Langton. Like Wolsey, however, Innocent was as magnificent as he was avaricious. He founded and endowed the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in Rome, and expended considerable sums in promoting the holy war.

History presents us with few names so imposing as that of Innocent III. The sovereigns of Europe may learn from his pontificate the extent of the claims of the Church of Rome—the identity of the temporal with the spiritual power, when laws, and not mere rules or canons binding upon the former, are permitted to emanate from the latter. *Nothing but uni-*

⁸ See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 307.

⁹ Papa super omnes mortales ambitiosus erat et superbus; pecuniæque

sitor insatiabilis; et ad omnia scelera pro præmiis datis vel promissis cereus et proclivis.—Matt. Paris.

versal supremacy, without the toleration of either actual resistance or mental inquiry, can satisfy a power which boasts itself the representative of Deity, and the possessor of its sublimest attributes. The history of Innocent explains to all Europe the real extent and nature of the Catholic claims; the meaning of the phrase, "justice to Rome;" the explanation of the grievances of which the members of that Church complain, when they are offended at the very existence of those who see not with their eyes, nor hear with their ears. The epistles and rescripts of Innocent, which were generally the result of appeals to his court of Rome, and which have, therefore, the force of law, abound with directions to enforce the punishment of heretics. Many of them are collected by Du Pin¹. The Bishop of Auch is commanded to take care of the punishment of heretics². The sentence of *interdict* is pronounced freely and frequently on all who offend him, without even the charge of heresy³. The Bishop of Alisa is ordered to excommunicate those who summoned him before secular judges. The Archbishops of Aix, Narbonne, Auch, Vienne, Arles, Embrun, Tarragon, and Lyons, with their suffragans; and all princes, earls, barons, and other governors, are commanded to assist the commissioners of the holy see in their proceedings against the Vaudois, Cathari, Paterini, and all other heretics⁴. He commands the King of Portugal to pay the usual tribute, otherwise he should be compelled to do so⁵. He acted as a sovereign towards states, without consulting either the will of their princes, or the laws of their people. He was what the Bishop of Rome ever will be, and ever has been since the days of Nicholas I., unless he be restrained and subdued by ceaseless vigilance, protecting both liberty and religion. If his pretensions were just; if the souls of thousands can be saved by the burning of thousands, the revolts, the massacres, the holocausts of vivi-comburations which he commanded and enforced, were just and laudable. Our indignation at the cruel deeds he sanctioned is absurd and useless, unless we extend that indignation to the unaltered and hitherto unalterable

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

¹ Eccles. History, cent. xiii. p. 13, &c.

² Epist. 79.

³ Epist. 34 and Epist. 55, an order is given to the Archbishop of Bourges to excommunicate the canons of Li-

moges, and interdict their Church. In Epistle 72, a similar command is found.

⁴ Epist. 94.

⁵ Epist. 99.

principles by which they are still defended. We shall see that the Bishops of Rome, from the days of Innocent to this day, have maintained the very worst principles upon which all the atrocities of the Bishops of Rome, in the worst ages of their dominion, have been committed. *These principles must be rescinded.* Innocent compared the spiritual authority to the light of the sun, and the temporal authority to the light of the moon, to express the superior brilliancy, heat, and influence of the one over the other⁶; and therefore, he exhorts the nobles of Tuscany to prefer the pope to the emperor. The pope, he said, is inferior to God, but he is superior to any human being. He ordained, in his epistle to the magistrates and people of Viterbo⁷, that the protectors of heretics should be deemed infamous, and incapable of holding offices, and that the conversers with heretics should be anathematized. The decree became a part of the canon law, was enacted by the Council of Lateran, and enforced by the several Churches wherever the ecclesiastical power prevailed. Christian burial was refused to the excommunicated, a decree which still forms part of the Rubric of the Church of England. *It would have been better that a special service had been appointed, which might have expressed the doubt of their salvation,* and served as a warning to the bystanders at the funeral. Innocent commanded⁸ the Archbishop of Canterbury to order the monks to precede the secular clergy. He explains to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who complained of the accusation that he was a schismatic, while he held the Creed of Nice, that the primacy of Peter was the bond of union; and that the Church of Rome was styled *universal*, because all Churches were under its dominion⁹—that it was

⁶ Epist. 401.⁷ Lib. ii. epist. i. of Baluze's Collection.⁸ Lib. ii. epist. 181, idem.⁹ Writing to John of England, Nov. 12, 1213, this second Hildebrand begins his letter by telling him that the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and priest according to the eternal order of Melchisedech, hath so settled the royal and sacerdotal power in the Church, that the kingdom is sacerdotal, and the priesthood royal—Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, Jesus Christus, sacerdos in aeternum se-

cundum ordinem Melchisedech, ita regnum et sacerdotium in ecclesia stabilivit, ut sacerdotale sit regnum, et sacerdotium sit regale, &c. And after other grave reasons to prove that submission to this royal priesthood is the duty of secular rulers, as well as all classes of men, he takes care to press upon the king the point, that provinces which had been anciently subject to the Church of Rome in spiritual supremacy, had, by the mercy of Him in whose hand are the hearts of kings, been brought to own the temporal dominion of the priesthood also—Quod

the mistress of all Churches, not as the most ancient, but because of its pre-eminence. He defended and explained, in other epistles, the doctrines which were defined by the Council of Lateran.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

One of the most magnificent prosopopæias of the Old Testament, is that in which the prophet¹⁰, expressing the simple idea that Ashkelon shall be destroyed, exclaims in his vision —“O sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up thyself into thy scabbard: rest, and be still. How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon?” Similar to this were the words of the last address of Innocent, when he heard of the descent of the French on England. “Sword! sword!” he exclaimed, “spring from thy scabbard, and sharpen thyself to exterminate¹¹!”

Innocent composed many volumes, both before and after his elevation to the popedom. Literary efforts in those ages always led to the highest honours. A diploma conferring a doctor’s degree was equal to a patent of nobility. He wrote a treatise on despising the *Word*; or the Misery of Man’s Estate, in three books: a work resembling the Imitation of Christ, by Thomas a Kempis². A Treatise on the Mystery of the Mass. A Commentary on the Seven Penitential Psalms. Sermons for the whole year, and for the Saints’ days, and some others. These works are full of piety and spirituality. The style is close, full of divisions, antitheses, allegories, and quotations from Scripture³. Such is the ac-

tu, fili carissime, prudenter attendens, (Illo misericorditer inspirante in Cujus manu sunt corda Regum, et quò voluerit vertit illa) te ipsum et regna tua etiam temporaliter Ei subicere decrevisti, Cui noveras spiritualiter esse subjecta—ut illæ provincie quæ olim sacrosanctam Romanam Ecclesiam propriam in spiritualibus habuere magistratam, nunc etiam in temporalibus dominam habeant specialem. — Epist. Innoc. III. lib. xvi. epist. 131, vol. ii. p. 810. The Life of Innocent under the title Gesta Innocent. III., is prefixed to Baluze’s edition of his letters.

¹⁰ Jer. xlvii. 6, 7.

¹ Fleury, Eccles. Hist. l. lxxvii. 262.

² Many editions of these books have been printed at Paris, Venice, Cologne, and Autwerp.

³ The author of “Ancient Christianity,” after giving some instances of what he terms “the barefaced ingenuity” and “audacity” with which the Romanists have distorted Scripture to favour their unreasonable pretensions, adds the following note:—“Some of these ingenious fancies are to be found in Gregory the Great, and many in St. Bernard; but it is Innocent III. who drives this trade with the least shame. It is impossible to give him credit for any sort of honesty in the expositions which he advances with so grave a face. I have referred above to the *Lyra Apostolica*, mingling as it does the softest strains of gentle piety with the smooth rancour of the holy office. A mixture of this very

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

count by Du Pin. The only works I have read of Innocent's, besides his summons to Europe to attend the council, given in the *Bullarium Magnum*, and the acts of the council itself, which were drawn up by him, read by his order as the resolutions of the council, and received by the universal Church as the decision of the pope and the council—are his Two Sermons, spoken before the council⁴. He takes the text of the former from Luke xxii. 15, "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you," &c. The sermon abounds, and is redolent with quotations from Scripture. It begins with the words of St. Paul⁵—"Because to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain;" I do not deny that, if it so pleased God, I should be willing to drink the cup of His passion, whether it be for the succour of the Holy Land, for the defence of the Catholic faith, or for the liberties of the Church. I am willing to remain in the flesh till my work is done⁶: but not my will, but the will of the Lord be done; therefore have I said unto you, 'With desire,'" &c. Very much beautiful language, and various pious sentiments are expressed in the sermon; in which he proceeds to notice three sorts of passovers, which he desired to celebrate with the fathers of the council—the corporeal, the spiritual, and the eternal. The corporeal was the passing from one place to another for the deliverance of Jerusalem; the spiritual, the passing from one state to another by the reformation of the Church; the eternal, which was the passing from the temporal condition on earth to the glory of heaven. What he said on each of these points may be easily conjectured. A modern preacher would not, under the second head, exhort his hearers to punish heretics, as is done in this sermon. According to the one great error of the Roman Church, which *confounds the language and ordinances of the Jewish dispensation with the milder sanctions of the new covenant*, he changes the strong terms of

sort is the characteristic of the letters of this pope, alternately the lamb and the wolf. What more soft and paternal than his Consolatory Letter to the Prior of Canterbury? (lib. i. ep. 436.) In reading it, one would really think the Church of that day to have been a poor persecuted outcast in this evil world. Read only the two epistles immediately preceding, addressed to the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, and

that to King Richard! Or, read those directed against the heretics of Languedoc."—Ancient Christianity, No. 4, p. 495, and note.

⁴ They are to be found in the second part of the third volume of Binusius, p. 677, &c.

⁵ Philippians i. 21.

⁶ This was the saying of the noble puritan—"I am immortal till my work is done."

Moses into the advice to the Christian prelate—"Let not thine eye spare, neither let there be pity. If any man be on the Lord's side, let him gird his sword on his thigh. Go, and return from gate to gate, through the midst of the camp; and slay every man, brother, and friend, and neighbour. And the sons of Levi did according to the words of Moses.' And you must do the like. So strike, that you may heal. So kill, that you may make alive."

He then goes on to accuse the clergy of delinquency; and affirms that this delinquency is the cause of the corruption of the laity. "The time has come when judgment must begin at the house of God, and the words of the prophet are fulfilled, 'As with the people, so with the priest;' and therefore it is that faith perishes, religion is dishonoured, the liberty of the Church is destroyed, justice is trodden under foot, heretics flourish, schismatics abound, the perfidious rave, the Hagarenes prevail." The meaning of all this is explained in the third canon of the council, which treats of the extermination of heretics by the dungeon, the fire, or the sword! But he goes on—"Blessed are those servants whom his Lord, when He cometh, shall find so watching. Verily, I say unto you, He will gird Himself, make them to sit down, and minister unto them." He anticipates their reward and his own with humble, glowing, fervid, eloquent language, and consigns the wretched objects of his malediction, though without naming either them or their opinions, to the mercies of the newly-organized and permanent Inquisition, at the very moment when he had reason to anticipate a speedy departure from trouble to joy—from misery to glory—from death to life—from corruption to incorruption; and concludes by praying God "to grant all for Christ's sake, to Whom be honour and glory for ever and ever."

Thus the sermon ended. The fathers of the council heard and approved. The decree was passed—that all heretics be condemned, and delivered to the secular arm. If any be suspected, they shall be required to give satisfaction. The lords of the soil are to swear to extirpate heresy, or be excommunicated, after which their estates may be given to others, and their subjects be absolved from their allegiance. Heretics, and all who favour them, are declared infamous, divested of office, rejected when witnesses, rendered incapable of

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

inheriting or bequeathing. Search is to be made for them. Oaths are to be administered to discover them. The accused are to appear, and the guilty or relapsed are to be punished—ay, punished, canonically punished. Such is the picture of the Roman Church under Innocent III. Piety, zeal, error, assumption of exclusive truth, murdering those who are more, or equally pious, and certainly less erroneous, for the honour and glory of God. The curse left on Rome is—*not that it was once so blinded, but that the same authority which made these repugnant laws is at once ashamed to acknowledge them, and ashamed to rescind them.* I do not condemn Rome *past*; it was only the chief ecclesiastical delinquent of the age. *I condemn Rome present*, that it has not yet had the fortitude, or the sense of religious justice, to make that renunciation of wrong which our own Church has made; and the omission of which so many of its own communion abhor. I blame its continuing, as it recedes from antiquity, to drag at each remove a lengthened chain. *Its curse and its condemnation is—that its laws bind the priesthood and the people to Trent. Trent fetters them to Lateran.* Till the last link in this chain be broken, till the claim to punish an opinion of the mind by the infliction of punishment on the body be resigned by law, by councils, by popes—till the whole mass of the papal, the conciliar, and the canon law which sanctions this great crime be removed by the authority which enacted it, as we have removed the disgrace in England; there can be no cessation of the distrust of Rome, no thought of peace, no hope of union.

Though I have thus endeavoured to give a fair representation of the plans, intentions, talents, and greatness of ideas of Innocent III.; so much interest has been excited respecting this bishop and his pontificate, that I shall not hesitate to insert here some additional circumstances which illustrate both his high though cruel character, and the spirit of the age in which he lived. An enthusiastic attachment to error on the part of the mass of a people; with personal ambition disguised even from himself, under the notion of rendering honour to God, on the part of a pope;—may again at any time, partially at least, reproduce that state of opinion which shall either subdue all civil monarchy; or encourage, as in South America, a democratic upholding of papal usurpation. The war which

Innocent III. urged against the kings of Europe, may again be partially excited, unless the temporal sovereigns are still vigilant to prevent it. In the age of Innocent, the civil rulers were cruel, tyrannical barbarians; and the student may rejoice to see the cruel priest humble the cruel king. The civil ruler at present, in every country, is in some measure controlled, checked, and compelled to study, by senates chosen from the masses, the good of his people; there is, therefore, less reason apparently to fear that a pontiff of Rome should again rule the rulers of Europe. If, however, the priesthood of Rome should again be enabled to enlist the power of the press, and of the physical masses of the people, in behalf of their ascendancy; the advising senates would be changed, and monarchy would again become the slave of the priest. There is a country where this phenomenon is even now exhibited. The priest in Ireland rules the masses. The senators chosen by those masses enforce the will of the priest, by means of the inferior portion of the people. The monarchy is weakened. The Bishop of Rome is elevated. The empire is convulsed, and its very existence is endangered. The lesson which the history of the life of Innocent III. inculcates is, perpetual watchfulness against the influence of pontifical ambition, supported by talent, energy, and daring; appealing to ignorance and zeal, against nobility and monarchy.

Innocent III. was born in the midst of the conflict between the papacy and the empire. The popes had already achieved the emancipation of their Church from the imperial control; and were now engaged in the struggle for supremacy with the temporal power of Christendom. His family, as we have seen, belonged to the high aristocracy of Rome, whose claim to the great dignities of the Church, converted them into the most zealous partizans of the papal pretensions. His father was Trasimundo Conti, Count of Segnia; his mother was of the family of the Scotti, likewise of senatorial dignity. His education at Paris and Bologna, among canonists and civilians, furnished him with all the weapons of his future warfare; and his exercises under Gregory VIII., Clement III., and Celestine III., tended to settle and confirm the principles imbibed from his early studies, and strengthened by his position in society.

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

Before he became pope, he wrote a book upon the *Mystery of the Mass*—a second upon the *Fourfold Species of Matrimony*, *De Quadripartita Specie Nuptiarum*—a work upon the “Misery of the Human Condition”—Dialogue between God and a Sinner, &c. Raumer⁷ gives a characteristic extract from the preface to the “Penitentiary Psalms.” Innocent there says that he had chosen that subject of spiritual exercise, because the many secular occupations in which he was engaged, had a tendency to withdraw him from his holy contemplations, and to involve him in errors and sins. The “Dialogues” uniformly put forward the methods of pardon prescribed by the Church; and the pope always appears as the highest of all earthly powers, the viceroy of God upon earth. His reflections upon the miseries of the human condition, are equally descriptive of the man and his dispositions. He begins with his impure conception—his disgusting nurture in his mother’s womb—the coarseness of the food from which he derives his sustenance—the helplessness of the infant state—the vexations of his maturer years—the infirmities of old age, and the shortness of life. He is not even comparable with the tree of the field, for that sheds delightful odours around it; the human body distils only foul smells. The tree bears noble fruits; the man brings forth only corruption and impurity. “If,” he continues, “ye shall say, that the body, like the tree, consists of root, stem, and branches, look rather to the still more striking resemblance to the tree, in that it is wasted away by the wind, like the dried leaf. Fain would ye elevate your spirit to God and eternity. It is pressed down and imprisoned by the body, and your self-imputed wisdom hath not even carried you so far as to find out your own ignorance.” He proceeds to describe the many occupations of men in the same depreciating tone; he depicts them all merely as so much idle pain, so many killing tribulations. Riches and poverty, dominion and slavery, marriage and celibacy, all have their own peculiar torments; and among these the sorrows of the married man occupy a very conspicuous place. The wife clamours for dress, and trinkets, and serving women, far beyond the husband’s fortune. If he refuses, she does nothing, both night and day, but com-

⁷ History of the Suabian Emperors, vol. iii. p. 75.

plain, and sigh, and chatter, and murmur⁸. The beauty, he tells us, is pursued by others; the ugly one is shunned, but she whom many run after it is difficult to guard, yet it is mortifying to possess one whom nobody else would have. "It seems," he says further on, "to be both just and natural that the wicked should suffer; but is the good man or the saint better off in this world? Their prison is here below, not their dwelling-place or their happiness. Here all things are at enmity with all things—the flesh with the spirit, the devil with the pure, men with animals; the elements, kingdoms, and nations are at war one with another. If upon occasion there be peace and happiness, both are but transient, and disturbed by internal strife and external envy and violence. And then steps in tribulation only the more frequent, the more sudden, the more enduring; and death ever at hand encompasseth the whole race of Adam. Dost thou think to find rest in sleep? dark and terrible dreams affright thee; or if they be agreeable, thou hast to endure the painful sense of deception upon waking. Or, if we were secured against personal suffering, where is the breast of iron that does not feel the pain of others? Who is so steeled that the unrighteousness of others does not grieve him? If He alone, who among men was pure, and without sin, was not thereby freed from grief, what must be the condition of the impure man? Throughout all his earthly relations, in all his doings; in his passions, his desires, his errors, and his own vices, there is nothing but misery even unto death; ay, and beyond it, in purgatory and in hell, till the very day of judgment."

This is the substance of the work upon the "Miseries of Man." There is no reason to doubt that it contains the genuine opinions of the writer. The pictures of human crime and misery will not appear much overcharged to those who are familiar with the history of the times in which Lothario Conti lived. The shadows predominated fearfully over the lights. Rome itself was the scene of pride, and vanity, and turmoil, and strife, and crimes of every hue. France and Germany were torn by intestine broils, by feudal tyranny, and violence, and turbulence. Italy was distracted by the rival factions of the papacy and the empire; nor was the public misery arising from these sources in any degree

⁸ Plangit et suspirat, garrit et murmurat.—i. 18.

mitigated by a much higher tone of moral feeling than pervaded the rest of Europe. The opulence which the Italian cities derived from commerce had introduced new vices, without greatly diminishing the old ones.

Innocent was sincerely anxious to stem this torrent of evil. The cardinals felt the difficulties of their position, and unanimously fixed upon Lothario Conti, though then only in his thirty-eighth year, as the fittest ruler of the Church. A man so deeply impressed with the nothingness of all earthly pursuits and interests could not but feel the necessity of some fixed and settled position; from whence he could proceed to move and reduce into order the frightful chaos of mundane affairs. The papacy was the only instrument of strength for such a purpose. And, in fact, if we glance aside for a moment from that humble and tranquil trust in the redemption of Jesus Christ, which we, as Christians of the Church of England, are accustomed to regard as the only means for the general amelioration of the human condition; we shall readily perceive that there was then upon earth *one position and one calling* only which possessed the requisite firmness, organization, and power of action to move, to direct, or to check, the mass of political and moral evil in the world. *In accordance with the settled opinion of the Roman Church, Innocent regarded himself as the vicegerent of God upon earth;* and in this character he raised himself out of the circle of all earthly affections, and placed himself above all earthly things; in order, as he frequently tells us in his letters, "that he, and the immutable Church of which he was the pastor, might be a sure anchor to all who stood in need of protection; a terror to evil doers; a purifier of secular dominion; and a comforter to those who groaned under earthly servitude. It were mere ineptitude and folly to set up the meaner calling of an earthly sovereign in opposition to, or even in comparison with, this heavenly and all-comprehensive destination. Instead, therefore, of indulging the presumptuous opinion, that their worldly occupations might stand upon a level with the holy dominion of the pope, kings and princes ought rather to return humble thanks to Heaven that it had, in its mercy, founded upon earth a power of a higher origin than their own; to which they might look up with reverence as to something more sublime, and enduring, and

unblameable; and that thus an unerring loadstar was pointed out to them which might guide them safely through all their wanderings . . . In the same measure as the moon and the planets are nearer to the sun, so they receive the more light and heat: the further they recede from its influence, life likewise recedes, and death breaks in upon them. And this is the relation in which earthly power, wanting all light, or direction of its own, stands towards that spiritual power which is sufficient to itself, bearing life *in* itself, and shedding *from* itself upon all around⁹.”

After his accession to the papacy, Innocent took the earliest opportunity to put his Church in possession of his own views and intentions. Whether his resistance to his nomination was sincere or not, may be difficult to determine. Many of the greatest pontiffs, however, had manifested a similar reluctance. Thus Gregory the Great went and hid himself when he was told that he had been elected to fill the chair of Pelagius¹. In the same way Gregory VII.², Innocent III., and Alexander III., appeared to succumb under the sense of responsibility which came over them at the moment of their elevation. And as to Innocent III. himself, we learn that he wept and resisted³; and yielded only when reflection made it clear to him, that, in declining the chair, he would be guilty of disobedience to the Spirit of God. Thus he describes himself as having been raised to the government of the Church:—*Non suffragantibus meritis, sed divina providit dispositio eligi et assumi*⁴. After the solemnity of his consecration and inauguration, he preached a sermon from Luke xii. 42. “Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom the Lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?” The “faithful steward” of course is the pope. “He upon whose robe and upon whose loins is written, ‘King of kings, and Lord of lords,’ hath, by his own omnipotence, ordained the supremacy of the apostolic chair: that no one might dare to resist his ordinances, He Himself hath accordingly said, ‘Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, that the gates of

⁹ Reaumer on the “Gesta” *Imm. c.* xi. (Muratori *R. Ital. Script.* vol. iii. p. 488) in chapter xii.

¹ *Greg. Mag. ep. v.* 42.

² *Ep. i.* 9.

³ See the *Gesta*, *c. v.*

⁴ *Ep. 230, lib. i.*

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

hell may not prevail against it.' But this foundation is *immoveable*, as saith the Apostle: 'for other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' This (the Roman see) is that strong and solid house of which the Lord speaks: 'the rain fell, and the floods came and beat against that house, and it fell not, for it was built upon a rock.'" Then follows a profusion of quotations from Scripture, with a view to identify the *rock, Christ*, with the *rock, Peter*; and after that he goes on to describe the papal office, its power and dignity, more at large. "Ye now see *who* this steward is whom the Lord hath made ruler over his household: that steward is no other than *the viceroy of Jesus Christ*, the successor of Peter. He (the viceroy) stands in the middle place between God and man; *lower than God, higher than man; less than God, more than man; he judgeth all, and is judged of none*; as saith the Apostle (Paul), 'It is God that judgeth me.'" After thus demonstrating the transcendent nature of the office itself, and of the dignity of him who was chosen to fill it, he passes to the duties and obligations contracted by the person so chosen. "Yet he (the pope) who has been thus exalted on high, is, after all, humbled to the condition of servant of all, (referring to the word "steward" in the text,) that thereby humility may be exalted, and exaltation humbled; 'for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble;' 'whosoever exalteth *himself* shall be humbled;' 'every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low.' Oh, wonderful decree! The higher thou standest above all, the lower shalt thou debase thyself beneath all; for it is written, 'They have set thee up as a prince; be not therefore lifted up, but be as one among them.' This office is the 'candle upon the candlestick,' &c.—this is the 'salt of the earth,' &c. 'Therefore to whom much is given, from him much shall be required:' he hath to give an account unto God not only for himself, but for all that are entrusted to his care. For the Lord maketh no distinctions in this household. He speaketh not of servants (stewards) in the plural, but saith 'household,' in the singular number, as if it were one individual; for, there shall be *one* flock, and *one* shepherd;' the vesture of the Lord was without seam from the top to the bottom; it was in *one* ark, and by *one* pilot that all, how great soever the multitude, were saved from the

waters, while all that were *without* perished together in the deluge. Therefore am I (Innocent) called upon to give to the 'household' the meat of *good example*, 'that my light may so shine before men, that they may see my good works, and glorify my Father which is in heaven.' 'For no one lighteth a candle and putteth it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may give light to all that are in the house.' When the anointed priest sinneth, he maketh the people to sin; for every infirmity of mind becomes the greater reproach, the greater the person to whom it cleaveth. If I (Innocent) were to teach merely and not to *do* likewise, it might be deservedly said unto me, 'Physician, heal thyself;' or, 'Thou hypocrite, first take away the beam which is in thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to pluck out the mote which is in thy brother's eye;' or, 'How preachest thou, Thou shalt not steal, and stealest thyself? Thou shalt not commit adultery, and committest adultery thyself?' For unto the ungodly God hath said, 'Wherefore speakest thou of my righteousness and takest my covenant into thy mouth?' It is but just that the preaching of him whose life giveth cause of offence should be despised. Thus, beloved sons and brethren, do I propose to set before you the meat of the Divine word upon the table of the holy Scriptures. From you I expect this recompense, this requital, that ye lift up pure hands, without contention, and without strife, unto the Lord, imploring Him, in the prayer of faith, that He may give me grace worthily to fulfil this office of *apostolic steward* which He hath laid upon my feeble shoulders; to the honour of his holy name, to the salvation of my own soul, to the welfare of the universal Church, and to the profit of all Christendom. Blessed be our Lord Jesus Christ, which is God over all, to all eternity!"

Is all this mere hypocrisy? I think not. Yet, however pure and spiritual the motives of Innocent III., his conduct founded upon these professions was in the highest degree secular, and invested with almost all the external marks of temporal ambition. He knew no bounds to his spiritual jurisdiction; it extended over all temporal authority; therefore he may have believed it to be a paramount duty to bring all earthly power *practically* within that jurisdiction. However strongly he may have proposed to himself to exercise it for the good of

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

mankind, the glory of God, and the salvation of his own soul, the means by which he proposed to arrive at the universal recognition of that authority, must have been, of necessity, for the most part of a merely secular and political character. The same confusion between the goodness of the end in view, and that of the means to arrive at it, which existed in the mind of the age ; is equally perceptible in the opinions and demeanour of Innocent III. himself, superior as he was, in most respects, to all around him. He is represented to us as of a hasty and choleric temper, yet extremely placable, generous, self-denying, and abstemious. In his domestic administration he was diligent, just, and popular. But when his assumed authority as head of the Church was questioned, when his dictates were disobeyed, or when any opportunity offered for extending his spiritual or temporal jurisdiction, he rarely stopped at any measures which seemed requisite to subdue opposition. The very first act of his reign was an encroachment upon the imperial prerogative within the city of Rome. He deposed the senator or delegate appointed by the emperor as temporal sovereign of the city, and his assessors. He annulled the oath of office to the emperor, and framed a new oath of allegiance to himself; in which the senator (whom he re-appointed) swore to defend Innocent and the cardinals; declared himself the vassal of the pope; and acknowledged his right to depose him at his pleasure⁵. His transactions with the Emperors Henry VI., Philip, Otho III., and Frederic II., display wonderful steadiness of purpose, and unscrupulous use of his spiritual weapons, for the purpose of founding for his Church a solid temporal dominion in Italy; and for subduing all opposition to the implicit obedience claimed from all the princes of Christendom. As to his treatment of the supposed heretics of Provence and Languedoc, no emotion of compassion withheld his hand from shedding blood in torrents. Yet Bernard of Clairvaux, a man whose piety and devotion to what he believed to be equally the cause of God and man, no one ever doubted; approved of the like measures against the disciples of Peter Bruis, Abelard, and Arnold of Brescia, the latter the head of the "political heresy," as they were called; because they denied all political power to the Church or the

⁵ See Ep. Inn. III. tom. i. p. 329, or Ep. lib. i. Ep. 577.

pope, and were therefore most peculiarly odious to the Roman see. Even in that age the good sense of mankind could not be wholly blinded as to the tendency of the high spiritual pretensions of the pope; not even when backed by the countenance of men of the purest piety, and of the highest integrity. It must, however, be admitted that the deniers of the papal principle, were not endowed with the necessary discernment or temper, to restrain their opposition within due bounds. The temporal disorders which often resulted from breaking through established maxims of Church authority, proved to be the very best defence to its champions. The history of the Albigenses in France, the political heretics of the Cathari in Italy, or of the Lollards in England, show, that extravagance in opposition to evil, only serves to introduce new evils without remedying—nay, by the very act strengthening—the old ones.

The Fourth Council of Lateran was summoned by Innocent, on the 20th of April, 1213, and was to be held two years and a half afterwards. His professed object in summoning the council, as at first announced, was the recovering of the Holy Land, and the reformation of the Catholic Church⁶. In the proclamation for calling together the council, he declares “that the wild beasts of the field destroy the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth⁷.” One of the chief points of the controversy between the members of the Church of Rome and its opponents, re-

⁶ Whereas those two things affect, he says, the general state of the Church, he had, therefore, according to the advice of his brethren and other judicious persons, resolved to call a general council, for the salvation of souls, for eradicating vice and planting virtue, to correct irregularities, reform the manners, condemn heresies, put a stop to divisions, establish peace, prevent outrages, re-establish liberty, and engage the princes and people to retrieve the Holy Land. He should take care in the meantime, he said, to inform himself of the abuses which needed reformation, and to send persons into the several provinces to dispose them for the expedition to the Holy Land; to urge the archbishops and bishops to come to the council; and that those who could not be present in person

should send deputies; to admonish all chapters to send deputies, and all to promote the expedition to the Holy Land. The circular letter was directed to the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and sovereign princes of all Christendom.—Du Pin, cent. xiii. vol. xi. p. 95, Engl. translation, London, 1695.

The invitation, or rather summons to the Fourth Lateran Council, may be noticed as strictly making sovereign princes inferior to the episcopal orders.

⁷ Vineam Domini Sabaoth multiformes satagunt bestie demoliri, quarum incursum adeo invaluit contra ipsam, ut ex parte non modica, pro vitibus spinæ succreverint, et (quod gementes referimus) ipsæ jam vites proferant pro uva labriseam, infectæ multipliciter et corruptæ.

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

lates to the manner in which the canons of this council were enacted. Whether they were the acts of the council, and really resulted from its deliberations, is of but little moment. If the pope submitted them to the council as his own decrees and decisions, and they were adopted in silence, or even not protested against by the council; the bishops who composed it are no less responsible. The canons of the Fourth Council, after all, are little more than the repetition of the decrees of the Third Council of Lateran, and the anticipation of many which followed it⁸. The punishment of heresy by the sword was the act and the guilt of the whole Western Church. Transubstantiation was its doctrine. Among all the episcopal Churches implicated in the crime, that of Rome in its self-assumed character of supreme, must be allowed to have stood foremost. Innocent III., in acting the part he performed, did but follow the example of all the popes ever since the pontificate of Gregory VII. He meant to exercise his right of demanding passive obedience, and the bishops conceded that obedience. He meant to secure to the see of Rome the permanency of the power which it had obtained; and he drew up such additional laws as he conceived to be specially wanted to effect his object, which were sanctioned by this most celebrated council—the Fourth of Lateran, of which I now present a tabular synopsis.

⁸ See on this much controverted subject, a work by the Rev. John Evans, “The Statutes of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, recognized by subsequent councils and synods, down to the Council of Trent.” London, Seeleys, 1843.

Synopsis of the Twelfth General Council.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

Council XIII.	Fourth Lateran Council ⁸ .
Date.	A. D. 1215. November 11th to November 30th ⁹ .
Number of Bishops.	Bishops 412 ; Abbots and Priors 800, with many ambassadors and delegates ¹ .
By whom summoned.	Innocent III., on his own authority, but with the concurrence of the emperor ² .
President.	Pope, in person ³ .
Why and against what opinions.	The Albigenses and others charged with heresy ⁴ . Joachim, Abbot of Flora. Amary, a scholastic of Paris. The Turks inhabiting Palestine. For general Church reform.
Against whom.	Albigenses and other sects — Joachim — Amary, or Almaric ⁵ .
Chief decrees and canons.	The Third decree enjoins the destruction of heretics. IX. That the Divine offices be performed in the vulgar tongue. XXI. Enjoins auricular confession. XXXII. That sufficient maintenance be provided for the Churches. LI. Orders the publication of banns in Churches. LXVIII. That Jews and Saracens be distinguished from Christians by a different dress. Jews and Saracens not eligible to public trusts.—By other acts, transubstantiation was confirmed, and power to release subjects from allegiance by the pope made absolute. Count Raymond's domain confiscated ⁶ .
Penalties.	Extirpation—Excommunication—Suspension—Deposition—Removal—Expulsion—Anathema.
Sufferers.	Albigenses and their friends. Almaric's body exhumed and burnt. Joachim not dug up ⁷ .
Emperor.	Frederic II., who supported Innocent in the calling and object of the council.
Pope.	Innocent III., who arrogated to himself the power to decree the acts ⁸ .

Brief account of the chief acts of the Council.

I. Contains a long confession of the Catholic faith. On this subject it adds to the usual articles of the Nicene Creed

⁸ This was called the Great Lateran Council.—Delahogue, p. 435.

Termed Lateran from the Lateran Church of our Saviour in which it was held, which is now called Constantiniana.—Concilia, vol. ii. part i. p. 238, Du Pin, vol. xi. p. 206.

⁹ Venema, vi. 184. 244 ; Delahogue, p. 435 ; Mosheim, iii. 243 ; Gesner, p. 764 ; Platina in Tabula ; Caranza, p. 795 ; Grier, p. 183 ; Binius, iii. pt. ii. 672—697 ; Concilia, xi. pt. i. 238 ; Cent. Magdeb. cent. xiii. cap. ix. p. 792 ; Du Pin, ii. 203.

¹ Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 243, says, "A prodigious number."—See all the authorities given in the preceding note ; also Godolphin's Ecclesiastical Laws, who says 400 bishops, and 80 other fathers.

² Grier, p. 183, says, "By and with the concurrence of the reigning emperor, Frederic II." See also the authorities before given. The Fourth Lateran Council was under Frederic II. and Innocent III.—Godolphin's Eccles. Laws, p. 616.

³ Pope Innocent in person. Platina in Tabula.—"Papa presidet." Venema, vi. 244. See also all the fore-mentioned authorities.

⁴ In the pope's letter of indiction he assigned two reasons:—First. The Reformation of the Church and the suppression of heresy. Second. For the purpose of exciting the princes and prelates of Christendom to unite in an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land.—Grier, p. 184.

Tribus de causis, in literis expressis ; pro recuperatione Terræ Sanctæ, extirpatione hæresium et hæreticorum, ac universali ecclesiæ reformatione.—Venema, vi. 244.

Ut ad recuperationem videlicet Terræ Sanctæ ac reformationem universalis ecclesiæ.—Concilia, xi. pt. i. 123. 129. 131 ; Binius, iii. pt. ii. pp. 674. 676. 677.

Generale concilium juxta sanctorum patrum consuetudinem convocemus, propter lucra solummodo animarum opportuno tempore celebrandum ; in quo ad extirpanda vitia et plantandas virtutes, corrigendos excessus, et reformandos mores, eliminandas hæreses, ad roborandam fidem, sapiendas dis-

cordias, et stabiliendam pacem, comprimendas oppressiones, et libertatem fovendam, inducendos principes et populos Christianos ad succursum et subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, tam a clericis quam a laicis impendendum, cum cæteris quæ longum esset per singula numerare, provide statuatur inviolabiliter observanda.—Concilia, vol. xi. pt. i. p. 124 ; Binius, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 674, 675 ; Du Pin, vol. ii. p. 203, ed. London.

⁵ Heretics of every denomination, and especially against the sects of the Languedoc provinces ; and individually, Joachim was distinctly specified as one against whom proceedings were to be taken. He was a monk of the Cistercian order, who founded the monastery of Flora, in Calabria, of which he was the first abbot. His offence was for accusing, in his writings, Peter Lombard, master of the sentences, of holding a quaternity of persons in the Godhead. He died before the time of his trial arrived. He was condemned, but suffered to remain in his grave. Synodus Lateranensis celeberrima partim contra errores Abbatis Joachim, partim de expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ.—Platina in Tabula. Fleury, xvi. 91, ed. 1715 ; Cave, ii. 278 ; Venema, vi. 300. See synopsis.

Almaric, or Amalric, a learned Parisian doctor, who held opinions contrary to transubstantiation, and the offering of incense in churches. He is also said to have denied the resurrection, paradise, hell, and other tenets. He held that every Christian was bound to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ ; and entertained extravagant ideas on various metaphysical subjects. The grief which he suffered at having been condemned by the Council of Sens in 1209, brought on a severe illness, of which he died.

⁶ Among the decrees which still continue to make this council memorable, is that from which so much controversy has resulted, as to the elements of the eucharist being transformed into flesh and blood, upon pronouncing over them the words of the consecration. The four hundred mem-

for the Holy Catholic Church: "there is One Universal Church of the Faithful, out of which none can by any means

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

bers assembled on this occasion declare Ipse sacerdos, et sacrificium Jesus Christus; cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur; transubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo quod accipit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui fuerit rite ordinatus secundum claves ecclesie, quas ipse concessit apostolis et eorum successoribus Jesus Christus.—Concilia, xi. pt. i. p. 143.

From the ninth century, the doctrine of transubstantiation of the elements in the eucharist had exhibited itself, without assuming a definite form, or being held as an article of faith. The tenets of Paschasius Radbertus, Rabanus Maurus, Bertram of Corby, Eri-gena, and Berengarius, have frequently been discussed by ecclesiastical historians, and need not here be mentioned. The illustrations furnished by Odo, Dunstan, and Lanfranc, Archbishops of Canterbury, are less generally known, especially the latter; they all tend to show that transubstantiation had become a favourite doctrine in England*.

In the twelfth century, the word "transubstantiation" first came into

use; the first who employed it was Stephen, Bishop of Autun, and he probably had the merit of inventing this barbarous term †. It was also used by his contemporary, Peter of Blois, and from that time became generally adopted.

So far it was one of those doctrines not "de fide ‡," but ceased to be so in the year 1215, when Innocent III. and the Council of Lateran made it an essential article of faith §. Matthew Paris (A. D. 1215) remarks that this canon, as well as several others then promulgated, expressed rather the opinion of the pope individually, than of the assembly generally.

From this time it occupied the thoughts and engaged the pens of all the schoolmen, who willingly enlarged upon a doctrine which tended to exalt to such a height the priestly office. The extravagances (to use a mild term) at which they arrived, may be gathered from the following quotation: "Virgo Maria, etsi in gratie plenitudine creaturas supergrediatur universas, hierarchis tamen cedit ecclesie in commissi mysterii executione. Illa nempe, prolati octo verbulis, *Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*, semel concepit Dei Filium et mundi Redemptorem. Isti a Domino consecrati quinque verbis contentam consecrationis

* There has lately been discovered in the library of Wolfenbutel, an unique copy of Berengarius' answer to the treatise which Lanfranc wrote, against his doctrine concerning the eucharist. It has been published in Germany.

† he prays, "ut cibus hominum fiat cibus Angelorum, ut oblatio panis et vini transubstantietur in corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi."—De Sacram. Altaris in Bibl. Mag. Patr. vi. 382.

‡ Pope Innocent himself, in his work De Offic. Missæ, ii. xxvi. after mentioning three opinions which might be held before the Council of Lateran, adds, Quælibet istarum voluit istud commune salvare, quod ibi vere est corpus Christi, quia illud negare est

plana contra fidem.

Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, de Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, p. 45, speaking of transubstantiation, says, De modo quo id fieret fortasse satius erat curiosum quemque sue relinquere conjecturæ, sicut liberum fuit ante Concilium Lateranum.—See also Jewell, ii. 206, ed. Lat. et Hospician de Orig. Fest. Christ. p. 110.

Lastly, Bellarmine, lib. 3, de Euch. xxiii., remarks, Scotus docet ante Concilium Lateranense non fuisse dogma fidei transubstantiationem.

§ Christi corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem Christi potestate divina.

be saved; in which Jesus Christ is at once the Priest and the Sacrifice, whose body and blood in the sacrament of the

formam cum debita intentione profertentes, eundem Dei Virginisque Filium invocant quotidie corporaliter in sacrificium et criminum purgationem."—*Gab. Biel. lect. 4, in Can. Missae.*

⁷ The bones of Almaric or Amalric were dug up and burnt, and the ashes cast into the dunghill, in consequence of the anathema passed upon him in the Council of Paris.—See *Venema, vi. 299.*

Mosheim (iii. 158) says the books of Almaric were condemned as "pernicious and pestilential by a public decree in the Council of Sens in 1209." Mac-laine, the translator of Mosheim, has attached a note to this passage, to inform his readers of the error of both place and date into which Mosheim has been led, it having been a Council of Paris held in 1210, which condemned the writings of Almaric.

The translator is of opinion that Almaric or Amauri did not entertain any "enormous errors;" "but that his followers adopted most odious tenets, maintaining that the power of the Father continued no longer than the Mosaic dispensation; that the empire of the Son extended only to the thirteenth century; and that then the reign of the Holy Ghost commenced, when all sacraments and external worship were to be abolished, and the salvation of Christians was to be accomplished merely by internal acts of illuminating grace."

The accusation of Joachim, and the facts connected with it, furnish a singular piece of history. He was born at Celico in 1112, and was educated as one destined for high station in civil life. He occupied for some years a post in the court of Naples, which he left to visit the holy places in Palestine. A pestilence raged in Jerusalem while he was in the East, and this caused him to vow to renounce the world. On his return he became a rigid Cistercian, and founded several monasteries, which he governed with great repute. Many regarded him as a divine prophet. His predictions were comprised in a book called "The Everlasting Gospel." He was also author of a "Harmony of the Old and

New Testaments;" and having led a hermit's life, he died at the age of 90, in full expectation of having a fair claim, no doubt, to rank among the saints of his flourishing order. His apotheosis was sought by his disciples, but though his works were in high estimation for the time he lived, and had received the approbation of the several popes of his day, Innocent discovered that his infallible predecessors had sanctioned errors which cried aloud for his condemnation, rather than the immortal honour of their author; and having caused the Lateran synod to brand them with a damnatory sentence, the books of Joachim were ordered to be committed to the flames.

For a history of this individual, see *Moreri*; see also *Spondanus, i. 60*; *Hoveden, ap. Spanheim, sæcul. xiii. p. 1694, folio, Lugd. Batv.*

⁸ Innocent presented to the assembly canons to the number of seventy, which he had previously drawn up, at the same time desiring that *no debate* should be held respecting them, but that the silence of the council should be regarded as a token of their approbation of them.—*Grier, p. 185.*

Porro Canones hujus Concilii, seu capitula numero LXX.—non modo Matt. Parisius negavit emanasse ab ipso Concilio, præviâ deliberatione, vel approbatione patrum, sed unius pontificis opus fuisse; verum in eandem sententiam scripsere Godefridus Monachus, Platina, Nauclerus, et in recentioribus pontificiis, Antonius de Dominis, Ludovicus Servinus, Guil. Barclaius, et Galli Cordatiore.—Spanheim, cent. xiii. p. 1705, folio, Lugd. Batv. 1701.

This fact of Pope Innocent III. having imposed his own seventy decrees on a general council, without allowing one objection to be raised, and as all authorities agree, commanding a dumb acquiescence to each as they were read *seriatim*, before the 400 fathers and all the sovereigns of Europe, may be regarded as the highest point ever attained by papal domination; and as the most perfect realization of the papal supremacy over the universal Church.

altar, under the species of bread and wine, are truly contained, the bread being transubstantiated into his body, and the wine into his blood, by divine power," &c.

II. Condemns the errors of the Abbot Joachim.

Canon III., of which the following is a translation, is an unlimited license for the general destruction of heretics, and seizure of their properties, with a proclamation of the right to depose kings and princes, and to set up others in their stead. "We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy setting itself against this holy, orthodox, catholic faith, which we have before explained (in canon I.); condemning all heretics by whatever name designated, having indeed different faces, but all bound together by the tail, because from vanity they agree in this selfsame thing. And having been condemned, they are left to the secular magistrates present, or to their bailiffs, to undergo the accustomed punishment, the clergy being first degraded from their orders; so that the goods of such as are condemned of this crime, if they be laics, may be confiscated; but if clerics, they may be applied to the churches from which they had received their emolument.

"Moreover, those who shall fall under suspicion only, unless according to the peculiarity of the suspicion, and the quality of the person, they shall demonstrate their complete innocence by proper purgation; they shall be stricken with the sword of anathema, and shall be shunned by all, until they have made sufficient satisfaction; and if they continue one year under excommunication, then they shall be condemned as heretics.

"Secular rulers, whatever authority they exercise, shall be admonished, and induced, and if necessary compelled by ecclesiastical censure, that if they desire to be held and esteemed faithful, they shall, for the defence of the faith, publicly make oath that they will, with all sincerity, use their best endeavours to exterminate from the countries subject to their jurisdiction, all heretics denounced by the Church; so that hereafter, whenever any one shall enter upon authority, spiritual or temporal, he shall be compelled to ratify this chapter by oath.

"If any temporal lord, having been required and admonished by the Church, shall neglect to purge his territory of heretical

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VII.

pravity, he shall be excommunicated by the metropolitan and all his suffragan bishops; and if he refuse to make satisfaction within a year, the same shall be signified to the Roman pontiff; who then may declare his vassals absolved from their fealty, and may proclaim that his territory may be occupied by Catholics, who (the heretics having been exterminated) shall enjoy the possession of it without any contradiction, and preserve it in the purity of the faith; the right of the chief lord being respected as long as he presents no obstacle, and opposes no impediment to it; the same law, however, is to be observed towards those who have no chief lords.

“Also Catholics, who, having assumed the sign of the cross, have bound themselves to the extermination of heretics, shall have the same indulgence, and possess the same holy privileges as have been granted to those who have proceeded to the defence of the Holy Land.

“But we also decree, that those who trust to, as well as the receivers, defenders, and favourers of heretics, shall be liable to excommunication; firmly determining that after any such person shall have been excommunicated, if he shall refuse to make satisfaction within a year, then *ipso jure* he shall be disgraced, neither shall he be eligible to any public office or council, nor to assist in electing others to such duties; neither shall he give evidence. Let him be exempt from testamentary law, so that he neither have power to devise a possession, nor succeed to one. Besides, no one is compelled to criminate himself (*ipsi respondere*) with regard to this, but others. If by chance he be a judge, let his opinion have no force; and let no other causes be brought to his hearing. If he be an advocate, let his pleading by no means be admitted. If he be a notary, let the instruments he draws up be not of the slightest importance: but let them be condemned, with their condemned author. If he be a cleric, let him be deposed from every office and benefice; so that, in whomsoever is the greater fault, upon him may fall the greater punishment.

“If any shall refuse to avoid such, after they have been pointed out by the Church, let them be under the sentence of excommunication till they make fit satisfaction. The clergy shall not administer the ecclesiastical sacraments to

such pestilent persons; neither shall they presume to give them Christian burial; nor to accept their alms, or oblations: if they do so, they shall be deprived of their office, and not again be restored without the special indulgence of the apostolic see. Likewise, with regard to regulars, upon whom this sentence shall have been inflicted, their privileges shall not be continued in that diocese in which they have presumed to perpetuate such crimes.

“But because some, under the appearance of piety, denying that power of which the Apostle speaks, claim to themselves the authority to preach, seeing the same Apostle says, “How shall they preach, except they be sent?”—all who being prohibited, or sent without authority received from the Roman see, or the Catholic bishop of the place, shall presume to take the office of preaching, either publicly or privately, shall be excommunicated; and, unless they quickly repent, other punishments shall follow.

“Moreover, we decree, that every archbishop or bishop, shall himself, or by his archdeacon, or fit and proper persons, visit twice (or once at least) in each year, that parish in which report says heretics reside; and there shall cause to take oath three or more men of good report, or if it shall seem requisite, the whole neighbourhood, that if any know heretics there, or others holding private conventicles, or differing from the common conversation of the faithful in life and manners, he shall endeavour to point them out to the bishop; and the bishop shall summon the accused to his presence, who, unless they shall clear themselves of the crime laid to their charge, or if, after proof of their innocence, they relapse into their former perfidy, shall be canonically punished. But if any of these, despising with damnable obstinacy the power of an oath, are unwilling to swear, from that very act let them be reputed as heretics.

“We wish, therefore, and in virtue of obedience, strictly command, that for efficiently executing these decrees, the bishops keep strict watch throughout their dioceses, if they wish to escape canonical punishment. For if any bishop shall be negligent or remiss in purging the leaven of heretical pravity from his diocese, when this is proved by competent evidence, he shall be deposed from his episcopal office, and

BOOK III. another fit person shall be substituted in his place, who is
 CHAP. willing and able to destroy heretical pravity."⁹
 VII.

By canon V., the four Oriental patriarchal sees, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, are commanded each to receive from the Roman pontiff the pall, which is the token of submission to the pontifical power, as acknowledged by an oath of fidelity and obedience exacted at the ceremony of investment; and by which also the right of judicial appeals is confirmed to the apostolic see. This was the first act by which the imposition of the pall was attempted to be forced upon the eastern patriarchs⁹.

By canon IX. the following provisions are enacted:—"Since, in many places within the same city and diocese, people of different languages are often mingled together, having various rites and customs even while professing the same faith, we distinctly command that the chief bishops of such cities or dioceses, shall provide proper persons, who, according to the diversities of rites and languages, may celebrate the Divine offices, and administer the ecclesiastical sacraments to them, by instructing them equally by word and example."

By canon XXI., the ceremony of auricular confession is made imperative on all persons of both sexes in the following terms:—"All the faithful of both sexes, after they have come to years of discretion, shall faithfully, in private, confess all their sins, at least once a year, to their own proper priest; and shall do their utmost endeavour to fulfil the enjoined penance reverently, receiving the sacrament of the eucharist at least at Easter; unless by the advice of their own priest, for some reasonable cause, they are led to abstain for a time according to his discretion; otherwise, while living, they shall be excluded from ingress to the Church; and when dead, shall not obtain Christian burial. For which purpose this salutary statute shall frequently be published in the Churches, lest any one should allege ignorance as an excuse. And if any one wish to confess his sins, for some just cause, to another priest, let him request and obtain permission from his own

⁹ Jubentur Canone V. quatuor sedes, Orientalis, Constantinopolitana, Alexandrina, Antiochena, et Hierosolymitana, pallium a Romano Pontifice sumere, quod est plenitudinis pontificalis insignis, sed ante præstito fidelitatis et obedientiæ juramento, salvis adpellationibus ad sedem apostolicam, ad ipsos adpellari posse.—Venema, vi. 245, 246.

priest so to do ; since, otherwise, he will not be able to bind and loose.

“The priest should be discreet and cautious, so that, after the manner of a skilful physician, he may pour in wine and oil to the wounds of the afflicted ; diligently inquiring the circumstances both of the offender and of the offence ; by which he may wisely determine what advice he ought to give to him, and what remedy to apply in using various experiments to heal the sick.

“Let him also be careful that by no means whatever he betray by word, or sign, or any other method, the offender : but if he should require more prudent counsel, let him ask it without any indication of the person ; because, whoever shall presume to reveal an offence confided to him in confession, we decree, shall not only be deposed from the sacerdotal office, but also condemned to perpetual penance, and thrust into a strict monastery.”

By canon XLIII. the clergy are prohibited from taking an oath of fidelity to laics under whom they hold no temporal possession.

By canon XLVI. no taxes or any other burthens are allowed to be imposed on ecclesiastics, and gratuitous donations from them are not permitted to be given without the consent of the pope.

By canon LVIII. the privilege is granted to bishops of celebrating the Divine offices secretly, and with closed doors, when the country is under interdict ; such as are excommunicated and interdicted being excluded.

Many of the modern friends of the Church of Rome are very anxious to prove that the persecuting canon of the Fourth Council of Lateran was not then made the law of the Church of Rome. Those who thus argue have not taken into consideration the whole mass of the history of the twelfth century. The public mind in all nations was at this time so imbued with the hatred and detestation of any opinion, or mode of worship, every thought, word, or deed, which was opposed to the decisions of the see of Rome, that the council did but confirm, and as it were put its seal upon the universal condemnation which followed upon alleged heresy. If they had not done so they would have been themselves insulted ;

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

their decisions derided; and the pope himself would have been regarded as a traitor to his own Church. The whole of the Western Churches were contaminated with the disease of intolerance. The whole head was sick with error, and the whole heart was faint with cruelty. Toleration was blasphemy: blasphemy was infamy. The Church of Rome was no more guilty of persecution because of its enactment of the persecuting canons than the Church of France, or the Church of England, or any other of the larger episcopal communions. All had their delegates at the council. All received the merciless decree with approbation and delight. The fault of the Church of Rome does not consist in having passed the cruel law in the year 1215, when darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people. *The crime of Rome is, that it still loves to continue the fetters, in which the Churches of Christ were then bound.* England has cast them off. France has relaxed them. Spain, Portugal, Italy itself, feel their weight to be most oppressive. But they are riveted on Rome as a Church, by the decrees of Trent; and till that fetter is removed, civilized and Christian mankind may pity, but cannot and ought not to receive her creeds, join her communion, nor submit to her authority. We bear no abstract hatred to Rome. We only bid our sister to awake from the dungeons of Lateran and Trent, and throw off the chains that will break at a word. Till Rome does this, the iron of our just contempt and sorrow will enter into its soul.

The decrees of the Third Council of Lateran, the numerous bulls of Alexander III., the law and rescript of Lucius III., all similar in their import, and differing but little in severity, are all too, as before shown under the preceding periods to which they severally belong, incorporated in the canon law. *Why then is the decree of the Fourth Council of Lateran, which speaks only the same things, assailed as unauthentic or unjust?* Indeed, a great part of the third canon of this council is taken word for word from the decree of Lucius III.¹, published in 1183 or 1184, of which notice has

¹ See under the pontificate of Lucius III.; see also the *Corporis Juris Canonici Decret. Gregorii IX. lib. v. tit. vii. cap. ix. p. 745. adjecimus, ut quilibet archiepiscopus vel episcopus*, and

also cap. xiii. § 7, p. 751. *Adjecimus insuper, ut quilibet archiepiscopus vel episcopus*—where the decree of Innocent is given in the same words as the prior decree of Lucius, and retained in

already been taken. It may certainly be deemed unnecessary to refer to laws which would, on account of their remoteness, appear to have become obsolete; if we did not remember that though six hundred years have elapsed since the bulls of Alexander III. and Lucius III. have been identified with this Council of Lateran; yet these laws not only remain unrepealed; but have actually become most interesting to the present generation, on account of recent circumstances of which some detail must be given, if we would understand rightly the connexion between the various periods of history, and the influence of these unjustifiable, yet unrescinded laws even upon our own day. A few years only have elapsed since the laws which excluded the members of the Church of Rome from the powers and privilege of legislating for the empire, in conjunction with their fellow-subjects, were rescinded by the king and parliament. The nature and validity of the third canon of the Fourth Council of Lateran formed one of the principal questions which were then brought into discussion. The original object of the canon was affirmed to be the suppression of heresy. As, however, it had been urged to justify rebellions, insurrections, and the deposition of sovereigns on account of imputed heresy; the friends of that amount of toleration which would permit even heresy to exist unpunished by either civil, canon, statute, or common law, provided the peace of society was secured; desired some satisfaction respecting its existence, and the continuance or extinction of its authority. The importance of this canon may render it expedient to consider the arguments by which that authority was either assailed or defended². The most eminent authorities which adhered to the Church of Rome³

the canon law by a repetition of the same words. Other parts, also, of the decree of Lucius have been copied by Innocent; for instance, *Receptores et defensores eorum, cunctosque pariter —vel favorem, sive consolati, sive credentes, etc.*, as we find it in the Rescripts of Lucius, is as follows in the canon of the Lateran Council—*contra defensores, receptores, fautores et credentes hæreticorum.*

² See Phelan and O'Sullivan's Digest of the Evidence taken before Select Committees of the two Houses of Parliament appointed to inquire into the

state of Ireland, 1824, 1825, part ii. pp. 183—190; also M'Ghee's Laws of Papacy, pp. 58—112.

³ The Most Reverend Patrick Curtis, Rom. Cath. Archbishop of Armagh. The Most Reverend Dr. Murray, Rom. Cath. Archbishop of Dublin. The Right Reverend James M'Gauran, Rom. Cath. Bishop of Ardagh. The Right Reverend James Doyle, Rom. Cath. Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. The Reverend Oliver Kelly, Rom. Cath. Archbishop of Tuam. Daniel O'Connell, Esq., Rom. Cath. Barrister, Kerry. Anthony Blake, Esq., Rom.

were chosen to give such satisfaction as the nature of the case demanded. They were supposed to be bound to speak the truth not only by the usual obligations, between man and man, by their high and holy callings, but by the solemn pledge of a religious oath.

Archbishop Murray, before a committee of the House of Commons, swore that in no part of Christendom was this canon in operation, or held as a law of the Roman Catholic Church; that it never did possess authority either in England or Ireland; that when the law was passed, the Albigenses were in a state of such extreme demoralization, that the vices of which they were guilty, threatened to pollute society throughout Europe with obscenity⁴; that the law was passed simply to counteract these vices; that it was a law called for on the part of the civil authorities rather than the ecclesiastical portion of the Lateran Council, being chiefly designed to promote feudalism⁵. Yet with all these unsubstantial apologies for its enactment, Dr. Murray swears that he believes the canon to be spurious; and endeavours to make it appear that this memorable canon is different in its structure from those which he owns to be genuine⁶.

Archbishop Doyle swore before a committee of the House of Lords, that the canon in question does not sanction the extermination of heretics, but *very far from it*: that no such

Cath. Barrister, Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer of Ireland, and a Commissioner of Education. Richard Shiel, Esq., Rom. Cath. Barrister. Mr. M. B. Dunphy, Superintendent of Schools on the Rom. Cath. System. Dr. Crotty, President of Maynooth College, now Rom. Cath. Bishop of Cloyne.

These are among the chief witnesses examined on the nature of the canon law of the Rom. Cath. Church, as at present affecting the peace and security of Protestant states, prior to the concession of the claims of emancipation. The evidence, as given in the "Digest" of Phelan and O'Sullivan, 2 vols. 8vo, will well repay the time required for its examination; and the further continuation given in "The Laws of the Papacy," by M'Ghee, with documents and remarks showing the power of the English crown in Ireland to be subordinate to that of the pope, is worthy to be consulted by every Protestant de-

sirous to understand the history of his own age, and its probable consequences upon other generations.

⁴ May it be supposed possible that Dr. Murray had never read the complete refutation of all such charges by every historian, both contemporary and recent, who took the trouble to investigate the truth of the allegations against the Albigensian Church? Perrin and Limborech both afford satisfactory authority from Roman Catholic writers, that there was never any ground for the Albigenses being addicted to obscenity, or any immorality such as Dr. Murray swore endangered Europe with pollution.—See Perrin's Albigenses, chap. i. ii iii.; Limborech's History of the Inquisition.

⁵ This gratuitous assertion has no better foundation than mere imaginary inference.—See M'Ghee, pp. 71—84.

⁶ Id. p. 66.

doctrine is to be found in the act of that Council; that the grossly immoral conduct of the Albigenses endangered the laws of civil society; that if the canon did pass (which Dr. Doyle professed to doubt), it was as a vote of the mixed powers, secular and ecclesiastical, for putting down the vices of the Albigenses, and nothing more; that it was not regarded as an ecclesiastical canon ⁷.

Dr. Kelly does not appear to have been examined on the purport of this decree, except in conjunction with his brethren: he is, therefore, to be regarded not as swearing, but as assenting to, and ratifying by his sign manual, the depositions above referred to ⁸.

Dr. Crotty, then president of Maynooth College, since appointed Bishop of Cloyne, in his examination before the Commissioners of Education, cites an opinion of Collier in support of the denial of the authenticity of the canon. This violent non-juror, outlawed on account of his fierce advocacy of Jacobitism, to be thus brought forward in affirmation of so scrupulous a point, was surely calculated to give the whole testimony a suspicious aspect. Indeed, the specimen of duplicity afforded by the depositions on the present efficacy of the Lateran canons for the suppression of heresy, will never cease to be regarded as one of the most extraordinary records connected with the legislation of the British senate. It can never be forgotten that the high functionaries of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, *undâ voce*, swore that they severally *believed* the canons which empower the pope to depose sovereigns, and to absolve subjects from their temporal allegiance, are totally destitute of authority; no papal rescript derogatory to the rights of sovereigns being allowed publication even in Catholic states on this side the Alps. In the summing up of his answers, to prevent their being misunderstood, Dr. Crotty admits,

I. That the third and fourth Lateran Councils enacted severe temporal punishments against heretics.

⁷ M'Ghee, p. 92. Let the reader compare the words of this canon with the oaths of Drs. Doyle and Murray, as well authenticated by M'Ghee, and critically analyzed in his valuable little book, and judge for himself upon this

solemn question.

⁸ See the thirty signatures attached to the oath and declaration of the Roman Catholic bishops in 1826, with the observations of M'Ghee on Dr. Doyle's letter to Lord Liverpool, pp. 26—29.

II. That they ordained the excommunication of temporal sovereigns who connived at the introduction of heresy among their dependents.

III. That if sovereigns and lords who suffered heresy to exist in their country did not give a satisfactory account of their conduct to the pope within a year, the allegiance and fidelity of their vassals should be forfeited.

IV. That these laws originated with the ecclesiastical authorities in the council, to be afterwards put in execution by the temporal powers; but not as possessing a right to inflict bodily punishments, which was entirely committed to the secular princes, who exercised it without any direct reference to Rome, and at their own discretion⁹.

Dr. Slevin's depositions apply more particularly to the bull for the restoration of property in Ireland, confiscated upon the overthrow of the Jacobite party¹.

These extracts from the depositions made by the advocates of the petitions presented to the British parliament for the restoration of power to the members of the Church of Rome in this kingdom; are sufficient to show by what kind of pretences the persecuting and dethroning canons were attempted to be disowned: the chief of which were,—by swearing that the canon means nothing of what it says; by laying the odium of its enactment on the secular rulers of states, and excusing the Church from every fault but compliance; by renewing calumnies against the Albigenses, in the face of all history, except that which has been given by their persecutors themselves, in justification of the deeds of blood committed by themselves; and by affecting to disbelieve the canon having been passed by the council.

While, however, these insurrectionary and proscribing laws keep their place as fixtures in the books of jurisprudence² of the Church of Rome, and are studied by canonists of that persuasion as much as any other of their sacred

⁹ See Appendix to Report of Commissioners of Irish Education, October 20, 1820, with remarks of M'Ghee, *Laws of the Papacy*, p. 82, et seq.

¹ M'Ghee's Extracts, as above, p. 32, et seq.

² *Decretals of Gregory IX.* See

Boehmer's *Gratian, Corpus Juris Canonici*, vol. ii. pp. 749—752. *Excommunicati sunt omnes hæretici, quibuscunque nominibus nominentur.*—*Lib. v. tit. vii. cap. xiii. Innoc. III. in Conc. Gener. Later. c. 3.*

edicts, the attempt to prove them spurious must, as Dr. Geddes observed, be rejected by every sober and impartial critic³.

In the acts of the council given in a preceding page, a faithful translation has been inserted of the decree against heretics; and with regard to the utter destruction of them being *very far from the meaning of the canon*⁴, the document speaks for itself. On the canon being passed to oblige the secular rulers, and rather as their act than that of the spiritual powers, a decree of the Roman Catholic code declares, that “inasmuch as this crime of heresy is purely ecclesiastical, potentates, temporal lords, governors, and their officers are forbidden to take cognizance or judgment concerning it in any manner whatsoever⁵.”

³ Digest of Evidence by Phelan and O’Sullivan, part ii. p. 185.

⁴ See *supra*, pp. 87—89; and when the words of that celebrated decree have been considered, the answers of Dr. Doyle to the following questions, on his oath, in 1825, before the Committee of the House of Lords (Report, pp. 502, 503), will be seen with some astonishment.

“Quest. Was the Fourth Council of Lateran a general council?”

“Ans. It is accounted among the general councils.

“Quest. By the third canon of that general council the doctrine of extermination of heretics, is declared, is it not?”

“Ans. *Very far from it.*”

It is true that an evasion is attempted by a pretence that the canon is spurious: but the learned bishops who presumed on this pretence, admit the twenty-first canon to be binding as to auricular confession, and by the number and order of the canons, it could not be so unless the third canon is suffered to remain a law. The hollowness of the evasion was clearly and ably exposed by the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin.—See Report of Lords’ Committee, p. 743, et seq.

⁵ In a subsequent part of Dr. Doyle’s Evidence (Report of Lords’ Committee, April 21, 1825, pp. 502, 503), he proceeds to state that “there were assembled two emperors, the King of France, the King of Aragon, the King of England, the King of Hungary, the King of Bohemia, and others;” “that

heresies were broached at that time which went to upturn the foundations of society;” “that the vote of the council was adopted by those sovereigns, and by those bishops, for the purpose of doing away a great nuisance from the bosom of the catholic world.” They treated with affected disdain the opinion that such a law was an ecclesiastical enactment, and insinuated that if odium were to be imputed, it attached more to the kings and secular authorities present, than to the Church; and that it was nowhere received as binding by the Church of which he was a bishop. Yet, strange as such a fact must appear to every upright mind, a decree or canon similar in its objects, stood at that time in the code of canons studied at Maynooth, which distinctly declares that temporal lords and princes are incompetent to judge and determine concerning heresy, which is a crime wholly confined to ecclesiastical jurisdiction—*Prohibemus quoque districtius potestatibus, dominis temporalibus, et rectoribus, eorumdemque officialibus supra dictis, ne ipsi de hoc crimine (cum mere sit ecclesiasticum) quoquo modo cognoscant vel judicent; sive captos pro eodem crimine absque dictorum episcoporum, sive inquisitorum, aut saltem alterius eorumdem licentia, vel mandato, a carcere liberent*—and that this canon forbids princes exercising any power concerning heresies, or interfering with the exclusive right of the ecclesiastics to judge and decide on questions of this nature, is amply proved by its designa-

The attempt to interpose a doubt as to the authenticity of the canon, on the mere supposition which Collier and some others not named ventured to suggest, without so much as a shadow of authority, is unworthy of further notice: but not so the shameful plea of necessity for such a law, in order to extirpate Manicheism, and unnatural crimes, and other abominations from Europe⁶. In justice to the libelled memory of those faithful Christians who by hundreds were devoured alive in the flames, and martyred in other merciless ways by hundreds of thousands, in obedience to the savage decree of Lateran; in justice to the better feelings of Christian England, as the head of the religious, moral, and civilized world; in justice to every soldier in the ranks of truth, in time present, and time to come—such political calumnies—such foul aspersions against a holy and unoffending body of humble disciples of the Son of God, must not be unnoticed. Though the decree was directed against all who disapproved of the corruptions which Rome had introduced into the Church at the time it was ratified; it was not confined to the circumstances of any one time. It was enacted against the increasing desire to worship God scripturally, and not pontifically. Its object was to preserve the exorbitant power of the popedom; and not to abate one tittle of the dictatorial supremacy, which Rome then possessed. The light of truth was beginning to emerge from the deep recesses of Piedmont, and to expand over the Alpine ridges. It was widely hailed. It was a very offensive thing to those whose deeds were evil, and who loved darkness rather than light; and it cannot be denied that the decree was first put into execution with unmerciful fury against those who first rejoiced in the returning dawn of that holy light. It still remains one of the sacred laws of the Roman Catholic

tion or head—*Episcopis et inquisitoribus hæresis non resistant, sed omnino pareant domini temporales; et de eo crimine non cognoscant; alias, prout dicitur hic, puniuntur.*—Gratian, *Sexti Decret. lib. v. tit. ii. cap. xviii.*

⁶ For a most full and perfect vindication of the Waldenses and Albigenses from Manicheism, and from the unnatural crimes which their baser accusers (I allude to Gibbon's readiness to adopt a disgusting epithet from

the word *Bulgari*, by which name some of the sects in the South of France were designated.—*Rise and Fall*, vol. v. p. 534, 4to edit. note) have imputed to them, according to the proverb—*Clo dius accusat mœchos*; See *Faber's Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*, 8vo, 1838; and *Excursions to the Valleys of Piedmont, &c.*, by Dr. Gilly.

Church, and never was for a moment obsolete since it passed. It is the law on which the Inquisition was first authorized; and though it was the blood-shedding law of the fifty years' crusade against the Albigenses, its application is not confined to place or time. For some ages before the sentence of death was passed upon every man, woman, and child, who thought otherwise of religion than Rome prescribed, the emissaries of Rome stigmatized the Christians of Piedmont, and their converts, as heretics. They applied to them various reproachful designations, to mark them as objects who might be insulted and persecuted to death with impunity. Some of the chief names of reproach by which they were pointed out for abuse, molestation, pillage, or murder, were, Lyonists; or the poor men of Lyons; one of the cities where their converts had greatly multiplied—Albigenses; from the citizens of Albi in Languedoc—Touloisians; from the numerous persons in Toulouse who embraced their doctrines—Arelatenses; from Arles being, also, one of the chief cities where they flourished—Picards; from their successful preaching in Picardy—Lombards; from their tenets having spread into that part of Italy—Waldenses; as some have imagined from a rich merchant of Lyons, named Peter Waldo, who advocated their principles, and assisted in the propagation of their doctrine—Lollards; from Walter Lollard, one of their chief preachers and champions of truth—Apostolici; a name of reproach from their professing to imitate the apostles—Cathari; given formerly to the Novatians as a term of mockery of that greater purity which they professed; and signifying Puritans—Perfectionists; because they censured the impure conduct of the Romish priesthood—Fraticelli; meaning little brothers, or persons of no account—Passagenes; from their system of itinerant preaching, and passing about from district to district—Humiliati; in contempt of the great humility of their lives and manners—Paterini; in consequence of their refusing to worship the host, they were reproached by this term, as worshippers of the Father only; though some say they gave themselves this name to signify the sufferings to which they were exposed, from *patis*, to suffer—Manichees; to bring their opinions into contempt, as derived from the ancient heresy of Manes, which was everywhere rejected as the remnant of Gnosticism

and other errors—Insabbatians; to hold them up to hatred and malice, as keeping no Sabbath; or from wearing the wooden shoes of the lower classes—Bohemi; to imply that their heresy had received its origin from Bohemia—Catari, *a Cato*: because they kissed the hinder parts of a cat, in which form, as they say, Lucifer appeared to them⁷, with many others. These and other similar epithets were constantly employed to bring down the contempt and persecution of the world upon the heads of the Vaudois Christians; but as the contempt and indignation fell rather on Rome than those for whom they were intended, revenge was at length substituted for scurrility and ridicule. Innocent III. summoned sovereigns, as well as clergy, from all the ends of the earth; founded the inquisitorial system; passed his exterminating canons; commanded kings, on pain of the forfeiture of the allegiance of their subjects, the loss of their crowns, and a sentence of eternal torment, to execute his decrees against heretics, called by the above or by any other names. He thus commenced the fifty years' havoc and confiscation which the Waldenses and Albigenses were destined to endure in obedience to the canons and bulls of Alexander III., Lucius III., and his own. Neither is it to be inferred that at the end of this time the malignity of the hierarchate of Rome ceased. It has been carried on in the most injurious manner that pontifical power could devise, and neighbouring governments would permit, under different forms, and with more or less rigour, ever since. Where Rome dare not wage open

⁷ Catari dicuntur a Cato, quia osculantur posteriora Cati, in ejus specie, ut dicunt, apparet eis Lucifer. — Alanus, contra Hæreticos, lib. i. c. 63, apud Faber's Waldenses and Albigenses, p. 68.

"This Alanus de Insulis," says the author of *Europe during the Middle Ages*, "whose Treatise against heretics, written about 1200, was published by Masson at Lyons in 1612, has left, I think, conclusive evidence of the Manicheism of the Albigenses." Mr. Hallam has himself cited the above contemptible reason which Alanus gives for the term Catari having been reproachfully affixed to the Albigenses, and yet he scruples not to give him credit for being a most dispassionate writer. This attempt to degrade a

religious people by an odious nickname, seems not to have raised the slightest suspicion of the fidelity of the traducer; and Mr. Hallam speaks of the Albigenses as if he really expected his readers to rely on his discrimination, after such a gross instance of delusion. Alanus was quite unworthy, after so absurd a definition, to be regarded as a faithful historian. But he gives a still further specimen of his filthy propensity, when he speaks of Cathari as a probable derivation of their name, because the word *Catha*, signifying a flux, is suitable to their utter abandonment to dissoluteness of manners. Mr. Faber has treated this point with great judgment.—See *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. chap. ix. pp. 465—470; also Faber, ut sup.

hostility; its invariable policy ever has been, and still is, “to wear out the saints of the Most High” by persevering in the most annoying and distressing vexations and miseries, it can venture to inflict directly or indirectly. And the continuance of the persecution of the Waldenses in the present day is a proof that the will and the power to punish the body, for the supposed benefit of the soul, is not dead, but sleeping.

But these observations, in favour of the Christian principles to which the Piedmontese and their brethren of Provence, Dauphiny, and some other departments of France continued to adhere, demand a few historical notices of these people, in proof of the justice of their defenders, and the injustice of their accusers.

Eusebius records an epistle written by the Christians of the South of France, the predecessors of the upholders of the antipapal doctrines, to the Churches throughout Asia and Phrygia; concerning the cruel martyrdoms and persecutions suffered by them under the Emperor Antoninus Verus, A.D. 179. They address them after the following manner: “The servants of Christ inhabiting Vienne and Lyons, cities of France, unto the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, having with us the same faith and hope of redemption, peace, and grace, and glory from God the Father, and Christ Jesus our Lord, be multiplied ^s,” &c.

In the preface to the first French Bible ever published, the Waldenses affirm, that they have had the full enjoyment of the heavenly truths contained in the holy Scriptures ever since they were enriched with the same by the apostles themselves; that they have preserved fair MSS. of the entire Bible, in their native tongue, from generation to generation from that early period ⁹.

Vigilantius, a native of Lyons in Aquitaine, in his memorable controversy with Jerome, maintained only the primitive truth, continued among the Waldenses, and restored by God’s mercy to ourselves ¹.

⁸ Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. lib. v. cap. 1.

⁹ Morland’s History of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piedmont, p. 14, fol. London, 1658.

¹ One of the terms by which the

Albigenses have been heretically denominated is Leonists, or poor men of Lyons; and Mr. Faber has very successfully traced this appellation through a very intricate and obscure line to Vigilantius. He incurred the rancorous

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

Among all the sects, says Reinerius, which are, or ever were, there is none more pernicious to the Church of God than that of the poor people of Lyons, because it is of longer duration; some say it hath remained from the time of Pope Silvester, some, from the time of the apostles².

They were the relics, says Beza, of the pure, primitive Christian Churches. The seed of the most ancient Christian Church that was, hath been most miraculously preserved in the midst of the darkness and errors of these latter times; and from this source spread itself through the rest of Europe³.

Whereas all other heretics cause horror, says Mornay du Plessis, by their blasphemies against God, these Leonists

abuse of Jerome by his censure of the monkish superstitions which Jerome promoted. Vigilantius denied also that the tombs and remains of martyrs were subjects of adoration; he maintained that pilgrimages to holy places were unscriptural; that nocturnal devotions were uncalled for; that miracles at the shrines of saints were pretence; that burning tapers by daylight on the tombs of the dead was borrowed from the pagans; that prayers to departed saints were vain; that the fastings, mortifications, celibacy, and austerities of monks, were contemptible; that donations to Jerusalem and voluntary poverty, without spiritual devotion, were unacceptable to God; and he is ranked among the heretics of the early part of the fifth century.

Mosheim says, "This project, then, of reforming the corruptions of the Church, which a fanatical and superstitious zeal had introduced, was choked in its birth, and good Vigilantius remains still in the list of heretics."—Eccles. History, vol. ii. chap. iii. p. 52, cent. v. part ii.

The life and opinions of Vigilantius have recently been examined at considerable length by Dr. Gilly, in a work devoted to that subject.

Thus we have a fair right to conclude, that one highly distinguished for learning and love of truth, among the primitive Christians of the valleys of Piedmont, at the beginning of the fifth century, stood forward to condemn the corruptions of the Church, and by the labours of Mr. Faber we are confirmed in this interesting conclusion. "This

holy man," he says, "as we fortunately learn from the very scurrility of Jerome, was actually born in the precise town of Lyons, or Convenæ, in Aquitaine, whence, from the place of his nativity, he would obviously be called among his hosts of the valleys, *Vigilantius Leo*. His proper local appellation he communicated, if I mistake not, to his congenial friends, the Vallenses of Piedmont, and his memory, as we see, was affectionately cherished by them, down even to the time of Claude Seyssel." "Thus," he says, "I apprehend the name Leonist was derived from Lyons; not indeed from the more celebrated Lyons on the Rhone, but from Lyons of Aquitaine, or the Lugdunum Convenarum of the Pyrenees." Having spoken then of the Jesuit Gretzer being disposed to quibble at the testimony of Reinerius, as to the apostolically remote antiquity of the Piedmontese Vallenses, we have in a note Gretzer's taunt—*Frustra autem est Plessæus, cum fictitie Valdensium antiquitati advocatum adsciscit Reinerium*. Non, enim, ex sua, sed ex aliorum sententia, cap. iv. ait, sectam Valdensium a temporibus S. Sylvestri papæ vel etiam ipsorum apostolorum durasse.—Gretzer. Prolegom. in Scriptor. cont. sect. Valdens. Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 206, ap. Faber, Vallenses and Albigenes, book iii. chap. i. pp. 279, 280.

² Reinerius, chief inquisitor, and a fierce persecutor of the Waldenses, under Innocent III., in his book *de Formâ Hæret.* ap. Faber.

³ Beza, *Icones Virorum doctrina et pietate illustrium*, 4to. ap. Faber.

have a great appearance of piety, inasmuch as they live honestly before men, and put their trust in the God of all things, and observe all the articles of the Creed; only they blaspheme the Church of Rome, and hold it in contempt; and therein are easily believed of the people ⁴.

One of the chief adversaries of these fraternities bears witness to the superiority of the Waldenses to the priesthood of his own Church in theological disputation and moral conduct. The Waldenses disputed of religion more subtly than all others, for which cause they were often allowed by the priests to teach publicly, not that they approved their opinions, but because they were not equal to them in knowledge: and in so great honour were these sects held, that a man would not hurt his enemy if he met him on the way in company with one of these heretics, so that the safety of all seemed to consist in their protection ⁵.

The concurrent testimonies of Camerarius, David Constant of Lausanne, Bullinger, Martin Luther, John Haukschein, or Æcolampadius, Bucer, Virel of Berne, with very many other witnesses of learning and probity might be adduced, in testimony of the piety and virtue of the humble servants of God; against whom the Fourth Lateran Council issued the decrees submitted to its assenting archbishops, bishops, and doctors, by Innocent III. Neither must we adopt the most strange and untenable hypothesis of Gibbon ⁶, that the Albigenses, and therefore the opponents of the papal usurpations generally, are to be deduced from the Paulicians, who came by three different routes from the East; some under the Byzantine standards being transported to Italy and Sicily, others following the pilgrims and crusaders from Jerusalem to the Danube; others being received into the hospitable republic of Venice, "which opened its bosom to foreigners of every clime and religion." It is certain that many foreigners, some of whom may have been Paulicians, some Arians, or Manicheans,

⁴ — quod omnes aliæ, cum immanitate blasphemiarum in Deum, horrorem inducant, hæc Leonistarum magnam habens speciem pietatis, eo quod coram hominibus juste vivant et bene omnia de Deo credant et omnes articulos qui in Symbolo continentur, solam Romanam Ecclesiam blasphemant et oderunt, cui multitudo facilis est ad credendum.—Mysterium Iniquitatis, Philippi Mornayi Plessiaci Marliani, p. 303, edit. 4to. Gorchemi, 1662.

⁵ See Mornay's *Myst. Iniquit.* ut supra.

⁶ Ch. liv. vol. x. Milman's edition.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

and holders of many strange, undefined, undefinable opinions, which were never sanctioned by the ecclesiastical authorities of the dioceses, were brought from the East to the West by commerce, the result of wars, revolutions, or changes; but there is by no means sufficient and satisfactory evidence to prove that any of the tribes, sects, parties, or individuals, who might have thus come from the East, were of such importance and influence as to cause the people of Europe to adopt their religious notions. My most dear friend Dr. Gilly, in his *Waldensian Researches*⁷, has demonstrated the fallacy of this theory. The authority of Muratori⁸, a Romanist, who was prejudiced, as his brethren generally are, against the opponents of the papal usurpations, with the vague remarks of Mosheim, who slightingly speaks of the Albigenses and Waldenses, as “sects” that rose up in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, misled our historian. Neither Mr. Gibbon, nor his editor Mr. Milman, have given the only true explanation of the continued opposition which the Church of Rome experienced, more or less, in every age of its usurpations; namely, that the wheat of truth and the tares of falsehood grew together in the visible Church; and that there has not only been a visible apostolical succession of ecclesiastical rulers, who were sometimes most erroneous in the doctrines they taught; but there has been also a constant visible apostolical succession of ecclesiastical inquirers, who resolutely pursue truth for the truth’s sake, whether their rulers approved or disapproved of their efforts. The ecclesiastical succession of rulers was always visible. The succession of inquirers was not always visible. It was sometimes so obscure, that few facts are recorded which prove its existence. But that they always did exist is proved by the fact, that the same spiritual and scriptural spirit which established the Gospel at the first stage of their triumph, the Reformation as the second, and which will as certainly destroy popery at its last triumph, as it destroyed heathenism; uniformly appeared when the papal usurpations were more presumptuous, or persecution more severe. To use the language of my friend Dr. Gilly, in another of his most valuable labours⁹, “Witnesses were raised up from

⁷ Pages 1—132.

⁹ Dr. Gilly’s *Vigilantius* and his

⁸ *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. *Times*, Introduction. *dissert.* lx.

time to time by Divine grace, to bear testimony to the truth, and to be the links of its continuity through ages of rebuke and darkness. There is a succession of Christianity, which may be compared to that of Judaism. The genealogies of Israel are lost; the sacerdotal line can no longer be traced up to Aaron; the tribes are scattered through the world; the succession has been interrupted, but the true seed of Abraham cannot perish, nor will the promises in regard to the restoration of Israel be unfulfilled. In like manner there is a sacred and indestructible line of Christianity, which has continued since our Lord's promise of the duration of his Church, uncorrupted by those who boast of their succession from the Church of the Fathers, the Church of the Schoolmen, and the Church of Rome: often being *in* the visible Church, and yet not of it. The wilderness Church, and the succession of witnesses in sackcloth, have been predicted from the first; and this implies a condition the very reverse of ascendancy, and supremacy, and prosperity. The succession of pure Gospel truth has been perpetuated by despised and humble witnesses like Vigilantius (and the Waldenses); as the succession of 'another gospel,' called the development system, has been perpetuated by bold and able men like Jerome, and the Schoolmen, and the Jesuits."

After showing the fallacy of Mr. Gibbon's theory respecting the origin of the Albigenses, Dr. Gilly¹ proceeds to point out the error of Mr. Sharon Turner, who, in his *History of the principal attacks on Papal Christianity*², gives the place of honour, not to the asserters and vindicators of primitive Christianity, but to Asiatic and Mohammedan censors. Mr. Turner, however, acquits the Waldenses of either Paulician or Manichean errors³.

¹ Waldensian Researches, p. 29—37.

² History of England during the Middle Ages, vol. vii. p. 3.

³ The Waldensian Researches of Dr. Gilly ought to be in the hands and hearts of every student of history. It contains an unanswerable demonstration of the apostolical succession of scriptural truth among the churches of the valleys. Mr. Hallam, I am sorry to add, has adopted the views of Gibbon (*Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 461—465).

The student will read as the reply to this work, Faber's *Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*. He will read also Mr. Maitland's work, *Facts and Documents relating to the Waldenses, &c.* Mr. Maitland's very learned work, lessens at once our pity for the sufferers, and our abhorrence of their murderers; by proving from the records of the Inquisition of Toulouse, and from the testimony of their

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

Innocent died on the 16th July, 1216, at Perugia, on his way to Pisa, whither he was proceeding to settle a quarrel between the Pisians and Genoese. His pontificate continued eighteen years and a half. He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

avowed enemies, that the persecuted of the worst tares were found in their
Albigenses and Waldenses were nei- wheat.
ther sinless nor perfect; and that many

CHAPTER VIII.

The political influence of the Church of Rome continued.—Its moral power begins to decline.—First General Council of Lyons.

CLXXVII. *Honorius III., died 1227.*

CENCIUS SAVELLI, a Roman, and cardinal priest, succeeded Innocent III. He was elected at Perugia on the 18th, and crowned on the 24th, of July, 1216¹. The custom of shutting up the cardinals in conclave, that they might come to a more rapid decision², had not begun at the election of Honorius, as many have supposed. It was commenced in the time of Gregory X., by whom the law was proposed in the Council of Lyons, in 1274. Honorius was crowned in six days after his election.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VIII.

The earthly Almightyness³ of the Church of Rome was now so universally and so firmly established, that nothing but its own folly could destroy its power. Innocent III. had declared, in one of his epistles to John⁴, that *as all things in heaven and earth bowed to Christ, so all things should be obedient to the vicar of Christ*. He continued, in this one sentence, the whole of the arrogant assumptions of Nicholas, Hildebrand, and all the Gregorian party, which had never yet been legally rescinded. From this moment, however, the spiritual strength of the see of Rome imperceptibly began to decline. The purity of its faith, which had been spoken of

¹ See Raynald. ad ann. § 16, 17.

² Venema, Hist. Eccles. vi. 202.

³ Earthly Almighty, wherefore tarriest thou?—Southey, Curse of Kehama.

⁴ . . . a Christo esse unum om-

nibus præfectum, quem suum in terris vicarium ordinavit; ut sicut ei flectitur omne genu cœlestium, terrestrium, et inferiorum, ita illi omnes obedient et intendant.—See Rymer's Fœdera.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VIII.

through the whole world, had been injured by the later additions to its creed; which could not bear the test of inquiry, and which must be upheld, therefore, by the suppressing of that first right and duty of mankind. *Its patience under suffering had been changed into the inflicting of suffering upon others.* Its glory had departed, though its authority remained. The virtue, which had been the basis of its ascendancy, was diminished; and though one hundred and fifty years were to elapse before Wyclif was protected in his opposition to Rome, by the noble peerage of England; and though three hundred years were to elapse before the battering-ram of Luther shook the gates of the city; yet the way for both was prepared by *the combination of avarice and cruelty which from this time still more especially characterized the Bishops of Rome.* Their avarice provoked perpetual resistance, sometimes with, though sometimes without, success. Their cruelty provoked the deep and deadly hatred of the poorer masses who could not resist. The history of the ecclesiastical power, from the age of Honorius to that of Leo X., is little more than the painful detail of demands for money, and laws against heresy. The Bishop of Rome was so far the sovereign of Europe, that no potentate dared to reject his dominion, till the king of England, Henry VIII., presumed to despise the excommunication of Clement VII. The papal sovereign of Europe maintained the state of his usurped rank, by the taxation of the submissive Churches; and his power by the perpetual addition of new laws to define, and to punish heresy. I shall pass as rapidly as possible through this period. Four popes reigned, and thirty years elapsed between the Fourth Council of Lateran, and the general Council of Lyons.

Honorius continued the policy of Hildebrand by exhorting the princes of Europe to forward succours to the Holy Land. He made the expenses of these expeditions, the pretext for exacting money from the chief states of Europe. On the coronation of Henry III., Walo, the legate of Honorius, required the young king to do homage to the Bishop of Rome, and to pay as a tributary vassal the yearly sum of 1000 marks, for the kingdoms of England and Ireland. By the influence of the same legate, Henry assumed the cross immediately after his coronation; probably that in so doing he

might shelter himself under the papal protection extended to all crusaders ⁵.

In 1217, the Dominicans, the order of preaching friars, the great denouncers of heresy, were established in England ⁶; and three years after this, a Council at Oxford, following the example of a Council of Genoa, held in 1216, and anticipating the Council of Rouen, 1223, and one at Montpellier, 1224, confirmed and sanctioned the decrees of the Fourth Council of Lateran. It was held under Stephen Langton. It did not, however, repeat the whole of the more persecuting decrees. It enacted many useful canons, and *enjoined the observance of the principal festivals still retained in the Church of England*. This council condemned a wretched apostate from Christianity to Judaism to be degraded from the diaconate, as he deserved. With this sentence, justice ought to have been satisfied: but England had begun to drink of the cup of cruelty which now characterized the ecclesiastical power; and the victim was delivered over to the secular power, and burned.

I pass by the quarrels between the Emperor Frederic and the pope. The emperor, to prove his orthodoxy, sound Christianity, and adherence to the Church in general, though he quarrelled with the pope, enacted the disgraceful laws which are still incorporated in the canon law. This edict of Frederic confirmed, recapitulated, and added to the law of the Fourth Council of Lateran ⁷. It enacted that heresy should be punished by fire. The children of heretics were to be deprived of their right of inheritance, unless they gave information against their fathers. *Heresy was declared to be punishable by fire; but the tongue might be cut out as an act of mercy* in some instances, and the life be spared.

⁵ See Knyghton, ap. Decem Script. col. 2427.

⁶ Id. col. 2422.

⁷ See Corpus Juris Canonici Lib. Sept. Decret. tit. iii. De Hæreticis et Schismaticis, cap. i. Leges Friderici imperatoris in hæreticæ pravitatis reos eorumque complices et fautores latæ, confirmantur, et servari jubentur.—cap. ii. Excommunicantur nonnulli hæretici, ut sunt Cathari, Patareni, Pauperes de Lugduno, Passagini,

Josepini, Arnaldisti, Speronistæ, omnesque singulari opinione in Ecclesiam Catholicam pertinaces.—Edit. Boehmer, ii. 135—137.

Also, Capitula sive Constitutiones contra Patarenos edita per eundem Fridericum, illustrem virum, Romanorum Imperatorem semper Augustum, Hierusalem et Siciliæ Regem.—Id. 137, 138.

Also, Aliud Rescriptum Friderici in Hæreticos.—Id. 138, 139.

In the year 1225, the pope's legate demanded of every conventual Church in England two marks of silver for procurations⁸.

In the year 1226, at a council at Westminster, Otho, the legate of Honorius, requested for his master, two prebends out of every cathedral⁹. Langton procured the recall of the legate, as unlikely to obtain success; and Honorius appointed Langton to submit the proposal to the king and to the peers. The request was refused, as unprecedented, but the refusal was softened with the declaration that England would follow the example of other countries. Appeals to Honorius from Canterbury, Durham, Westminster, and the monks of various places, are mentioned in the histories of this time as sources of revenue to Rome. Honorius died March 18th, 1227, having sat ten years and eight months¹.

CLXXVIII. *Gregory IX., died 1241.*

Cardinal Hugo, or Ugolino, Bishop of Ostia, deacon-cardinal of the family of the Counts de Segni, succeeded Honorius, and *materially injured the reputation of the Bishops of Rome by the personal hatred and rancour* with which he pursued the emperor Frederic, who had proved his zeal and orthodoxy by his severity against heretics, and assuming the cross. Frederic had offended Honorius by declaring that he had the right, as a sovereign prince, to banish from his territories, the bishops, or any other persons, upon whose fidelity he could not depend. He offended him also by some delay in fulfilling the vow which he had made at his coronation, of going to the Holy Land. Frederic, on that occasion, received the cross from Cardinal Ugolino, now Gregory IX. Dami-

⁸ In reading of these exactions, we must remember that the Bishop of Rome had no more right, authority, or power in England than the Patriarch of Constantinople.

References for these facts may be found in Brady or Collier, and others in Twysden's *Vindication of the English Church*, of which an enlarged and corrected edition has recently issued from the Cambridge University press.

⁹ Honorius sent his legate Romanus into France at the same time, upon the

same errand. An assembly of the clergy was called at Bourges. The Archbishop of Lyons resisted the demand, and the rest of the Gallican clergy united with him in refusing it. The legate, after hearing the reply of the Archbishop of Lyons, was ashamed; and declared that he did not know the contents of the pontifical letters till after he had arrived in France.

¹ See Raynaldi, ad ann. 1227, § 12, seqq.

etta had been lately taken by the Saracens, and the popes were anxious, therefore, to send out an additional army of crusaders. Frederic embarked at Brundisium with the rest, but on the plea of illness returned to that port upon the third day following. Gregory refusing to believe the alleged illness, excommunicated the emperor as a perjured deserter from the cause. The emperor retorted by the most bitter imprecations, against the avarice, rapacity, ambition, and venality of the papal legates, and the Bishops and court of Rome. He then sailed to Palestine. Gregory had the unpardonable folly to excommunicate him a second time; because he sailed before the excommunication was removed. Having thus condemned a soldier of the cross, the enemy of all heretics, and the most chivalrous sovereign in Europe, he actually endeavoured to prevent the success of the crusaders. He preached a crusade against the chief crusader, and employed the Dominican monks in the service. John de Brienne, the nominal king of Jerusalem, invaded the territories of Frederic, his own son-in-law, who was endeavouring to recover his own kingdom of Jerusalem for the invader. *The inconsistency of Gregory gave offence to all Europe.* Frederic, after compelling the Sultan to abandon Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Sidon, hearing of the conduct of John de Brienne, and of the pope, crowned himself at Jerusalem. No ecclesiastic would perform the ceremony. He then concluded a treaty with the Sultan, and returned to Europe. Gregory again excommunicated him for returning. When he arrived in Europe, he found Italy in arms, and his son a rebel; under the papal influence. He conquered all, and compelled the pope to absolve him. The island of Sardinia was claimed by Gregory as a domain of the holy see. Frederic claimed it as a fief of the empire. *A fourth excommunication was issued by Gregory, without any spiritual charge* against the emperor of departing from the faith of a Christian. His only crime was opposition, as a prince, to the temporal usurpations of the pope. The fourth excommunication, by the authority of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, anathematizes the late emperor, releases his subjects from their allegiance, and forbids them to recognize him as sovereign. Gregory actually sent copies of this bull to all the monarchs

and nobles of Christendom, commanding the publication of the anathema through all their Churches. Gregory described the emperor as guilty of every kind of political and religious crime. The emperor retorted by calling Gregory "Anti-christ," "the great dragon," and "the prince of darkness." The pope offered the empire of Frederic to the brother of Louis IX., Robert of Artois, if the French would join in a crusade against him². The reply of Louis was a severe rebuke to the pope for assuming a power of deposing an emperor by his own authority, without a general council; and that emperor a soldier of the cross. He declared that if Frederic had been a heretic, he would have willingly marched against him: but that the proposal of Gregory proceeded from personal hatred of Frederic. He recapitulated the services which Frederic had rendered to Europe, and used many severe expressions against this inconsistency, ambition, and revenge³.

All this rashness had a tendency to lessen the moral influence of the see of Rome. Louis IX., like Frederic himself, was distinguished by his inveterate hatred and bitter severity against heresy. His first ordinances were marked with ferocious bigotry; and he had witnessed their execution on some unfortunate persons who were accused of blasphemy and heresy. The conduct of Gregory emboldened Louis to resist the usurpations of another portion of the ecclesiastical power of the day—the bishops of France. They had been accustomed, on the most trifling temporal occasions, to pronounce an interdict—to shut the churches, and suspend the administration of the sacraments. When this had been too rashly done by the Bishop of Beauvais, and the Archbishop of Rouen, the king seized their temporalities, and obtained from the pope a bull which forbade the interdiction of the royal chapels. The Kings of France had seldom been entirely subservient to the Bishops of Rome, and the cause of royalty was strengthened in France, and we may believe in England also, by the folly of Gregory.

The war against the crime of heresy continued. Though

² Raynaldi, ad ann. 1230, § 39.

³ The facts, of which the outline only is here given, lie so obviously

on the surface of history, that no minute references are considered necessary.

the Bishop of Rome had now become the principal heretic in the Church of Christ, he was the great persecutor of the lesser heretics who offended him ⁴. This is the curse of the age. The erroneous and the uninspired assume the privilege of freedom from all error, as if God directed them; and punish the less erroneous because they have more power than wisdom.

Raymond de Pennaforti, the third general of the Dominicans, published an addition to the canon law ⁵. This is called the Decretals of Gregory IX.; or simply, *The Decretals*. The code of Gratian had been now for two centuries the chief repertory of ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The decretals were published in five books. They are sometimes called *Extra*, or *Extravagantes*, as going beyond, or out of the code of Gratian. They are the results chiefly of the correspondence of Alexander III., Innocent III., and Gregory IX. They abound with maxims, subversive of the superiority of civil government.

The Council of Toulouse was held in the pontificate of Gregory. This council is sometimes called the origination of the Inquisition. It was held in 1228 ⁶, and was under *Romanus*, Cardinal of St. Angelo, and legate of the holy see. The object was completely to destroy heresy in that country.

⁴ The supplies which were demanded on pretence of carrying on these crusades, were collected with so much rigour, that the Church plate was pawned or sold, the tithes of the grain, and of the fruits then growing, were demanded before they were ripe, and while they were, therefore, still subjected to the changes of the seasons; and those who were required to pay, but were devoid of present resources, were compelled to borrow money at exorbitant rates of the usurers who were prepared to supply it.

⁵ Raynaldi, ad ann. 1234, § 26.

⁶ Other councils were held for the same object during the pontificate of Gregory, of which one was convened at Beziers, another at Arles, and another at Narbonne, for the purpose of exterminating the supporters of opinions; whether scriptural or anti-scriptural, in Languedoc, Gascony, Burgundy, Provence, Savoy, and other places, which might be at variance with any of the

strange doctrines which Rome had introduced into its liturgies for the last three centuries. It was found convenient to comprehend all those who entertained opinions not agreeable to pontifical decretals, under the denomination of Albigenses and Waldenses; in order to stigmatize those faithful and uncompromising Christians, with iniquities and crimes against God, man, and nature; of which certain aliens from the East, as well as from the Church of Christ, who then infested their country, were said to be guilty; but from which the religious Waldenses and Albigenses were as perfectly free as canonized saints. The three councils above-mentioned were all held in 1234, when all the decrees of former councils against heretics were confirmed and enforced. Further information respecting Gregory's dealings with the Albigenses, may be gathered from Raynaldi, ad ann. 1234, § 14.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VIII.

Raynaldus says that in this council, "acerbissima inquisitio decreta est in hæreticos." How truly, the following abstract of its decrees will show ⁷.

I. Archbishops and bishops are ordered to appoint, in every parish, a priest, and two or three approved laics, to make inquisition after heretics; to engage on oath to find them out, present them to the bishop, to the lords, or to their subordinate officers.

II. Abbots enjoined, where they have jurisdiction, to perform the same duties.

III. Lords required to search after heretics, and to destroy the places whither they resort.

IV. The penalty of loss of their estates is decreed against those who know of heretics in their territories, and suffer it. The houses where heretics are found are not to be spared.

V. Orders that punishment shall be inflicted on every one, who neglects what is required in the preceding canons.

VI. Declares that heretics are to be destroyed, and their lands confiscated.

VII. These officers are condemned to lose their offices and estates, who shall be careless and negligent in searching after heretics.

VIII. None to be condemned for heresy, except such as have been declared guilty by the bishop of the place.

IX. One lord authorized to enter the territory of any other, by himself, or with his officers, to apprehend heretics.

X. Heretics who voluntarily recant, not to live in the neighbourhood where they resided before they recanted, but to be removed among strangers who are free from the suspicion of heresy; to wear two crosses on their clothes, have certificates from their bishops, to be disqualified for filling public offices, and to so remain till re-instated by the pope or his legate.

XI. Heretics converted by fear of death, to be shut up in a walled place, lest they relapse and corrupt others.

XII. All men above fourteen years of age, and girls above twelve, to abjure heresy of every kind, to make a profession of faith to the Roman Church, and engage to prosecute heretics.

⁷ See Raynald. ad ann. 1228, § 27.

XIII. All who have the use of their reason, and omit to confess their sins twice a year to their priest, and to receive the eucharist at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, shall be suspected of heresy.

XIV. Laics are forbidden to have any books of the Bible, except a Psalter or Breviary, with a Rosary.

XV. Those suspected of heresy forbidden to practise physic, and to come near the sick after the viaticum.

XVI. Orders that curates alone shall receive last wills and testaments.

XVII. Forbids prelates and barons from employing heretics or suspected persons in any office, or as domestics.

XVIII. Declares those to be suspicious against whose characters persons of credit give evidence.

Other canons were enacted for the maintenance of the privileges of the priesthood; to compel attendance at Church on Sundays and holy days, and on Saturday nights in honour of the Virgin; on keeping festivals, and the dedication of churches, by abstaining from all manner of work, and for the regulation of civil affairs.

In the year 1232, Gregory committed the tribunal of the Inquisition to the religious of St. Dominic⁸. As Gregory thus endeavoured to strengthen the see by laws against heresy, he weakened its moral power by unjust aggression against Frederic. So also did he weaken the moral influence of the see by exciting resistance to its demands for money. Louis IX. once caused the money to be seized which had been collected in France for this pope. He was unwilling to see it applied to his ambitious projects.

On the death of Stephen Langton, the monks and suffragan bishops, and the king, appealed to Rome, to obtain the archbishopric for the nominee whom the king preferred. On

⁸ See Gieseler's Text-book of Ecclesiastical History, ii. 388. "In order that the bloody work of the papal legates might be continued without interruption," says this deep inquirer into Church history, "the Fourth Lateran Council had changed the inquisitorial power of the bishops into a standing inquisition, the establishment of which was further matured at the Council of

Toulouse, A.D. 1229. (The council, however, according to Raynaldi, sat in 1228.) This, however, did not last long. In the year 1232—33, Gregory IX. appointed the Dominicans perpetual inquisitors in the name of the pope, and they soon after entered on their odious office in all the countries infected with heresy."

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VIII.

this appeal the ambassadors of the king promised to the pope a tenth of all the stock and money in England and Ireland, to support him in his war against Frederic. Gregory declared in open consistory that the choice of the monks was untenable, and that he himself would nominate to the archbishopric. The ambassadors sent to the king for further instructions; and promise again was made to the pope of the tenths of the kingdom. The pope appointed the king's nominee, Richard of Lincoln⁹; and sent his nuncio to England for the promised money. A council or parliament was called at Westminster. The barons positively refused the grant: the bishops yielded. The nuncio produced instructions to collect the money. The recusants were threatened with excommunication, that is, banishment from heaven, and the curse of God and the Church. Gregory insisted that his demand should be immediately complied with; and the obedient clergy, in order to furnish the money forthwith, were compelled either to sell the Church plate, or borrow the amount demanded at exorbitant interest from the Lombard merchants. The tax was collected throughout England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. The Count Palatine of Chester alone refused to admit the collectors into his principality, and so escaped their exactions.

Rapin has observed, that ever after the resignation of his crown by John, the popes treated England as a conquered country. Gregory certainly did so. He sent over into England Italian priests. *He refused to permit the bishops to prefer natives, till these foreigners were provided with benefices.* The nobility and chief commoners of England resented the proceeding, and insulted or maltreated the foreigners¹. The pope complained: the evil was partially redressed; but the influence of the pope began to diminish.

⁹ The inconsistency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1231, gave much strength to Rome, in the midst of the general indignation which resulted from the pontifical exactions. He appealed to Rome against the king, and the king answered his complaints by his proctors before the pope. The pope decided in favour of the archbishop, who died on his return to England.

¹ Many of the nobles and gentlemen were indignant at their barns and

houses being attacked by these Italian priests and foreign mercenaries, who took away their corn and money, and distributed them among the poor. Inquiry was made, and many of the higher orders were found to be implicated in resisting the aggressions of the foreigners. Sir Robert Thweng justified the part he had taken, on account of the injury he had suffered by the invasion of one of his benefices by an Italian.

In 1234 the charges of the crusade against Frederic were made the pretext by the papal legates to demand still further sums from the English. The nation is said to have been impoverished by these demands. The Dominicans and Franciscans were the papal agents. They enlisted persons for the crusades against the emperor, and other alleged heretics; and released them the next day from their engagement, for money. The zeal of the people for the crusades diminished. They were disgusted at the remembrance, that their money had been given, that a Christian bishop might contend against a Christian emperor². The quarrel between the two was ended, but the pope caused strict inquiry to be made, and demanded any portion of money still remaining uncollected in England. *This was only the beginning of the suicidal blows by which Rome insensibly weakened its power, and prepared the way for the success of its future assailants.*

This feeling of anger was deepened by the severity with which the Italian bankers, who had lent money to the prelates and others, enforced their demands both for the principal, and excessive interest upon their debts.

The influence of the canon law was much shaken by the celebrated declaration of the peers at Merton, when they refused to allow the constitution of Alexander III., which made post-nuptial children legitimate on the marriage of their parents, to have the force of law in England, and declared, "We will not suffer the common law of England to be superseded by the canon law of Rome³."

In the year 1237 the pope appears to have made an effort to remove this impression. He sent Cardinal Otho⁴ as his legate to England at the king's request, the Archbishop of Canterbury remonstrating in vain. Otho refused to accept

² In the year 1236, Friars Preachers went through cities, towns, castles, and villages in England, and offered plenary indulgences to all who, being confessed and truly penitent, would undertake the cross; and soon after, the pope sent into England Fryar Thomas, a Templar, and one of his domestics, with his bull, to absolve any one from his vow, upon payment of a certain sum of money towards defraying the expenses of the holy war: and whoever should pay any money for

this end, although he was under no vow, yet he should have the benefit of this indulgence.—Brady, i. 565.

³ *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*—Gregory, in 1235, engaged in disputes with the citizens of Rome. To assist him in his contest, he invited the Bishop of Winchester to Rome, on account both of his wealth and experience in military affairs. The Church was a temporal monarchy, and bishops were literally its soldiers.

⁴ Raynaldi, ad ann. 1237, § 38, 39.

the presents usually made to a papal legate. Otho held a Council at London, where some useful canons were passed ⁵.

That the influence of Rome was injured by these demands for money, and by various other acts of usurpation, as if the pope were conqueror and master of the kingdom of England, appears from the continued and bitter complaints of Matthew Paris. He declaims against the foreigners who plead a bull from the pope as their authority for seizing the revenues of the English benefices. When an appeal is made against them, the pope issues an excommunication against the complainant.

The Council of Oxford, 1232, passed some very useful canons. It commanded the residence of the clergy on their benefices, however poor. Because the custom, *the fatal custom, had begun to prevail*, of appropriating the revenues of benefices to the monasteries, which sent out vicars, upon the smallest possible income, to take charge of the people, while the monks secured to themselves the great tithes and lands. It was decreed, That the stipend assigned to a vicar should not be less than was requisite to his proper maintenance ⁶. Wales was excepted, because the livings there were poor. Whatever may have been the cause, this poverty of the benefices seems always to have been peculiar to that province ⁷.

In 1238 the barons of England remonstrated with the pope upon his intrusion on their rights of patronage. John had made himself the feudatory of the see of Rome. Henry considered himself bound by the engagements of his father.

⁵ Raynaldi, ad ann. 1237, § 41.

⁶ Five marks is the sum mentioned. But the bishops in their various dioceses were accustomed to issue their mandates to the appropriators of the revenues of livings, commanding them to assign what they called the "*congrua portio*" to the vicars. When the revenues of the monasteries were confiscated to Henry VIII. and his successors, and by them assigned to various persons, the acts of parliament which alienated their lands and other possessions to the king, required that the same conditions should be observed by the new possessors, as had been observed by the old. One of these conditions was, obedience by the appropriators to the bishop's writ, command-

ing the increase of the *congrua portio* of the vicar. It is still, in the opinion of many, the law of the land, that *if a bishop were now to issue a mandate to an appropriator of the great tithes of a parish, commanding him to increase the stipend of the vicar*, that mandate must be obeyed, unless cause be shown to the contrary. Be this as it may, the poverty of our poorer livings might be removed by the application of the principle of the Gilbert act to the augmentation, on the plan which I submitted many years ago to the public.

⁷ — nisi forte in illis partibus Walliæ sit in quibus, propter tenuitatem ecclesiarum, minori stipendio sunt contenti.—Binii Concil. iii. pt. ii. 701.

The Bishops of Rome regarded the subjects of the kings of England as their vassals, because their sovereign had sworn allegiance. The peers of England are not the slaves, they are only the subjects of their monarchs. They refused, therefore, to be treated as the vassals of the pope. They sent a letter by Sir Robert Thweng⁸, whose rights of patronage had been invaded by the institution of a foreigner into one of his benefices, when his own clerk, though unobjectionable, was rejected by the Archbishop of York at the command of the pope. Gregory yielded to the English barons. He directed the Archbishop of York to institute the clerk presented by Sir Robert Thweng; and assured the barons that there should be no refusal of institution to their nominees for the future, unless canonical objections existed to their appointment. The pope, however, while he yielded to the temporal barons, did not scruple to intrude foreign clerks upon the patronage of the English bishops and other ecclesiastics. They were unable to resist. *Rome seldom usurps where it is defied and resisted.*

In the year 1240 another effort was made to extort money from the English nation. *England, indeed, was becoming the treasury of Rome.* Various monasteries and convents were prevailed on to grant certain sums of money on the plea that other similar establishments had done the same. When the fraud was discovered, the plundered abbots and priors were compelled to swear secrecy for six months, because the exaction of the money was one of the pope's secrets, which they were bound by oath to observe. Having thus obtained supplies from the monasteries, the nuncio and legate, in conjunction, summoned the bishops to a council at Northampton, and boldly demanded a fifth part of their revenues. This enormous demand was made by the pope to enable him to reduce the emperor⁹. The bishops requested time to

⁸ His portrait is among those of the ancestors of Lord Scarborough at Lumley Castle, near Durham.

⁹ Frederic this year complained to Henry of the contributions to the pope's legate to which he had consented, and reminded the king that he had married his sister. Henry upon this so far forgot his own dignity, as sovereign of England, as to apologize for his conduct, that he ought to obey the pope,

and his ecclesiastical commands, because he was his tributary and feudatory.

When the legate demanded a fifth of the ecclesiastical revenues to assist the pope against the emperor, he informed the archbishop that the king had already given his consent to the grant, because he neither would nor dared to oppose the pope. After some deliberation, the archbishop consented

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VIII.

consult with their clergy. The council met again in the summer. They then refused to comply with the pope's requisition, because the object of the contribution was for no spiritual purpose, but for the shedding of Christian blood. It was an intrusion upon the liberties of the Church of England; for *they were required to do that which was unjust, by the terror of ecclesiastical censures.* They had lately given a tenth to the pope, upon the assurance that no more would be demanded from them; whereas their former contribution was to be now doubled. They objected, that the emperor might be justly offended at their contributing to the supplies of his enemies, and imprison them on their way to prosecute their appeals at Rome. They urged many other reasons, and concluded by an appeal to a general council.

The legate and his assistants, on hearing these objections, appealed to the clergy. *The parochial clergy of England constitute the intellectual strength of the country.* They protested against the exaction. They gave the reply which might have been anticipated. The emperor, they said, was no heretic. He had not been canonically convicted of heresy, nor condemned by the sentence of the Church in a general council. They urged the propriety of the Bishop of Rome managing his own revenues, and leaving other Churches to manage theirs: for they were not bound by any law to pay any tax or pecuniary acknowledgment to the see of Rome. They further urged the analogy between the civil and spiritual power: that as the king is said to be the proprietor of the country, and yet possesses no authority but that of protector and governor; so the pope possesses superintendency over the universal Church, without commanding the patronage of benefices, or overruling the privileges of the clergy.

Neither is this the only remarkable language of the resistance of the English clergy to the pecuniary demands of the

to pay the fifth part of his rents, amounting to 800 marks. His brethren followed his example. When he saw the exactions, however, which harassed England, he retired to Pontigniac in France, and soon after died.

In this year, 1240, too, the pope sent his mandate directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Bishops of

Lincoln and Salisbury, commanding them to prefer 300 Romans to the first vacant benefices in England, and not to collate any others till they were all amply provided for. Was this conduct endurable under any plea of religion or supremacy?—See Brady, i. 575; Raynaldi, ad ann. § 1.

pope. They comment on the nature of the spiritual supremacy which Christ had committed to St. Peter. They declare their conviction that Christ reserved the sovereignty to Himself, even when He gave the administration of the Church to that Apostle. It is said, it is true, "What thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven;" but it is not said, *Whatsoever thou shalt require or exact on earth, shall be required or exacted in heaven.* The revenues of the Church were never granted that they might be employed in assailing a Christian emperor allied to the royal blood of England; and they were bound, by their allegiance to the king, not to grant this contribution, therefore, without the king's permission. After urging other reasons, derived from the contrast between the conduct of former popes, who never, in their greatest distresses, demanded similar aids; they place themselves under the protection of the crusade to which they had contributed; and urge the exemption of their benefices for three years from all taxation whatever.

Rome is not easily defeated by the most unanswerable arguments. The legates appealed to the king, divided the clergy, and in spite of an indignant and eloquent remonstrance from the emperor, who declaimed against any money being granted from England to assist his enemies, they obtained the supplies they demanded. *These transactions, however, excited general indignation, and began that secret and silent hatred against Rome as an oppressor, which gradually increased till its hateful yoke was broken.*

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Rich, died this year on the continent. The vexations he endured by the compliance of the king with the exactions of Rome—the insults he experienced from the legate who superseded his authority as a bishop in his own diocese—the austerity and abstinence which were supposed to constitute the best proofs of piety, together with the incessant encroachments of the Bishop of Rome, are supposed to have caused his death. He had retired for some time from all active employment¹.

Gregory now called the bishops to a general council. He declaims in his letters of summons against the emperor: and the spectacle was soon to be presented to the Churches of

¹ See Raynaldi, ad ann. 1240, § 60.

BOOK III. Christ of the meeting of an *assembly of the prelates of the*
 CHAP. *Churches to pronounce an excommunication against a Christian*
 VIII. *emperor for temporal reasons.* Gregory died soon after the
 issuing of the letters, on the 21st of August, 1241².

On the death of Gregory, Frederic wrote to Henry requesting him to seize the money which the papal collectors had gathered in England. They had, however, made their escape to the continent. On their way to Rome they were taken and imprisoned by Frederic, and their treasure was confiscated into the imperial exchequer.

A short time before his death, the pope wrote to the Abbot of Burgh, demanding from his convent one of their best benefices, of the value of one hundred marks. He applied to many of the Italians beneficed in England, to urge the request. The abbot and monks appealed to the king, who prohibited compliance with the papal command.

King Henry kept his Christmas, 1241, at Westminster, where he knighted the legate's nephew, and gave him plentiful revenues. Four days after, the legate received orders from the pope to return to Rome. He left the king with much regret, who had supported, against the barons and clergy of the kingdom, all the pretensions and exactions of the pope. He is said to have extorted, in addition to the vast amount of money he had drawn from them, three hundred benefices and prebends for his own and the pope's use. The legate at his departure left behind him two delegates with the pope's bull, by which they had power to collect procurations, to excommunicate, to interdict, and *in other ways extort money from the English*. Rome was further weakened by the people identifying its authority with these continued questions.

Fearful, indeed, were the manners of these times. Gregory had given directions that the council should meet at Lyons. Frederic declared that he would suffer no council to be held at which his enemy the pope should preside. He assured, also, all persons who should attend that council, that he would regard them as his personal enemies. He ordered a fleet to be equipped for the purpose of seizing all who were proceeding thither. He met the Genoese ships, in which two

² See Raynaldi, ad ann. 1241, § 82.

cardinals, with many French, English, Scotch, and Italian bishops were on board; and all who had distinguished themselves by their attachment to Gregory, were thrown into the sea. The rest were sent to Naples to be imprisoned; and many of these died in prison of grief and hunger. It is impossible to justify such ferocious, needless cruelty; but the pope had exasperated the emperor beyond endurance, and the bishops were punished as being the executioners of the papal decrees.

The shock which this disastrous event brought upon Gregory, together with the news of the approach of the emperor at the head of a victorious army, had such an effect on the veteran pontiff that he died of terror and grief on the 20th August, 1241, at the age of nearly a hundred years³.

CLXXIX. *Celestine IV., died 1241.*

Godfrey or Geoffry Castiglioni succeeded Gregory IX., and took the name of Celestine IV. He wrote immediately to the emperor to assure him of his desire for peace, but he died before he could receive an answer, on the eighteenth day of his pontificate. He was much regretted, as one disposed to become the reconciler of the imperial and papal factions⁴.

CLXXX. *Innocent IV., died 1254.*

At the time of Gregory's death, the emperor detained in prison many of the cardinals whom he deemed to be hostile to his interests. The consequence of their imprisonment was a vacancy in the papacy for nearly two years. The cardinals who were at liberty would not proceed to the election, either on account of dissension among themselves, or their dread of the emperor, or their resolution not to assemble to elect, till their brethren were released from their imprisonment; or from the protestation of the absent cardinals, against any election till they were present in the conclave, and the consequent apprehension of their brethren of a schism in the papacy. All these reasons have been assigned. At the request of Baldwin II., Latin Emperor of Constantinople,

³ Fleury, lxxx. § 51; xvii. 364.

⁴ Ibid.

Frederic at length released the imprisoned cardinals, and permitted all the others also, who had fled to different places, to assemble at Rome. They met, and elected the best canonist, Sinibald, or Anibald, Cardinal Priest of St. Laurence, who assumed the name of Innocent IV.⁵ Sinibald had been the friend of the emperor. Frederic, however, did not anticipate the continuance of his friendship. He requested to be released from the unjust excommunication pronounced by Gregory. Innocent consented to his request, but burthened his compliance with conditions which broke off the treaty. *The war, which was as entirely independent of all connexion with religious doctrines, as the war between England and Tippoo*, was immediately renewed. Frederic hanged the bearers of the pope's letters, advanced to Rome with his army, attempted once more, but in vain, to obtain by negotiation release from his excommunication; and compelled the pope to flee from Rome to Genoa, and thence to France, and to Lyons. Lyons at this time was ruled by its archbishops, and belonged to neither France nor the empire. In that council, *Europe beheld with astonishment the whole power of the Church directed to the overthrow of a temporal prince*, whose laws against heresy had been publicly approved by the pope only two years before⁶. The assembly heard, in spite of the admirable defences and apologies which were made for Frederic by his advocates, the sentence of deposition pronounced against him; in virtue of the power to bind and loose which Jesus Christ is declared to have given exclusively to the Bishop of Rome in the person of St. Peter⁷. Innocent IV., after the example of his predecessor, whose endeavours to dismay and coerce civil potentates he closely imitated, carried with him to Lyons a body of decrees ready prepared,

⁵ 24th June, 1243, Fleury, lxxxii. § 1.

⁶ See the Bullarium Magnum, i. 109 — *Approbatio Legum a Friderico Imperatore hactenus in obedientia S. R. E. persistente, contra hæreticos, eorumque complices et fautores editarum*. These laws of Frederic, which were purposely severe to save his reputation for orthodoxy, were approved by Alexander IV. Jan. 15, 1258; and by Clement IV. Oct. 22, 1265. They are incorporated in the canon law, and

were considered for many ages as the statutes of the Church.—See Bullar. Mag. ut sup.; also Boehmer, ut sup.

⁷ — *Nos itaque—licet immeriti, cum teneamus in terris, nobisque in B. Petri Apostoli persona sit dictum, Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, &c. omni honore et dignitate a Domino ostendimus, denuntiamus, &c.* His people are absolved from their allegiance, and commanded to elect another emperor.

with the intention of obtaining the consent of the council to all charges and condemnations included in them. I subjoin the following synopsis of this council. BOOK III.
CHAP.
VIII.

Synopsis of the Thirteenth General Council.

Council XIV.	First Council of Lyons.
Date.	A.D. 1245, June 28th to July 17th ⁸ .
Number of bishops.	One hundred and forty ⁹ . The Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Aquileia, the Emperor of the East, Count of Toulouse, and others.
By whom summoned.	The Pope ¹ .
President.	The Pope ² .
Why summoned, and against what opinions.	Because the emperor was accused by the pope of perjury—violation of peace—heresy—sacrilege. To effect treaties for prosecuting crusades to Jerusalem—for driving the Tartars from Constantinople—for establishing the peace of the Church—for discussing the affairs of the emperor—and lastly, for promoting general reformation of manners ³ .
Against whom.	The Emperor Frederic II.
Number of canons. Chief decrees.	The number of canons passed was seventeen. The emperor was excommunicated and deposed, his subjects being absolved from their allegiance. Assistance decreed to be sent to the Holy Land, and to Constantinople. The decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council respecting the crusades against heretics renewed ⁴ .
Penalties.	All the subjects of the empire who should disobey the pope's mandate for the deposition of the emperor, to be excommunicated.
Sufferers.	Not possible to particularize further than the effect on the affairs of the imperial victim.
Emperor.	Frederic II., represented at the synod by Thaddeus, Bishop of Strasburg; Hugh, General of the Teutonic Order; and Peter de Vignes ⁵ .
Pope.	Innocent IV., by whom the business of the council was prescribed ⁶ .

The King of France met the pope after the Council of Lyons. The great historian of this period⁷ relates the details

⁸ Spondanus, i. 155 ; Cave, ii. 347 ; Concilia, xiv. p. 39, ed. Mansi, vii. pt. ii. 850, ed. Binii ; Grier, p. 198 ; Platina, in Vit. Innocent. IV. says 1246 ; Gesner de Conciliis, p. 772 ; Venema, vi. 211 ; Cent. Magd. cent. xiii. p. 887 ; Bellarmine, ii. 9 ; Du Pin, ii. 6.

⁹ Spondanus, ut sup. Three patriarchs ; 140 archbishops and bishops from Gaul, Spain, Italy, England, Scotland, Ireland, and many absentees sent legates. Of the laity, Baldwin of Constantinople, and Raymond of Toulouse.

Cave, ii. 347, adds many cardinals also ; Du Pin, ii. 6, says 146 ; Concilia, ut sup. ; Grier, &c. ut sup.

¹ Grier, Platina, Gesner, Venema, Cent. Magd., Spondanus, Du Pin, in locis ut supra.

² Concilia, ut supra, col. 44. Dominus Papa, Missa celebrata, locum eminentiorem ascendit.—See also the authorities already cited.

³ Ut ipsa ecclesia per fidelium salubre consilium et auxilium fructuosum, status debiti possit habere decorem, et deplorando Terræ Sanctæ discrimini, et afflictio Romano imperio, propere valeat subveniri, ac inveniri remedium contra Tartaros, et alios contemptores fidei, ac persecutores populi Christiani, necnon pro negotio, quod inter ecclesiam et principem vertitur, reges terræ, prælatos ecclesiarum, ac alios mundi principes duximus advocandos.—Concil. vii. pt. ii. 850, ed. Binii.

Crimina memorantur hæc quatuor. I. *Frequentia perjurya*, quia Ecclesiæ Romanæ, cujus ratione Siciliæ esset beneficiarius, et a qua Imperium acceperat, bona et privilegia non tantum, non tuebatur, sicut per juramentum erat obligatus, sed et evertebat. II. *Pacis violatio*, et ecclesiæ satisfactio neglecta, licet sepe per juramenta promissa, imo contumacia in sceleribus, ac continuatio, Ecclesias, e. g., expiando, electiones impediendo, Clericos ad judicium sæculare trahendo, patibulis adfingendo, &c. III. *Sacrilegium*, Cardinales aliosque prælatos ad synodum, a Gregorio indictam, tendentes, comprehendendo, submergendo, necando, aut in servitutum redigendo. IV. *Hæresis*, autoritatem et censuram Ecclesiæ spernendo, Saracenos comple-

tendo, cum fœminis Saracenis consuescendo, filiam dando uxorem Battacio, Græcorum imperatori, licet excommunicato et Ecclesiæ inimico.—Venema, vi. 211, 212 ; Spondanus, i. 156 ; Du Pin, ii. 6 ; Cent. Magd. cent. xiii. 867.

⁴ In eo conventu primo disputatum est cum Græcis, de processione Spiritus Sancti. Vocatus eo fuerat Thomas Aquinas, ut judicium suum de illa controversia interponeret, sed in itinere apud Casanenses obiit.—Gesner, p. 772.

The excommunication of the emperor was pronounced with lighted tapers.

Decrees were passed relating to the canon law, as concerning rescripts, commissions, elections, the providing a delegate judge, processes, repeals, and accusations. Also, concerning excommunication ; debts contracted by the Church, requiring those who enter on ecclesiastical jurisdiction to render to their superiors an inventory of all things pertaining thereto, so as to prevent them from incurring debts which their successors would have to pay ; but should necessity compel them to borrow money, they shall state the cause. Furthermore, that assistance be sent to the empire of Constantinople ; that all should use their endeavours to repel the invasions of the Turks by making trenches and forts in Poland, Russia, and Hungary, till the holy see have considered of it ; for the assistance of the crusaders, so as to relieve the Holy Land from the Saracens. Priests and other ecclesiastics are admonished to be instant in prayer and exhortation, so that they may have the fear and love of God always before their eyes, to be truly penitent, to avoid all contentions, and trust to God rather than themselves for victory. To induce the clergy to join in the crusades, their benefices are secured for three years. All prelates to exhort those who had been there, but who had laid aside the badge, to resume it ; and if necessary, to compel them by the sentence of excommunication upon themselves, and of interdict upon their lands. All to be exhorted to send assistance according to their ability. One twentieth part of the revenues of the Church to be set aside for three years. Of the Roman see

of the interview between them. The King of France implored Innocent to change his decisions. He represented to him the danger of Palestine, and the necessity of Frederic's assistance for its recovery, which he could not render if his troops were compelled to defend his own territories. Innocent persevered. *Rome conquers by perseverance.* He was resolved to crush the imperial power; and the only potentate who ventured to reprove his conduct was the Sultan of Egypt, who refused to violate his treaty with the emperor at the request of the pope. When Frederic died in 1250, Innocent wrote a letter to the prelates and nobles of Sicily, in which he used the exclamation—"Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad;" and in which he designates him as the son of Satan.

and cardinals, one tenth part of the revenue. The crusaders to be exempt from all collections and taxes, and all other burthens. The usurers to remit the interest of the amount borrowed. The Jews to be compelled by the secular power to remit their usury; and until they do so, to be driven out by excommunication. The bishops who neglect to protect the goods of the crusaders to be severely punished. Pirates, and those who give assistance to the Saracens, excommunicated and anathematized. Peace to be observed among all Christian princes for four years, under pain of excommunication and anathema. Tournaments forbidden, and plenary indulgences granted to the crusaders.

For a fuller exposition of the transactions of this council, see Bail's *Summa Conciliorum Omnium, &c. cum Annotationibus, et Controversiis partim Dogmaticis, partim Historicis, &c.* tom. i. p. 438—446, Patavii, 1701.

⁵ When the emperor was accused of the offences imputed to him, his delegate Thaddeus defended him with great force. He promised that his master would return to the unity of the Roman Church, and if he had done her any injury, that he would make reparation; but the pope declared that no dependence could be placed upon this promise, as such promises had been frequently made before. Yet at the earnest request and entreaty of many there assembled, Innocent postponed the second meeting eight days, and the third likewise, in order to

allow Frederic time to make his appearance and answer for himself. But the emperor having been informed of the proceedings, saw that the pope was resolved upon his condemnation. He therefore declined to appear.

See the several authorities before quoted, also Bail's *Summa Conciliorum Omnium, and Fleury, lxxxii. § 23.*

⁶ Innocent, in opening the council, stated, that he was borne down with five great sorrows—the irregularity of the prelates and laity; the daring insolence of the Saracens; the schism of the Greeks; the inroads of the Tartars; the persecutions by Frederic; which he compares to the five wounds of Christ.—See *Concil. p. 851.*

When the Patriarch of Constantinople brought the state of the Church under the notice of the council, no attention was paid to him by Innocent, and his more than thirty suffragans were reduced to three.

He delayed the requested canonization of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury. The pope gave no heed, either, to the English delegate, who, on the part of the kingdom, stated that the Roman tribute, exacted in time of war, had not been agreed to by the nobles and clergy; and that they did not, and would not, consent to that from which they sought liberation.

⁷ Matthew Paris, from whom Collier, Brady, Harpsfield, and all our historians derive their narratives, and to whom, therefore, I have not referred.

The conduct of Innocent to the numerous classes designated as heretics, is to be seen in his bulls ⁸. After the com-

⁸ See *Approbatio Legum a Friderico Imper. ut sup. edita, a. d. 1243*; *Bullar. Mag. vol. i. p. 109.*

Promulgatio Legum et Constitutionum, contra Hæreticos eorumque complices et fautores, a magistratibus et officialibus sæcularibus observandarum.

Pœnæ autem hæreticorum videri possunt in Bullis à me indicandis, inf. in Const. XIX. Pauli IV. Cum ex Apostolatus, et sup. in Const. Honor. III. Et pro declaratione hujus Bullæ, vide Alex. IV. Const. II. Cum secundum.

Contra Hæreticos etiam agunt Bullæ in die Cœnæ Domini legi solite, ejus ultimum exemplar est S. D. N. Urb. VIII. Const. LXII. Pastoralis, inf. tom. iv.—Bullarium Magnum, vol. i. p. 117.

Under the above head is comprised a body of laws and constitutions promulgated by this pope in 1252, whose zeal in hurrying into perdition those whom his mendicant informers stigmatized as heretics, could only be compared to the violent flood of waters, which the serpent cast out of his mouth after the woman; that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood, after the two wings of a great eagle had been given her, that she might fly into the wilderness, to be nourished till the earth had swallowed up the flood which the dragon had cast out of his mouth (*Rev. xii. 14—16*). Innocent's thirty-eight laws for the utter consuming of the last seeds of heresy, came forth ushered in with the following exordium—*Ad extirpanda de medio populi Christiani hæreticæ pravitatis zizania, quæ abundantius solito succreverunt, supereminante illa licentius, his diebus hominis inimico, tanto studiosius, juxta commissam nobis sollicitudinem, insudare proponimus, quanto perniciosius negligeremus eadem in necem Catholici seminis pervagari. Volentes autem ut adversus hujusmodi nequitie operarios consurgant, stentque nobiscum Ecclesiæ filii, ac orthodoxæ fidei zelatores, constitutiones quasdam ad extirpationem hæreticæ pestis edidimus, a vobis, ut fidelibus ejusdem fidei defensoribus, exacta diligentia observandas, quæ*

seriatim inferius continentur.

These thirty-eight laws cannot, in an abstract, be so condensed as to do justice to those canonists who discovered the utmost rigour to which law could be carried; or to those apostles of papacy who discovered the necessity of making the easy yoke of Christianity uneasy, and a grievous load, instead of a light burthen.

The three constitutions which came after them, are not unworthy of the place they occupy near them.

I. *Cum in constitutionibus nuper a nobis contra hæreticos promulgatis, inter alia contineri diceatur expresse, ut domus, in qua hæreticus vel hæretica inventus fuerit, ac ei contiguæ, si fuerint ejusdem domini, sine spe reparationis funditus destruantur, nostro petistis certificari responso, quid sit de turribus in casu hujusmodi observandum;*

II. *Ad quod breviter respondemus, quod nostræ intentionis extitit et existit, ut in eo casu idem in turribus et in domibus judicium observetur.*

III. *Lignamina vero, lapides, et tegulas domorum et turrium, quæ taliter destruantur, eo modo distribui decernimus, quo res alias ibidem inventas dividi mandamus in constitutionibus antedictis.—Bullarium Magnum, vol. i. pp. 117—120.*

These are followed by another bull, containing two articles, under this title—*De cautione præstandâ a fautoribus hæreticorum, ad fidem redeuntibus, et de applicatione pœnarum in casu contraventionis.*

To understand the control over all law which a pope is able to transfer by virtue of his bull, mark the titles of the three following articles:—I. *Quod Inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis possint interpretari statuta Ecclesiastica et sæcularia, contra hæreticos edita; eosque, filios, ac nepotes, et adherentes, aut ipsorum opera, beneficia, et officia assequentes, illis privare; quodque accusatorum et testium nomina publicare non debeant.* II. *Declares the power of the inquisitors to be such as to grant, or refuse to grant, favour, in defiance of all opposition.* III. *Declares the power of inquisitors to pardon offenders who*

pletion of his canonical measures for putting down every imputed heresy for the time to come, the efficacy of his plans was to be proved by carrying them into execution with unscrupulous rigour. The emperor, knowing that the remonstrances of the King of France had been unsuccessful in causing Innocent to yield, in some degree, to a less vindictive course against himself; consented, in order to satisfy his prelates and people, to have his orthodoxy put to the test of a rigid examination before the Archbishop of Palermo and other bishops, abbots, and priests. They unanimously affirmed and attested his adherence to all the articles contained in the creeds of the Church. This decision, exonerating Frederic from the alleged heresies, was sent to the pope before he left Lyons, and was treated with insolent contempt. He declared, in his claim to overrule inquiry into the faith of the emperor, and into facts which refuted the charge of heresy brought against him, upon which his excommunication was founded; that audacity only, proceeding from monstrous presumption, could have sanctioned such an inquiry as that which had taken place⁹. All hope of bringing Innocent to any reasonable settlement with the emperor being now at an end, the latter wrote to the Kings of England and France, to urge on their immediate consideration *the abject condition to which the secular sovereignties were likely to be all reduced*, if the domineering insolence and pride of the papal power was suffered, by their submission and great forbearance, still to advance and increase¹. The death of the emperor, which ensued soon after his appeal to the great contemporary powers, put an end to any coalition being formed in their own defence by the civil rulers of the age; and *the autocracy of the pontificate* seemed to be left to pursue any extremes of aggression against national dynasties, which its undisputed will might deem necessary to its paramount and dictatorial authority.

The total subjugation of the states of the empire was determined upon as soon as the decrees of the Council of Lyons,

take the sign of the cross, from any censures of other ecclesiastical authorities.—Ut supra, pp. 127, 128.

With two other bulls against heresies, pp. 128, 129, the public acts of Innocent IV. on this subject end.

⁹ . . . quod hujusmodi examinatio

fuerat per magnæ præsumptionis audaciam, cum iidem examinatores super hoc potestatem non habuerint.—See Raynaldus, Annales, &c. vol. xiii. pp. 556, 557, et seq.

¹ Matthew Paris, pp. 679—681.

and the excommunication of Frederic, had given their sanction to any internal revolt. The first attempt of the pope was tried on the Island of Sicily, the peace of which was soon disturbed by an insurrectionary summons, under the hand of Innocent, sent to be enforced by two cardinal legates ².

For the first time, *the attempt was openly made by this pope to set up thrones and nations to sale as common merchandize, and to claim for the holy see the right to apply the proceeds of this traffic to its own peculiar use.* It was some time before the pope could persuade any one to treat with him for the empire. To insure peaceable possession was not in his power. The fidelity of the German nobility to Frederic was still too sincere to be materially altered by the anathemas which had been launched against him during the thirty years he had resisted the encroachments of his papal enemies. At length Innocent effected a negotiation for the imperial crown with Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia, 17th May, 1246; but on the 17th of the following February, he lost his life in the attempt to gain possession of his bargain, being defeated by Conrad, the legitimate heir to the throne. Another candidate was found, in the October following, in Count William, brother to the Count of Holland. It has been contended by the adherents of the papal Church, that these treaties were not mercenary bargains: but the offer of the crown of Sicily for money to Richard, Earl of Cornwall; and the remarkable conditions, also, on the part of the purchaser, (in consequence of which the bargain was broken off) ³; fully prove that they ought to be so considered. After the Earl of Cornwall had declined to purchase on the

² Archiepiscopis et Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Diaconis, Archidiaconis, et aliis ecclesiarum praelatis, et nobilibus viris, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, et populis civitatum, castrorum, et locorum, per regnum Siciliae constitutis.—Raynaldus, Annal. tom. xiii. pp. 555, 556, in the course of which inflammatory address, many specimens occur of the extremes of revolutionary language, perhaps greater than the most violent demagogue ever employed to excite a people against legitimate authority.

³ Diebus sub eisdem, cum magister Albertus ad curiam Romanam perveniens, nunciasset Papæ, quod nullo

modo poterat Comitem Richardum flectere ad consensum, ut regnum Siciliae et Apuliae sibi oblatum vellet recipere, et seipsum et omnia sua ambiguis casibus exponere, nisi primo Papa sibi de suo genere optimos præstaret obsides de securitate fidelitatis. Et præterea, juravit eum de aliqua quantitate pecuniæ, in negotio Martio illo exponendo. Et insuper traderet ei quædam castra, quæ Papa in confiniis habebat, ut securam sibi inveniret receptacula. Papa autem, hoc videns sibi esse difficile, respondit, "Nolumus tot subiacere conditionibus," Cui Magister Albertus, "Comes mihi dixit, et si sic non feceris, ut prælibatum est,

terms offered, Innocent proposed to Henry III. to make a transfer to him of the same kingdom, because he knew him to be less scrupulous, and more easily imposed upon in dealings of this nature⁴. In this negotiation the pope was successful; and Edmund, the son of the King of England, was proclaimed King of Sicily and Apulia, March 6th, 1254⁵. These transactions having been openly executed, leave no foundation for thinking otherwise than that they were done with the view *to terrify sovereigns into passive submission to the ecclesiastical supremacy*, on pain of forfeiting their crowns; and with the design to establish precedents for appraising and vending thrones and nations; and to vest in the successor of St. Peter the right and title to all profits and perquisites arising from such sales and transfers. The only plea required for the audacious dethronement of any prince might eventually be, a complaint made by some Dominican or Franciscan mendicant, of heresy on the part of the accused potentate, occasioned by his demurring to execute their condemnations of his subjects, for disobedience of the Romish canons in having in their possession a translation of the Bible⁶.

The second scholastic age which had been revived by Albertus Magnus, Alexander Hales, and Thomas Aquinas, about 1220, began under Innocent IV. to be of great benefit to the holy see, in its extortion of money and increase of the papal influence. The metaphysics of Aristotle, on which this scholastic theology was built, served to support the traditions and false principles of the Church of Rome concerning the merit of good works, the fire of purgatory, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and the adoration of saints. By the boldness and sophistry of the leaders of this new theology, the authority of the inspired writers and doctrines of the Fathers were little

idem est, ac si quis diceret—Vendo vel do tibi Lunam, ascende, et apprehende eam.”—Matthew Paris, Hist. Angl. Henricus III. A.D. 1254, p. 599.

⁴ . . . ut simplicitatem ejus circumveniret, quoniam sciebat semper ad damna propria pronum et credulum.

⁵ See Matthew Paris, ut supra; also the act of investiture of Edmund is to be found in Rymer’s *Fœdera*, vol. i. t. i. p. 297, Clark’s edition.

⁶ Item statuimus, ne aliquis libros Veteris vel Novi Testamenti in Romano habeat. Et si aliquis habeat, infra octo dies post publicationem hujusmodi constitutionis a tempore sententiæ, tradat eos loci Episcopo comburendos: quod nisi fecerit, sive clericus fuerit, sive laicus, tanquam suspectus de hæresi, quousque se purgaverit, habeatur. — Conc. Terracoenense, anno 1234, c. 2, ap. Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 392, n. 20.

BOOK III. regarded, and the greatest ignorance upon these subjects
 CHAP. ensued. *Those who distinguished themselves most in depre-*
 VIII. *ciating the sacred truths of inspiration, were honoured by the*
 hierarchy with such titles as Irrefragable Doctor, Angelic Doctor, Cherubic Doctor, Seraphic Doctor, to which were added a list of Most Solemn, Most Solid, Most Illuminated, and Most Profound Doctors, including canonists and casuists without end, with Raymond of Pennafort, a Dominican, and fierce promoter of the Inquisition, at their head⁷.

Numerous as have been the inventions of the friends of Romanism to draw the means of its support from those who embrace its tenets, that of *supererogation surpasses, perhaps, all others*; and of this as a means of revenue, Innocent IV. made ample use. For the introduction of the doctrine, *Thesaurus Supererogationis Perfectorum*, the admirers of papistical remission of sins are indebted to Hales, the Irrefragable Doctor, and to his coadjutor Albertus Magnus⁸. Considerable advancement was given to this extraordinary branch of Roman Catholic faith, by the effects which followed the decree of the Council of Lyons, to transfer the sale of indulgences from the episcopacy to the Mendicant orders. The popes claimed to be qualified to estimate the superfluity of good deeds done by any saint of the calendar, beyond the amount sufficient to blot out his own iniquities; and they claimed to themselves the privilege of holding the key of the treasury which contained this excess of good works. Some few of the faithful objected to the unscriptural arrogancy, till the Reformation diminished the reverence derived from this polluted source.

Innocent III. had granted to the cardinals the privilege of wearing red shoes and red garments. Innocent IV. conferred on them the honour of wearing the red hat. The meaning of the grants is said to have been—that the cardinals were to be always ready to shed their blood for the Church. It might have been supposed that the meaning of the red garment was—that they were dyed with the blood of the heretics.

The pious or the impious, the holy or the unholy traitors to

⁷ See *Summa Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*,
 F. Spanhemii Opera, tom. i. cent. xiii.
 cap. xi. Lugd. Batav. fol. 1701.

⁸ See Gieseler, vol. ii. pp. 358, 359,
 notes 14—17.

the religion, the liberties, and the happiness of England, who would again reduce their countrymen, under any pretence whatever, beneath the spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; must be willingly ignorant that the history of the past is intended to be our example, or our warning for the future. The popes never professed to exercise any other than that spiritual authority. They were only unable to separate the temporal authority from the spiritual; and wherever the temporal-spiritual power existed, it uniformly displayed itself in the exaction of money for the promotion or accomplishment of the objects it deemed necessary. We have seen many instances of extortion in the pontificates of Honorius, Gregory, and their predecessors. Those which took place in the reign of Innocent were more exorbitant than any which preceded or followed them; and they ought never to be forgotten as an illustration of the inevitable consequences which must and will eventually follow that submission to Rome, still so madly urged by those who will never learn from the past. So long as England remained in obedience to the power of the Bishop of Rome, its wealth and resources were weakened and drained by foreign exactions; as those of Spain and other countries still are, who own the foreign pontiff as their head. England was, as they are, an impoverished and degraded nation, as long as it continued under papal authority, and the people complained in vain.

We have already seen that the pope, in the time of Anselm, decreed in a general council, that *the Archbishop of England should always be legate of the holy see*; that he should always sit at the pope's feet, as the pope of another world⁹. This law, however, was soon broken, and by none more than by Innocent IV.

In the year 1244, Innocent sent over into England a legate named Martin, with power to excommunicate and suspend all who should refuse obedience to his commands; and if he was, indeed, the Vicar of Christ, and the representative of God upon earth, what punishment could be too great to those who should resist him? Martin suspended several of the bishops till they made provision for such persons as Innocent recommended to them. He refused to accept any

⁹ Tanquam alterius orbis Papa.

benefices which were beneath a certain value. He demanded, by letters to several abbots and priors, horses for the use of the protégés of the pope; and whatever were their excuses, he suspended them upon refusal. He did this with the Abbot of Malmesbury, and the Prior of Merton. He demanded the presentation of the prebends when vacant. He bestowed a prebend of Salisbury on a little boy, his nephew, against the will of the bishop and the whole chapter. *All this was done by a foreigner, and in the name of a foreigner, who had no more authority in England, I again say, than the Patriarch of Constantinople.*

In 1244, the king caused inquiry to be made in every country respecting the revenues of the Italians and Romans who were beneficed in England. They were found to amount to 60,000 marks a year. The peers of England, in consequence of this return, sent an expostulation, in the name of their whole body, to the Council of Lyons. The remonstrance was carried there by a deputation composed of some of the most illustrious of their number, and of William Powerie, a clerk. The legate was terrified by menaces of instant death unless he left the kingdom; and he left the kingdom, having been assured by the king that he could afford him no protection.

At length the Council of Lyons having met, after much business had been despatched, William Powerie stood up, and related the grievances of the kingdom from the papal exactions¹. He complained of the tribute so injuriously imposed on the kingdom by the pope without the consent of the nobility, and he petitioned for its removal. Innocent made no reply. The epistle was read. No answer was returned. He at length granted that patrons should present to their benefices without the interference either of himself or legates, and he then destroyed his grant by a clause which permitted him to prefer the Italian clergy at pleasure.

None in England either would or dared to question the

¹ The original copy is No. 173 (not 172 as mentioned in the margin, vol. i. p. 593), in the Appendix to Brady. It complains of the number of Italians—*Ecce per vos et prædecessores vestros, nullam considerationem habentes, jam ditantur in Anglia Italici,*

quorum numerus est infinitus. It calls them ravening wolves scattering the flock—nullam curam animarum gerentes: they did not even know the language spoken by the people of their parishes.

power of the pope to act thus. *The people sighed under the yoke, but they submitted, as subjects to their supposed legitimate, though oppressive, spiritual sovereign.* The contempt shown to the appeal of the nobles of England in the Council of Lyons excited great anger, though that anger did not yet lead the people to question the papal authority. A general assembly, or parliament of the king, nobles, and prelates, was held in London. The grievances of which they all complained were—the contributions exacted by the pope in addition to the Peter-pence, without the king's consent, against the ancient customs, liberties, and rights of the kingdom, and against the appeal of the proctors of the king and kingdom in the Council of Lyons; the presentation of Italians, who did not understand the English language, to English benefices; the exaction of pensions from churches; the succession of Italians to Italians in benefices, and the necessity of appeals to the pope, instead of seeking justice at home.—The *non obstante* clause, which destroyed all the oaths, customs, grants, statutes, and privileges they had inherited, and the total want of preaching, of divine service, of cure of souls, of hospitality; and the neglected state of the parsonages on the benefices held by the Italians, were also exclaimed against as intolerable oppressions. Such were the complaints of the parliament. *Why did they not break off with disdain and contempt, the yoke which the foreigner thus imposed upon them?* The time had not come. They humbly supplicated for the removal of their grievances. The king wrote separately. The barons, the prelates, the abbots, all wrote separately. The letters are still extant². The result was, fresh exactions, new demands, and repeated threatenings of excommunication, or separation from God in their immortality, if the insulted people did not pay their money to an ambitious pontiff to enable him to subdue a Christian emperor. *The yoke was still borne; but the iron was entering into the soul.*

Immediately after the presentation of these complaints, the Bishop of Rome sent his apostolical commands to the bishops to send, some fifteen, some ten, some five men, well armed and mounted. Lest the king should object to this demand, the bishops were ordered not to reveal the requisition upon

² They are given in Matthew Paris.

pain of excommunication³. William Powerey and Henry de la Mere were now sent to Rome to submit to the pope, once more, the expostulations of the English people. The pope, in the mean time, sent for six thousand marks which had been required of the bishops by his expelled legate, Martin. This so enraged the king, that he commanded the bishops to refuse the grant, and not to comply with any future exactions⁴.

July 7th, 1246. A council was held at Winchester to receive the reports of the success of the mission to Rome of William Powerey and Henry de la Mere. *They had no redress to relate.* The king and the nobles were so indignant, that they caused proclamations to be made through the kingdom, that no obedience was to be yielded to any future demands made by the pope for aid. Opposition to Rome did not begin with Henry VIII.

The pope, however, still persevered. He gave the Bishop of Worcester authority to place the kingdom under an interdict; that is, to prevent both rich and poor from worshipping God and Christ, and praying in public together, if his demands for money were not granted. He then required a supply from the bishops. The king attempted to oppose the requisition. He was overruled by the bishops, and the new exaction was obeyed.

Being thus successful, he demanded a third part of their benefices from the resident clergy, and half from the non-resident. The king forbade compliance.

These incessant extortions excited great dislike and odium against the pope both in France and England. The nobles of France decreed that no man should be required to submit to papal jurisdiction. The clergy of England decided on sending fresh deputations to assure the pope of their inability

³ These details rest upon the authority of Matthew Paris, but more so upon the documents he gives. Baroni- us endeavours to destroy the credit of this writer. He is, however, well defended by those who are best able to appreciate his labours. The English Historical Society has lately rendered good service to the early literature of the nation, by an edition of the Chronicle of Wendover, a monk of St. Alban's, whose labours form the basis

of the work usually ascribed to M. Paris. It has been well edited by the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A.

⁴ See the original in Brady, Appendix, No. 174. The king speaks of the liberties of the clergy—*pro libertate cleri*. The liberty of the Church of Rome, implied exemption from all regal interference in ecclesiastical matters; with unlimited obedience to the pope.

to grant him further assistance. The result was, that Innocent sent two Franciscan friars to solicit, and not to demand money, for which they obtained the king's licence. Immediately this was done, they insisted on the prelates granting them large sums. They demanded 6000 marks of the Bishop of Lincoln, and 400 from the Abbot of St. Alban's. These demands were refused.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VIII.

The same attempts were made in France. The king forbade the exactions, and was obeyed. Not only so; he united with his nobles ("omnes regni majores" is the expression) in a decree, that no clerk nor layman should, for the future, compel any one to appear before an ecclesiastical ordinary, judge, or delegate, unless on a charge of heresy, marriage, or usury; and this under the most severe penalties. The French people were clamorously bitter against the extortion and rapine which were practised in the name of the pope. The conduct of the French emboldened Henry in the next year, 1247, to follow their example. *He passed a law to restrain and limit the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical power.* It was decreed, that no case should be brought before an ecclesiastical judge unless it related to wills or marriage. The bishops were required to proceed in their courts according to the forms laid down by the king. Actions for tithes were not to be commenced in the ecclesiastical courts; and an oath was required from the ecclesiastical judges, that they had not proceeded, in any case, contrary to the king's prohibitions. These were among the first of the numerous legal efforts to check the incessant encroachments, which were enslaving and plundering the people of both countries. It was time to act. Immediately before these efforts were made, 6000 marks had been extorted from Ireland by John Rufus, the pope's legate, and safely conveyed to the papal treasury.

Obedience to the pope, however, as the Vicar of Christ, had become a custom as well as a supposed duty, and the regal laws of the land were consequently nugatory. At the commencement of Lent, one of the Minorite friars had previously demanded, in the pope's name, as before observed, 6000 marks from the Bishop of Lincoln, and 400 from the Abbot of St. Alban's. He again demanded the same sum from the latter, and cited the abbot to appear at London within three days. The abbot obeyed, and appealed from the legate to Innocent,

who was then at Lyons. The pope accused him of want of reverence to the holy see—a high crime and misdemeanor in that age—and the proctors of the abbot compounded for 200 marks, and returned.

Nothing stopped the remorseless power which was thus impoverishing the country. It may now be regarded as a tale of olden time; but the story of the past is written for the instruction of the future. We only see in the conduct of the Bishops of Rome in the middle ages, a specimen of the manner in which an irresponsible and arbitrary power can exhaust the revenues of the submissive servants of ecclesiastical usurpations. The legate, the same John already mentioned, seeing the clergy indisposed to obey him, sent to the pope for fresh powers. They were granted⁵. The king summoned a fresh parliament at Oxford, again to resist and refuse the papal demands. The prelates were more especially called upon to unite with him in opposing them. They were afraid to become Protesters or Protestants, and even voted 11,000 marks to the pope. Those who withheld their contribution, were at length, but most unwillingly, compelled to submit, by the threatenings and denunciations of the papal legate.

In the year 1248, the Abbot of St. Alban's was summoned to Rome for granting one of his benefices to a friend of the king, instead of presenting to it an Italian stranger. The king, contrary to his solemn promise, refused to protect the abbot. He was compelled to appear before the pope, and was fined for his contumacy. The vacillating conduct of the king can only be explained by remembering that *the pope held the balance of power between the sovereigns of Europe.* Europe had not yet become settled into the condition in which one state was so far jealous and observant of the conduct of another, that it required explanation of any circumstance which appeared to imply an intended aggression, or any increase of forces unnecessary to its own safety, and therefore dangerous to the peace of its neighbours. The pope intimidated sovereigns by holding in his hand the fearful power of exciting their people to revolt; taking part with rebels in arms; or accomplishing their dethronement by sanctioning the invasion of their neighbours. In the year

⁵ These letters are extant in Matthew Paris.

1249, for instance, Henry was jealous of some of his barons. He submitted to the pope that they were more ready to follow the King of France to the crusade, than himself. The pope, therefore, not the king, prohibited the barons from leaving the kingdom without Henry's permission, under pain of excommunication. They were told that they should lose their hope of salvation in their immortality, if they offended their temporal sovereign; after the ecclesiastical power, acting in the name of God, had forbidden them. They believed the pope, and the fears of the king were ended. The result of the papal prohibition, however, appears to have been the defeat of the crusaders, and the capture of Louis by the Saracens⁶.

BOOK III.
CHAP.
VII.

The pope appears to have been encouraged by the weakness of Henry, still to persevere in demands which had so evidently weakened his moral influence in England, that the most active and energetic of his opponents, Grossetete, the learned Bishop of Lincoln, had become the most popular ecclesiastic in England. The opposition of Grossetete to the institution of a youthful Italian, at the command of the pope, to a canonry in his cathedral, his refusal of obedience, and his severe expostulation on the papal exactions, are too well known to be repeated here⁷.

In the year 1252, another parliament was assembled at London, and a demand⁸ from Innocent was again submitted to them. A tenth of the whole revenues of the Church was required to pay the king's expenses in his intended journey to the Holy Land. The rate was to be levied with the utmost strictness⁹. Two years' value was to be paid down at once, and

⁶ See Brady, i. 604.

⁷ The correspondence of the Bishop of Lincoln with the pope; his select works; the list of grievances under which the English laboured; his eloquent appeal to Innocent; his declaration of the impossibility of obeying the pope, consistently with his duty to God, are collected in the second volume of the *Fasciulus Rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, p. 250, etc. We are accustomed to speak of Protestantism, as if protesting against Rome began when the word Protestant was first used in the sixteenth century to designate the Reformers in Germany.

Protestantism has been coeval with the usurpations of the Church of Rome over the ecclesiastical power of the other churches. No Protestant since the opposition of Luther to Rome, ever used stronger language than Grossetete did to Innocent. He who wishes to understand the unavoidable consequences of permitting the ascendancy of Rome over England, should study the works and letters of Grossetete.

⁸ *Papale mandatam.*

⁹ *ad inquisitionem strictissimam et voluntatem, et arbitrium regiorum satellitum.*

BOOK III.
 CHAP.
 VIII.

if this was done, the value of the third year, or half the next requisition, should be remitted. The Bishop of Lincoln replied, that the cursed contribution¹ had not been consented to; and therefore, they could make no conditions respecting its mode of payment. When the Bishop of Winchester reminded him that both the pope and the king required the contribution, and that the French clergy had consented to grant it, Grosse-tete urged the folly of complying on this account; because the twofold obedience creates a custom, and their consent ought not to be granted. When the king found that the supply was not voted, that argument which had been so uniformly used with success—that one great argument which has ever been influential—was pressed upon them by the king. *They were told that they did not oppose the pope and the king, but Jesus Christ and his universal Church.* Strange however to say, the demand was still rejected. The pope had destroyed his influence, and the power of the sovereign was diminished, as *regal power will ever be* by its identification with the encroachments of the Bishop of Rome. The Bishop of Lincoln employed one of his clergy to take an exact account of the yearly revenues of the Italians and foreigners whom the pope had engrafted upon England. They were found to amount to 70,000 marks, while the king's revenue amounted to only one-third of the sum². When Henry, however, in the spring of the following year, made the same appeal, without any papal mandate, to the general assembly or parliament of his nobles³, a tenth was voted, on condition that he should observe the Great Charter, which was solemnly confirmed in the great hall of Westminster. *The opponents of Rome were the friends of the liberties of the people, and of the privileges of the crown. They will ever be so.* They abhorred the degradation implied by the submission of the English crown and sceptre to the mitre of a foreign priest. The war between the imperialists and the Guelphine party was renewed on this frivolous pretence. The successor of St. Peter—the representative on earth of Christ, the meek and lowly Jesus, died of a broken heart, because *his soldiers* were defeated. Yet Innocent was

¹ Maledictam contributionem.

² Reditus regis merus non ad ejus partem tertiam computatur.—Matt. Paris.

³ In quindena Paschæ tota edicta Regis convocata Angliæ nobilitas convenit Londini, &c.

as learned as he was ambitious. He was a Gregorian to the utmost. He wrote the Apparatus on the Five Books of the Decretals; and is called by many, in consequence, the Father of the canon law. His most celebrated work is the Reply to the secretary of Frederic the emperor, in which he maintained the jurisdiction of the apostolical see⁴.

The Bishop of Lincoln, the originator of the more systematic opposition to the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome over the bishops of the Church of England, died in 1253⁵. *Innocent expressed as much joy at the death of Grossetete*, as he had previously done at the death of his rival Frederic. Innocent himself died soon after. As before remarked, the defeat of his army at Nocera (the army of a Christian bishop!!!) by

⁴ See Binius, vii. ii. 847.

⁵ Though the Church and kingdom submitted so patiently to the exactions which the pope demanded, and to the excommunications he denounced against them, the heads of the Church governed their respective sees independently of his control in all matters relating to internal regulation. A visitation was held in this year, 1253, in all the dioceses of the kingdom, when the questions proposed respecting both the laity and the clergy, were such, in many points, as might be advantageously considered at present. They are given by Collier, vol. i. p. 463.

The death of Bishop Grossetete was a great calamity. This distinguished patriot and vindicator of religion, is described by one of his biographers* as practically illustrating all the cardinal virtues in his life and actions. A modern Church historian †, speaking of Grossetete, justly says, "Assuredly that admirable prelate had gone very far in disaffection, not hesitating to denounce Innocent, almost with his dying breath, as Antichrist; for he asks, 'by what other name are we to designate that power which labours to destroy the souls that Christ came to save ‡?' " Another affirms, that

"the foremost English writer who ventured to demonstrate the libertinism and superstition of the monks, and the frauds of the court of Rome, was Robert Grossetete (Capito), Bishop of Lincoln. He was much celebrated for doctrine, sanctity, and intrepidity; and he painted in vivid colours the avarice, audacity, and obstinacy of Pope Innocent IV." The conclusions of all writers who have sought to form a just estimate of the merits and public career of Grossetete, have been drawn from one chief source §. The author of the History of the Middle Ages consents among them, on the authority of Matthew Paris, to grant that "Robert Grossetete was the most learned Englishman of his time, and the first who had any tincture of Greek literature." He confesses, also, that "he deserved, for his *learning and integrity*, the high character given him by Matthew Paris ||;" though he qualifies his admiration by remarking, that Grossetete appears to have been imbued with the spirit of his age as to ecclesiastical power, though unwilling to yield it to the pope. Mr. Hallam objects also, very needlessly, to reckon Grossetete among the precursors of the Reformation.

* Pitseus, de Illustr. Angl. Script. p. 326, ap. Collier, vol. i. p. 462.

† Waddington's History of the Church, 8vo, p. 422, note, London, 1833.

‡ Eccles. Annals, by Fred. Spanheim, translated by the Rev. Geo.

Wright, 1829.

§ Matthew Paris, a contemporary of the eminent prelate, of whose life he has given a valuable sketch, in which his conduct and qualifications are faithfully exhibited.

|| Hallam, Middle Ages, ii. 305.

Manfred, the illustrious half-brother of Conrad, the son of Frederic, broke his heart; not before, however, he had refused to acknowledge Conrad as emperor, because his father had died under excommunication. Innocent, also, encouraged learning and learned men. The language of his public acts (if private feelings may, indeed, be gathered from such documents), implies the most sincere conviction that he was right in upholding the temporal power of Rome over states and empires. Upon this point we have spoken sufficiently. *The greatest curse which a nation or a Church can endure, is sincerity of error united with zeal entrusted with power.* The greatest heretic of the age, Innocent, committed the lesser heretics to the stake, to please God and benefit man. The upholder of the worst heresies, as the true doctrines of the Church, he wrote the laws against the minor heresies in characters of blood; and flames of fire mingled with the blood may be said to have run along the ground, wherever the tempest of the Inquisition swept over the plains of the South. *He demanded money from the churches to support the wars of his ambition, as if they were in reality what he professed to believe them to be—the wars of the Lord.* He excited or promoted unintentionally in France that spirit of resistance to the temporal domination of the papacy, which has ever rescued that country from total submission to the Gregorian principles. He excited or promoted in England that deep and heartfelt indignation against the usurpations and encroachments of Rome, which ended in the resolution of the English people, and their accomplishment of that resolution—that their Church should be free, ever free, from all submission to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. Much, very much, are we bound ever to honour the courage, constancy, and scriptural knowledge of those who, in the age of Innocent, and from thence to the days of Elizabeth, began, carried on, and victoriously terminated, the resistance to that power, which, while it drained the purse, could burn the body; and according to its own interpretation of the words of wisdom, professed it could damn the soul. All these lofty pretensions and cruel conduct of the Church of Rome which they thus opposed, was seemingly defensible from Scripture; which was perverted to the upholding of the papal errors and ambition. The devotional, pious, hortatory texts of

Scripture were arbitrarily torn from their contexts, and pressed into the service of the cause or controversy, whatever it might be; which the pope, or his friends, or opponents had espoused. The bulls of the popes generally abound with texts of Holy Scripture. The theologian had but to be persuaded of the justice of his cause, and God and the Scriptures were immediately seen by him with the eye of a partizan; as the Puritans were subsequently guilty of the selfsame deception. When Becket, for instance, would persuade his suffragans to oppose their temporal sovereign, he makes use of the scriptural argument—"What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul⁶?" The bulls of Innocent are not so redolent of Scripture as those of other popes. He was more of a canonist and civilian, than a scripturist or theologian. He preferred the language of the law to the words of the Gospel⁷. Still his bulls abound with these perversions of Scripture; and the opposition, therefore, of such men as Grossetete, who was learned in the knowledge of Scripture, was pre-eminently useful in removing the supposition, that because the papal bull clothed its ambitious objects in the language of Holy Writ, it was therefore to be implicitly received. Innocent died at Naples on the 7th of December, 1254.

⁶ Rescriptum Thomæ Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ad omnes suffraganeos suos.—Quadrilog. lib. v. ap. Appendix to Brady, i. 65, No. 56.

⁷ The code of laws collected by Raymond de Pennaforti, contains precepts and maxims subversive of all governments, of which Innocent did

not fail to make good use, and which may be summed up in this line—

Judex, judicium, clerus, sponsalia, erimen.

His work on casuistry, commonly called *Summa Raymundiana*, became a substitute for the older *Libri Penitentiales*.

CHAPTER IX.

*Temporal supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in Europe.—
Second Council of Lyons, 1274.*

BOOK III. TWENTY-NINE years elapsed, and four popes occupied the
CHAP. IX. pontifical chair, between the First and Second Councils of
Lyons.

CLXXXI. *Alexander IV., died 1261.*

We are now brought to the most uninteresting period of ecclesiastical history—the details of the temporal power of the apostolic see, and the manner in which it exercised its supremacy in temporal affairs. The pope had now become a monarch among monarchs, collecting tribute, directing armies, suffering defeats, or obtaining victories. The Gospel of Christ—the Holy Scriptures, were but little known to the common people. They were permitted to be read by the priests, who sometimes availed themselves of their privilege. We talk of salvation or damnation as if they were dependent upon knowledge; but it is well for mankind that God accepts the soul for that it hath, and demands not that which it hath not. Both the Church of Rome and the heretics it persecuted, believed, with various degrees of knowledge, on the Son of God, and to His mercy we commend both. The great question for the Churches of Christ is, not whether the soul of the member of the Church of Rome may possibly be saved—not whether the soul of the heretic be saved—but whether God has commissioned either the Church of Rome, or any other Church, to say to their sister Churches, “Adopt our discipline and our conclusions, or, be punished corporeally in this world, and spiritually in the world to come.” We

know not whom God will save or damn from among the believers in the Incarnation and Atonement of the Son of God; but we do know that all mankind are interested in rejecting the intolerable yoke which compels belief on authority, independently of conviction. No Church—no uninspired individual, has so possessed all truth, *that he should be permitted, in the name of Christ, to punish the body for the benefit of the soul.*

Innocent was succeeded by Reinald, Bishop of Ostia, of the family of the Counts of Segni. A monk in temper, and without expansion of mind, he continued the excommunication of Manfred; he resisted in vain the progress of Ezzeline, the leader of the Ghibelline or imperial party, who conquered Lombardy; and he saw his own army defeated, and his legate imprisoned. In France he commanded that the royal chapels should be interdicted by himself alone. He supported the pretensions of the Dominicans against the University of Paris, which required them, if they taught in the university, to conform to its regulations. He permitted the monks to hear confessions without the interference of the parochial clergy; that is, *he permitted the existence in every parish of a body of rival clergy, responsible to the pope alone*, in conjunction with the secular clergy, who were responsible to their own bishops¹. He published a bull affirming the truth of the stigmata², or wounds of Christ, being divinely imprinted on the hands, feet, and side of St. Francis; and condemned to punishment all who disbelieved in them³. He added to the laws against heresy many severe bulls⁴. *In his conduct towards England* he followed the example of his predecessors, by demanding and extorting money. He permitted the

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

¹ The bull which condemned the opposite opinions is dated October 2, 1257.—Butler's Lives of the Saints, October, p. 105, et seq.

² *Comprobatio veritatis stigmatum S. Francisci de Assisis, cum pœnarum impositione adversus aliter affirmantes.*

Idem primo confirmavit Greg. IX. ut sup. in ejus Const. 12. Confessor. Et deinde Sixt. IV. Sed ejus constitutio, uti ejusdem argumenti, consulto fuit a me prætermissa. De ordinibus autem a Francisco institutis notavi sup. Const. 5 Honor. 111. Solet.

—*Bullarium Magnum*, i. 134, 135. The bull concerning these stigmata was confirmed by Nicholas III.—See Raynaldi, A.D. 1279, § 52.

³ —“*volumus et mandamus*,” says the bull, “*ut eum sane mentis (sic in orig.) restituat judicialis severitas disciplinæ; ita quod districta proprii prælati castigatione correctus, Dei opera blasphemare desinat.*”

The Church of Rome is now justly ashamed of the whole story—but why are the bulls not rescinded?

⁴ See the *Bullarium Magnum*, pp. 138, 139, 141—146.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

Bishop of Hereford to forge obligations from certain bishops, abbots, and friars, to various Siennese, or Florentine merchants⁵. He sent Rostand, a lawyer of Gascony, one of his subdeacons, into England, with authority both to himself and the archbishop, to collect a tenth of all revenues in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the use of the holy see, or the king, indifferently, notwithstanding any former letters or indulgences whatever. He granted them power, also, to absolve the king from his vow to go to the Holy Land, provided he transferred the obligation of that vow to proceed to Apulia against Manfred, the upholder of the imperialists. To induce him to make the change, all the money collected for the crusade in Palestine was granted by him to the king. The legate applied to the parliament, or general assembly of the nobles and prelates, for assistance towards the recovery of Sicily. He demanded, too, a large debt—135,540 marks, which he alleged to be due from the king to the pope. If the debt was not paid before Michaelmas, the king was to be banished from the sacraments and from heaven by an excommunication, and the kingdom was to be put under an interdict. The king feared the sentence of the Church. He prayed for time; and resolved, against the sense of his council and nobles⁶, to pay the money. The barons, however, refused to contribute to the demand, and the bishops followed their example. The pope persisted in his demand, and threatened excommunication and interdict as the alternative. Five thousand marks, with humble deprecations, were sent; and the sentence on the royal slave was postponed for a season. The intrigues, negotiations, wars, plans, treaties, and general conduct of the popes of this time are so wholly temporal, that we might forget we are speaking of the ecclesiastical power, if we did not remember that it is the Bishop of Rome to whom we are referring, and not to kings, consuls, nor emperors.

Gray, the Archbishop of York, was excommunicated by Alexander for refusing to admit Italians into the livings of his diocese. He expostulated with Alexander, and told him, that when Christ gave to Peter his commission to “feed his

⁵ A copy of his permission is preserved in the letter in the Appendix to Brady, i. 289, etc., No. 181, where

it is quoted from Matthew Paris. ⁶ See the Letters in the Appendix to Brady, i. No. 185, 186.

sheep," He did not give him authority to flay or eat them. Gray was a prelate of great sanctity and piety, and made his appeal to God when dying, against the injustice of the pope. *We cannot but believe that all these things helped to prepare the way for the protection afforded to Wicliffe.*

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

The excommunications pronounced by the English bishops, and by the Bishop of Rome, were often disregarded by the laity. In April, 1258, Boniface, the Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned his suffragans and clergy to a synod at Merton. Complaint was made, that the writ for seizing the excommunicated person was frequently denied—that the king and his officers had dealings and intercourse with such persons—that this custom was a contempt of the power of the keys—and new regulations were passed to compel the enforcement of the sentences pronounced by the bishops. The Church of England, whether with or without being instigated by the pope, continued to encroach upon the regal authority. The contest was not merely between the regal and the papal, but between the regal and the ecclesiastical power. The eighteenth article of the synod of Merton, actually threatens all secular judges, whether lay or clerical, with excommunication and interdict—with banishment from heaven, and with non-participation of the sacraments on earth, *if they interpret the law contrary to the opinion* expressed in the synod respecting its right construction⁷.

The temporal influence of the Bishop of Rome continued to be weakened in England by his intolerable presumption in again absolving the king, Henry III., from the oath he had taken to his parliament at Oxford. The barons there had made certain provisions for securing the public liberties of the kingdom. The pope absolved the king from his oath to observe them. Alexander died before the instrument of dispensation could be sealed. Urban IV. confirmed the deed. The king refused to be bound by his oath. His own son, on his returning from France to defend his father, condemned his decision. The barons were exasperated at his perfidy. The Cinque Ports and London, which possessed at the time great power, declared against him. The civil war broke out, in which

⁷ See the Articles in Collier, vol. i. p. 471; Concil. vol. ii. p. 304; Spelman says, that this synod was held ad quassandam decimam, per Papam concessam.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

knights and burgesses were summoned to meet in deliberation on the affairs of the kingdom, with the nobles and prelates; and thus *the blasphemous usurpation of the Bishop of Rome in absolving Henry from his oath, may be said to be the foundation of the present liberties of England.* The temporal authority of the Bishop of Rome was certainly much shaken by the circumstance which occurred, when the legate of Urban arrived in France, in 1264, with a commission from the pope, to interfere in the English dissensions. The Earl of Leicester, with the popular party, sent him word that he would not be received. When the legate commanded the bishops to put in force the papal excommunication against the Earl of Leicester; some people from the Cinque Ports, who pretended to be pirates, met the bishops on their return from Boulogne, where they had met the legate; took away their papers and destroyed them. The legate returned to Rome, where he was elected pope on the death of Urban.

Alexander died at Viterbo, where he had appointed the meeting of a council to compose the differences between the Venetians and Genoese, on the 26th of May, 1261⁸. He was virtuous, learned, and charitable—the imitator of Innocent, the follower of Hildebrand. His free use of interdicts, excommunications, and spiritual censures against Manfred, and his other opponents, after the defeat of his army; must have convinced many that the will of the Lord God Almighty was not rightly represented by his earthly vicar. *But the time was not come when the appeal was to be made by the insulted people of Europe to that inspired guide, which told them that bishops, popes, and churches may decide wrongly, and act erroneously.* Alexander IV., at the request of Louis IX., endeavoured to establish the Inquisition in France.

CLXXXII. *Urban IV., died 1264.*

John, the Patriarch of Viterbo, was elected to succeed Alexander. Excommunications against Manfred and Conradin, the young grandson of Frederic II.; the granting of Sicily to Charles of Anjou⁹, who swore feudal allegiance to

⁸ See M. Westminst., ad ann., and Raynald. ad ann. § 7. renounce his claim to Sicily, on condition of the pope promising to excommunicate the barons who demanded

⁹ He engaged the English prince to

the pope, and whose conduct, after his acceptance of that kingdom, provoked the Sicilian Vespers; and the institution of the festival of Corpus Christi, in consequence of an alleged miracle of blood flowing into the chalice, and appearing upon the linen corporale, upon which the chalice was placed, to convince a priest who doubted the truth of transubstantiation¹, are the principal incidents by which he may be remembered. He was pious and liberal, but of a turbulent spirit. He cited Richard, King of the Romans, and brother to Henry the Third, King of England, to appear before him; and a similar summons was sent by him to Alphonso, King of Spain. Shortly before his death, which took place at Perugia, October 2, 1264², he threatened the German electors with excommunication, if they did not elect Conradin to the throne of the empire. A synod was held at Lambeth, under Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, which abridged many privileges of the civil law³; and on the king appealing to Pope Urban, he warned him and his ministers against encroaching on the privileges of the Church.

CLXXXIII. *Clement IV., died 1268.*

Guido, Cardinal of Sabina, succeeded, and took the name of Clement IV. He invested Charles of Anjou with the kingdom of Sicily, on terms which secured to the Church every privilege which Gregory VII. himself could have demanded. Charles was also successful against Manfred, whom he defeated and killed; and he afterwards defeated, and subsequently executed on the scaffold, the young Prince Conradin, the grandson of the Emperor Frederic. This temporary success of the popes, in their long continued warfare against the House of Suabia, considerably weakened their ecclesiastical power. They had anticipated, on the overthrow of their

the Great Charter.—History of the Popes, p. 123.

¹ Raynald. A.D. 1264, § 26, 27.

² Id. § 69.

³ Among other enactments of this synod, it was decreed—that the clergy who were fined in the secular courts, should not be compelled to pay unless they were found guilty also in the ecclesiastical courts:—*Et si clerici ecclesie redditu, pro transgressione aliqua*

personali americiati fuerint a iudice sæculari, prelati ad hujusmodi americiamenta solvenda predictos clericos non compellant, cum non a suis iudicibus fuerint condemnati. Et, si propter hoc prelatos distringi vel attachiari contingeret; contra hujusmodi attachiaciones vel districtiones utantur remediis antedictis.—Spehnan, Concil. ii. 310.

imperial opponents, the attainment of the empire; but the spirit of opposition to government which the popes had encouraged, became a more formidable enemy to the continuance of their ascendancy than the sovereigns of Germany.

Clement obtained great favour among the people by his disinterestedness in avoiding nepotism, as well as by his learning, sanctity, and liberality. *He excited, on the other hand, much opposition by his zeal in asserting the principles of Hildebrand, by upholding the papal claims of irresistible supremacy; and by venturing to publish a bull, declaring all benefices to be at the disposal of the Bishop of Rome, and that it was for him to confer them, whether vacant or not vacant, giving them, in the latter case, in reversion or expectancy. It has ever been the policy of Rome not to recede from a claim, but to persevere in adding to rather than diminishing it by the smallest concession.* Innocent III. had claimed this power of appointing Italians to vacant benefices in England; and Clement endeavoured to make this claim universal. Louis IX., though he was so warmly attached to the ecclesiastical power, that he approved of all the severity which his brother Charles of Anjou had exercised against the imperial opponents of the papacy; was both surprised and indignant at this usurpation on the part of Clement. *He published, therefore, against the papal decree, the celebrated edict called the Pragmatic Sanction.* In this edict it was enacted, that the patrons to benefices shall enjoy their privileges—that the cathedral and other churches of the kingdom shall make their elections freely—that the intolerable exactions by which the court of Rome has impoverished France shall cease, save in case of urgent necessity; of which the king and the Gallican Church shall be the judges—and that the privileges and liberties which the kings of France had granted to the churches should be continued to them; whatever be the papal interference. *This act may be said to be one of the principal foundations of the liberties of the Gallican Church till the first French revolution.*

The state of the public mind in Europe at this time, may be understood from the number of crusades which were preached, by order of Clement, into various European kingdoms. He published a crusade into Spain against the Moors,

whom the Spaniards wished to exterminate—a crusade into Hungary, Bohemia, and elsewhere, against the Tartars, whose incursions were much dreaded—a crusade in favour of the Teutonic knights against the pagans of Lithuania, of Prussia, and of Courland, over whom they wished to reign—a crusade into England against the barons, whom Henry III. could not bring into subjection—a crusade into France, and into Italy, to deprive the House of Suabia of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; besides a general crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land. The crusaders were often opposed. They were loosed from the obligation of one crusade when pressed to the execution of another. Indulgences were distributed at the will of the pope; the expenses of the war exhausted kingdoms; and the pope's bulls kindled the flames of war throughout Europe ⁴.

It was usual at this age of the world, as we have seen, for the Bishops of Rome and their legates, the Bishops of England and France, and other places, or the ecclesiastical power generally, to *issue their excommunications on any political question*, provided the ecclesiastics were offended; or had become partizans of either, or of any, of the contending opponents. A singular instance of this took place in England during the pontificate of Clement. The long and well-known contest respecting the liberties of the people had been going on between the king and Simon de Montfort; in which no spiritual question whatever was agitated. The legate of Clement, however, called a council at Northampton, and excommunicated all the bishops and clergy who favoured De Montfort. He extended the excommunication, also, to all the political enemies of the sovereign. Having done this, he sent messengers to the Isle of Ely, where they had assembled, admonishing them to return to the faith and unity of the Church. Their answer was—they did firmly hold that same faith which they had learned from the holy bishops, Robert (Grossetete) of Lincoln, St. Edmund of Canterbury, and other catholic men; and they believed in the creeds, the sacraments, and the Gospels. This declaration did not, however, satisfy the legate. He admonished them, as they were excommunicated, to return to their obedience to the

⁴ Millot's Elements of General Modern History, ii. 184, 185.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

Church of Rome. They had, they said, obeyed the Church of Rome as the head of Christianity, but they would not obey the demands for money of those who ruled it; that is, they acknowledged the spiritual, but rejected the temporal power. The legate, after advising them to submit to the king, admonished them to receive absolution from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them for adhering to what was called the Oxford provisions; or the demands of the barons for the ancient liberties of the kingdom. Their unanswerable reply was—that a sentence of excommunication had been denounced by all the prelates of the kingdom against all who opposed these very provisions; and they threatened to appeal to the apostolic see, or to a general council. The churchmen, in fact, were accustomed, accordingly as their opinions or interests varied, to support both, by issuing their excommunications. The consequence was, that the lightning of their decrees, which was originally feared as the shaft of the vengeance of the Almighty, gradually became regarded as the harmless vapour of a summer day; and Rome was most disregarded when its thunders were loudest. The barons continued their resistance in spite of the remonstrances of the legate, until they were subdued by the king in the summer of the next year but one.

A bull of Clement, dated at Viterbo on the 9th of June, 1267, granted to the king a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues. *This was an instance of the manner in which the Church of Rome, amidst all opposition, maintained its power.* It held the balance between the popular and the regal parties. It was, therefore, feared by both; and according to its opportunities, it plundered both. The legate was commanded, 1268, to collect the tenths; and disobedience to the legate was consequently treason to the king, and resistance to the Church. This tax was collected in the same year in which Clement died at Viterbo, on the 29th November, 1268⁵.

CLXXXIV. *Gregory X., died 1276.*

A curious instance of the general union which now prevailed among the members of the universal Church, is seen in the titles, offices, and circumstances of the successor of Cle-

⁵ See Raynald. ad ann. § 54.

ment. Theobald, Archdeacon of Liege, after a vacancy of nearly three years (1st September, 1271)⁶, was elected (via compromissi) by the committee of cardinals, to whom their brethren, unable to come to a conclusion, had delegated their power of choosing. Theobald, Theald, or Thibaud, upon whom their choice fell, of noble birth—Viscount of Placentia, Archdeacon of Liege, Canon of Lyons, was at Ptolemais, in the Holy Land, engaged in the crusade, where he was the intimate friend and companion of Edward, Prince of Wales. Who does not desire the return of the period when Christians may be again united—not to urge an unholy war with spear and shield against the enemies of the Gospel—not bound together by the bond of fierce hatred against real or supposed heretics—not associated by the authority which teaches error, and enforces error by excommunications and penalties; but a union, so based on love, truth, and authority, that the infidel, the heretic, and the schismatic, should be convinced of the reality of religion, and earnestly desire all to become the members of one holy society—the true Catholic Church of Christ? On hearing of his election, Theobald preached a farewell sermon at Ptolemais, on the words—“If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning!” He encouraged the crusaders to persevere, and immediately on his arrival at Viterbo, published bulls and letters of encouragement to the crusade, addressed to all Europe. He assumed the name of Gregory, being the tenth of the popes so called. The long interregnum between the death of Clement and the election of Gregory X. had enabled Charles of Anjou to acquire great authority in Italy, and even to aspire to its government. Under the titles of Senator of Rome and Imperial Vicar, he had usurped almost supreme power. At this time, 1276, Michael Paleologus, who had recovered Constantinople from Baldwin, the Latin Emperor, held the imperial sceptre of the East. Charles of Anjou meditated the restoration of the Latin power, and the overthrow of Paleologus⁷. Gregory feared that the influence he might thus obtain would be injurious to the papal power.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

⁶ Raynald. ad ann. § 9.

⁷ Charles had given his daughter in marriage to Baldwin, and had purchased the imaginary rights of Mary

of Antioch to the kingdom of Jerusalem. By uniting both claims, he trusted to make himself Emperor of the East.—History of Popery, p. 128.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

The thoughtful or subtle pontiff had recourse to four expedients, by which he at once consolidated the strength of Rome, and checked the power of Charles. He exerted himself to reconcile the Guelphs and Ghibellines. He procured the election of Rodolph of Hapsburg to the title of King of the Romans⁸, by which Charles lost at once all the power he derived from the title of "Vicar." His third expedient to frustrate the designs of Charles, was his encouragement of a new crusade. His fourth, the publication of his mandate to all Europe for the assembling of another General Council at Lyons.

The pope opened the council by preaching from the same text which Innocent had chosen on a similar occasion: Luke xxii. 15, "With desire I have desired to eat this pass-over with you⁹."

⁸ Rodolph of Hapsburg swore to maintain the privileges of the Church. He restored Ravenna and Romagna to the pope, and took an oath that he

would not invade Rome, but defend it against all invaders.

⁹ Bini Concil. ut supra, p. 275.

Synopsis of the Fourteenth General Council.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

Council XV.	Second Council of Lyons, and the Fourteenth General Council.
Date.	1274. May 7th to July 17th ¹ .
Number of Bishops.	500 bishops—70 abbots—1000 inferior clergy. The Latin Patriarch of Constantinople and Antioch; James, Prince of Arragon; legates of the Greek emperor and of the King of Tartary ² .
By whom summoned.	Gregory X.
President.	Pope, with fifteen cardinals.
Why summoned.	To compel the union of the Latin and Greek Churches. For crusades to the Holy Land. Reformation of discipline and manners ³ .
Against whom.	Such as endeavour to compel judges to revoke sentences of excommunication and interdict.
Chief decrees and canons.	Thirty-one canons were passed, among which the confirmation of a decree of Innocent III., for the cardinals to be shut up during the election of a pope, and two-thirds of the votes to decide. An abstract of the remaining decrees is given <i>infra</i> ⁴ .
Penalties.	Excommunication on transgressing the 11th, 12th, and 31st canons.
Sufferers.	The Bishop of Liege, and the Abbot of St. Paul's, Rome, deposed.
Emperor.	Rodolph of Hapsburg.
Pope.	Gregory X. ⁵

¹ See Grier, p. 202; Mosheim, iii. 258; Cave, ii. 351; Venema, vi. 220. 247; Delahogue, Tractatus, &c., p. 436; Du Pin, ii. 123; Bini Concil. vii. pt. ii. p. 872, seqq.; Spondaus, i. 249; Bellarmine, ii. 9; Cent. Magd. cent. xiii.

p. 918, where it is dated in 1273. ² See the authorities, ut sup., under which head the Magd. Cent. say 60 abbots.

³ Pontifex post preces ac solemnina in conciliis, ante omnia fieri consueta,

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

The constitutions which Gregory ordered to be read, published, observed, and inserted in the decretals under heads, are briefly to the following effect :—

I. That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, as from one single principle, and by one single respiration, condemning such as deny this doctrine.

II. Rules according to which the popes are to be elected.

III. Prescribes in what manner opposition to the elections shall be declared.

IV. Elections to benefices not to be entered upon till confirmed by the pope.

V. Persons so elected to consent to the election within one month, and be confirmed within three.

VI. Concerning giving votes to unworthy persons, and criminally obtaining their election to benefices.

VII. On discovery of vice in a person after a vote has been given him.

VIII. A minority of only one-third voters not to object to the election of any person by two-thirds.

IX. Concerning appeals in objections to the election of bishops.

X. Objections to persons elected on the ground of ignorance, or personal defect, to be decided by examination.

tres causas convocacionis synodi exposuit ; nempe, subsidii Christianis in Syriam mittendi ; Græcorum ad fidem et communionem Ecclesie Catholice et Romane traducendorum, et reformationis morum ac discipline ; simulque modi alicujus præscribendi ad celerem Romani Pontificis electionem faciendam, quod multa ex longa Sedis vacatione mala accidere consuevissent.— Spondanus, ut sup. See also Concilia, vii. pt. ii. p. 372 ; Du Pin, ii. 123 ; Delahogue, p. 437.

⁴ Among the acts of the council should be mentioned the fact, that the ambassadors from Constantinople agreed, in the name of the Emperor Michael, to every thing decided upon by the pope ; the emperor being at that time in a precarious state, was desirous to obtain the favour of the pope. The patriarchs also, not Greek but *Latin*, subjected the Eastern Church to the Roman, and agreed to

the Creed then pronounced. The letter of the emperor to the pope recites the symbol, nearly the same as the Nicene, professing his belief in purgatory, and the assistance received by the dead from the suffrages of the living. He also consents to the seven sacraments of the Roman Church, and promises never to swerve from this faith. Both he and the patriarchs acknowledge the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, and promised the re-union of the Churches.

⁵ Gregory took upon himself the whole management of the council, appointing the days upon which each session should take place ; preparing the canons, also, which he brought forward at various times. He would not allow any difference of opinion to be expressed respecting them, nor any discussion to take place, as to their utility or adaptation to the several ends to be effected.

XI. Wrong done to voters for the way in which they give their votes, incurs excommunication. BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

XII. Assuming the regalia contrary to the ordinances, assuming the care of churches, monasteries, &c., to incur excommunication.

XIII. No presentations to cures to be made by persons under twenty-five; compels residence, and the assumption of priest's orders.

XIV. Prohibits giving cures *in commendam* to persons under age, and to none for above six months.

XV. Prescribes the seasons of ordination, and the qualification of candidates for orders.

XVI. To have been twice married incurs the forfeit of the clerical habit and tonsure, and of all clerical privileges.

XVII. Chapters desiring to be relieved from duties, to give sufficient reason; and throwing down images declared unlawful.

XVIII. On dealing with those who hold pluralities; and ordinaries are directed not to bestow them.

XIX. Relates to the oath to be taken by advocates and proctors.

XX. Absolutions extorted by force or fear of excommunications to be null and void.

XXI. Grants ordinaries leave to appoint to vacancies belonging to the presentation of the Roman court, if they have remained vacant a month.

XXII. Prohibits bishops from alienating the goods of the Church, without the consent of the chapter.

XXIII. Cancels all orders of mendicant friars established since Innocent III. if not approved by the holy see.

XXIV. Exacting or receiving any thing for the right of procuration, without personal visitation, is abolished.

XXV. The sanctity of churches is forbidden to be profaned by holding assemblies, markets, &c. therein.

XXVI. XXVII. Against usurers.

XXVIII. Abolishes the use of reprisals.

The three last canons concern excommunications, where the name of the offender has been omitted in canonical admonitions; where towns or countries are under interdict,

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

absolution of no force ; compelling ecclesiastical judges, by the seizure of their temporalities, to revoke sentences.

These constitutions bear date November 1, in the third year of Gregory's pontificate.

The law respecting the mode of electing popes, though in some points altered by the successors of Gregory, continues to be the general law of the conclave to this day. The eligibility of any member of the Catholic Church to be elected to the chair of St. Peter, has been some time confined to the cardinals. With the pope's death, all offices he had filled were to cease. Certain canons, also, give the right of granting absolutions for particular offences exclusively to the pope.

On returning from France into Italy, after holding the Council of Lyons, he had resolved not to pass through Florence, in consequence of an interdict he had passed on that city two years before, and which yet remained. The Arno being much overflowed, compelled him to pass through the interdicted city, on coming to the gate of which he suspended the interdict, and blessed the people. As he left the city, however, he renewed the curse upon it, repeating a passage of Ps. xxxii. "Their mouth must be held in with bit and bridle." Having reached Arezzo a few days after, he was taken ill, and died suddenly, January 10th, 1276, being buried in the church of that city, where he is yet honoured as a saint.

Few pontiffs have strengthened the power of the Church so greatly within so short a space of time, as Gregory X. held the pontificate. His laws still form a part of the canon law of Rome, and are to be found in the Sixth Book of the Decretals.

CHAPTER X.

Resistance by the sovereigns of Europe to the more presumptuous aggressions of the Church of Rome.—Increased severity of the laws against heresy.—Council of Vienne in Dauphiny, 1311.

CLXXXV. *Innocent V., died 1276.*

TEN popes governed the Church, and thirty-seven years elapsed between the Second Council of Lyons, and the council held in the neighbouring city of Vienne in Dauphiny. The office of pope was so important, his power so extensive, and the danger to the general interests of the Church of Rome, and to the Gregorian policy, so great if that power were not skilfully exerted; that the conclave, whatever might be their predilections in favour of an incompetent candidate, seldom dared, at this period, to elect an ecclesiastic of inferior attainments. On the death of Gregory, the cardinals unanimously chose Peter de Tarantasia, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, one of the most learned divines of the age, who took the name of Innocent V.¹ He died at the end of five months from his election, having in the mean time wisely restored tranquillity to Tuscany, and effected peace between Lucca and Pisa. He sent, also, ambassadors to Constantinople to cement the union between the two Churches, but died before their return².

The parliament held at Westminster the Easter before the death of Innocent, passed some wise and good laws, which, while they preserve the privileges of the holy Church, reserve to the crown its rights³. Edward had visited Gregory X., the last pope, when on his way from the Holy Land to take

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1276, § 17.

² Id. § 24.

³ Statutes at Large, 3 Edw. I.

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

possession of his crown. He had also been intimate with him at Ptolemais, and must have learnt from him the principles of the Gregorian party in the Church. Edward, however, "the English Justinian," had reprov'd his own father for violating the conditions of the treaty he had made with his barons; and he seems to have been anxious to respect, even at this early period of his reign, *the liberties of the people as well as the rights of his crown*. He caused the declaration to be made in the fiftieth chapter of the statute of Westminster, that the privileges he granted were decreed to the honour of God and holy Church, and for the common good of the people.

CLXXXVI. *Hadrian V., died 1276.*

The celebrated Cardinal Othobon, or Ottobon, or Ottobone, who had been sent into England to reconcile Henry III.⁴ to his barons under Simon de Montfort, succeeded Innocent as Hadrian V. He died forty days after his election, at Viterbo, whither he had gone to meet Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, and Rudolph, King of the Romans, both of whom were professedly the supporters of the Church.

CLXXXVII. *John XXI., died 1277.*

Peter, the Bishop of Tusculum, succeeded on the 13th September, 1276, and died in the May following. *The Churches, during these short pontificates, held their councils, and acted independently of the popes; though they did not yet dare to refuse to their own people or ecclesiastics the privilege of appealing to the holy see.* Councils were held August 31st, 1276, at Saumur; September 13th, 1276, at Bourges; and in April and July at Constantinople, which confirmed the union of the two Churches, decreed by the second Council of Lyons, and excommunicated its opponents.

CLXXXVIII. *Nicholas III., died 1280.*

The cardinal-deacon of St. Nicholas, John Cajetan, a Roman of the noble family of Ursini, succeeded as Nicholas III. Though Nicholas obtained from Charles of Anjou the

⁴ See Raynald. ad ann. 1265, § 61.

resignation of the titles "*Imperial Vicar*," which offended Rudolph, and that of "*Roman Senator*," which offended the pontiff; and though Rudolph confirmed the grants of Charlemagne and his successors to the holy see, and entirely separated from the empire the provinces which are now called the Patrimony of St. Peter; the power of Rome *suffered great diminution of influence in his pontificate by his unblushing nepotism, by his forming the papacy into a kingdom*, and thus enabling the sovereigns of Europe to consider the pope as a temporal monarch⁵; and by the statute of Mortmain in England, which prevented the further appropriation of lands to the revenues of the Church.

The usurpation was, however, now permitted which the Bishops of Rome had so long, and so variously, desired in the reigns of former kings. They obtained the appointment of the Archbishops of Canterbury; who from this period to the time of Cranmer, took the oath which Gregory VII. had originally imposed upon them; and who thereby yielded the Church of England to the Church of Rome. Upon the death of Robert Kilwardby, the monks of Canterbury unanimously chose Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was with the king in Gascony. Nicholas, in the plenitude of his power, set aside the election, and nominated a learned Franciscan, John Peckham, who was consecrated at Rome. The period, however, had already commenced when the indefinite authority of the Bishops of Rome was no longer feared as it had been. A council was held at Reading⁶, in which, while many of the canons of the Council of Lyons and other synods were confirmed, certain provisions were made which appeared to encroach upon the prerogative of the king. The bishops still retained that power which was committed to them by their Divine Master, of calling synods and making canons in matters

⁵ So long as the power of the pope was indefinite, the sovereigns of Europe regarded him as the universal bishop only; but when he commanded armies, and assumed the monarchical privileges of a small, defined territory, he began to destroy the more indefinite power which constituted his principal greatness.

⁶ John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, having convened the bishops, his suffragans, at Reading, in

the year 1279, renewed there the constitutions of Ottobon, and made several others about collation to benefices, the sentences of excommunication, and the clergy who kept concubines. There was one on infant baptism. It was ordered that all those who should be born eight days before Easter and Whitsuntide, should be baptized solemnly on those two festivals.—See on the Acts of this Council, Collier, Brady, Spelman, Hart, and the general historians.

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

purely spiritual ; but they could not become the law of the land, and they ought not, unless the secular legislature approved of them. *One of the canons made at this synod decreed that the king's ministers who would not execute the writ, De excommunicato capiendo, should be themselves excommunicated.*

This canon was an enforcement of those which had been passed at the Councils of Tours, and in the Third and Fourth Lateran. The English people were not prepared to proceed to the extremities of cruelty which were implied in, and must have followed, these enactments. *The archbishop was compelled to rescind it*⁷. By another canon it was decreed, that punishment by the secular power alone was not sufficient for those who invaded the lands of the clergy. This also was rescinded. *The common law was enforced against the canon law.* On the Continent, the canon law was supreme over the municipal ; or rather they were identified. The privileges of clerkship had been lessened in 1275. [3 Edw. I.] The privileges of the synods were restrained by the revocation of the proceedings of the synod of Reading, by command of the civil power. Nicholas died on the 22nd of August, 1280, at Suriano, near Viterbo⁸.

CLXXXIX. *Martin IV., died 1285.*

After six months' vacancy, John de Brie, treasurer of the church of St. Martin at Tours, was elected pontiff, and took the name of Martin from the patron saint of his own Church⁹. He was chosen by the influence of Charles of Anjou, and acted as a partizan of Charles by again conferring on him the dignity of Roman Senator. By so doing he revived the contests between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. He pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the Emperor of the East, Michael Paleologus, for having dissolved the union decreed by the Second Council of Lyons ; and *laid an interdict on the city of Viterbo for political offences only.* He proclaimed a crusade against Peter of Arragon, who defeated the crusaders. He formed a league with Venice in connexion with Charles, which was attended with but little success ; and " Sicilian Vespers," or the massacre in Sicily of the French partizans of Charles of Anjou, who was supported by

⁷ Collier, vol. i. p. 471, discusses the arguments of Prynne on this point.

⁸ Raynald. ad ann. 1280, § 23.

⁹ Id. ad ann. 1281, § 3.

the pope, all united to weaken the influence of the apostolic see. Still the pope was obeyed. In England the tenths which the clergy had voted to him as their contribution towards the rescue of the Holy Land, according to the decree of the Second Council of Lyons, were deposited in the monasteries and other places, in 1284. The king forbade this money to be taken out of the kingdom. The pope commanded the archbishop to expostulate with the king, and he promised to restore the money which he had taken into his own possession. He promised, also, not to seize these grants for the future; nor to injure the collectors appointed by the pope. Still, the great power which the Gregorian high Church party in Rome demanded, was neither so palmy nor so flourishing as it had been. The celebrated statute of Westminster was passed to separate the jurisdictions, and ascertain the respective limits, of the spiritual and temporal courts. *When the nature, and extent, and objects of any power are thus questioned, it is a proof that such power is not entirely dreaded*¹.

But though the power of the Bishop of Rome was thus gradually declining, and treated with less reverence in temporal matters than it had formerly been, *his ecclesiastical authority continued to be exercised over the people, in the most injurious and unjustifiable manner.* The theologians who attribute the errors of these ages to the influence of the Bishop or Church of Rome only, have much misunderstood the nature of the ecclesiastical power. The Church of England at this time committed an error, which was subsequently changed into an article of faith, or an act of discipline, by a general council; and which, therefore, became the law of the whole Western Church. *The whole apostolical succession of the episcopal Church of England, represented by its bishops, and a synod of its clergy, superseded the positive command of Christ.* John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1281, summoned at Lambeth a general synod of his province. The second canon, which was passed in this synod, sanctions the taking away the cup from the laity in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The wine was not yet actually refused to them. They were only to be taught by their parish priest that the wine was unconsecrated, and given to them that they

¹ See this statute and the discussion respecting it in Collier.

might swallow the bread more easily. The doctrine of transubstantiation had been decreed as an article of faith; after having been regarded as an open question by the Fourth Council of Lateran. Many superstitions began to result from the absurdity. Among others, the doctrine that as the body and blood of Christ are contained in the single species of bread, the cup was not necessary; and not being necessary, might be withheld without injury. This novel opinion was first taught to the more ignorant² kind of people. The cup was still given, but with reserve, to the more enlightened; but the wine now ceased to be consecrated; and it was soon withdrawn altogether. *This atrocious usurpation* may be called one of the chief heresies by which the Church deviated from the purer practice and doctrine of its apostolic founders. It was begun, continued, and finally passed into a law by those who were studious to imprison, and otherwise punish their brethren whom they deemed to be heretics for opposing these novelties; and for expostulating with the ecclesiastics, who called themselves, *the Church of Christ*, at the moment they were rescinding the principal institution of His holy covenant.

The authority of the ecclesiastical power was diminished still further by the statute, if it be indeed a statute, entitled “*Circumspecte agatis.*” Its object was to define more accurately the boundaries between the ecclesiastical and temporal courts. Spiritual causes only, of which the list was very extensive, were to be tried in the episcopal courts. The secular judges were commanded to take care that all other causes were brought under their own cognizance³. The same jealousy of clerical oppression which was taking place in England, displayed itself even more decidedly on the continent. A law was passed at Padua imposing a fine of one penny only on the murderer of a priest. The law was unjustifiable; for the community ought to have ventured to correct the presumption of the priesthood which had outraged the better feelings of the community. The city was interdicted, and the law was repealed. The fact proves only the wretched state of the laity, who *were compelled to submit to the usurpations of the priesthood*,

² See the whole discussion in Collier, vol. i. p. 480.

³ See the subject fully treated in Collier. I mention these matters thus briefly, to trace the progress of public

opinion. The people, not the king, were desirous to prevent the indefinite encroachments both of the ecclesiastical and papal powers.

or to avenge themselves by such unjust methods⁴. The last act of the life of Martin IV. was the protecting the superior sovereignty of the Bishop of Rome over the kingdom of Naples. Charles of Anjou bequeathed the guardianship of Naples to his nephew, Robert of Artois. Martin united a cardinal to the administration, and established the right of appeal from the regents to the tribunals at Rome. He died at Perugia on the 29th of March, 1285⁵.

CXC. *Honorius IV., died 1287.*

James Seveli, a Roman noble, was unanimously elected. Martin IV. had diverted from their original destination the subsidies imposed by the Council of Lyons, on the nations of Christendom, which were intended for the crusades. *Honorius IV. lessened the moral influence of the pontificate by following his example*, and thereby compelled the expostulations of Rudolph, who, notwithstanding his descent from the house of Hapsburg, assumed the more important designation—Rudolph of Austria. Rudolph had been one of the firmest friends of the holy see. The kingdom of Arragon had been presumptuously granted to the son of the King of France, as a punishment to Peter of Arragon; for his attack on Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers. To uphold this war the crusading fund was plundered. Rudolph protested against the usurpation as well as the robbery. The French were defeated in spite of the blessing of the pope upon their expedition. Three times the pope solemnly but vainly excommunicated the whole family of Peter of Arragon. Sicily, however, was secured to the son of Peter by treaty with Charles II. of Anjou; and Honorius, on his dying bed, bitterly inveighed against Charles for sacrificing the inheritance under the guardianship of the holy see. *The times were past when kings resigned their thrones, or were flogged at the tombs of their rebellious subjects, at the bidding of the Bishops of Rome.* Neither kings nor pontiffs, however, were conscious of this silent and imperceptible change.

In England, in this pontificate, the Archbishop of Canterbury condemned certain propositions unsanctioned by the

⁴ See History of Popery, note, p. 134.

⁵ Raynald. ad ann. § 12.

Church. Among these was one which is received by the Church of England at present, as *the very corner-stone of its faith and teaching*. It is, that in maintaining doctrines under discussion, especially that of transubstantiation, a man is not bound to rest his faith upon the authority of the pope; or be governed by the opinions and tenets of Gregory, Augustine, or any other doctor of the Church; but that the Scriptures, together with the evident deductions from reason, contain the only principles to command our assent. This proposition was condemned as heretical by the archbishop, at a meeting held in Bow Church, in London; and all men were forbidden to defend it, under the penalty of excommunication. *The same proposition would be condemned in this very day, not only by the papal, but by the ecclesiastical power, in many Churches; if authority were vested in the hands of those persons who still believe, as Archbishop Peckham believed, when he pronounced this sentence. The opinions of Gregory and Augustine are valuable if they are true, and then only: and of that truth every reader of Scripture, who is able to use his reason, is entitled to judge. Some most useful provisions, however, for the performance of Divine service with solemnity and reverence, were enacted. A synod was also held at Exeter, which commanded the priests to instruct the people rightly in the doctrine of transubstantiation. One canon of the synod proves, that the innovation decreed by the council at Lambeth was not yet general. The cup was still frequently given to the laity. They were instructed to believe, that in the cup they received the blood which was shed from the body of our Saviour. The progress of the error was slow, notwithstanding all the authority of the Church, and the infamy attached to the crime of heresy. The same synod commanded all the people to confess three times a year to their own priests, unless he permit them to confess to another. The parishioners are exhorted to attend the Church on holy days, and especially on Sundays, that they might both hear the service and be instructed in their duty. Strange was the mixture of truth and error; and no Protestant is justified in speaking of his ancestors as certainly damned; because their ecclesiastical superiors, amidst much good, established many undoubted errors. Let us only be careful to secure the good we ourselves possess, and to prevent the return both of the errors*

into which they fell, and the punishments by which those errors were enforced.

The power of making the body and blood of Christ by transubstantiating the bread and wine, as the people were taught to believe, rendered the priests so superior to their lay brethren; that the doctrine of transubstantiation has ever been a favourite in the Church, the touchstone of heresy, the criterion of faith, the test by which the papal Christian is ever distinguished from the Protestant. It has ever been defended with the utmost jealousy, for *those who receive this doctrine will assent to any tenet which can be submitted by ecclesiastical authority to human credulity.* The legate of Honorius, at the Council of Wurtzburg, enforced the veneration of the consecrated wafer; by enacting that, when the host was taken out of the church to the sick, the priest in his robes should precede it, a taper should be borne, and a bell should be rung. Those who met the procession were enjoined to kneel as it passed, and repeat three times the Lord's Prayer, with a certain number of Ave Marias. *No means were left untried to increase the homage of the people to the clergy,* and their deference to the decisions of the Church. Honorius died on the 3rd of April, 1287.

CXCI. *Nicholas IV., died 1292.*

Jerome of Ascoli, the first pope of the Franciscan order, of low birth, but eminent for his learning and piety, succeeded Honorius, after a vacancy of ten months, on the 15th of February, 1288. *He pursued the Gregorian policy of endeavouring to subject all temporal power to the see of Rome.* He supported the claims of the house of Anjou to the throne of Sicily, and absolved Charles from his oath to the house of Arragon. He quarrelled with Rudolph for investing his son Albert with the throne of Hungary; and died, it is said, of a broken heart for the loss of Tripoli and Ptolemais, in 1291, the last cities remaining to the Christians in the Holy Land. He banished peace from Europe, and *lessened the power of the see by ill-timed assertions of the right of interference in the affairs of states which he was not able to enforce; and which did not, therefore, compel obedience.* Power, when exerted in vain, is necessarily weakened. Nicholas died April 4th, 1292.

After a vacancy of two years and three months, when the cardinals could not agree in their votes, the Bishop of Ostia, in the conclave, mentioned the name of Peter Moroni, a hermit of great austerity and sanctity. He was an Apulian, who, at twenty years of age, had retired to a solitary mountain, where he made for himself a little cell under ground; so small that he could scarcely stand or lie down in it⁶. Though compelled to take holy orders, he soon returned to his solitude, wore a horsehair shirt full of knots, with a chain of iron round his waist; and practised many other severities which recommended him to the favour of his contemporaries. *His strange mode of endeavouring to please God* was adopted by so many, that he lived to see thirty-six monasteries, and six hundred monks and nuns, who imitated his example. When his name was mentioned, one of the cardinals proposed to the Bishop of Ostia, that Peter should be elected pope. The proposition pleased. The hermit was chosen. Riding on an ass, whose bridle was held by the two Kings of Hungary and Naples, and attended by cardinals and princes, the reluctant hermit was consecrated at Aquila, by the name of Celestine V. It was soon found that *solitude is not the best school for sovereigns*; that some knowledge of law is essential to a lawgiver; and that there may be much ascetic devotion, united to exceedingly little wisdom. He built for himself a cell of boards in the middle of his palace; and lived in solitude among the counsellors who assembled to advise with him, and the suitors who sought for justice. Perceiving that the cell of the hermit was more suited to him than the palace of the Bishops of Rome, and that he was totally unfit for his high office; he consulted Benedict Caietan, afterwards his successor, whose ambition was equal to his learning, on the legality and expediency of resigning the pontificate. As the case was novel, Benedict persuaded him to enact a decree, declaring that the pope might resign. After which he summoned a consistory of cardinals, read before them the solemn act of abdication, laid aside the insignia of the pope, put on the habit of the hermit, descended from the throne, and cast-

⁶ Butler's Lives of the Saints, May 19.

ing himself at the feet of the cardinals, begged their pardon for his faults; and recommended them to choose a more worthy successor. He endeavoured to return to his hermitage, but the concourse of people who assembled from all sides to see him, prevented the possibility of solitude. The same concourse alarmed the fears of his ambitious and politic successor. Celestine was secured, and died in the citadel of Fumone, nine miles from Anagni, two years after his abdication, on the 19th of May, 1296. His last words were: "Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord."

CXCIII. *Boniface VIII., died 1303.*

Celestine resigned the pontificate in December, 1294, and was succeeded by the ecclesiastic who persuaded his abdication. Benedict Caietan was a native of Anagni, of noble birth, and related to Alexander IV. He had been already employed as legate to Martin IV. and Nicholas IV.; and is said to have been a man of great address and penetration, well acquainted with the political affairs of Europe and its princes. He was no less eminent for his talents, zeal, knowledge of the canon law, and proud contempt of the generality of mankind. He was supposed to be unscrupulous and crafty; avaricious and arrogant; and of boundless ambition. *He was still more distinguished for his zealous adherence to the Gregorian principles and policy.* He added so much to the canon law, and behaved throughout his pontificate with so much insolence to the sovereigns, his contemporaries, that he weakened the influence of the see by rousing their indignation. His very name has become a proverb among all who would describe, in one word, the worst and most intolerable domination of the pontifical supremacy.

His reign began by mistaking the right mode of governing the minds of men at the period of his election. The great mass of the people, in all countries of Europe, confounded at this time austerity with piety. They venerated most that religionist who fasted most perseveringly, lashed himself most severely, and tormented himself in every way most acutely. Celestine, his predecessor, had been dragged forth from his cell by the multitude in their admiration of these virtues. He rode on an ass into Rome; and the hairs of the tail of

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

the poor beast were plucked out, and preserved as relics by the admirers of its ultra-rigid rider. Benedict, who had assumed the name of Boniface VIII., proceeded to the opposite extreme. Aiming at excelling kings in pomp and magnificence, (as he soon declared to them in his memorable bulls, that he was superior to them all in power,) he rode in solemn procession ⁷, on a white horse splendidly caparisoned, to the Lateran, where he was to be enthroned. The King of Sicily, Charles, held the right-hand bridle rein, Martel, titular King of Hungary, the left; each walking on foot as pages. Two kings had held the bridle of the ass on which Celestine rode. They had eagerly sought for the honour in their veneration for the holy hermit. Two kings attended on Boniface; but they appear to have been required to attend rather as vassals than as the voluntary homagers of the pontiff. He wore a crown on his head. The nobles and clergy attended in procession; and the people craved his blessing on their knees in such numbers that he proceeded with difficulty to his enthronization. The same two kings, when on his return he dined in public, attended on his chair. Pope Boniface sat at the banquet as if he possessed the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them. But the pomp offended, while it dazzled.

Guy, Earl of Flanders, appealed to Boniface against the King of France. The pope sent his legate, the Bishop of Meaux, to require Philip to give satisfaction to the earl. If he refused to do so, the legate was commanded to summon the King of France to appear before the pope, that the difference might be decided at the pontifical tribunal. This was the origin of the quarrel. *The King of France told the legate that the pope had no authority over the temporal affairs of sovereigns and princes, and that God alone was the superior*

⁷ Progreditur sic summus apex, cui tanta relucet
Gloria, sublimi Phrygio vestitus et auro,
Cornipedemque sedens niveum sub tegmine nacti,
Mandentemque genis ibat, quo lætior, aurum,
Adventabat equo candens, diademate, palla,
Aurataque superpalla, nam cuspide plumæ
Cypressus consuta nitet. Tunc lora tenebant
Illustres Gallique duces, Carolusque Secundus,
Rex Siculus, Carolusque puer prolesque juvena,
Floridus Ungariæ materno a stipite nomen
Regis habens. Dextram pater accipit, atque sinistram
Filius, ardentis habitu.

of kings. The legate returned, and Boniface dared to publish the bull, requiring the clergy to pay no taxes.

Boniface proceeded to act as if the maxims of Nicholas and Gregory were the true principles on which the Church of Christ was to be governed; and by which all the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of the world were to be conducted. After presenting James of Arragon with the Pisan and Genoese Islands of Corsica and Sardinia, he summoned to his tribunal the two cardinals of the Colonna family, who had objected to the abdication of Celestine; and excommunicated them on their refusing to appear. He declared them and their families to be infamous for ever, extending the sentence of excommunication to all their friends and protectors. *No heresy was alleged against them.* The pretext for the revenge against them was, that they had allied themselves to the Kings of Sicily and Arragon. The true cause, however, was the personal animosity of the pope alone, whom they had offended by their opposition to him in their capacity of counsellors to the holy see; and the sentence was so manifestly unjust, that the best feelings were enlisted in their favour. Not contented with this tyrannical malignity, he published a crusade against them; and *granted the same indulgences to those who embarked in the fight against the Christian cardinals and their families, as to those who joined the crusade to the Holy Land against the Saracens.* One of the Colonnas fled to England, and was hospitably received by Edward; though Boniface had charged the king not to give him welcome. The other was protected by the King of France. The hatred of Boniface to the family was so intense and persevering, that he excepted them from the indulgence granted on the jubilee which he now first instituted in 1300⁸: and he ordered their patrimonial city Præneste to be so utterly destroyed, that the ground on which it stood was to be ploughed up and sown with salt.

On the first day of the jubilee, Boniface appeared in full

⁸ The bull of Boniface, by which plenary indulgence was promised to all who should attend the most holy jubilee which he instituted, but from the benefits of which all the Colonna families were excluded, is headed as follows:—

Institutio Sanctissimi Jubilei, plenariaeque peccatorum remissionis, pro quolibet centesimo anno, Basilicas SS. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum de Urbe visitantibus.—Bullarium Magnum, die 11 Aug. 1300, i. 204.

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

pontifical robes, and on the second day in the imperial mantle. *Two swords were carried before him as the double emblems of the spiritual and temporal power.*

The bull of Boniface exempting the clergy from the payment of tribute and taxes to their temporal sovereigns without permission of the pope, was issued in 1296⁹. The English clergy acted on its authority, and refused, in a parliament holden at Bury, November 4, of the same year, to vote their portion of the supplies for the public service. The king commanded another parliament to meet in London on the 14th of the January following. In the mean time he commenced severe proceedings against the clergy, commanding their barns to be closed. The Archbishop Winchelsey sent the bull to be published in all cathedrals. The time came for the assembling of the parliament in London, as the king had appointed, and the clergy again refused the subsidy. The archbishop, who had strenuously supported the authority of the pope, as he was bound by his solemn oath to do, *addressed the bishops on the superior duty of obeying their spiritual rather than their temporal sovereign.* "You know, my lords," he said to them, "that under God, we have two lords—a spiritual and a temporal lord¹. The spiritual is the pope: the temporal, the king. We owe obedience to both: but we owe a greater obedience to the spiritual than the temporal²." This

⁹ Brady has given a translation of the bull, from which the following is an extract:—"We, therefore," &c. "by apostolic authority, do ordain, that those prelates, ecclesiastics, religious or secular, of what state, order, or condition soever they be, who shall pay, or grant to pay, any taxes, or impositions, a half, a tenth, twentieth, an hundredth, or any other part or portion whatever, of the revenues of their churches or goods to laymen, under the name of an aid, assistance, lending, or gift, or under any other pretence or colour whatever, without the authority of the apostolic see; also, those emperors, kings, princes, dukes, earls, barons, great men, captains, officers, and governors, by what names soever they are known, or any other, of what state or condition soever, that shall impose, exact, or receive such things, or shall arrest, seize, or presume to take the goods of ecclesiastics deposited or secured in churches, or

that shall command them to be arrested, seized, or taken; likewise all who knowingly shall give any advice, assistance, or favour in these matters, for that very thing, and in that moment, shall incur the sentence of excommunication. The communities or universities, or bodies politic, that shall be guilty of these things, we put under ecclesiastical interdiction, strictly commanding the prelates and churchmen, by virtue of their obedience, and under pain of being deposed, that they acquiesce not in these things, without express license of the said see."—Brady, vol. ii. p. 41; see also Appendix, vol. ii. No. 17, for copy of original; see also Boehmer, *Juris Canonici*, vol. ii. p. 989; *Sexti Decret. lib. iii. tit. xxii. cap. iii. Clericis laicos.*

¹ That is, as expressed in a celebrated modern phrase—"They had a divided allegiance."

² *Satis vobis constat, Domini mei, nec latere potest, quod sub Omnipotente*

was the creed of that day ; and it must be, and will ever be, the creed of the sincere members of every Church which upholds the Divinely appointed supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. For he who values the salvation of the soul, ought, and will ever desire, to please God rather than man ; and to render to God the things he believes to be God's, even though they be Cæsar's ; if he imagine that the demands of Cæsar clash with those of God. *When we can separate light from the sun, we can distinguish between the papal spiritual and the papal temporal power.* Winchelsey proceeded, it is true, to say that he would send special messengers to the pope requesting him to allow the clergy to vote supplies to the king ; or at least to direct them what to do³. The king, however, properly and justly refused to wait for the papal permission authorising his own subjects to contribute to the services of the state ; and he proceeded, since they refused to uphold the charges of their common protector, the public law, to place them beyond the pale of the law. Writs and warrants were issued⁴ to the sheriffs to seize all the goods and chattels of the clergy till further directions. The king was then obeyed. The lawyers were commanded not to plead for them before any temporal judge. They were thus outlawed ; and all the clergy were commanded to pay a fifth of their revenue, or quit their estates. The clergy of the dioceses of York and Carlisle, with some others, anticipated this command ; and received, on payment of the supply required, the king's writs of protection⁵. Some refused to comply. The pope had forbidden the payment of taxes, without his permission, upon pain of excommunication. Proclamations were issued against all persons who published the sentence of excommunication against the king, his ministers, or adherents ; and many of the clergy were imprisoned⁶. The archbishop now summoned a Provincial Council in London. The king commanded the synod to pass no enactments which should tend to the disadvantage or injury of himself, his ministers, or

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

Deo, duos etiam Dominos habemus, Spiritualem et Temporalem ; Spiritualem vero Dominum Papam, et Temporalem Dominum nostrum Regem, et quamvis utrique obedientiam debeamus, majorem tamen Spirituali quam Temporalis.—Knyghton, col. 2491, ap. De-

cem Scriptores.

³ Ut licentiam aliquid concedendi habere possumus.

⁴ February 12, 1297.

⁵ Dated February 6, 1297.

⁶ A second commission was issued to discharge them.—See Brady, ii. 50.

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

his subjects; and Hugh le Despenser was commissioned to take with him certain of the council, and publish the king's prohibition on the day of their meeting. *Neither Henry VIII. nor Elizabeth could have acted with more vigour against the papal and ecclesiastical usurpations:* but Edward and his subjects did not yet understand, that any appeal which the pope and the clergy could make to the consciences of the people could only be rightly met by another influence, equally binding upon conscience with the authority of the Church—the authority of the higher power of the Scriptures, which the Church professed to make the foundation of its power. The result, however, of the king's severity was the present submission of the clergy. Two friars, and two lawyers, pleaded before the archbishop, whose estates had been seized for his contumacy, and before his suffragans; on the reasonableness and justice of the clergy, in time of war, contributing to the necessities of the state, notwithstanding the papal prohibition. The archbishop charged every man to act with regard to the salvation of his soul. The synod broke up. The continuance of the outlawry, and the consequent insults to which they were subjected, effected the gradual submission of the clergy; who then, to obtain the king's favour, voted even larger supplies than he had required. The king, without requiring the recantation of his allegiance to the pope, restored his estates to the archbishop. He apologized for demanding so much money from his people: and the archbishop, at the meeting in Westminster, where the king had made his declarations, promised with tears to be the faithful subject of his temporal sovereign.

War was raging at this time between England and Scotland, and between France and England. The interference of the pope was requested. Boniface commanded a truce to be observed for two years. This was in the year 1297, and respected only England and France. His command was rejected by Philip, with the denial of his authority in temporal affairs. As both parties, however, desired peace, they mutually consented to accept his interference as Benedict Caietan, a private individual, and a skilful canonist; but not as Pope Boniface VIII., in his character of ecclesiastical sovereign. The award of Boniface was accepted and confirmed by the English parliament.

The people of Scotland afterwards requested the papal interference against Edward. Boniface claimed the crown of Scotland as his own, in right of the holy see. The demand, strange to say, was considered and debated in parliament, at Lincoln, February 12th, 1301; and though rejected, it was done in courteous language ⁷.

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

In the same year, the Archbishop of Canterbury again refused to vote supplies for the crown, without the special licence of the pope ⁸.

Boniface made the recovery of the Holy Land his pretence for interfering in the affairs of princes. He wrote to Philip the Fair, to Edward I. of England, and to Adolphus of Germany, commanding them, under pain of excommunication, to conclude their differences. We have seen how astutely he aimed, by interference in their temporalities, to achieve ascendancy over secular princes; but the triple crown, the white magnificently attired steed, the imperial mantle, the two swords, and the many other *insignia of temporal as well as of sacerdotal dominion*, which this arrogant pontiff assumed, would not have been regarded otherwise than as the toys of his folly; if the Churches of Europe had not considered them to be, in reality, what Boniface himself professed—pledges of princely as well as sacerdotal supremacy. He attempted to dictate the terms of peace between the Kings of England and France, to the great indignation of the latter. He had published against Philip the Fair, in 1296, the celebrated bull ⁹, in which, because the king had commanded his subjects to export no gold, nor silver, nor gems without his permission, the pope actually commanded all the regular and secular clergy in his bull, as we have seen, not to pay any tax imposed by their temporal sovereign ¹. If the kings of

⁷ The parliament reverently and humbly beseech his holiness favourably to permit the king peaceably to possess his rights.

⁸ Pro clero nihil voluit concedere—sine licentiâ summi Pontificis speciali.

⁹ Ut supra. The bull "Clericis Laicos," as it now stands embodied in the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church, is to be seen in the Liber Sextus Decretal. lib. iii. tit. xxii. c. 3, issued Feb. 24, 1296.

¹ One of the most conspicuous of the advocates of Roman Catholic Emancipation (Dr. Doyle), having, in his examination before a committee of the House of Lords, (see Report, p. 190.) March 18, 1826, professed to consider Boniface VIII. an exception to all other popes, in having issued a "Brief," (the bull "Unam Sanctam,") asserting his power over temporal sovereigns and states, by an authority derived immediately from heaven, and not merely from his predecessors, as a

BOOK III. Europe had submitted to this decree, their sceptres would
 CHAP. X. have been at once transferred to the hands of the Bishop of

custom; I shall give this "Brief" as I find it in Raynaldus, anno 1302, § 13.

Ad Perpetuam Rei Memoriam.

Unam sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, et ipsam Apostolicam, urgente fide, credere cogimur et tenere, nosque hanc firmiter credimus et simpliciter confitemur; extra quam nec salus est nec remissio peccatorum, Sponso in Canticis proclamante; *Una est columba mea, perfecta mea, una est matris suæ electa genitricis suæ*; quæ unum corpus mysticæ representat, cujus corporis caput Christus, Christi vero Deus: in qua unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma. Una nempe fuit diluvii tempore arca Noe, unam Ecclesiam præfigurans, quæ in uno cubito consummata, unum Noe videlicet gubernatorem habuit et rectorem, extra quam omnia subsistentia super terram legimus fuisse deleta. Hanc autem veneramus, et unicam, dicente Domino in Propheta: *Erue à frumca, Deus, animam meam, et de manu canis unicam meam*. Pro anima enim, id est pro seipso capite, simul oravit et corpore; quod corpus, unicum scilicet Ecclesiam nominavit, propter sponsi fidei sacramentorum, et charitatis Ecclesie unitatem. Hæc est tunica illa Domini inconsutilis, quæ scissa non fuit, sed sorte provenit. Igitur Ecclesie unius, et unice unum corpus, unum caput, non duo capita quasi monstrum, Christus scilicet et Christi vicarius, Petrus Petrique successor, dicente Domino ipsi Petro: *Pasce oves meas*. Meas, inquit, generaliter, non singulariter has vel illas, per quod commissis sibi intelligitur universas. Sive igitur Græci sive alii se dicant Petro ejusque successoribus non esse commissos, fateantur necesse est, se de ovibus Christi non esse, dicente Domino in Joanne, Unum ovile, unum et unicum esse pastorem.

In hæc ejusque potestate duos esse gladios, spirituales videlicet et temporalem, evangelicis dictis instruimur. Nam dicentibus Apostolis: *Ecce gladii duo hic*; in Ecclesia scilicet, cum Apostoli loquerentur, non respondit Dominus nimis esse, sed satis. Certe qui in potestate Petri temporalem gladium esse negat, male verbum attendit Domini proferentis: *Converte gladium tuum in vaginam*. Uterque ergo in

potestate Ecclesie, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis: sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille vero ab Ecclesia exercendus: ille sacerdotis, in manu regum et militum; sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis. Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subijci potestati: nam cum dicit Apostolus: *Non est potestas nisi a Deo, quæ autem a Deo sunt, ordinata sunt*; non ordinata essent, nisi gladius esset sub gladio, et tanquam inferior reduceretur per alium in suprema: nam secundum beatum Dionysium lex divinitatis est infima per media in suprema reduci. Non ergo secundum ordinem universi omnia æque ac immediate, sed infima per media, inferiora per superiora ad ordinem reducuntur: spirituales autem et dignitate et nobilitate terrenam quamlibet præcellere potestatem, oportet tanto clarius nos fateri, quanto spiritualia temporalia antecellunt: quod etiam ex decimarum datione, et benedictione, et sanctificatione, ex ipsis potestatis acceptione, ex ipsarum rerum gubernatione claris oculis intuemur: nam veritate testante, spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem instituire habet et judicare, si bona non fuerit: sic de Ecclesia et Ecclesiastica Potestate verificatur vaticinium Jeremie: *Ece constitui te hodie super gentes et regna, &c. quæ sequuntur*.

Ergo si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur a potestate spirituali; sed si deviat spiritualis minor a suo superiori; si vero suprema a solo Deo non ab homine poterit judicari, testante Apostolo: spiritualis homo judicat omnia; ipse autem a nemine judicatur. Est autem hæc auctoritas, etsi data sit homini, et exerceatur per hominem, non humana sed potius divina potestas, ore divino Petro data, sibi que suisque successoribus in ipso Christo, quem confessus fuit petra firmata: dicente Domino ipsi Petro: *Quodcumque ligaveris, &c. Quicunque igitur huic potestati a Deo sic ordinatæ resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit, nisi duo, sicut Manichæus, fingat esse principia, quod falsum et hereticum esse judicamus: quia, testante Moysæ, non in principiis, sed in principio cælum Deus creavit et terram. Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humani creaturæ declara-*

Rome. Philip of France not only refused to admit all attempts at interference by the pope, in his temporal jurisdiction, but upon this blow being insolently aimed at his royal crown, he did not hesitate to return it. The quarrel between the two courts led to considerable altercation, Boniface labouring to prove that the Church, as the bride of Christ, and the parent of all His children, had claims on the liberality of her sons above all others which could be urged²; and Philip answering his arguments with the force and skill, which truth alone can impart.

Before the clergy existed, he said, the King of France had the care of his own kingdom, and could make his own laws—that holy mother Church, *the bride of Christ, consists not only of clergy but of laity also*, whom Christ, by his death, mercifully redeemed—that he desired all, whether laity or clergy, to partake in the joy of that redemption—that the clergy ought not, therefore, nor are they empowered to appropriate to themselves, to the exclusion of the laity, the privileges of the Church³.

mus, dicimus, et diffinimus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. Dat. Laterani xiv. Kal. Decembri, anno viii.

² Ineffabilis amoris dulcedine sponso suo, qui Christus est, sancta mater Ecclesia copulata, dotes et gratias ab Ipso suscepit amplissimas, ubertate fecundas, et specialiter inter eas beneficium libertatis. Voluit enim peramabilem sponsam ejus libere fidelibus populis præesse dominio, ut velut in filios haberet more matris in singulos potestatem, ac eam euncti cum filiali reverentia tanquam universalem matrem et dominam honorarent.—Raynaldi Annal. xiii. 496, § 25.

³ Antequam essent clerici, Rex Franciæ habebat custodiam regni sui, et poterat statuta facere. Sancta Mater Ecclesia, sponsa Christi, non solum est ex clericis, sed etiam ex laicis: quam Ipse per mortem suam misericorditer liberavit, qua libertate gaudere voluit omnes illos, tam laicos, quam clericos. Clerici—non debent, non possunt, nisi forsitan per abusum, sibi appropriare, quasi alios excludendo, ecclesiasticam libertatem, loquendo de libertate, qua Christus nos sua gratia liberavit. Multæ vero sunt libertates singulares non universalis

ecclesiæ, sed solum ejus ministrorum: quæ pridem libertates per statuta Rom. Pontificum, de benignitate vel saltem permissione principum secularium, sunt concessæ; quæ quidem libertates sic concessæ vel permixtæ ipsi Regibus regnorum suorum gubernationem ac defensionem auferre non possunt, nec ea, quæ diætæ gubernationi et defensionem necessaria seu expedientia judicantur, dicente Domino Pontificibus Templi—*Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari*, &c. Et quia turpis est pars quæ suo non congruit universo, et membrum inutile et quasi paralyticum quod corpori suo subsidium ferre recusat, quicumque sive Clerici sive Laici,—qui capiti suo vel corpori, hoc est domino Regi et regno,—auxilium ferre recusant, semetipsos partes incongruas et membra inutilia et quasi paralytica esse demonstrant. Quis sapiens et intelligens hæc non incidit in vehementem stuporem, audiens Vicarium Jesu Christi prohibentem tributum dari Cæsari, et sub anathemate fulminantem, &c.—See Du Puy Brevés, p. 21, and Leibnitzii Mantissa Codicis Juris gentium diplom. pt. ii. p. 233, ap. Gieseler, vol. ii. pp. 233, 239, note 6.

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

Philip insisted that the clergy were subject to himself, as much as the laity, in all the temporal concerns of his kingdom; and that they were bound to contribute to the common protection of the state, for their own benefit; that it was grievous, while Christ Himself had commanded His own disciples to pay tribute, to see His vicar forbid the clergy to pay the tribute due to their secular prince, while they were permitted to waste their money upon the most inferior and unworthy objects. The clergy of France, themselves, remonstrated with the pope. The bull was explained to them to denote, the protection of the clergy from the exorbitant exactions of sovereigns; but that free gifts, and necessary sums upon urgent occasions, (that is, all taxes imposed by the state,) might be freely paid. All this weakened the influence of Rome by diminishing the deference paid to its moral power; and by rendering the obedience to an ecclesiastical superior not a reasonable service, but homage submitted to be paid through fear.

The answer of the pontiff satisfied the king. The quarrel, however, between them was renewed by the refusal of the latter, in consequence of his European wars, to contribute to the crusade against the Saracens. Boniface commissioned a legate to require the king to terminate his wars in Europe; and ordered the clergy not to contribute to the expenses which they involved. The legate, in communicating this order to Philip, threatened him with deposition unless he obeyed the pontiff, in whom was vested all power, both temporal and spiritual. He is said to have declared, also, that though *he was the subject of Philip, he acknowledged no power superior to the pope.* Philip ordered the legate to be arrested. Boniface sent another legate to demand his liberation; or the subjects of France, he said, should be declared to be absolved from their allegiance. The letters were taken from the new legate, and burned, and he himself, with the former legate, whom the king had released from prison with the intention of sending him into exile, were commanded to quit the kingdom. Philip summoned the nobles and clergy, and acquainted them with the papal pretensions to an unlimited power in temporal as well as in spiritual matters, over all kings and princes. The nobles without any, the bishops with some, hesitation resolved to support the

king in his resistance to the pontiff. Philip accordingly prohibited the removal of any money from the kingdom, and forbade any ecclesiastics of France to proceed to Rome, where Boniface had summoned them to a council, appointed to be held in order, as it was stated, to devise means to remedy the disorders existing in France⁴. The resistance of Philip to the temporal sovereignty over himself and his subjects, which the pope persevered in assuming, had been successfully exerted during the seven years of his pontifical usurpations and aggressions; and he now sent his ambassador to Rome, to inform Boniface of the decisions of his nobles and himself, with a great portion of his clergy. The ambassador was unceremoniously dismissed by the pope, who, on the following day, December 5th, 1301, issued letters, addressed to Philip, to the clergy, and to the magistrates of France. Among these threats and commands, the king is warned of the fate which awaits him; by an admonitory *paternal* letter, unless he submits to the vicar of Christ in every thing; and is informed of the *determination of the apostolic see to concede no one of its claims to sovereignty over kings and kingdoms*⁵.

⁴ The "Two Short Letters," as they are called, which are said to have passed on this occasion, in one of which Boniface tells Philip, that he is subject to him in both spirituals and temporals, and that all benefices belong to the pope; and the other, in which the king replies—"Your foolishness may know (sciat tua maxima fatuitas) that we are subject to none," &c. are supposed by Spondanus to be forgeries. They are certainly unworthy of sovereigns even in a barbarous age.

⁵ Bonifacius, &c. charissimo in Christo filio, Philippo Regi Franciæ illustri:—Ausculta, fili charissime, præcepta patris, et in doctrinam magistris, qui gerit Illius vices in terris, qui solus est Magister et Dominus, aures tui cordis inclina; viscerose sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ admonitionem libenter excipe, et cura efficaciter adimplere (versuque uno et fere dimidio eraso Clementi V. jussu). Ad to igitur sermo noster dirigitur, tibi paternus amor exprimitur, et dulcia matris ubera exponuntur. Campum siquidem militiæ humanæ mortalitatis ingressus, renatus sacri fonte baptismatis, renuntians diabolo et pompis

ejus, non quasi hospes et advena, sed jam domesticus fidei et civis sanctorum effectus, ovile Dominicum intravisti, colluctaturus non solum contra carnem et sanguinem, sed etiam contra aereas potestates, mundique rectores, præsentium tenebrarum. Sic veri Noe es arcam ingressus, extra quam nemo salvatur, Catholicam scilicet Ecclesiam, unam columbam immaculatam unici (unicam) Christi sponsam, in qua Christi Vicarius Petrique successor primatum noscitur obtinere: qui sibi collatis clavibus regni cælorum, judex a Deo vivorum et mortuorum constitutus agnoscitur; ad quem, sedentem in judicii solio, dissipare pertinet suo intuitu omne malum. Hujus profecto sponsæ, quæ de cælo descendit, a Deo parata sicut sponsa ornata viro suo, Romanus Pontifex caput existit: nec habet plura capita monstruose, cum sit sine macula, sine ruga, nec habens aliquod inhonestum (ac duabus paginis cum fere dimidia erasis subjicitur).

Ad hæc, ne Terræ sanctæ negotium, quod nostris et tuis et aliorum fidelium debet charius insidere præcordiis, nos putes oblivioni dedisse, memorare, fili, et discito, quod progenitores tui Chris-

In the following year, 1302, Boniface attempted a further encroachment on the rights of sovereigns. He invested the Bishop of Worcester, whom he had by his own choice and authority appointed to the see, with its temporalities, as well as with its spiritual jurisdiction. The king, however, compelled him to acknowledge that he held the temporalities of himself; and fined the bishop 1000*l.* for receiving a bull so prejudicial to the royal authority ⁶.

tianissimi Principes, quorum debes laudanda vestigia solerti studio et claris operibus imitari, exposuerunt olim personas et bona in subsidium diætæ terre. Sed Saracenorum invalescente perfidia Christianorum ac . . . (colligitur ex literarum erasarum vestigiis vocem, quæ desideratur, hanc fuisse, præsertim; qua nimirum Philippus perstringebatur. Non caruisse sane ipsum gravis inertie culpa in ferendo Ptolemaidis et reliquarum urbium Syriæ excidio, vidimus, cum a Nicolao IV. rogatus ut periclitantis Syriæ miseretur, Ptolemaidisque tutelam susciperet, detrectavit frivola de causa, tantoque Regi inhonesta, ne sibi, ut aiebat, illius jactura adscriberetur, si barbarus prævaleret: sicque res Christiana perditæ fuit. Nec minus religioni obfuisse insinuatum est, cum levi de causa bellum cum Edwardo Rege, sarcire injurias a suis illatas parato, suscepit; ob quæ juste Bonifacius hæc illi objecit:) Tua et aliorum Regum et Principum devotione solita tepescente, terra eadem tuis utique temporibus, heu! deperdita noscitur et prostrata. Quis itaque canticum Domini cantat in ea? Quis assurgit in ejus subsidium et recuperationis opportune juvamen adversus impios Saracenos, malignantes, et operantes iniquitatem ac debacchantes in illa! Ad ejus quippe succursum arma bellica periisse videntur, et abjecti sunt clypei fortium, qui contra hostes fidei dimicare solebant: euses et gladii evaginati in domesticis fidei, et scaviunt in effusionem sanguinis Christiani: et nisi a populo Dei domesticæ insolentie succidantur, et pax ei proveniat salutaris, terra illa, fœdata actibus malignorum, a periculo desolationis et miseriæ per ejusdem populi ministerium non resurgat.

Si hæc et similia iis benevola mente revolvas, invenies quod obscuratum

est aurum, et est color optimus immutatus. An non ignominia et confusio magna tibi et aliis regibus et principibus Christianis adesse dignoscitur, quod versa est ad alienos hæreditas Jesu Christi, et sepulchrum Ejus ad extraneos devolutum? Qualem ergo retributionis gratiam merebuntur apud Dominum Reges et Principes, et ceteri Christiani, in quibus terra quærit respirare prædicta; sed non est qui sustentet eam ex omnibus filiis, quos genuit Ipse Deus, nec est qui supponat manum ex omnibus, quos nutrit? Clamat enim ad Dei filios civitas, Jerusalem, et suas exponit angustias, et in remedium doloris ejus filiorum Dei implorat affectus. Si ergo filius Dei es, dolore ejus excipias, tristare et dole cum ipso, si diligis bonum ejus. Tartari quidem, pagani, et alii infideles eidem terræ succurrunt, et ei non subveniunt in ea Christi sanguine pretioso redempti; nec est qui consoletur eam ex omnibus charis ejus. Hoc à dissidiis privatis obvenit, dum utilitas publica cupiditatis ardore consumitur, nonnullis quæ sunt sua querentibus, non quæ Christi, quorum peccata Deus ultionum Dominus non solum in ipsis vindicat, sed etiam in progenies eorundem.

Tremenda sunt itaque Dei judicia et timenda, ante que non parantes justitiam damnabuntur, justus autem de angustia liberabitur, et cadet impius in laqueam, quam tetendit. Tu vero, fili, communiens in tribus temporibus vitam tuam, ordinando presentia, et commemorando præterita, et providendo futura, sic te præpares in præmissis (erasoque fere uno versu) ut in presenti divinam gratiam, et in futuro salvationis et retributionis æternæ gloriam merearis. Dat. Laterani Non. Decembris anno vii.—Raynaldi, ad an. 1301. § 31. 32.

⁶ See "Records," in Collier, i. 497.

Before Boniface proceeded to excommunicate Philip, he sent his legate with an offer of pardon, upon the conditions, principally that the Gallican bishops should obey the summons of the pope whenever he pleased to call them to Rome; and that certain Gallican benefices should be granted to the apostolic see. The terms were rejected, and the king was declared, with all who administered to him the sacraments, to be excommunicated. Still the controversy proceeded. The anathema was published April 13, 1303. Philip immediately concluded a peace with the King of England, which was ratified May 13th, and called together the states general a second time. They assembled June 13th, 1303. It was then determined to lay before a general synod, to be speedily convened, certain heavy charges against the pope⁷; and the French nation, whose religious scruples were removed by the arrogant conduct of the pontiff, was prepared to take part with their temporal sovereign.

Boniface, at the time of this controversy, had taken up his residence at Anagni. The result was, that Philip secretly sent into Italy William de Nogareto, some of whose ancestors had been condemned by the inquisition, and burned for heresy. He was instructed to join with the Colonna party in Campania, and to seize, if possible, the person of the pope. Sciarra, an Italian noble, uncle of the Cardinals Colonna whom Boniface had grievously oppressed, had privately raised 300 horse, with whom Nogareto united. They proceeded without delay to Anagni. The pope, believing he was about to be killed, declared that he would die as the Bishop of Rome ought to meet death. He put on the papal robes, with the mantle of St. Peter. He placed on his head the crown of gold which was said to have been given by Constantine to Sylvester. In one hand he held the cross, in the other the emblem of civil sovereignty. He then ascended

⁷ I. That he was guilty of simony. II. That he pleaded a right to practise it, by alleging that popes could not commit simony. III. That he was an homicide. IV. That he was an usurer. V. That he did not believe the mysteries of the eucharist. VI. That he affirmed the soul to be mortal, and denied that there was any happiness beyond this life. VII. That he forced a cardinal to reveal to him the con-

fession of a Spanish bishop, whom he deposed, and restored again for money. VIII. That he committed incest with two nieces, by each of whom he had children. IX. That he had given the tenths of all his ecclesiastical estates in aid of war against France. X. That he kept Saracens in pay to prosecute invasions into Sicily.—History of the Popes, vol. ii. p. 71, 2 vols. 4to.

BOOK III. the papal throne, and awaited the approach of his enemies.
 CHAP. X. They entered the room. Sciarra insulted him by a blow on the cheek. Nogareto showed the order for a general council to which appeal was to be made, and required him to depart with them to Lyons to be deposed by the council. I shall think it an honour, said Boniface, to be condemned and deposed by the Paterini. This was said, as it would seem, with scorn, in allusion to the ancestor of the French chancellor, Nogareto, certain of whom had been committed to the flames as heretics. Sciarra Colonna then set him on an unbridled horse, with his face to the tail, and so carried him in triumph to Rome. This grievous and unworthy insult so affected him, that in thirty-five days he died in their custody raving mad⁸. When this pope expected to die on his throne, he is said to have folded his robe round him to fall gracefully. But *neither firmness, nor consciousness of birth, rank, dignity, and station, could give greatness to a life of usurpation and crime*. Nero Cæsar was murdered as well as Julius Cæsar, yet none admired Nero.

Among the acts of this pope, one is recorded which fully betrayed the revengeful spirit by which he was actuated. The people of Ferrara had voluntarily canonized a priest of their Church, named Hermannus, as a saint, twenty years after his death, in consequence of the sanctity of his life, and the excellence of his doctrine. Boniface, under pretence of being informed that he had formerly preached against the court of Rome, commanded his remains, after lying buried the above time, to be taken up, and judicially burnt as one convicted of heresy⁹. A number of the mendicants even, were beginning to declaim against the corruptions of the papal court, while the laity, sovereigns, and subjects, alike looked upon the head and members of the hierarchy with jealousy and disaffection. The reign of Boniface was fatal to the moral influence of the papal power. He exaggerated its pretensions at the moment when the world and the universal Church had begun to question the justice of its claims to secular supremacy. He endeavoured to extend its influence further than his predecessors had done, without perceiving that a gradual change of opinion had begun with regard

⁸ See History of the Popes, ii. 72, 2 vols. 4to.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 71.

to the ecclesiastical authority. His efforts failed; and Rome, though still powerful, ceased to be omnipotent, through the inordinate arrogance and ambition of the pontiffs. Gregory VII. would seem to be the most despotic and ruthless of men, till we read of the reckless and sanguinary crusades and murders of Innocent III.; while Innocent is thrown into the shade upon our considering the blasphemy and audacity of Boniface VIII., in asserting his *authority over nations and kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to plant, and to build, to be immediately from God!*

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

Boniface died on the 11th of October, 1303. The authors of the History of Popery, quoting Platina, conclude their account of his nine years' reign with the following observations: "That Boniface endeavoured to strike terror into emperors, kings, princes, nations, and people, rather than teach them religion and piety;" to bestow kingdoms and take them away; to banish and recall at his pleasure; "and thirsted more than can be expressed after gold, by what means soever he could get it—a fit example to warn all princes, especially Churchmen, to behave themselves with humility and modesty, like Christ their Master; lest otherwise, like this proud tyrant, they be brought to confusion and misery¹."

Nogareto cites a prophecy current during the lifetime of Boniface, says Gieseler², which after his death was put in the mouth of his predecessor Cœlestinus:—

"Ut vulpes intravit, tanquam leo pontificavit,
Exiit utque canis, de divite factus inanis³."

CXCIV. *Benedict XI., died 1304.*

Nicholas Boccasini, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, after the lapse of twelve days, succeeded Boniface, taking the name of Benedict XI. Philip wrote to him desiring peace. The new pontiff complied with his request; and absolved the king from all the sentences of excommunication. *He then wisely annulled all the proceedings of Boniface against France, and*

¹ See History of Popery, ii. 72.

² Gieseler, ii. 249, note 33.

³ Matth. Westmonas. p. 447

BOOK III. *restored the Colonna family to their possessions.* He refused,
 CHAP. X. however, to absolve Nogareto. Benedict died at Perugia, after holding the see nine months, on the 6th of July, 1304. He endeavoured by a more mild conduct to restore the influence which the see had lost, by the violent measures and arrogant pretensions of Boniface.

CXC.V. *Clement V., died 1314.*

The King of France, during the vacancy of the see for eleven months, after the death of Benedict XI., desired a general council. Nogareto presented to the official of Paris a declaration of the errors, crimes, and misdeeds of Boniface, and appealed to the next general council, to the Church, and to the next pope, against the election of any cardinal of the party of Boniface. A century, however, elapsed before the Catholic Church could decree, that a general council was superior to the Bishop of Rome. The conclave was now divided between the partizans of Philip, and the friends of Boniface, who adhered to the old Gregorian principles and policy. After their mutual dissensions had continued to keep the see vacant eleven months, a compromise was effected between them by the proposal, that three cardinals hostile to France should be nominated by the Guelphs, or papal party; and that the King of France, as the head of the Ghibellines, should select one. Three cardinals, therefore, known to be enemies to France, were accordingly named by Cardinal Caietan, the nephew of Boniface. One of these was mentioned by Philip as most likely to comply with any conditions which the king might propose. This was Bertrand de Gotte, a native of Bordeaux, a subject of the King of England, and son of the Lord of Vallandran. He had been promoted by Boniface to the bishopric of Limoges, and to the archbishopric of Bordeaux. He promised, at a private interview with Philip, that if he were nominated to the vacant see, he would agree to the king's six terms, viz. : to absolve the king from all excommunications; to absolve his followers; to restore the Colonnas to all their rights and privileges; to grant the tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues in France for five years; to condemn the memory and conduct of Boniface; and to comply with a sixth request, to be disclosed at a future

moment. Bertrand was nominated, and became Clement V. He commenced his pontificate by fulfilling his engagements to Philip; but *to that extent only which was compatible with his Gregorian principles*. Having received the authentic account of his election at Bordeaux, with a letter from the cardinals at Perugia, requesting him to come there to be crowned, he returned an answer, commanding them to proceed to Lyons. Having been crowned in that city, and had the bridle of his horse first held by the King of France, and then by Charles of Valois, and the Duke of Britany, on foot, he established himself at Avignon, to the dismay and grief of his own former friends. He then absolved Philip, as he had promised, from all the censures of Boniface. He restored the Colonnas; he granted the tenths requested; and he revoked the bulls⁴ which prohibited the clergy from contributing to the supplies demanded by the state. *All this he could do by the asserted plenitude of his pontifical power*. He hesitated, however, to condemn Boniface, and referred the matter to a general council. The secret request which the king was to propose, is said to have been the condemnation of the Knights Templars, who had been the active partizans of Boniface. Their wealth also excited his cupidity, and their influence, his envy⁵.

The pontificate of Clement V. is remarkable for the enforcement of his bull of excommunication against Venice by an armed force; the suppression of the Knights Templars⁶; his canonization of Celestine V.⁷, the predecessor and victim of Boniface VIII.; the Council of Vienne; and his additions to the canon law called "The Clementines." *The influence of*

⁴ Clericis Laicos and Unam Sanctam.

⁵ Others think the secret request of Philip was, that the German empire might be transferred to his brother, Charles of Valois. If this had been granted, the power of France over Italy would have been so great that no effectual resistance could have prevailed in future against the anti-Gregorian party, and their policy. Clement, therefore, on the assassination of the Emperor Albert, procured the election of Henry VII. of Luxemburg.

⁶ *Damatio Militum Templariorum*, cum bonorum totius Ordinis applicatione Ordini Militum Hierosolymitano-

rum.

Hanc promulgavit sententiam iste Pontifex in Concilio Viennensi, quod hac et aliis de causis fuerat indictum.—See Bullarium Magnum, i. 212

⁷ Canonizatio S. Petri de Morrone, Sermoni Pontificis Romani, Cœlestini Quinti nuncupati, ejusque relatio in Catalogum SS. Confessorum, cum suæ festivitatis institutione, pro die 19. Mensis Maii.

Hic antequam ad apicem ascenderet Apostolatus, Congregationem Monachorum instituit, in sua Const. 1. Etsi cunctas.—Bullar. Magn. ut sup. p. 214.

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

Rome was so far diminished, that the sentence of excommunication against the republic of Venice was disregarded. The usual policy of Rome, however, triumphed in this instance. The pope appealed to that power which happened at the time to be hostile to the subject of its own hatred. It excited the Florentines, the commercial rivals of the Venetians, to unite with the papal forces: and the troops of Venice were defeated.

The suppression of the Templars is too well known, and is attended with so many difficulties, that it cannot be discussed at length in this place. The arguments for their guilt or their innocence, which have engaged so much attention, are well summed up by Du Pin ⁸. The charges against them are incredible as they are monstrous. The witnesses were infamous. Their enemies were their accusers, their judges, and their executioners. The evidence against them would now be rejected as absurd. They are said to have been 1600 in number. Out of this numerous body some were probably guilty of crimes. The crimes of the few were alleged against the many; and honour, nobility, and chivalry sunk before the coalition which declared their rack-extorted confessions of guilt to be true, and the denials of their guilt to be obstinacy. The very pontiff who pronounced sentence upon them declined to declare them certainly guilty; while he abrogated their order, and condemned them to infamy, imprisonment, or the flames ⁹.

The question, whether Boniface VIII. was guilty or innocent, was decided according to the most approved precedents in the annals of Rome. His accusers were declared to be justified in bringing their charges against his memory; but he himself was neither condemned of the imputed infamy, nor of the crime of heresy. The King of France was implored to suffer the question to be forgotten; and the records on which the charges were professed to be founded were commanded to be destroyed.

Upon Henry VII. receiving his crown at Rome from the hand of the cardinals to whom the pope had delegated the

⁸ In his History of the Fourteenth Century, p. 20.

⁹ . . . non per modum definitivæ sententiæ, cum per eam super hoc

secundum inquisitiones et processus, super his habitos, non possemus ferre de jure, &c. &c. &c.—Bullar. Magu. i. 312. col. 2.

performance of the ceremony, this emperor was styled the King of the Romans; and an oath of faithful communion with Rome was required from him. *Clement, in a letter to the cardinals, called this oath an oath of fidelity.* Henry with much indignation denied this to be a right description of the oath; but Clement published a constitution in the seventh book of the Decretals, affirming that the oath which Henry had taken was truly and properly an oath of fidelity and obedience¹, decreeing that the Emperors of Germany held their title and empire from the Roman pontiff; and that during an interregnum the power returned to himself.

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

One general council only, though that name has been denied to it, was held throughout this century. It met in the city of Vienne in France.

¹ Raynald, ann. 1312, No. 40.

Synopsis of the Fifteenth General Council.

Council XVI.	Vienne in Dauphiny.
Date.	October 16, 1311. April 3, 1312. May 6 ² .
Number of Bishops.	300, with the Latin Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch ³ .
By whom summoned.	Clement V. ⁴
President.	The Pope.
Why and against what opinions ⁵ .	To consider the accusations brought against the Knights Templars. To send reinforcements to the Holy Land. To adjudge the errors of the Fratricelli ⁶ , Beguards, Beguins, and Peter John Oliva. To reform discipline.
Against whom.	The Templars. The Fratricelli, and others denominated heretics. Oliva ⁷ .
Chief decrees and canons.	All that division of the canon law termed "The Clementines." That the Knights Templars be dissolved ⁸ , and their goods confiscated to the pope, who gave them to the Hospitallers. The condemnation of P. J. Oliva to be burnt, and the condemnation of the Beguards, Beguins, and Fratricelli as heretics ⁹ . The tenths of Church revenues in France granted for six years. Feast of Corpus Christi confirmed. The Inquisition approved.
Penalties.	Dissolution of the Templars. The exhumation of Peter John, and burning his remains ¹ .
Sufferers.	The Templars, by a total suppression and confiscation. Peter John Oliva and the Fratricelli, Beguins, Beguards, as denounced in the decrees. The Minorites under Pope John XXII. ²
Emperor.	Henry VII.
Pope.	Clement V.

² See Bellarmine, ii. 9; Bini Concilia, vii. part ii. p. 909; Cave, ii. Appendix, p. 90; Venema, vi. 347. 371;

Delahogue, p. 437.

³ There were present, according to Villani and Binius, at least 300, be-

The council was occupied seven months, during which period there seem to have been only three sessions held at intervals, as stated in the table and notes; and the following brief compendium will present a conspectus of the chief decrees.

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

I. The destruction of the Templars, and the confiscation of the property belonging to that order, the disposal of which was left to the discretion of the pope.

II. The tenths of all ecclesiastical revenues were granted to Philip, King of France, for six years, to enable him to proceed upon a crusade to the Holy Land, which he had promised to undertake on condition of the grant being made; but he failed.

III. Three erroneous tenets of John Peter Oliva were con-

sidered the two Latin Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch; but according to the continuator of the Chronicon Nangiaticum, only 114 bishops and abbots, which last authority is doubtless erroneous.

⁴ The members were summoned by a bull dated 1307, to meet two years afterwards; but the council was prorogued by another bull till 1311.

⁵ Three causes which led to the calling of this council were specifically stated by the pope; but other accessory causes also existed. The three causes specified were—The Templars—The Holy Land—Reform of discipline and morals.

⁶ Spondanus writes, that Dulcinus was the founder of the Fratricelli, and that he, Margaret his wife, (or as Spondanus seems to insinuate, his concubine,) and others of their opinion, were first mutilated, and then burnt.—See also Binius, vii. ii. 928.

⁷ The opinions of Peter John de Oliva have been already mentioned.

⁸ Prima itaque sessione 16 die Octob. de recuperatione Terræ Sanctæ actum est: eumque in finem, ut crux per universum orbem prædicaretur, decretum:

Secunda Sessione, 3 die Aprilis 1312, præsentè Philippo Gallorum rege (cui negotium illud valde arrisit) cum fratre, et tribus filiis, sententia Clementis Papæ adversus Templarios, quam 22 die Martii proxime lapsi in consistorio clam consideraverat, publice lecta est, et patrum suffragiis comprobata.

Sessione Tertia, 6 die Maii, Consti-

tutiones variæ circa fidem et mores (a successore suo Joanne XXII. cum reliquis Clementis Constitutionibus, sub Clementinarum nomine, quarto abhinc anno publicandæ) decernuntur.

⁹ Ibi Petri Joannis, Beguardorum, ac Beguinarum hæreses condemnavit, Templariorum ordinem extinxit, eorumque bona Hospitalariis militibus attribuit. De Terræ Sanctæ vero recuperatione eadem fere decrevit, quæ priores pontifices in generalibus conciliis antea constituerant. Multas edidit constitutiones ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ peritiles; quas una cum aliis, tum ante, tum post Concilium editis, in unum volumen contulit, quod volumen cum morte præventus promulgare non potuisset, Joannes XXII., qui illi in pontificatu successit, postea in lucem edidit, eamque collectionem Clementinas appellavit.

¹ The Fratricelli degraded and burnt by the Bishop of Marseilles. J. P. Oliva dug up and burnt, and many who defended him shared the same fate.

² The Beguards and Beguins subjected to the punishment of condemned heretics.

The Bull of Clement which abrogated the order of the Templars, declared, that though he had no authority to condemn the order by the common methods of justice, and the canons of the Church, yet this defect was supplied by the plenitude of his apostolic character—*Quantquam de jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis dictum ordinem reprobanus.*

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

demned, which are described to have been, in effect, as follow:—That while Christ was yet alive, His side was opened by the lance—that the rational soul is not essentially the form of the body—that neither faith nor grace is conveyed to children in baptism.

IV. The errors of the Beguards and Beguins condemned.

V. Various constitutions, called Clementines, forming altogether a considerable addition to the canon law, and still acknowledged, were published; not indeed in the council, though the pope says he published them *with the approbation of the sacred council*; but by Clement himself, to whom the synod entrusted that office.

VI. The memory of Boniface was vindicated, and his name inserted in the order of Catholic pontiffs, although his acts against King Philip were, with some others, rescinded.

England, unfortunate England, was always destined, so long as it continued in subjection to Rome, to be the mine whence its principal wealth was extracted. Clement V. is said to have been avaricious beyond the generality of his money-loving predecessors. The English bitterly, though vainly, complained of the large sums of money which were sent yearly to Rome. In 1304, the barons requested the king to confirm the Great Charter. An act of parliament had passed, by which the prelates had bound themselves to excommunicate those who violated this charter. The king confirmed the statutes with great reluctance. He considered the charter an unjust limitation of his prerogatives. He complained to the pope. Clement absolved the king from his engagement; and pronounced all the episcopal excommunications to be void. The excuse of the pope for thus releasing the king from his promise was, the inconsistency of his coronation oath, when he swore to maintain the rights of the crown, with the oath to preserve the charters to the people. The archbishop had united himself to the baronial party, and was accused by the king of conspiring to depose him, to imprison him, and to declare his son to be king. Winchelsey, whether innocent (as Bishop Godwin supposes), or, as was most probable, partially guilty, entreated the king's pardon, and offered to resign his pall. The king referred his cause to the pope. Winchelsey was cited to appear at Rome; and was suspended from his high office. Clement then deputed certain persons to seize

the temporalities of Canterbury. The king prevented it, and seized them to the service of the crown. The pope remonstrated; and the king actually yielded to his remonstrance. *The revenues were paid to the papal agents*, provided they kept an accurate account of the sums received.

These, however, were but trivial exactions in comparison to the levies annually made on the country. A parliament, held at Carlisle in the following year, protested against the oppressions of the foreign superiors of monasteries, and other demands made by the nuncios, or agents of the pope. These were seven in number. They complained that Italians held English preferments—of the payment of the rents of the monasteries to foreign cardinals—of the papal claims to the first fruits of benefices—of the trebling of the Peter-pence—of the seizure of pious legacies by apostolic authority to purposes unintended by their owners—of the sale of private debts to the papal nuncios, who summoned the debtors to the legatine courts—and of the claims of legacies left for general religious uses to England by the papal agents. These seven particulars may be regarded as specimens only of the manner in which England was drained by the Romish commissioners. The nuncio was required to appear before the parliament. *He pleaded his commission from the pope as his authority, and the plea was allowed.* He was permitted to depart unmolested; but the house voted that such extortions should be allowed no longer. The vote was useless. The king betrayed his country. Anxious to please Clement, whose interest was useful to him in effecting a marriage now intended between the Prince of Wales and the daughter of Philip, the king commanded the chancellor not to seal the writs of the sheriffs, by which they would be enabled to act upon the resolutions of the parliament. *He riveted the yoke still more closely.* He gave a protection and commission to the papal agents to travel through the kingdom on the pope's order. He proceeded still further, and commanded the payment of first fruits of vacant benefices for three years to the pope.

Edward I. died in the same year, 1307, in which he thus acknowledged the papal authority. His successor, two years after, prohibited citations to Rome. He had presented a clerk to the archdeaconry of Richmond. *Clement cited the clerk to Rome to prove his title to the dignity.* The king com-

BOOK III.
CHAP. X.

plained, and commanded the clerk not to proceed to Rome. The intestine divisions which shortly followed in England, prevented any effective measures being taken at this time against Rome; yet the dying words of Henry, Earl of Lincoln, in 1311, seem to have expressed the general opinion which the parliament had already sanctioned by their opposition to the papal exactions. He wept over the state of the Church of England, which was wont to be free; but was now brought into servitude by the oppressions of the Roman pontiffs, and the unjust exactions of kings. The time had not yet come to throw off the yoke. The king and the pope, though they sometimes disagreed, were identified in one common interest—they mutually supported their mutual exactions. The king consented to uphold the papal treasury—the pope sanctioned the demands of the temporal sovereign. The aid of the foreigner was sometimes useful to the people in their resistance to tyranny, sometimes to the king in his opposition to his subjects. The pope held the balance of power; and his supremacy was not yet brought to the bar of the king by the voice of the people. *This did not happen till the minds of both our kings and people became more unanimous on the subject of national grievances arising from alien intolerance.* The king and people became at length united in opinion on the usurpations practised; and the supremacy of the pope in England was rejected. Clement V. died on the 20th of April, 1314.

CHAPTER XI.

The first great effort of the Universal Church to limit the usurped supremacy and authority of the Bishop of Rome—Death of Wycliffe—the great Schism—Council of Constance.

CXCVI. *John XX., alias XXI. XXII., died 1334.*

THIRTEEN pontiffs reigned, and one hundred and three years elapsed between the condemnation of the Templars at the Council of Vienne, and the Council of Constance; when the Bishop of Rome was pronounced to be inferior in authority to a general council of the Church.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

The student of ancient history possesses one great advantage over the student of modern history, in consequence of the fulfilment of prophecy in the rise, progress, and decay of the four great monarchies. By comparing and contemplating the history which was foretold and accomplished with the prophecies which predicted them, he can explain the causes of the permission of many evils; and trace those plans of God, in the government of the world, which so ended in the subjection of all nations to the power of Rome, that the gospel of Christ should be preached most effectually and most extensively. The time has not yet arrived when the believer in the same government of the world can certainly and confidently explain the causes of the various fortunes of the Christian Church. *We can but conjecture the reasons of the changes we contemplate in our surveys of the past or the present.* "One part, one little part we dimly scan" of the mighty maze we are endeavouring to traverse; yet, in that small portion, we can trace the footsteps of that power which creates good, and which creates evil; and "moves in a mysterious way, His wonders to perform."

BOOK III.
 CHAP. XI.

We now arrive at that century in which the Church of Rome received the first most decisive blow to its exclusive domination. The establishment of its supremacy, in spite of its numerous additions to the primitive truths of Christianity, had been often useful to the general interests of Europe, by combining its several nations into one family. A fairer theory of Utopian policy cannot be imagined than the papal scheme, if it could be regarded apart from the abuses, the frauds, and the crimes to which it gave birth. An empire was erected, not of force but of intellect, which bound together all nations in the unity of one faith. Its members directed the councils of princes, and the consciences of all men. They were chosen from the rest of mankind in early youth, and trained to teach and govern; or, they volunteered their counsels in maturer life, when they were weaned from the world, and weary of its vanities. They were relieved by a liberal provision from any care for their own support. The obligation of celibacy precluded those prudential anxieties which might otherwise have employed too large a portion of their time and their thoughts; or have interfered in any way with that service to which they were devoted. They were exempt from the secular power, that they might discharge their religious duties freely and without fear. Human ambition never proposed to itself a grander aim. All other schemes of empire for which mankind have bled appear mean and contemptible when compared with this magnificent conception: and much was accomplished for which all succeeding ages have reason to be thankful. The union of the European nations with Rome prevented the distant Churches from sinking into a state of utter ignorance and degradation like that of the Abyssinians, Armenians, and many other early Christian foundations. Christendom, because of this union, was more than a name. The Church of Rome, however, did not effect all this without gradually employing means, which a more enlightened and philosophical age is compelled to condemn.

The great fault of Rome has been, that it renders those opinions, laws, and maxims permanent, which it might safely have changed or denounced, when the object of their institution was accomplished. We may allow, for instance, that gorgeous rites and ceremonies were as necessary for the rude nations which overthrew the pagan Roman empire, as they

were for the Israelites, until the better dispensation should be welcomed : but as the Mosaic law was superseded, and as the types were removed when the antitype was manifested, so the progress of knowledge, after the dark age of ignorance, rendered those ceremonies obsolete and useless ; which had been useful, in the absence of a more spiritual or intellectual bond of union. *The nations of Europe were now beginning to be independent of the intellectual influence of the Church of Rome upon their councils.* They possessed their own senates to legislate for their political and religious necessities. The influence of Rome was now exerted to govern courts and cabinets, that the see might still be enriched by tribute and taxes. The common people were despised and neglected as unworthy of the notice of their ecclesiastical and civil superiors ; and the time had come when that tyranny was to be broken down, and that best and happiest privilege of a Christian, whether he be king or peasant, was to be afforded to the humblest layman—the privilege of possessing, studying, and interpreting the Scriptures of Truth. The question was gravely discussed immediately prior to the time of Wycliffe—whether a peasant, or a villain, could be admitted into heaven¹. A dreary gulf was fixed between the lordly baron, the spiritual peer, and the “poor vassal:” and even the generality of the priesthood were utterly unfit to instruct and teach the people². The time had arrived, therefore, when a certain degree of good having been effected, the evil of the popular ignorance, which attended that degree of good, was to be begun to be removed. But the Church of Rome, like every other Church, state, sect, or government, was unwilling to suspect its own claims to the approbation and love of the people ; or the permanency of its influence and power. The consequence was, that the Universal Church, in the century to which we have now arrived, begun to question the necessity of submission to the Bishop of Rome.

The removal by Clement V. of the seat of pontifical greatness from Rome to Avignon ; the subserviency implied by this removal of the papal authority to the influence of the King of France ; the continued collisions between the French

¹ Le Bas' Life of Wycliffe, Introduction, p. 85.

² See the Instructions of Archbishop Peckham, to the Bishop of St. Asaph, 1284.—Wilk. Conc. ii. 104.

and Italian cardinal electors to the papacy; the contempt of the Venetians and Italians for the excommunications from the court of Avignon; the discussion in France, between the kings and popes, on the respective limits of the ecclesiastical and secular powers; all contributed to prepare the way for Wycliffe, the Baptist of the better change; the voice crying in the wilderness of the general ignorance, Prepare ye the way for the return of the early Christianity, when the Scriptures should be in every hand, and the clergy should be the guides, not the masters; the directors, not the despots over their brethren. One century only had elapsed since Innocent III. had accomplished the three great enterprises of papal ambition—the uncontrolled power over Rome and the central parts of Italy; the Latin conquest of Constantinople; and the submission of Bulgaria and Armenia. He had, indeed, achieved the supremacy over the whole Christian Church; and realized, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, the bold pretensions of Gregory VII. to general control over princes, asserting to the papacy the same superiority over their power, which the great luminary of the day maintains over the lesser luminaries of the night. But this ecclesiastical aggrandizement contained within itself principles of dissolution even more than political empires, as its consistency and strength were entirely dependent on opinion³: and the dissolution of its power may be said to have begun when the jealousy of France effected the removal of the pontifical see to Avignon, prior to the great schism of 1378. The Church of Rome has repeatedly obtained great power since that period: but it has *never recovered that palmy influence over mankind, when the whole civilized world was its obedient and passive subject; when its law was Scripture, and its Bishop, God!*

The word Protestant was first used to denote the protesters against the authority of Rome on a particular occasion in the course of the controversies which originated in the resistance of Luther: but the whole Universal Church, as it was represented by the bishops and secular nobles at the Council of Constance, protested against the papal supremacy. *All Europe was Protestant long before the term was generally used;* and we may trust that we shall never retrograde so far as to bow down again before the worst form of the degradation of

³ Miller's Philosophy of Modern History, vol. iv. p. 541.

Christianity, as it has been set up for our worship or homage subsequently even to the Council of Constance.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

The effect of the removal of the seat of the pontifical power to Avignon was seen, in different ways, in Italy, France, and England, immediately on the death of Clement. Two years and four months were passed in disputes between the French and Italian Cardinals, on the election of a pontiff⁴. In this time the celebrated Walter Lollard began to teach⁵. In England the famous statute was passed which declared the ecclesiastical as well as civil power to be vested in the king, though the former had been usurped by the see of Rome⁶.

After many disgraceful dissensions, the cardinals, under the influence of France, at length elected James Arnaldi de Ossa, or Eusa, who assumed the title of John XXII. He had been Bishop of Avignon; and afterwards, at the time of his election, he was Bishop of Porto. He had been employed in many public affairs by Charles II., King of Sicily; and is said to have been devoted to study and reading⁷. If so, he was an exception to the general belief, that dedication to such pursuits softens the manners, and renders the disposition humane and gentle; for he commanded Hugh, Bishop of Cahors, to be flayed living, and burnt alive; and sat an eyewitness of his sufferings⁸. The hearts of men seem to have been demonized by the barbarism of the age; and the ecclesiastics were the promoters of the cruelties. The bishop, indeed, was accused of great crimes—of magic, and of a design to poison the pope, and many of the cardinals; and when the punishment of offences in an age of ignorance was so inflicted as to appear an act of vengeance on the individual

⁴ From May 17, 1314, to August 16, 1316.

⁵ He was burnt in 1322. The term Lollard, whether derived from this teacher, or from the lulling mode of singing, as some think, practised by the sect, or from any other origin, was unknown till this time.—See Raynald. ad ann. 1318, § 44. Lollardism was an early form of Protestantism, which is considered to have branched from the Waldensian Churches of Piedmont.

⁶ See the whole account of the controversy which gave rise to this statute, called *Articuli Cleri*, in Collier, i. 608.

A patron had presented a clerk to the bishop. The bishop, on the ground of insufficiency, refused institution. The patron sued the bishop in the King's Bench. He pleaded the insufficiency; and the judges referred to the archbishop (Winchelsey). The verdict on his opinion being given in favour of the bishop, was also in favour of the defendant: but the judges were commanded not to issue such prohibitions again! Both the ecclesiastical and civil courts are called the king's courts.

⁷ Petrarch ap. Bower.

⁸ Raynald. ad ann. 1317, § 54.

criminal, instead of an exemplary execution of the law for the prevention of crime, we can scarcely be surprised at such sentences. Similar apologies cannot, however, be made for the atrocious condemnation of some friars to the flames, for refusing to acquiesce in the decisions of certain superiors of their order, to whom the pope had referred the question respecting the habits they should wear, and the extent of the vow of poverty which they had sworn to observe. Some of the brotherhood believed it to be their duty to wear a hood and short gown, strait, and of coarse stuff. Those who did so were called the "Spiritual Brethren." Others, no less conscientiously, wore a looser dress, and of finer quality. These were called the "Brethren of the Community." Nicholas IV., and subsequently Clement V., had commanded the monks to consult, and to submit their decisions to the superiors of their order. John XXII., in the first year of his pontificate, summoned the deputies of the friars to Avignon; gravely listened to their solemn and absurd debates; and gave judgment against the Spiritual Brethren. He commanded the superiors to determine the length and breadth, the fineness or coarseness, the form and figure of the hoods and gowns of the friars—concerning their granaries and cellars, of which the spiritual fraternity declined the use: and ordered their short dresses to be laid aside, and the will of their superiors to be obeyed. They became indignant at this order, and declared that the coarse, short, strait habit was the dress most consistent with the rule of the Gospel. The pope and their superiors were, therefore, in their opinion, opposing the Gospel, which they had no power to do; and disobedience, consequently, became their duty. The Bishop of Rome was thus opposed; and *the lovers of the coarse and unsightly hoods and gowns committed thereby the guilt of heresy.* A commission was issued to try them⁹. Four Gray friars were arrested. They declared that the pope had no authority to make decrees, respecting their dresses, which were contrary to the rule of St. Francis, and derogating from the poverty of Christ. The commissioner, or inquisitor, called to his assistance the Bishop of Marseilles, and many other learned divines. The doctrine of the friars was declared to be certainly

⁹ Dated November, 1317. See Du Pin.

heretical. They were denounced as heretics, and degraded from their order; delivered over with all mercy and solemnity to the secular arm, and condemned to be burned. *The Gray Friars, who preferred the coarse cloth to the fine cloth, were actually burned*, according to their sentence, at Marseilles. Another was consigned to perpetual imprisonment in chains. Many more, honouring their brethren as martyrs, inveighed against the pope as antichrist, and were committed to the flames. Others were confined, and provided only with bread and water; till the Spiritual Brethren were extirpated, and the Brethren of the Communion triumphed. The philosopher knows not whether to weep for the madness, or laugh at the folly, or sigh over the misery, of these proceedings, done in the name of Christ. No more perfect illustration is afforded us through the whole detail of this lamentable history, of the *absurdity and wickedness of investing the ecclesiastical power with the right of punishing for opinions.*

Another dispute arose about five years after on the extent of the poverty professed by the monks, and of the poverty of Christ and His Apostles¹. The Archbishop of Narbonne arrested a Franciscan as a heretic for maintaining that neither Christ nor His Apostles possessed any property in common. The authority of Nicholas III. was quoted in defence of the doctrine. John XXII. decreed that the opinion was heretical. He decided, also, that the sentiments of Peter Oliva de Serignana², who published a commentary on the Revelation, in which Rome was called Babylon, was heretical. The effect of these controversies in weakening the influence of the Bishop of Rome, and in thus preparing the minds of the people for the more favourable reception of the preacher who was so soon to lead the great attack on the papacy; was first shown by the successful resistance which was now made to the pope by Louis of Bavaria.

Frederic of Austria and Louis of Bavaria disputed the succession to the empire of Germany, after the death of Henry VII. of Luxembourg, who had opposed the French influence in Italy, while it was identified with the papal influence in consequence of the establishment of Clement V. at Avignon. The wars between the papacy and the empire were about to

¹ The subject is discussed at considerable length by Raynald. ad ann. 1323, from § 38 to § 61.

² Raynald. ad ann. 1325, § 22.

be renewed, when Henry VII. died suddenly, under circumstances which induced the suspicion that poison had been administered to him, by his confessor at Buon-Convento in 1313. On the death of Henry a double election to the throne of Germany took place. Some of the electors chose Louis of Bavaria; others, Frederic of Austria. John commanded the two rivals to settle their dispute without the shedding of blood; and summoned them to appear before him at Avignon, as he alone was the lawful judge of their controversy. When both candidates refused obedience to his mandate, he declared the empire vacant, and himself vicar of the empire till a new election should take place. The rivals proceeded to open war, and Louis finally defeated Frederic, at the battle of Muchldorf. He wrote to John to relate his success. The pope renewed his summons to both to appear at Avignon. Louis proceeded to act as emperor. The pope, in a long edict³, commanded him, on pain of excommunication, to resign the imperial authority; and ordered all ecclesiastics to refuse obedience to his decrees. Copies of this edict were sent to the heads of all the Churches of Germany, England, France, Italy, and elsewhere.

The troops of Louis were generally successful in their campaigns in Italy. Louis, in the midst of his brilliant course, resolved to persevere. He sent, however, a deputation to Avignon to learn more explicitly the causes of this decided hostility; and requested some delay in the sentence of excommunication. The delay was granted. The embassy arrived at Avignon on the 4th of January, 1324, the year in which Wycliffe was born, and the sentence was postponed two months. Frederic, however, assembled, before the return of the ambassadors, the princes and electors of the empire. He placed before them the detail of the papal proceedings, and appealed, as Philip of France had before appealed against Boniface VIII., from the commands of the pope to a general council. He refuted before the diet the arguments which had been alleged to disprove the validity of his election. He reminded the assembly that the charge of heresy is often brought against those who are guilty of no error in faith, but

³ It is given by Raynaldus, the history of this period, in anno 1323, general or principal authority for the § 30.

who have been the faithful subjects of the empire only; and who have, therefore, been compelled to oppose the temporal ambition of the head of the Church: and *he urged the necessity of assembling a general council without delay to oppose the injustice and usurpation of the pope.* The usual result followed the resistance. John excommunicated the emperor in the most bitter and unsparing language⁴. *Frederic, too, appealed to a general council*⁵, and his cause was defended by various ecclesiastics, whose attachment to Christianity and the influence of the Universal Church could not be doubted. These disputes were of themselves sufficient, in the dawn of literature, and love of learning, which was now beginning to hold divided sway with love of military distinction, to weaken the moral influence of the papacy: but the pope would have overcome the emperor, or the emperor would have overcome the pope, had they not been able mutually to wield that only weapon which was most formidable at this period; and by having recourse to which they could alone hope to preserve their respective power. The one great infamy from which all persons at this time shrank back with dismay, was the accusation of heresy. The solemn sanctions of Christ's religion had become so interwoven with the thoughts of all classes, that the fear of offending God by departing from His Truth, was, as it ought ever to be, the prevailing motive to action throughout Europe. *The popes had availed themselves, and the ecclesiastics of all countries had availed themselves, of this right and only truly noble feeling, to subdue all the enemies of their own power and greatness, by denominating them heretics; by declaring their opinions to be heresy, and by denouncing the anger of God, as the avenger of His own cause, as that cause was identified with their own mixture of truth and error, and with their own worldly prosperity and honour.* The accusation of heresy, therefore, became the only effectual counteraction to the extension of the papal authority. The King of France accused Boniface VIII. of heresy when he appealed against him to a general council: and Frederic of Germany now alleged the same

⁴ Dated at Avignon, July 11, 1324. ⁵ Id. § 26, quoting Villani, l. ix. It is printed by Raynald. ad ann. 1324, c. 275. § 21.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

charge against John XXII. The edicts of the pope against the friars, the very bulls which were published against them in the year 1324, the year of the birth of Wycliffe, were made the foundation of the accusation⁶ of heresy against the pope. The indignant friars who had been persecuted by their superiors on account of their adherence to the short coarse gown, had everywhere preached that the pope was antichrist. They were extirpated it is true, but the effect of their preaching not only remained among the people, but it became the foundation of the only effectual mode of preserving the empire from the further encroachments of the papacy. John vindicated himself with great energy from the charge of heresy. He neglected all the other accusations with contempt. This alone he regarded as worthy of notice; and in confirmation of his former decisions he published another bull⁷, in which he endeavoured to reconcile his present and previous decrees with one of Nicholas III.; and declared all to be heretics who objected to his edict. Mutual excommunications, mutual depositions, mutual accusations of heresy, and mutual denunciations of heresies charged against each other, by the ecclesiastics who adhered to the papal or imperial parties, dishonoured the Church of Christ, and weakened the conviction of the identity of the ecclesiastical power with the authority of God.

The history of the antipope set up by the emperor; the imperial decree that the pope should reside at Rome; the coronation of Frederic by Nicholas, the antipope at Rome; the submission of Nicholas to John; the accumulation of enormous wealth by the plans of the latter in ordaining the surrender to himself of the first year's revenue of every ecclesiastical benefice—would be all matters foreign to the subject before us, if they did not unitedly serve to prove to us that the preparation for the effectual opposition of Wycliffe began in the suicidal conduct of the contending ecclesiastics

⁶ See for these decrees or bulls, and the canons still established upon them as the law of the Church, Extravagantes Joann. XXII. tit. xiv. cap. i. ii. iii. iv. v. De Verborum Significatione. Also the bull of Nicholas III. Sexti Decreto Idem Tit. De Verborum Sig-

nificatione, lib. v. tit. xii. cap. iii. *Exit qui Seminat.*—Boehmer's Codex Juris Canonici, ii. 1028. 1118—1132.

⁷ See ut supra, cap. v.—*Quia quorundam mentes*: together with the bull of Nicholas III. as quoted above.

of the universal Church. These things caused the appeal to the Scriptures which that reformer began, to be responded to, by the more thoughtful portion of the laity. One of our most perfect poets has declared, that "Gospel light first beamed from Bullen's eyes." It is a falsehood, a poetical falsehood. *The Gospel sun had never been entirely extinguished.* It had been obscured and eclipsed. It had been covered with the clouds and thick darkness of gradually increasing corruption: but when popes and antipopes, emperors and kings, employed their dependent clergy to fulminate charges of heresy against each other, their mutual attacks seemed to be only the clashing and the breaking of the dark clouds, which prevented the light they had so long obscured from shining upon the earth. If the contentions of John XXII., of his rival Nicholas, and of the Emperor Frederic, had not offended the fathers; Wycliffe, Huss, and Jerome might have appealed in vain to their sons. The popes themselves—the Innocents, the Bonifaces, the Johns, and, in an after-age, the Alexanders and Leos, laid the foundation of that second temple which Luther and his brethren erected upon the return of the Church from its captivity; after the ruin of the apostolical, the first temple, by the secular hands of worldly-minded emperors, popes, and bishops.

In the years 1331, 1332, John XXII. gave another cause of offence to the universal Church, and totally destroyed the doctrine of the personal infallibility of the Roman pontiff, as the inheritor of the authority of Christ. He asserted in sermons, very extensively circulated, that the souls of the faithful, in their intermediate state between death and the resurrection, were permitted to behold Christ as man; but not the face of God, or the Divine nature, before their reunion with the body at the last day⁸. This was doctrine

⁸ — quod animæ discedentium in gratia non videant Deum per essentiam, nec sint perfecte beatæ, nisi post resumptionem corporis. — D'Acherii Spicil. Scriptor. Veter. i. 760; see also Raynald. Annal. ad ann. 1334, § 35, et seq.

See also, the attack upon the doctrines of the pope, by Thomas Wallis, an Englishman, as given by Thorn.—Chron. de gestis Abbatum S. Augustin. Cantuar. in Script. X. Hist. Anglicanæ,

London, 1652.

The pope is said to have broached these opinions on the authority of visions beheld by one Tundal, an Irishman, (see History of Popery, ii. 98, 4to, Lond. 1734,) but no authority is cited by the authors of the history; and similar opinions having been held by some of the ancient fathers, (see Tertull. de Resurr. Carnis. *Nemo enim peregrinatus a corpore statim immoratur penes Dominum;* ap. Gieseler, vol. i.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

respecting which the friends of the pope, as well as the whole Catholic Church, publicly expressed severe animadversions. It was unanimously condemned. Wallis, an Englishman, of the order of the Friars Preachers, was imprisoned, and condemned to live upon bread and water for boldly denouncing the doctrine at Avignon itself. The Bishop of Meaux wrote a treatise to prove the repugnancy of the doctrine to the teaching of the Fathers. The efforts of the pope to obtain proselytes to his opinion were useless. The university of Paris rejected it with abhorrence. The King of France, the pope's chief protector, having summoned a council at Paris, and heard the discussions, ordered an act of condemnation to be drawn up; and commanded the pope to retract the conclusions he had so publicly preached and disseminated, or he would cause him to be burned as a heretic⁹. The pope endeavoured to defend his proposition¹; but finding himself deserted by all, he at length declared in a public consistory, that he never intended to propose any thing contrary to the Catholic faith; and if he had done so by inadvertency in his sermons on the beatific vision, he retracted it all, which was considered but an equivocal acknowledgment of his error. In his last illness, it is stated by some, that he sent for the cardinals and bishops who were then at Avignon, and professed his belief before them, that the souls of the blessed departed were admitted to the beatific vision, and saw God face to face, as soon as they were purged from their sins; that he then retracted all that he had said contrary to this doctrine; and that he submitted to the judgment of the Church whatever he had preached or said². The recantation

p. 108, note 33,) as John was reputed at least a reader of books, if not a scholar, he perhaps was ambitious to revive in his own name the obsolete metaphysical sentiments of the ancient writers, which had probably become mixed up with the scholastic speculations of the age, though the university of Paris now unanimously rejected the heresy, as proposed to that seminary by the missionaries of John XXII.—See Gieseler, vol. i. p. 26, note 37.

But the best account of John's heretical discourses, and the consequences which followed, is given by Waddington from Fleury and Villani, both of

whom he quotes largely, and refers to p. 484, et seq.—See Fleury, and the notice of Tertullian and Clemens Alexand., referred to by Gieseler, vol. i. p. 108, note 33, and vol. iii. p. 26, note 37.

⁹ Petrus de Alliaco in Concil. Eceles. Gall. ann. 1406—qu'il se revoquast, ou qu'il le feroit ardre.—Ap. Gieseler, iii. 26, note 37.

¹ Raynaldus, ad ann. 1333, § 46.

² His retractation was given with much equivocation and reserve; and Gieseler affirms that "the obstinate old man resisted to the last."—See ut sup.

was made on the 3rd of December, 1334, and he died early the following morning: but his recantation remained unpublished until March 17, 1335, when it was issued by his successor, yet even then not sufficiently attested to satisfy his contemporaries³, and Benedict XII. had to publish on the 29th of January, 1336, a full decision on the subject⁴.

The first decisive breach in the walls of the great fabric of the personal supremacy and infallibility of the Church of Rome was thus made by the hands of the pope himself, aided by his principal friend, the King of France, and by the Emperor of Germany, his rival. Nothing more was wanting to the effectual commencement of the overthrow of the papal supremacy than the acknowledgment, that there was a power on earth superior to the Bishop of Rome. This was done when three chief potentates of Europe—the pope, the King of France, and the Emperor of Germany, all united in affirming, that the universal Church was superior to the pontiff. The pope submitted his decisions to the Church. The King of France declared that the pope was guilty of heresy if he submitted not to that higher tribunal. The Emperor of Germany appealed from repeated papal excommunications to a General Council. One century, however, elapsed after this, before the Catholic Church decreed its own supremacy over the Bishop of Rome, at the Council of Constance. *But the first step was taken, and another was soon made.* The Gregorian policy had received the first severe shock from the Bishop of Rome himself; for neither Gregory VII., Innocent III., nor any of the Gregorian party, a century before the birth of Wycliffe, would have sanctioned the confession of John XXII., when he recanted a doctrine, which he had declared in a public sermon, and thus destroyed that illusion which was the principal foundation of the papal dominion.

The effect of these continental discussions upon England may be related in the words of the last biographer of Wycliffe. He is speaking of the time when Wycliffe began to oppose the supremacy of Rome a few years after the death of John XXII. “The people of England were almost wholly untainted with any doctrinal heresy, and were little in the habit of opposing the spiritual supremacy of Rome. Throughout

³ Raynald, ann. 1334, § 35.

⁴ Id. 1336, § 3.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

all ranks, however, it had been more or less deeply felt, that her power had frequently been exercised in a spirit of intolerable arrogance and rapacity; and it was likewise known that the sword of the temporal dominion had been often wielded with atrocious severity by the successor of St. Peter against those who questioned or resisted his authority. The exactions and usurpations of the pontifical court could be readily estimated by those who were profoundly indifferent to her aberrations from the primitive purity of faith; and the exterminating fury with which she had smitten her adversaries, must have begun to raise up misgivings as to the legitimacy of that power, which could be maintained only by fire and sword. Hence it was that England, although a citadel of orthodoxy in matters of mere belief, was, in those times, by no means the seat of contented allegiance to the apostolic see. She might, perhaps, under the sedative influence of the Romish superstition, have been satisfied to slumber for centuries longer, if the burden of the Romish dominion had been less galling and oppressive. As it was, she had an ear to hear the lessons of any teacher endowed with address and energy enough to expose the corruptions which had so long insulted her patience, and exhausted her resources⁵.”

This statement is fully confirmed by the ecclesiastical history of England during the pontificate of John XXII. Though the exactions of the Bishop of Rome were still submitted to; though Lewis Beaumont was appointed to the bishopric of Durham by the pope, A.D. 1317, against the nominee of the monks, Henry Stamford, the Prior of Finchale; and though, when the Archbishop of Canterbury refused to consecrate Reginald de Asser, Bishop of Winchester, on his appointment by the pope, whose legate he was, the Bishop of London performed the office, yet the Church of England was seldom so free and so independent of foreign control as at this time. *The very bishops whom the pope nominated to vacant sees were compelled to renounce the clause in their appointments, which gave to the Bishop of Rome power over the temporalities of their sees. The civil power, it is true, was defied by Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, in*

⁵ Le Bas' Life of Wycliffe, Introd. p. 87.

1324, when he refused to be tried by his peers for high treason; and when the king commanded him to be tried in the King's Bench, he was rescued from that tribunal by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Bishop of Durham, with their crosses borne before them conducting him out of court: but this was done by the bishops as members of the ecclesiastical, and not of the papal power. The king seized his estate when the jury found him guilty; and he was, therefore, punished by the law, though he professed to be not amenable to its power: nor did the pope interfere to save him, as in former centuries would have been sometimes done with impunity. The Church of England, as an independent member of the universal episcopate, under its proper officer, Mepham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, decreed the observance of the vigils, fasts, and festivals in the manner and to the extent which it was deemed advisable and useful: and though the archbishop was repelled from visiting the diocese of Exeter by Bishop Grandison, who objected to him the prohibition of the pope, yet the king's writ, and not the papal mandate, prevented him from proceeding. The nation and the Church, that is, the laity and the ecclesiastics (for as they formed one nation so they formed one Church), were divided among themselves respecting the extent of the papal, the ecclesiastical, and the regal powers: but the continental divisions were beginning to produce their effect; and *the movement was commencing which two centuries were required to mature* in the eventual liberation of the episcopal Church of England from the dominion, and even from the communion of Rome.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

John XXII. died on the 4th of December, 1334⁶, in the ninety-first year of his age, the nineteenth of his pontificate⁷, and the tenth of the life of Wycliffe.

CXCVII. *Benedict XII., died 1342.*

James Novellus, styled also Fournier, Cardinal of St. Prisca, the most humble of the electors to the pontificate,

⁶ See Raynald. ad ann. § 38.

Numerous other constitutions of this

⁷ The twenty constitutions of John XXII. are included in the Extravagantes under fourteen titles.—See Boehmer Codex Juris Canonici, ii. 1105—1132.

pope are contained in the Extravagantes a Diversis Romanis Pontificibus. See Boehmer, ut sup. pp. 1131—1200.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

succeeded John XXII. by the name of Benedict XII. His virtues would have strengthened the see if his predecessor had not so entirely alienated Germany from its ancient alliance with Rome, that the law entitled, "The Pragmatic Sanction," was passed, which declared Germany to be independent of the Bishop of Rome, in all matters relating to the election of the emperors; and if another law, also, had not passed to forbid any deference whatever being paid to the papal censures from Avignon. The popes were now considered to be dependent on France; and *from this cause also their power and influence were neutralized.* England and Germany both refused obedience to Benedict, as the vassal of France. This pope refuted the doctrine of his predecessor on the Beatific Vision in a public sermon; and enacted a constitution or law, declaring that the souls of baptized infants enjoy the sight of the Divine essence. The good pope does not seem to have understood the laws of the human mind, or he might have *enacted* the possibility of the development of the understanding of baptized children in the other world; to enable them to see and to understand the presence of God. The souls of children are with their Maker: but more than this, "the great Teacher" can alone explain to us.

Benedict would willingly have been reconciled to Louis of Bavaria, but was dissuaded by Philip of France. He refused, however, to permit the King of France to claim the tenths which were to have been devoted to a crusade in the East, in order that they might be employed against the King of England. He preferred merit. He reformed the religious orders. He avoided nepotism, by providing moderately only for his family. The diminution of the ecclesiastical power was, however, conspicuous in many directions. It was shown in England by the lessened respect which was paid to one of the most virtuous of the popes. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the king were involved in a dispute respecting the amount of grants expected from the Church, in aid of the war with France. In the course of the discussions which resulted, the archbishop was refused admission into the House of Parliament. He insisted on his ancient rights, and pronounced a curse from Christ and the Virgin on his opponents. At the intercession of certain of the peers, the king permitted him to take his seat in the

House. He subsequently demanded a trial by his peers, and was acquitted. The days of Anselm and Becket were past. The archbishop was treated with respect by many of the witnesses of the proceedings: but the deep feelings of attachment and enthusiasm were changed to mere courtesy. None seemed to tremble at his frown or his curse; and another proof was afforded of the incipient decline not only of the Gregorian awe, but of the fear of incurring the denunciation of the ecclesiastical power.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

The archbishop and his suffragans, in 1342, without the concurrence of the inferior clergy, made a body of constitutions for the better ordering of his province: and previously to his trial, the archbishop apologized in a sermon for having engaged so deeply in the political transactions of the day. The remaining six years of his life were principally devoted to the superintendence of his province.

Benedict XII. died in 1342, on the 25th of April, respected for his virtues, his zealous piety, and disinterestedness, *in the eighteenth year of the life of Wycliffe.*

CXCVIII. *Clement VI., died 1352.*

Peter Roger, Archbishop of Rouen, succeeded Benedict XII. under the name of Clement VI. This pontiff weakened still further the influence of the Roman see by renewing the excommunications of his predecessor, John XXII., against the Emperor Louis, with the most fearful additional imprecations. When the emperor demanded on what terms of absolution he might hope for peace, Clement required from him these humiliating concessions: to plead guilty of the heresies alleged against him; to resign his titles and power; to deliver up all his hereditary dominions to the pope; and to acknowledge the empire to be in the gift of the apostolic see. Louis sent copies of these terms to the chief cities of the empire, and thus enlisted their best feelings in his favour. Clement excommunicated him anew, and procured the election of his partizan and pupil, Charles of Moravia, who was designated King of the Priests. A new war would possibly have been kindled between the cities which adhered to the respective claimants, had not Louis died in the following year. Charles retained the empire, but the conditions on which he held his power, and the severe terms on which

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

alone absolution was offered to the friends of Louis, made the emperor and his people so wholly dependent on the pope, that the Germans were exasperated beyond measure; and they resolved to elect an opponent to Charles and Clement. They chose Gunther of Thuringia, who was esteemed the best general of his age; and the people welcomed with great applause his edict declaring that the election of the Emperors of Germany was independent of the pope, and that he is subject in temporal matters to no earthly power. Gunther died six months after his election, in 1350. The Germans, after his death, preferred submission to Charles to the turmoils attendant on another election: but the veneration for the spiritual character of the pontiff, as the vicar of Christ, was irretrievably damaged.

The sale of Avignon to Clement, by Joan of Naples, when suspected of the murder of her husband, did not add to the reputation of the holy see: neither was its influence increased by the gallantry, pomp, avarice, and nepotism of the pontiff⁸. Gibbon and Lytton Bulwer have made the name of Rienzi, and his short-lived revolution at Rome, familiar to the English reader. His imprisonment at Avignon by Clement, neither increased nor lessened the favour of the people towards the pontiff. The tribune had offended many of his adherents, though he was not deserted till his excommunication by the successor of Clement, in 1354, when the populace had become weary of the caprices of their idol.

The influence of the see of Rome was much lessened in England during the pontificate of Clement, by his presuming to inflict upon the Church of England the old grievance of which Grossetete had formerly complained—making provision for Italian ecclesiastics by the gift of English benefices. The agents of two cardinals who were provided for in this manner, were commanded to leave the kingdom under the penalty of imprisonment; and the king on their departure transmitted an expostulatory letter to the pontiff, in defence of the liberties of the Church of England⁹. The king, however, was scarcely consistent with himself; for on the death

⁸ See the picture of his manners drawn by Matteo Villani, his contemporary.—History of the Popes, i. 217.

⁹ The letter, with comments upon it, may be seen in Collier, vol. i. p. 547,

&c. On the national antipathies against the papal power in the reign of Edward III., see Stephens on the Constitution of England, vol. i. p. 115.

of Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, he applied to the pope to withhold the sanction of the papal see from the ecclesiastic whom the monks had elected—Thomas Bradwardine; and requested the pope to bestow it upon Ufford. The king ought, instead of having recourse to Rome, to have conferred the primacy upon his friend, either on his own responsibility, or on the recommendation of his prelates, after consulting with them. Ufford died before his consecration, and Bradwardine having been nominated both by the monks and the pope, was consecrated at Avignon in 1349, in the August of which same year he died. He was a good, humble, learned man ¹.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

Though the temporal power of the pope was now more strictly defined, and consequently more easily repressed, *his spiritual influence remained undefined*, and was therefore intruded with success in many of the ecclesiastical appointments. The time had not arrived when the only safety was sought *in the total abrogation of his whole authority, both spiritual and temporal*. By virtue of his spiritual power, he appointed Simon Islip Archbishop of Canterbury, on the death of Bradwardine. The monks had already elected him. The pope took no notice of their election, but sent a bull of nomination for him as a papal provision. He thus perpetuated the claim to present and maintain the spiritual, or pseudo-temporal power.

The archbishop and his suffragans, in the year 1350, obtained some extension of their privileges and powers over the clergy who were condemned for crimes against the state. The bishops had complained that the secular judges violated the privileges of the Church, by condemning and executing priests who were exempt from their jurisdiction. The secular judges answered, that the clergy were encouraged by these privileges to commit crimes. The bishops, therefore, enacted a law, that all clergymen convicted of any capital offence, should be punished with perpetual and rigorous imprisonment in the bishops' prisons: for each bishop had a court in which offenders were tried, and prisons in which they were punished.

In the year 1350, the wise and just law, called the "Statute of Provisors," was enacted. To resist more effectually the

¹ See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 6.

encroachments of the papal power, the law was made, that if the pope collated any person to any ecclesiastical benefice in England, the collation escheated to the crown; if reservations or provisions were secured, the provisors should be brought to trial; and if found guilty, imprisoned and compelled to make satisfaction; and above all, *no appeal was permitted to Rome.*

The spiritual power of the pontiff, however, continued to be acknowledged, and produced many inconveniences, which remained to be remedied by future laws.

Clement VI. immediately before his death, made a similar declaration to those of John XXII. and Benedict XII., in which, too, he was imitated by his successors, Innocent VI., Urban V., and Gregory XI. He rescinded all that he might have said, done, or written against the truth, faith, and customs of the Catholic Church. No reservation was made on the possibility that the Catholic Church itself, as represented by its general councils, might in some instances err.

Clement died on the 6th of December, 1352², *in the thirtieth year of the life of Wycliffe.*

CXCIX. *Innocent VI., died 1362.*

On the death of Clement, *the cardinals enacted several regulations to limit the power of the popes*, and to preserve also their own privileges. These were all, however, rescinded by his successor, Stephen Albert, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, (elected 18th Dec. 1352,) eminent for his knowledge both of the canon and civil law, who took the title of Innocent VI.³ Though this pontiff was a great encourager of learned and pious men, and was himself learned, just, and generous, and of blameless conduct, *the Gregorian principles and policy suffered still further abasement* during his pontificate. War was now waged between England and France. The pope endeavoured to reconcile the two kings, Edward III. and John. He was unable to do so, though two cardinals, immediately before the battle of Poitiers, interposed to prevent the fight. The papal influence was undoubtedly lessened by the real or supposed subserviency of the pontiffs to France, as well as by other causes; and their offers of mediation

² Raynald. ad ann. § 21.

³ Id. § 27.

were rejected. The King of France was taken prisoner; and after a confinement of four years, the interest of the pontiff procured his liberation; but not without the surrender to England of some of the chief provinces of France, with the giving up as hostages his brother, and many of his principal nobility. The King of England for a time, that is, from May 8, 1360, to June 11, 1369, resigned his pretensions to the other parts of France, as well as his title of king of that country. One very unforeseen consequence of this treaty of Bretagne, between France and England, demonstrated the weakness of the pontificate. The numerous bands of mercenaries which had been thrown out of employment by the peace, formed themselves into independent bands called Free Companies; and leaving the districts of France which had been desolated by the conflicting troops of the two armies, they approached to Avignon, and compelled the pope, in spite of all his anathemas, and of his publishing a crusade against them, to grant them absolution of their sins, and also a large sum of money.

Neither did the accession of Charles IV. to the imperial crown in 1355, increase the real power of the pontiff, though this Emperor of the Priests, as he was called, acknowledged the temporal power of the popes, and took an oath never to put his foot in Rome, nor on any spot belonging to the Roman see, without the permission of the pontiff. The pope till this time had been nominally a vassal of the empire. *His influence had been indefinite, and therefore, unlimited.* He was now like a fallen patriot in a free country, who diminishes his influence by taking office, contrary to his avowed and long held principles. The eloquent and indignant Petrarch expostulated with Charles on his submission to the pope, whom he calls the vassal of the emperor, and denounces the vices and luxury of the court of Avignon. Before the coronation of Charles IV. at Rome, the pope had sent Rienzi from his prison with the title of senator. The fickle multitude murdered their former favourite, and insulted Charles for his weakness in complying with the request or command of the pope, that he would leave Rome immediately after his coronation. The common hatred which raged against heresy enabled the pope to burn with impunity at Avignon, two miserable friars, who maintained that John XXII. was a

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

heretic, for declaring that Christ and His disciples had no property in common; but the Gregorian pretensions to temporal power were still evidently on the decline, and the light of better days was about to dawn upon the Church of Christ.

The expostulations of the Germans, when Innocent sent Philip de Carbasole, with agents, into Germany, to raise the tenth penny on all ecclesiastical revenues, did not contribute to the popularity of the papacy. They were disregarded, but not punished; but *the increasing weakness of the power of the Bishop of Rome* in this pontificate, was chiefly shown by the celebrated statute of *Præmunire*, passed in the first year of Innocent VI. The Gregorian policy of enforcing appeals from the regal or civil courts to the ecclesiastical courts at home, or to the papal courts abroad, had long been regarded in England as a grievance requiring redress. The law was enacted to prevent the rehearing, in the papal courts, of any causes respecting property. Though the terrors of papal excommunication were considerably lessened, neither the Church nor the state was prepared to resist appeals to Rome in matters strictly ecclesiastical. Obedience to the pontiff in these points was still an act of religion; for in the very next year, Innocent directed a bull to Islip, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to observe more strictly the anniversary of the Festival of Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Bishop of Norwich, this year, was able to compel a nobleman to walk barefooted and uncovered though the city to the cathedral, in spite of the king's prohibition; and there to beg his pardon before a numerous audience, for shooting some deer in the episcopal park, and offending his servants.

The opposition to the mendicant friars, whom Wycliffe, Innocent, and the learned Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, united, and that most justly, to condemn, for their intrusion upon the duties of the parochial clergy, and other practices resisted by Wycliffe; was of some service to the Church, in preventing the bishops, in their several dioceses, from usurping almost papal power. These friars rendered, also, *a great, though unintentional, service to the Catholic Church, by their appealing to the Holy Scriptures* in defence of their advocacy of the opinions respecting the poverty of Christ. Wycliffe appealed, and *with success, to the same inspired volume.* The

friars appealed to the popes as their protectors. The Archbishop of Armagh opposed their practices only; and preached before the pope at Avignon on this point. Wycliffe opposed their institution generally. The controversy is well known. The general practice of appealing to Scripture which it revived in the Church, may be said to have originated the translation of the Bible into English by Wycliffe. It introduced, also, that one useful principle into discussion which the Catholic Church never has forgotten, and we may trust never will forget—that *the Scriptures are of more authority than popes, churches, friars, fathers, bishops, and reformers, to determine the controversies of Christians* ⁴.

Innocent died September 12th, 1362, in the *thirty-second year of Wycliffe*, and the year after Wycliffe was elected to the wardenship of Baliol, for his defence of the Catholic Church and its institutions against the friars.

CC. *Urban V., died 1370.*

William Grimoald, Abbot of St. Victor, son of the Lord of Grisac, in the province of Gevandan, an eminent canonist and civilian of Avignon, Toulouse, and Paris, succeeded Innocent by the name of Urban V. He is highly praised for his benevolence, learning, and many virtues, and for his encouragement of learned men. He attempted to re-establish the holy see at Rome; but returned to Avignon in consequence of the commotions which distracted that city. The Greek Church, in the person of Constantine Paleologus, was reconciled for a short time in his pontificate, to the see of Rome; but Urban endeavoured in vain to interest the powers of Europe to engage in one final crusade for its relief in the hour of its distress, in consequence of the success of the Turks. He strengthened the see by compelling the submission of the cruel Barnabo Visconti, Lord of Milan, who had taken advantage of the absence of the popes at Avignon, to possess and tyrannize over many cities of Italy: and the Emperor Charles gave the last instance of imperial degrada-

⁴ A modern Roman Catholic writer calls this controversy *ridiculous*.—Lingard, iv. 213. See Le Bas' admirable reply, and account of the friars and Wycliffe, p. 104, &c.

tion, by leading his horse when he made his entry into Rome in 1368. These things might induce us to suppose that the popes were about to recover their power; but the appearances were deceitful. The Free Companies again extorted a large bribe from the pope for sparing Avignon; and the people of Italy treated the emperor with so much contempt for his subserviency to Urban, that he left Italy.

In the year 1368, the pope, during his stay at Rome, made seven cardinals⁵; one of whom was Simon Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury. We may believe that the cardinalate would not have been conferred upon any ecclesiastic who was lukewarm in the papal cause. In 1365, Wycliffe had been appointed to the headship of a hall at Oxford founded by Islip. In the following year Langham succeeded Islip, and he pronounced Wycliffe's appointment to be void, on the plea that, when he nominated Wycliffe, he was disqualified from transacting business. Wycliffe had recourse, without scruple or objection, to the only remedy then known against ecclesiastical injustice. He appealed to Urban, who decided in favour of his friend Langham. The decree is dated 1370, from Viterbo⁶. The cause of this injustice on the part of Langham does not appear. *Wycliffe, however, fourteen years before, in his Essay on the last age of the Church, 1356, had expressed his deep sense of ecclesiastical abuses and corruptions.* By so doing, and by his freedom of expression, he must have offended both the ecclesiastical and papal powers. There is also great reason to believe, that he had even then openly committed himself to decided hostility with the mendicant orders, the great supporters of papal authority. It appears, therefore, probable, that the real cause of Langham venturing to rescind the deed of Islip, which was, however, worded in the strongest terms of eulogy on Wycliffe⁷, was, the known opinions of Wycliffe; and that the assertion that

⁵ Raynald. ad ann. § 9.

⁶ The documents are given by Vaughan, i. 401. 412.

⁷ Simon, &c. dilecto filio, magistro Johanni de Wyelyve, salutem. Ad vite tue et conversationis laudem honestam, literarumque scientiam, quibus personam tuam in artibus magistratuum Altissimus insignivit, mentis nostre oculos dirigentes ac de tuis fidelitate, circumspectione, et industria

plurimum confidentes; in custodem Aulae Nostrae Cantuar. per nos noviter Oxoniae fundate, te praeficimus, tibi que curam et administrationem custodie hujusmodi incumbentes, juxta ordinationem nostram in hac parte committimus per presentes, reservata nobis receptione juramenti corporalis per te nobis praestandi, et debiti in hac parte. Dat. apud Maghefeld, 8^o idus Decemb. A.D. MCCCCLXV.

Islip was incapable of transacting business, arose from the supposition, that if he had retained his faculties unimpaired, he would not have appointed a doubtful friend of the pope to the office in question.

While the suit was pending before the pope, Urban was guilty of an act of rashness, which proved *the unconsciousness of any weakening of the papal power* on his part; while the manner in which it was resisted, demonstrated, beyond reply, the certainty of the decline of the pontifical authority in England. He revived, in 1365, his claim to the thirty-three years' arrear of the tribute, which John had promised to the pope. During this long period it had never been paid. Urban demanded, at the same time, the due performance of feudal homage. He apprised Edward III. that if he failed to comply with these demands, he would be cited by process to appear at the papal court, to answer for his default before him, who was at once both his civil and spiritual sovereign. The king submitted the claim to the parliament, 1366. The answer of the lords and commons may be read with advantage to this hour, by those who will not be convinced of the prevalence of Protestantism among our ancestors, before the word Protestant, as since applied, was known. "Neither John, nor any other king," it says, "could bring this realm into subjection, but by the common consent of parliament: that which he did, therefore, was against his oath at his coronation. If the pope then attempt any thing against the king, he, with all his subjects, with all their force and power, should resist the same." On the appearance of this wise and reasonable reply, Wycliffe was challenged by name to defend the resolutions of the parliament. He accepts the challenge. When he did so, he did not withdraw his own appeal to the pope in a matter of spiritual appointment. He considered that the Gregorian policy of the papal supremacy in temporals was unjust. He did not deem the supremacy in spirituals to be so. His opposition to the claim of the pope, could not then, as so many affirm, have proceeded from anger at the decision of the pope against him in 1370; three years after his reply to the challenge of his antagonist to defend the resolution of the lords and commons.

The great offices of state were, at this time, principally

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

held by ecclesiastics; and more than one-half of the land of the whole kingdom was in their possession⁸. In consequence of Langham accepting the cardinalate at this time, 1368, the king probably considered him as the partizan of the pope against his own sovereign; he therefore deprived him of the temporalities of his see. Langham, who might have been a Gregorian in conscience, retired to Avignon, where he died, and was succeeded by Whittlesley.

Urban died December 19, 1370, in the forty-sixth year of Wycliffe, at Avignon, where he arrived September 24th. When dying, he is said to have expressed these words—"I firmly believe all that the Holy Catholic Church holds and teaches; and if ever I advanced doctrines contrary to the Church, I retract them, and subject them to its censure."

CCI. *Gregory XI., died 1378.*

Peter Roger was son of the Lord of Beaufort, and nephew of Clement VI., by whom he was made a cardinal at the early age of seventeen. He had so devoted himself to the study of the civil and canon law, that he became one of the ablest jurists of his time. He was consecrated pope at the age of forty, by the name of Gregory XI. *The spiritual, though not the temporal power of the see, was weakened by the triumph of this pontiff over Florence.* The Florentines had embraced the cause of the Visconti of Milan, who had become the virtual sovereigns of the north of Italy. The pope, who had been by the emperor declared his Vicar, took several of the Free Companies into his pay, and among them a band of Englishmen under Sir John Hawkwood⁹. These attempted to subdue Florence by famine. The Florentines, who had been always attached to the popes, committed on their adversaries many unjustifiable excesses, which were retaliated by the other parties with equal violence; indeed the manners of the age were barbarous and cruel beyond the belief of the

⁸ Of 53,000 manors, the Church possessed 28,000, with the titles, oblations, and many other revenues.—See Turner's History of England, vol. ii. p. 413, note 64.

⁹ Sir John Hawkwood is called by a modern critic, "the real inventor of the modern art of war." The expression is obscure, for the art of war is very extensive. The Reviewer

seems to mean, that Sir John Hawkwood invented the then new art of making such use of a victory, as to secure prisoners for ransom, rather than to kill victims for glory.—Quarterly Review, No. 127, p. 49, an article written by my late accomplished friend Major Proctor, Military Secretary to Sir George Arthur.

present more civilized and gentle, as well as more Christian period of the world. The universal custom which the ecclesiastical and papal power had now everywhere established, of searching out, imprisoning, torturing, and burning heretics, was one of the causes that provoked the indignation of the Florentines¹. For we find, among the complaints urged against the Florentines, in the bull of Gregory XI., that they had released from prison the heretics who had been incarcerated by the inquisitors of heretical pravity, and compelled the inquisitors to leave the city². The pope anathematized and excommunicated the Florentines in a bull of more than usual severity, A.D. 1375. He interdicted the whole people collectively and individually. He forbade all traffic and commerce with them, and upon this Florence depended. He outlawed them, and gave away their property to the first person who could take it. He exhorted all persons to seize and sell both their estates and persons; and forbade any state or magistrate to suffer them to live under his jurisdiction in any other condition than that of a slave. We are assured by Walsingham, that in England many Florentine merchants were reduced to slavery, and their merchandise confiscated³. We find in Rymer, a proclamation of Edward

¹ I say *everywhere*, for though the statute de Hæretico Comburendo had not yet passed in England, the bishops were able to imprison offenders on charges of heresy; and Knyghton, with many others, either affirm, or are of opinion, that they possessed the power of committing them to the flames. The act de Hæret. Combur. only gave the force of the statute law to that which was believed to be the common law.

Thus we find Natalis Alexander saying of John Ball, who was in the ensuing reign executed for treason, that he made his escape from the Bishop's prison.—Joannes Bakeus, presbyter, ex episcopi sui carcere profugus, Wycliffo se adjunxit.—Hist. Eccl. sæc. xiii. et xiv. tom. xv. p. 223.

² Sed ad memoriam eunctorum reducimus, quod iidem Florentini adversus Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis reverentiam, inquisitorum hæreticæ pravitatis officium in ipsius libera executione impediens, statuerunt quod non possit

in eorum civitate, territorio, et districtu contra hæreticos nisi certo modo procedi; nec dieti inquisitoris familiares, nisi ad certum numerum et habitum licentia eorundem officialium, temporarium arma deferre valeant, ordinarunt: quodque priores artium et vexillifer dietæ civitatis in principio eorum officii de observandis iniquis eorum legibus, contra dietum inquisitorem et ejus officium editis, teneantur præstare corporale juramentum. Ipsius quoque inquisitoris carcerem, in quo hæretici ponebantur, concitato tumultu populi totaliter destruxerunt, et inquisitorem qui tunc erat expulerunt: et quamplurima alia statuta et ordinationes, in præjudicium inquisitionis hujusmodi hæreticæ pravitatis et hæreticorum favorem, ac in Ecclesiæ libertatis præjudicium ediderunt, et ea de facto servare non verentur.—Raynald. Annal. ad ann. 1376, § 1.

³ Mercatores Florentinos in Anglia redactos fuisse in servitutem, eorumque bona fisco addicta.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

III., dated in 1377, to protect the Florentines. The king commands the mayor and aldermen, &c. of London and of Calais, and of other places, to secure the persons of the Florentines as the king's own servants, and to commit them to safe custody; to take, also, possession of their goods and chattels to the king's use. We may justly infer from this proclamation, that various individuals had acted upon the pope's bull, and had arrested the Florentines, and seized upon their property; and that much inconvenience resulted from these enforcements of the papal decree against these foreign merchants. The language of the proclamation confirms this view of the case ⁴.

The cause of Wycliffe, and the other opponents of the papacy in England, must have been strengthened by *the utter injustice of punishing, as spiritual offenders, the peaceful traders* who were residing among them for commercial purposes only. The credit and confidence essential to commerce, must have been shaken; and the merchants and citizens of London, who were in general favourably disposed to the doctrines of Wycliffe, must have perceived that their own agents and factors would be in danger, if the Bishop of Rome quarrelled with the King of England.

Gregory XI. was the Bishop of Rome who published four bulls against Wycliffe, for the suppression and punishment of his opinions. Before we consider their nature and contents, we may inquire what cisterns, what broken cisterns, were hewn out by this rejector of the fountains of living waters, which Wycliffe was pouring forth in this pontificate, from that rock of ages which he now opened in the wilderness of barbarism and ignorance? What were the guides of this most infallible director of the universal Church of Christ? Catharine, the daughter of James Beninsaca, a dyer, was born at Sienna, 1347. She became, from a very early age, it is said, distinguished by those exemplary austerities, graces, and privileges, which characterize so many of the saints of the calendar. She received spiritual com-

⁴ Ac nos, pro periculis et scandalis quæ ex processibus hujusmodi et eorum executoribus multiplicatu evenire possent evitandis, omnes hujusmodi Florentinos, infra civitatem nostram Londoniæ inventos, tanquam

servos nostros veros, et non fictios, etiam ad eorum instantiam assiduam capi, et prisonæ nostræ Londoniæ mancipari, et in eadem detineri.—Rymcr's Fœdera, vii. 1377.

munications from the personal visits of Christ Himself. Christ, in the presence of His holy mother, and a host of saints, espoused her, and placed on her finger a gold ring set with pearls and diamonds. She sucked the blood from the wound in His side; and He gave her His heart in exchange for her own⁵. The old serpent, it is further alleged, tempted her with filthy abominations, and brought her a hundred times to the brink of the precipice; and on Christ appearing to her afterwards as her spouse, she upbraided Him for His absence in her temptations⁶. Christ offered her the choice of a crown of gold, and a crown of thorns: she chose the latter, and forced it violently on her head⁷. Her chief subsistence was the eucharist; and from Ash Wednesday to Ascension Day, she totally abstained from any other nourishment⁸. Thousands were brought to sincere repentance of their sins by only looking at her⁹. Assassins, and the most hardened culprits, were instantly reclaimed by her when all other means of improving their lives had wholly failed¹. Such were the reports respecting her, together with numerous other alleged miracles which she performed. These rumours caused Gregory XI. to send three confessors to Sienna, to receive from the mouths of those on whom miracles had been performed, evidence of the facts. All were proved to their entire satisfaction. One of these holy functionaries, Raymond of Capua, was consequently led to make known to her, that a dangerous conspiracy against the pope was concerted by the union of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, many important cities having been seduced into the league; the object of which conspiracy was to strip the holy see of its possessions. On this information she despatched her letters of expostulation to the refractory cities,

⁵ Spondani Annal. 1376, sect. iv. ap. Waddington's History of the Church, chap. xxii. p. 491, 8vo, London, 1833.

⁶ Butler's Lives of the Saints, April 30, vol. iv. p. 332, 3rd edit. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1798.

⁷ Id. pp. 338, 339.

⁸ Id. p. 338.

⁹ Id. p. 334.

¹ Id. p. 334.

These are only a few of the examples offered by Alban Butler to convince the world of the merits by which this woman obtained canonization, and the

homage of his Church. His narrative is collected from Raymond of Capua, her confessor, and afterwards General of the Dominicans; also from Stephen, Prior of the Carthusians, near Pavia, who had intimately known the saint; and from other contemporary authors. Likewise *Divæ Catharinæ Senensis Vita per Joan. Pinum, Tolosanum. Bononia, 4to, 1505*, and other authorities. His compilation of her miraculous visions and prodigies comprises pp. 330—340 of the volume just now mentioned.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

by which Perugia, Bologna, Viterbo, Ancona, Arezzo, Lucca, Sienna, and others were immediately placed under divine restraint. All but the commercial Florence were panic-stricken by her interposition; and Florence was consequently placed under an interdict. Terrible anarchy, great suffering, and many murders, were the consequence. The deliberations of the magistrates ended in resolving to place their cause in the hands of Catharine; and to send her to Avignon to appease the anger of the pope. Gregory gave her a dignified reception, loaded her with praises, and left to her the settlement of his dispute with the Florentines².

The affair being thus far concluded, she desired to know of Gregory, why he did not fulfil "what he had promised to God?" This question greatly surprised him, convincing him as it did, that his vow of restoring the court of the holy see to Rome, which he had never divulged to any living person, must have been made known to the saint by revelation. His mind was accordingly made up. He had heard from his confessors the fame of her miracles—her marriage with Christ; her long contest and victory over the serpent; her twelve weeks' fast, save the eucharist; her cure of leprosy, and of cancers by sucking them³; her mortification of her body by a very rough hair cloth, armed with sharp points⁴; her spirit of prophecy, and knowledge of the consciences of others; with "the ecstasies and other wonderful favours this virgin received from heaven⁵," which are passed over by Butler. Gregory had become convinced by all these, of her supernatural power; and he was still further satisfied of her mission by her reminding him of his private vows. St. Catharine's negotiations with the vicar of Christ, having been thus far successful, she returned from Avignon to Italy. She wrote, it seems, at every stage, to urge his holiness not to delay his return to Rome, in fulfilment of his vow. Her letters of importunity appear to have influenced Gregory to be speedily on the wing; for he overtook his virgin friend at Genoa, whence they journeyed on to Italy⁶. He made his

² Raynald. ad ann. 1376, § 6.

³ See Butler's Lives, p. 333.

⁴ Id. p. 332.

⁵ Id. pp. 339, 340.

⁶ Hymns were composed in England in honour of St. Catharine of Sienna,

which were sanctioned by Archbishop Langham in 1368. One of such hymns approved by Langham, is in the Lambeth library in MS., and is printed by Spelman, Concil. ii. 615.

entry into Rome with incredible pomp⁷; for not only Catharine, but Bridget⁸ united in affirming that they were directed by revelations from heaven to assure him, that the Lord willed that the papal court should be established again in Rome⁹. On his arrival at the holy city, he found that the long absence of the popes had so materially lessened their authority, that he resolved, in spite of the miraculous encouragement he had received, to return to Avignon. *Such were the guides which influenced the head of the Church.* He was prevented by death, however, from accomplishing his design. Whether the relation of Gerson, the Chancellor of the University of Paris, be true, or whether the denial of that relation by Natalis Alexander be correct, we have, at this moment, no means of deciding. He is affirmed, and he is denied to have repented, when dying, of the attention he had paid to lying prophetesses¹. Whether Gregory did so or not, we may safely conclude, that the decisions of the pontiff, who was guided by the visions of Catharine of Sienna, are not so worthy of our reception as those of the inquirer who was guided by the sacred Scriptures. *The pontiff was wrong in upholding the errors which had now been received by the Church of Rome. Wycliffe was wrong in many of his conclusions.* His most eulogistic biographers condemn them. The great conclusion to which we must arrive, from the study of ecclesiastical history, is, that none, neither churches, sects, nor individuals, are infallible, or universally right. Gregory introduced the oriental festival of the presentation of the Virgin Mary. He appointed it to be kept holy on the 21st of November.

The pontificate of this pope is rendered interesting to the English nation, by his opposition to the increasing influence

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

⁷ quam incredibili fastu intravit
1377. Venema, Eccl. Hist. vol. vii.
p. 362.

⁸ Alban Butler has given a memoir of St. Bridget, widow, compiled from sundry authorities enumerated, October the 8th, vol. x. pp. 158—167, where the reader is referred for the detail of her extraordinary revelations, by immediate discourse with God; and many strange proofs of her divine authority in predicting and declaring things appertaining to the will of

heaven.

⁹ Dominum velle ut curia Papalis Romam reduceretur.

¹ Venema inclines to the decision of Natalis Alexander—Cujus rei (his regard to Catharine and Bridget) pœnitentiam ductum sub finem vitæ omnes admonuisse, ut ab ejusmodi feminis sibi caverent, tradit Gerson, &c.—nescio quam vere: contradicent utique, non sane ratione, Natalis Alexander.—Venema, Hist. Eccles. vol. vii. p. 362.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

of the principles of Wycliffe. This reformer was now in the forty-sixth year of his age. The incidents of his life are so familiar to every reader of ecclesiastical history, that I shall only notice the few points which may be necessary to illustrate the nature and extent of the ecclesiastical power at this time.

The parliament of England, by its statutes of *provisors* and *præmunire*, 1350, had already shown its jealousy of the encroachments of the see of Rome. This jealousy was not exhibited against the legates or Italians only, who came from Rome, or from the pope to England; it appeared in the second year of the pontificate of Gregory XI. against the influence of the papal ecclesiastical power in general. *The bishops and clergy of England were considered as identified with the foreign priest*, who was regarded as the enemy of England because of his submission to France. The parliament, therefore, petitioned that no ecclesiastic should hold any office in the state. The king, Edward III., attended so far to the popular feeling, that many of the principal ecclesiastics resigned their appointments. The Bishop of Exeter gave up the office of treasurer. William of Wykeham resigned the great seal. The time, however, had not yet arrived when the political business of the nation could be carried on independently of the knowledge and experience of churchmen. It was, therefore, unprepared to comprehend and receive at present, the truths revived and forced upon its consideration by Wycliffe. The effort, therefore, to throw off at this time the yoke of the papal ecclesiastical power, produced only restlessness, and incipient dissatisfaction, impatient of an evil, but unprovided with an adequate remedy. The proposal to carry on the management of the state at this time, without the advice and influence of ecclesiastics, because the papal exactors of intolerable tribute and taxes were unabashed in making their presumptuous demands, notwithstanding the writings of Wycliffe, was about as wise as the attempt would now be to rule the kingdom without the assistance of lawyers; because the honourable profession of the law has been sometimes unpopular among the vulgar. The custom of nominating ecclesiastics to the higher offices of the state, continued with few exceptions till the time of Charles I., when Juxon was the

last treasurer, and Williams the last clerical chancellor: and very providentially was this custom overruled for the general good. The clergy acted with their archbishops and bishops; and the several changes in the public law which gradually gave the weight of authority to the best and not to the worst opinions of Wycliffe, and which eventually gave the Holy Scriptures and prayers in their own language to the people; received the sanction of the best lawyers, who were identified with the best divines². The laity were too deficient in general knowledge at this time, to enable them to dispense with the services of the highly educated, though religiously erroneous ecclesiastics.

Early in the pontificate of Gregory XI., Wycliffe was made doctor of divinity at Oxford. This degree was equivalent, at that time, to a patent of nobility, from the rank it conferred, and the influence it bestowed on the acceptor. The exactions of money by the pontifical officers were now so increased, and the laws which had been passed at various periods to prevent the payment of the papal demands were so entirely useless, that the commons, after sending an abortive mission to Avignon in 1373, commanded an inquiry to be instituted into the number of English benefices then occupied by Frenchmen, Italians, and aliens in general. The result exhibited such an extent of abuse, that another embassy was resolved upon. Wycliffe was one of the commissioners. His name appears second on the list, and his powers seem to have been very extensive³. The conferences between the papal and English ambassadors took place at

² The language of Wycliffe in the Treatise on the Regimen of the Church, imputed to him, echoes the language of the parliament. He contends that neither prelates, doctors, nor deacons should hold secular offices.—See Le Bas' Life of Wycliffe, p. 138, and the note.

³ Pro Joanne de Wiclif Sacre Theologie Professore, et aliis potestatibus ad tractandum eum nunciis Papæ.—A.D. 1374, anno 48 Edw. III. (Pal. 48 Edw. III. p. i. in 7, in Turr. Lond.)

Rex universis, ad quorum notitiam presentes literæ pervenerint, salutem.
Sciatis, quod nos, de fidelitate et

circumspectione Venerabilis Patris, Joannis Episcopi Bangorensis ac delectorum et fidelium nostrorum, Magistri Joannis de Wiclif, sacre Theologie Professoris, &c. &c. Ut ea, que honorem Sanctæ Ecclesie, et conservationem jurium coronæ nostræ, et nostri regni Angliæ, concernere poterint, in ea parte intuitu Dei, et Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ, feliciter expediantur, et debitum capiant complementum. . . .

In ejus &c.—Dat. apud London. xxvi. die Julii.

Vaughan's Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe, i. Append. No. x. p. 416.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

Bruges, 1374. Gregory expressed his anxiety to satisfy the King of England, but added the usual reservation to his terms, which enabled him to evade any demand, or violate any conclusions⁴. Bruges, at this time, was at the head of the Hanseatic League, which included more than sixty cities. It united the growing traffic of the Baltic with the ancient commerce of the Mediterranean and the East. It was the place fixed upon, also, during Wycliffe's sojourn there, for the political negotiation between the ambassadors of France, the Duke of Anjou and Burgundy; and those of England, the Earl of Salisbury, the Duke of Lancaster, and Sudbury then Bishop of London, under the representatives of the pope, the Archbishop of Ravenna, and the Bishop of Carpentras. Wycliffe, therefore, had ample opportunities of conversing with the adherents of the papacy; and of at the same time strengthening his own energies by imbibing much of that free spirit which uniformly attends the wealth and leisure resulting from successful commerce. The negotiations between the English and the papal commissioners, were protracted through two years; and as the English nation and the English king had not yet learned that the total rejection of its supremacy was the only mode of emancipating themselves from the extortions of Rome, a partial remedy only was granted to the grievances of which complaint was made. The pope consented to desist from the reservation of benefices. The king consented to confer no benefices by his writ—*quare impedit*. *The power of the pope consisted, however, in great measure, in the right of patronage to bishoprics*; and the chief negotiator, the Bishop of Bangor, is suspected of some treachery to the cause of his sovereign, and of the national Church; in permitting a total silence in the treaty on this subject. Nothing was said either on the election of bishops by the chapters, or on the confirmation of their elections by the king. The Bishop of Bangor was translated by the bull of Gregory XI. to Hereford in 1375.

The power of the commons, that is, of the people, con-

⁴ Nos dicto regi, tanquam præambili et peculiari filio nostro, cupientes, quantum poteramus (*salvâ conscientiâ*) complacere, et sperantes de bonâ concordia superdictis articulis inter Romanam Ecclesiam et eundem regem

(divino mediante suffragio) reformandâ, voluntatem nostram, videlicet, xii. Kal. Januarii Pontificatus nostri anno tertio, in formâ quæ sequitur duximus declarandum.—Raynald. ad ann. 1374, § 21.

tinued to increase⁵. Edward III. had consulted the commons in the questions of war and peace with France⁶; so that no complaint could be justly made on the expense of his expeditions. The Prince of Wales and the Earl of March had employed the power of the commons to overthrow an unpopular ministry by petitioning the king to increase his council by ten or twelve bishops, lords, and others, so that no great matter be done without the consent of all; and in minor matters, without the consent of four or six. Noblemen and merchants, also, were impeached by the commons for public abuses⁷. In the year after the treaty of Bruges, the commons complained in parliament, both of the papal reservations, and also of the exactions and extortions to which they were still subject. So intolerable had these become, that nothing but the conviction on the part of the people, that opposition to the spiritual power of the Bishop of Rome was opposition to the ordinance of God; and the conviction on the part of kings, that their sovereignty was identified with the papal supremacy, could have so long riveted the yoke upon the nation. The commons remonstrated, that the misery, exhaustion, and depopulation of the realm proceeded from the tyranny of the Romish hierarchy. They affirmed, among other complaints⁸, that the tax paid to the pope for ecclesiastical dignities, amounted to five-fold as much as the tax of all such yearly profits as appertain to the king arising from the whole realm—that the pope had four or five taxes on the vacancy of one bishopric, or other dignity, by way of translation—that aliens, who never resided, possessed the English benefices—that the enemies of the kingdom, and the betrayers of its secrets, were the officers of the popes—that the principal English dignities were conferred on the cardinals who resided at Rome—that a subsidy was actually levied by the pope on the English to ransom the enemies of the king—and that the pope's collector, a Frenchman residing in London, was gathering at that moment the first-fruits of the English benefices. Such were

⁵ I cannot trace the gradual strengthening of the popular power, which, in fact, was the cause of the overthrow of the papal despotism; but relate results only. I refer the reader to the admirable work of Mr. Stephens.

⁶ Stephens on the English Constitution, vol. i. p. 121.

⁷ See references in Stephens.

⁸ See the note to Le Bas, p. 156; also Lewis's Life of Wycliffe, p. 31.

the complaints of the parliament of England. Coincident with them, was the publication of the Scriptures, and of numerous religious tracts, as well as a more animated and more spiritual style of preaching. *Antichrist was the name which had already been repeatedly applied to the papacy*; and Wycliffe, on his return from Bruges, both in public and in private, in his lectures and in his conversation⁹, gave this name to the pope. He called him the proud worldly priest of Rome.

The result is well known. Though the Bishops of Rome had not attained to their power without the perpetual opposition which has been developed in these pages, the opposition of the evangelical or Gospel doctor, as Wycliffe was styled, accelerated, more than any other whom the providence of God raised up to be the benefactors of mankind, that great movement which has partially emancipated the universal Church from the tyranny under which it so long laboured. The first breach was now made in the bulwarks of the spiritual Babylon; the first march of the true Israelites was begun around the walls of that well-fortified Jericho, which shall one day fall down flat when the seventh circuit is completed. *The war has not yet ceased, though the final victory of the Scripture and of its holy priesthood is certain.* The morning star of that brighter day had dawned when the sun of righteousness shall again shine with healing on its wings. Wycliffe was the first of that long train of protestant prophets who have never ceased, with ever-increasing success, to denounce priestcraft, while they love the priesthood; *to appeal to conscience by arguments which convince, and not by authority which compels.* Huss and Jerome, Luther and Cranmer, with all their long variety of followers, entitled each to more or less approbation, who succeeded them till the establishment of truth with authority in the episcopal Churches of England, Scotland, and America, have secured the blessing of the apostolical institutions to the world. Whatever were the excesses of the followers and partizans of those men,—and they will be found in many cases to be most unjustifiable,—they were less intolerable than the devastation of provinces; and the extirpation of their people

⁹ Lewis, p. 34.

by fire, as in Languedoc and Piedmont. Whatever were the deficiencies of the institutions of Calvin, Knox, and Beza, they could not in violence, duration, or mental torture, be contrasted with the papacy. The day-star had appeared, though the storms of unrelenting persecution were still often to obscure its brightness. The sun had arisen. The anti-papal Churches rejoice in its light. Clouds yet hover over the larger portion of the still darkened earth; but the work which Wycliffe had now so earnestly begun was not to be interrupted by slight difficulties and human machinations. He had diffused a new leaven, which was beginning to work with powerful effect on the stagnant intellect. The Scriptures which he restored to the common people shall purify and spiritualize the mind of man; till Christianity, in its best form, shall have leavened all the inhabitants of the terrestrial world. God shall be worshipped. Churches shall eventually be every where established. Priests and teachers shall appeal, as Christ and His Apostles did, and as patriarchs and prophets of the olden time before them did, to the reason of the people; by undeniable and well-studied evidences. They shall court inquiry into their doctrines, and *venerate, but not idolize, antiquity*. They shall value tradition, and select from its ample stores the lessons, the rites, and the ceremonies which are undepraved by superstition and vanity; while they are convenient, instructive, and useful for edification.

The battle between the usurpations of Rome, and the purity of the Catholic Church, had been fought on the European continent, by tyranny on the one side, and by patience on the other. Victory had rested with the usurper. It was now to rage in England; and after the struggle had continued for a century, victory rested with the restorers of the Scriptures to the people. *The war still rages*. The final triumph will not be decisively won till the whole unreclaimed Churches, which still linger in the train of Rome, shall follow the example of England; and make the Scriptures their sole guide to immortality, while the priesthood shall be only the most valued and honoured assistants to their right interpretation, and the preservation of their holy influences.

Though we cannot suppose that Gregory XI. was unacquainted with the opposition which Wycliffe had so long made to the papal supremacy, to established doctrines, and to

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

the pontifical exactions, as well as his upholding the regal supremacy, and the authority of the Holy Scriptures above the decrees and canons of the Churches; we do not find that any bulls were published against him till the commencement of the year 1377. His adversaries, at the end of 1376, sent to the pope a list of his real or supposed errors. They were nineteen in number. The first five assailed the temporal dominion of the popes¹, and affirmed the possibility of resuming the imperial grants. He denies that St. Peter and his successors have any civil or political dominion. The two next uphold the royal power in opposition to the papal pretensions of a pretended ecclesiastical liberty, or an exemption of the persons of the clergy, and of the goods of the Church from the civil powers. The nine next relate to the power of the keys, which Wycliffe affirmed to be conditional, while the popes, on the contrary, maintained that the absolute and unconditional power of forgiving sins appertained to the gift of the keys. The twelfth and thirteenth articles condemned the abuse of ecclesiastical censures, by applying them to temporal power. In the sixteenth he opposed papal indulgences, and papal reservations of absolution. The two next asserted the power of kings and benefactors to take away the revenues they had granted to the clergy, when the conditions on which they had been bestowed were neglected. The last affirmed the power of the people to redress the grievances they might suffer from either the popes or from kings.

“It was after the year 1372², and before 1377, that Wycliffe made his great attack on the papal system in his *Trialogus*. This work is a Latin dialogue between three persons, on the Deity, the spiritual world, the virtues, and the ecclesiastical doctrines and institutions. Its attractive merit was, that it combined the new opinions with the scholastic style of thinking, and deductions. It was not the mere illiterate reformer teaching novelties, whom the man of education disdained and derided; it was the respected academician reasoning with the ideas of the reformer. In this work he declares the Roman pontiff to be the antichrist. ‘The Roman pontiff,’ says he, ‘is the chief antichrist, for he

¹ See Lewis, p. 42.

² The year 1372 is mentioned in the

work as *recenter*, or not having long past.

falsely pretends that he is the most immediate and resembling vicar of Christ in the world. He claims, from the imperial endowment, to have the chief domination, and to be the richest man in the world. But Christ had not where to lay His head. How then can such an antichrist say that he is the vicar of our Lord, or like Him? It is obvious that he is not, as he calls himself, the most humble man, but the elated vicar of pride³. Wycliffe ridicules the adoration of saints, and asserts the mediatorial office of our Saviour. He condemns the superseding of the Gospel by pretended traditions, and the granting of indulgences. On the eucharist, he is opposed to the established creed of transubstantiation, asserting that though a sacramental effect took place on the consecration, yet that the bread and wine remained bread and wine, as our senses perceived them; that they were only sacramentally, that is, *mentally and* spiritually otherwise. By this distinction he removed from the venerated part of religious worship the great provocative to infidelity; and preserved the English mind from that absolute rejection of Christianity which the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation has, since the thirteenth century, been so fatally producing in every country where it predominates, even among many of its teachers⁴.”

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

The disadvantages with which individuals, in these times, had to contend in maintaining and propagating doctrines opposed to long-received opinions established under the authority of a power which claimed a Divine right to temporal and spiritual control, *cannot be well understood by those who enjoy the means now possessed* of deriving every kind of knowledge without restraint; and with every possible facility for study. Wycliffe could not avail himself of the invention of printing to enable him to refute the false reasonings, and equivocal answers; which well-practised scribes and advocates of the old delusions, would pour forth in opposition to all he advanced. Copies of his writings could not be multiplied for the use of the public, without ruinous expense. Few, besides himself, would be qualified to assist in supporting his revived tenets of Christianity by lectures and discourses, in consequence of the prohibition of scriptural study. The force of

³ Trialogus, p. 130.

⁴ Sharon Turner's History of England, vol. v. pp. 177—179.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

prejudice in favour of the deeply-rooted superstitions, and of the inviolability of that asserted sacredness of every word and deed sanctioned by pontifical authority, which could not be doubted without heresy, made the task of individual opposition to error in the established system of religion severe beyond imagination. The vigilance of adversaries, in the character of mendicant friars, to impeach heretics, and impute violations of the canons of the Church to every person who gave ear to sentiments not in accordance with the prescribed forms of the hierarchy, would all tend to render the circulation of Wycliffe's writings difficult; and to confine them for a time to a very limited number of readers. We have seen that nineteen charges against him were sent to the pope in 1376. It is probable that these accusations would be founded upon the doctrines and arguments disseminated in his *Triologus*. The nature of this early effort to furnish the friends of religious truth with matter for contemplation and discussion is very little known; and it is desirable that the reader should understand the extent to which Wycliffe had proceeded before he published his complete translation of the Scriptures. Mr. Turner has given us a full account of this production⁵.

Most of the conclusions of Wycliffe may be said to have long ago become axioms, both with the statesmen and influential ecclesiastics of England. They were then esteemed as blasphemies. Gregory XI. published against them four bulls, dated May 22nd, 1377. The first complains of the growth of heresy in orthodox England; and commands the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to apprehend the chief heretic Wycliffe, till further commands. The second commands Wycliffe to appear at Rome within three months. The third directs the king and the chief men of England to assist in the extirpation of heresy. The fourth, after various complimentary expressions addressed to the king, solicits the royal protection and favour for the prosecution of Wycliffe by the ecclesiastical authorities, pursuant to the papal

⁵ Mr. Turner has assigned the *Triologus* to the period between 1372 and 1377. Mr. Vaughan, however, proves, from the internal evidence of an allusion to the council and earthquake

which took place together in 1382, that it must have been written after Wycliffe's exclusion from Oxford, and not long, therefore, before his death.

commission⁶. A fifth bull was addressed, at the same time, to the university of Oxford, requiring its head, on the penalty of losing all its privileges and indulgences, to suffer none to teach these conclusions of Wycliffe, and to deliver him and his followers to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The effect of the complaints of the commons against the exactions of the popes; of the preaching of Wycliffe; of the dissensions on the continent; of the incipient love of literature; and of the general desire to read the Scriptures, appeared in the conduct of the university of Oxford. The heads of houses deliberated whether they should receive or reject the papal decree, and at length received the bull, but with regret and coldness.

The controversy between the Gregorian policy and the active mind of England was now fairly begun. From this hour the incessant controversy never slumbered. The Catholic question, to use a well-known phrase, has been, is still, and till the union of Christians and Churches is completed, will ever be the one chief controversy. The mere opinions of Wycliffe were not, however, the leaven that leavened the mass. The holy volume was now to be thrown open, and to be so generally known, that the cause of freedom was strengthened, and the people became imbued with that love of truth, and hatred of ecclesiastical tyranny; which all the laws of the ensuing century and a half, till the accession of Elizabeth, were unable to subdue. The immediate results of the efforts of Gregory to repress the spirit of resistance to the papal-ecclesiastical power in England, are familiar to all. A series of circumstances occurred which prevented the infliction of that more severe punishment, which, at this early age of the effectual opposition to Gregorianism, might have intimidated the reformer and his friends. Wycliffe's character was not so bold and uncompromising as that of Luther. He would not have dared to burn a pope's bull, nor to defy the Vatican. He had lived in kings' houses, and worn soft raiment. He had been, and he still was, a worldly politician in resisting the oppression of the papal exactions; and he had served his country as an ambassador and statesman. But ambassadors and statesmen

⁶ These bulls must be familiar to by Vaughan, Lewis, Spelman, and the student. They are given at length Collier.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

are seldom martyrs. Neither Wycliffe, nor the age in which he lived, were prepared, as in the days of Luther, to endure all evils rather than remain under the papal dominion. *The pope was still believed to be superhuman.* Even John of Gaunt himself, the great friend and patron of Wycliffe, though he, some years afterwards, in 1390, resisted the attempt to deprive the people of the Scriptures⁷; and though he strenuously opposed the secular supremacy of Rome, he, even he, did not dare to engage in any contest relative to her spiritual supremacy in matters of belief. Though Wycliffe wrote his most celebrated work, the *Trialogus*, with a strong impression of his personal danger, and affirmed that those whom he opposed were plotting his death: and though he strenuously urged the duty of suffering martyrdom for the sake of truth; and earnestly contended that it was as necessary in his time as in ancient days; and though he emphatically added, "Instead of visiting pagans to convert them by martyrdom, let us preach constantly the law of Christ even to princely prelates; martyrdom will then occur to us rapidly enough, if we persevere in faith and patience⁸;"—yet he did not, like Luther, venture to proceed to extremities. He would not risk his safety by adopting the same bold and fearless defiance which that reformer bid to pontifical vengeance. Wycliffe was an inquiring student; a Christian about to give the Scriptures to his country: but *he was only fitted to begin the work*, and point out the yet unbeaten path which more intrepid and unhesitating combatants must persist in laying open, which Luther, Ridley, Cranmer, Hooper, and others were to complete, till the way of truth should become plain and perfect; till the highway in the desert should be made straight, that all England might see the glory of the Lord. Partial truth may follow the exertions of one individual in any age, and he may be an efficient antagonist against many errors, and a most unexceptionable defender of many truths; but the whole truth, or the development of so much of a completed system of

⁷ It was argued, that if the amount of error were to determine the expediency of suppressing translations, the Latin Vulgate would most deserve prohibition; for the decretals reckoned sixty-six Latin heretics. These, it

might be said, had their origin in the translation of the Scriptures into the Latin language.—Le Bas, p. 400.

⁸ Sharon Turner's *History of England*, v. 181, 182.

truth as may be necessary to refute and to destroy the influence of a large mass of long extended and gradually legalized error, can only be made generally known, and eventually be established, by long, anxious, and repeated discussion. *Christ Himself did not pray that His disciples might be led into the truth, but into all, all truth.* As Christianity at its beginning was quietly and slowly strengthened by the gradual diffusion of its incessantly controverted truths, until it became prepared to endure persecution by its antagonists, in consequence of the great numbers who had silently and continually embraced the now perfected religion; so it was with the labours of Wycliffe.

The events which contributed to the temporary security of his adherents from the year 1377, before the statute *De hæretico comburendo* was passed in 1401, being twenty-four years, were—the enlisting of the popular literature on the Wycliffian principles, by the writings of Chaucer;—the death of Edward III., when the bulls of Gregory were received by the clergy;—the death of Gregory himself, when the commission he had issued expired, 1378;—the interference of the queen-dowager, with the proceedings at St. Paul's;—the subsequent schism at Avignon on the election of a successor of Gregory;—the submission of Wycliffe to the commissioners to such extent that by giving an explanation rather than a defence of his opinions⁹, he promoted inquiry without increasing the bitterness of controversy;—the expulsion of the foreign ecclesiastics in 1380, who were always the firmest friends of the worst demands of the papacy;—the insurrection of Wat Tyler, which compelled the government to attend to the protection of property and life rather than to the punish-

⁹ See the refutation of the charges and insinuations of Dr. Lingard, and of Milner, on this subject, in Le Bas, pp. 176—196. The account of Natalis Alexander, a Gallican, and therefore, a more impartial Roman Catholic historian than many, may be considered the best:—Acceptis Gregorii XI. literis, Episcopi Lambetham convenientes Wicleffum in jus vocaverunt, ut præ doctrinæ rationem redderet. Sed ipsis fucum fecit versipellis hæresiarcha, et objectos sibi articulos ita interpretatus

est, ut nihil ab ecclesiæ doctrina alienum sensisse, sed obscure, nove et imprudenter dumtaxat loquutus videretur. Præ se ferebat præterea humilem animum, et Ecclesiæ obedientem; contra ejus fidem, si quid sibi excedisset, id se revocare profitebatur. Quamobrem, et ob fautorum etiam suorum auctoritatem ac potentiam, impune dimissus est, indicto in posterum silentio.—Natalis Alexand. Hist. Eccles. sæcul. xiii. et xiv. p. 223.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

ment of heresy ;—the marriage of Richard II. with Anne of Luxembourg, or Bohemia¹ ;—the peculiar fitness of Bohemia to be the place of refuge for the old anti-papal Christianity, as it was maintained by the Waldenses, and was now reviving by the extension of the principles of Wycliffe ;—the renewal of the disputes with Rome in 1392, on the subject of papal provisions in the English churches ;—the increasing power of the House of Commons, which encouraged the exertions of Wycliffe, in opposing the secular authority and prodigious wealth of the clergy, together with the superior holiness and exemplariness of life which characterized the adherents of Wycliffism ;—all these things contributed so to extend and to protect the gradual revival and extension of a purer Christianity, that when the blow was at length struck by the fearful law which condemned the heretic to the stake ; the spiritual religion was enabled, for one hundred and fifty mournful years, to resist, and finally to conquer, the temporal as well as the spiritual supremacy of Rome. An ambitious, cruel, and ignorant, or if not ignorant, a wilfully blinded priesthood, tendered their homage and support to an usurping sovereign, Henry IV. ; who gave them in return the power to chastise with scorpions, the people who resisted their dictations. In this, as in other instances of usurpation, crime was punished by crime, and folly by folly. Richard II. was an avaricious, yet extravagant, voluptuous, oppressive, king. The people changed the dynasty with the hope of deliverance from the temporal tyrant ; and placed Henry IV. on the throne of England. The same people endeavoured, but in vain, to throw off the temporal yoke of the foreign pontiff, because they had not yet presumed to doubt his spiritual supremacy. A large

¹ The Bohemians had derived from the Greek Church the two orthodox peculiarities of performing the Liturgy in the vernacular tongue, and the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds ; which prepared them to readily embrace the sentiments of opposition to Rome introduced among them by the fugitive Waldenses, who escaped thither from the myrmidons of Innocent III., and his merciless emulators. Thus it was natural for a country predisposed by these customs, to unite with the Waldenses, and more

effectually to become separated from Rome by the preaching of Huss, to be marked out as the scene of the early struggle. "Accordingly, a century before Luther, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, having had their zeal excited by the writings of Wycliffe, the English patriarch of religious reform ; preached openly in Bohemia the necessity of a formal separation from the see of Rome."—Miller's Philosophy of Modern History, vol. iv. pp. 533, 534.

number of the same people revolted against their new sovereign, and the clergy embraced the opportunity of persuading the king that heresy and treason were identified; that the throne could only be preserved by reposing both on the mitre of the bishop and on the tiara of the pope. The sovereign believed the priest, and the writ *De hæretico comburendo* was enacted.

The result is known. The opinions which, in the south of France, were condemned by Rome, had been successfully eradicated by the fire and the sword of the crusaders, and by the fire and tribunal of the inquisitors. In England, the result, under the providence of God, for the happiness and advancement of mankind, was far different. The people of England had become imbued with the love of truth, and with the resolution to obtain the better Christianity of which they had been so long deprived: and the efforts of Rome to eradicate that love of truth by attempting to exchange the old statute law of England for the canon law, which provided for the extirpation of heresy by fire, terminated first in the overthrow of the *papal power of persecution*, and then in the overthrow of the *ecclesiastical power of persecution*, till the final rescinding of the law was effected by a prince of the Church of Rome itself. James II., when Duke of York, aimed at popularity by moving and carrying the repeal of a statute, which had so entirely failed to accomplish the object for which it was intended.

The details of the appearance of Wycliffe, when cited at St. Paul's, in consequence of the bulls of Gregory; the disturbances that ensued; the contest between the Duke of Lancaster, the Bishop of London, and the Londoners; the message from the queen; the explanation of his opinions by Wycliffe; and the subsequent injunction upon him *to be silent*, are all so well and so minutely detailed by his biographers, that I do but allude to them.

Gregory XI. died on March 27, 1378, in the fifty-fourth year of Wycliffe. After his death the schism of Avignon began. The interregnum of more than one year before any successor of Gregory was declared to be the true and lawful pope, gave some rest to the more spiritual portion—for *such the Wycliffites might now be called*—of the universal Church; and the opportunity was presented to Wycliffe of publishing,

with impunity, the tract on the schism, and on the truth of the Scripture. In this latter work the propriety of translating the whole Scriptures into English was discussed and affirmed. *The great and holy principle is there declared*—that whatever be the value of a priesthood, a Christian may obtain from the Bible sufficient knowledge of God, and of the destiny of his soul during his pilgrimage on earth; and as all truth, necessary to the salvation of the soul, is contained in the Scriptures, whatever conclusion is not deducible from them may be safely rejected. *The Church of England has made its foundations and battlements impregnable by incorporating this truth in its articles.* Rome never recovered the blow which Wycliffe inflicted upon it by proceeding in the next pontificate to act on this principle. The affirmation of this one principle is the strength of the episcopal Churches which are not, at present, in communion with Rome. *Its denial is the weakness of Rome.* It will ever be found to be the one solid foundation on which all discipline of Churches, all plans of usefulness, and all hope of union, must be proposed, and finally established.

CCII. *Urban VI., died 1389.*

On the death of Gregory XI., at Rome, the cardinals, to the number of sixteen, assembled as usual. The Roman citizens observing that the French cardinals outnumbered the Italian, and being anxious to secure to themselves the profits derived from the residence of the pope, which had been so long enjoyed by the people of Avignon, required them to elect a Roman. They demanded this before they entered the conclave. When the cardinals answered evasively, that they could not discuss the election of a pope out of the conclave, the citizens placed a guard at the gates and avenues of the city; expelled the nobility from whom opposition might have been expected; and armed a number of the country people. This was not done tumultuously, but under the sanction of the local magistrates, the Bannerets or Banderesians, who presided over the different wards or quarters of the city. When the cardinals entered the conclave, the Bannerets, the armed peasantry, and the populace, clamoured and menaced them. The cardinals protested against the violence. They declared that if the election were not free,

the bishop whom they elected, could not be legally regarded as pope. The tumult continued throughout the night of the seventh of April. The people threatened death, with loud voices, if a Roman, or at least an Italian, were not elected. On the representation that those clamours were disgraceful, two officers were deputed to declare to the conclave that if a Roman were not chosen, the lives of the cardinals would be in danger. The clamour continued. The cardinals informed them, from the window, that they should be satisfied on the morrow. On the eighth of April, after some fruitless attempts at delay, and amidst the continuance of the clamour, Bartholomæus Pregnano, Archbishop of Bari, was declared to be pope. The cardinals, immediately after his election, made their escape. The magistrates were obliged to compel them the next day, by force, to reassemble, to proclaim him in the usual form. This was done, and on the seventeenth of the same month, Easter-day, he was crowned at Rome as Urban VI.

Some writers of these transactions affirm that the cardinals never intended to acknowledge this forced choice. Others affirm, that the subsequent severity of Urban VI. against the pomp, pride, and luxury of the cardinals, was the cause of their endeavouring to rescind his election. *The decision of the question is a matter of little moment.* Thirty two volumes of MSS. in the Vatican contain the arguments and the reasoning of the partizans of Urban VI., and of his rival for the pontificate, who was elected at Fondi on the twenty-first of the following September. Neither are we now interested in the details of the contests between the rivals. The war between them was carried on with mutual excommunications. *The exclusion of souls from the blessings of redemption was made the weapon to punish a political opinion, or a wrong decision, in matters which confounded the best canonists in Europe.* They fought with the passions, the arms, the armour, and the soldiers of secular princes. They cursed each other as devils, while they professed to be the possessors of the right to rule as angels. The war began by the cardinals excommunicating Urban as an apostate usurper. The attempt of the Duke of Brunswick, husband of Joan, Queen of Naples, to mediate between them was baffled by the resentment of the cardinals, and the haughtiness of Urban. The proposals to assemble a general council were

defeated by the dispute between the pope, the cardinals, and the emperor, respecting the place for its convocation. War alone could decide the controversy which of two bishops should be the superior of the Church. The civilized world was divided. Italy, Germany, England, Portugal, and the north of Europe, generally took part with Urban: France, Spain, and Scotland, the ally for political defence of France, took part with Clement. *The Gregorian power died a natural death in the struggle.* The sceptre passed from the Bishop of Rome to the bishops of the Churches generally. The love of persecution remained with them all till a brighter day; but the time had gone when a Bishop of Rome could summon all Europe to the overthrow of an European state, as Pope Alexander, at the time of the Norman conquest; or to a crusade, as other predecessors of Urban. The progress of the barbarians of the East towards the West, and the final capture of Constantinople itself, may be said to have been among the results of the schism of Avignon.

The details of the contest on the continent—the fate of Joan of Naples—the cruelty of Urban to the cardinals who conspired against him—the firmness of Urban in excommunicating his opponents when his life was threatened—the plunder of the monasteries of their plate, ornaments, and jewels to support his wars—the establishment of the jubilee on the thirty-third year after its last commemoration, because this was the number of the years of Christ—the degradation of the bishops who supported the cause of Joan of Naples—the delight of Urban in the torture—the convulsed state of Europe—these, with the assassinations and retaliating cruelties on all sides, render this pontificate one of the most appalling portions of general history.

To understand this part of the history of the ecclesiastical power more perfectly, it will be necessary to take a brief view of the great schism.

Gregory XI. died in 1378. The cardinals, after having elected Urban VI. under the alleged influence of terror, chose another pope, Clement VII., who established his residence at Avignon, while Urban remained in Italy.

The schism continued either forty-one years or fifty-one years, according to the meaning we affix to the term “concluded.”

It was concluded at the end of forty-one years, if we consider the election of Martin V. by the Council of Constance, together with the deposition of the Pope of Avignon, Benedict XIII., and the resignation of the Pope of Rome, Gregory XII. to be the conclusion.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

It was terminated at the end of fifty-one years, if we consider the conclusion to have taken place at the death of Clement VIII., who was elected by the Avignon party in the year 1424, after the Council of Constance, on the death of Benedict XIII. Clement VIII. died in the year 1429, fifty-one years after the death of Gregory XI., and no successor was elected at Avignon.

But here I shall conclude this third book of our survey of ecclesiastical and civil history. In the fifth year of Urban VI., and of the great schism, 1384, *Wycliffe died*. His labours, together with the suicidal contests of pope against pope, terminated the absolute temporal autocracy of the Bishops of Rome. At the very outset of the conflict, Wycliffe wrote his treatise on the schism, in which he invited the sovereigns of Christendom to embrace the opportunity thus afforded them of shaking to pieces the whole fabric of the Romish dominion². "Trust we in the help of Christ," he exclaims, "for He hath already begun to help us graciously, in that He hath cloven the head of Anti-Christ, and made the two parts to fight against each other³." This language of Wycliffe may be called the common expression of the sentiments of Europe on the claims of the Church of Rome; and I conclude my view of the unlimited and uncontrolled despotism of that Church, at this place, because *from this period a new power was called forth, which must slowly and gradually influence all Christian nations; which still ferments and works among the bishops, priests, sovereigns, and people of Christendom; and which will eventually so entirely leaven the whole mass of mankind, that it will drive out the old leaven of the ecclesiastical absolutism of the priesthood.* I shall reserve for the next book the details of the struggles between the Church principles of Rome, and the Scriptural principles which assailed them; and conclude the present book with

² Le Bas' Life of Wycliffe, p. 200. See Vaughan, vol. ii. p. 4; Le Bas,

³ A copy of this tract is in Trin. p. 201.
Coll. Dublin, Class C, tab. 3, No. 12.

briefly noticing *the influence of Wycliffe, and some effects of the great schism, on the churches and states of Europe.*

Though the pretensions of the popes from the period of Nicholas to the present Bishop of Rome have never ceased, those pretensions have never been so fully regarded by the princes and kings of Europe since the great schism, as they were before it took place. The great schism had the same effect on the influence of the papacy, as the war between James the Second and William the Third produced on the monarchy of England. Though war maintained the monarchy, it destroyed despotism, and strengthened the influence of the people. The popular power, which had uniformly, in all ages of the English government, been opposed to the undefined pretensions of arbitrary princes, or of unreasonable laws; had hitherto wasted its strength in temporary oppositions, or in civil war. The revolution of 1688 gave the more solemn sanction of the public law to the power of the people. It defined their privileges more clearly. It limited the authority of the sovereign more effectually; and while it utterly overthrew and destroyed, we may hope for ever, the legality of the intolerable maxim which characterizes alike the presumption both of the legitimate or the usurping despot, and which was alike common to the Stuarts, to Louis XIV., and to Napoleon, the maxim that the individual sovereign is the state⁴; it so nearly defined the ever undefinable boundaries between the liberties of the people and the prerogatives of the prince, that we have seldom or never been in danger of the revival of the old doctrine of

“The right divine of kings to govern wrong.”

So it has been also with the great schism. The wars between the rival candidates for the papal chair compelled the more general conviction, that of whatever nature was the supremacy which our blessed Saviour might possibly have conferred on the pope and his successors, that supremacy could not be limited to the individual Bishop. The great schism strengthened ecclesiastical power, by destroying the despotism of the papacy. The opposition to Rome, which, before the age of Wycliffe, had manifested itself in irregular censures

⁴ L'Etat—c'est moi.

only; assumed the more definite form of a demand for ecclesiastical councils, to act with the Bishop of Rome, in framing laws, and regulating the affairs of the Church. That demand could not be resisted. The consequence was, that as the popular power became blended with the monarchical power at the Revolution; so the ecclesiastical power became blended with the papal power. As the individual king ceased despotically to govern England, the individual pope ceased despotically to govern the universal Church. As the united popular and monarchical power at the Revolution passed many questionable laws, and provoked much resistance on the part of the people from the reign of William the Third till the present day; so the ecclesiastical power of the universal Church, though it crushed the Gregorian policy and power by decreeing that the councils of the Church had an authority, which was so inherent in the universal Church, that it was indestructible by the pope; came to many conclusions which Scripture did not sanction. The Reformation itself was not so much the emancipation of the universal Church from the despotism of Rome; as it was the emancipation of the universal Church from the ecclesiastical despotism of which the papacy was the head. The Church universal, by resolving to be ruled by the decisions of councils, as well as by the laws of the popes, overthrew the Gregorian power; but Luther and the high-minded reformers of England and Germany overthrew the despotism of the conciliar power itself, by restoring to every individual Christian the privilege which God had granted to him, of arriving at religious conclusions from the study of their evidence; as soon as education, and the power to reason, had conferred upon the individual the ability to exercise that first, noblest, most invaluable of all privileges in this life, which an immortal soul can possess. The ultimate effect of the great schism, was to destroy Gregorianism, or papal despotism. The ultimate effect of the Reformation was to destroy ecclesiastical despotism. *Wycliffe accomplished the first; Luther the second.* The word "popery," as a general term, describes both systems which were thus overthrown. The great evil which was committed by the princes who demanded the calling of a general council, was their omitting to take the same precaution which was taken by the English when they effected their "glorious" revolution. The English made the

permanency of their House of Commons indispensable to the monarchical authority. The princes of Europe should have made the permanency of general councils, essential to the exercise of the papal or of the ecclesiastical authority in general. The members of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, saw and resolved upon this. They endeavoured, but in vain, by express enactments, to make their sittings periodical, so as to erect the general council into constituent, permanent, ecclesiastical senates; as a perpetual and integral portion of the universal Church. But they left the convoking of that council with the pope. They should either have committed this power to the kings of Christian states, or have resolutely, when they ceased their sittings for a time, fixed the seasons both for their next, and frequent subsequent meeting. The first of these measures would have been considered as too great an innovation upon the spiritual supremacy; the second would have been no less regarded as its too distrustful limitation. *If the time should ever arrive, as we hope it may, when the evils resulting from the controversies of Christians, may induce the Christian people and rulers who constitute the universal Church, to demand the meeting of other general councils, those councils must be summoned by the Christian princes, whose united authority shall do that, which was done by the sole authority of Constantine, before he summoned the council of Nice.* When this occurs, in spite of the bull of Pope Pius II., we may hope also that every national Church will be governed also by its permanent convocation, as well as by its ecclesiastical magistrates. It ought to be in every Church as in every state. The perpetual revision of laws founded upon unalterable principles, should maintain the union of the people while it permits, sanctions, and even encourages inquiry and discussion.

These reflections on the great schism will enable us to reconcile the extreme opinions of reformed and unreformed writers. Never, says one of the principal Romish historians, was the unity of the see of Rome better preserved than during this schism. "The grand schism," says Dean Waddington, on the other hand, "frittered away the power of the papacy." The unity of the see of Rome was for a time preserved, but its authority, though not its pretensions, ceased to be Gregorian. The power of the papacy was continued,

but its uncontrolled despotism was destroyed. *Many ages had contributed to its growth: many ages must contribute to its fall.* The Christian wishes only to destroy both papal and ecclesiastical tyranny. He neither wishes to destroy the Bishops of Rome, nor the Bishops of Christendom, nor the useful discipline ordained by Scripture, sanctioned by antiquity, and essential to the peace and order of every Christian Church.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

All the questions discussed among Christians refer only to two points,—faith and discipline. All their controversies may consequently be summed up in these alone. The controversies on faith may be summed up in the question whether the written revelation in the Old and New Testaments, or the written revelation and an unwritten revelation of truths handed down by tradition, are the sole or joint rule, guide, criterion, or deposit of the belief of a Christian. And the controversies on discipline may be summed up in the question whether one bishop whose principal see is Rome, is divinely appointed to rule the universal societies or masses of Christians; or whether each society is divinely permitted to be ruled by its own pastors. All questions respecting faith, resolve themselves into the sufficiency or non-sufficiency of the written Scriptures; all questions respecting discipline resolve themselves into the supremacy or non-supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. The terms Protestant and Papist are but the last words which have been adopted to describe the two classes of adherents to the affirmative or negative of these propositions. The sufficiency of Scripture, and the non-supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, were maintained in all ages by many persons, in every country, who may be justly, therefore, denominated Protestants. Wycliffe was only one of thousands in affirming these principles. In the south of France the power of Rome had succeeded in eradicating the advocates of these two truths. In England the war was beginning to rage more fiercely, and the power of Rome was exerted with the utmost severity from the age of Wycliffe to the accession of Elizabeth; when the victory, by God's great mercy, rested with the upholders of the exclusive authority of Scripture, and the authority of the national Church. But the great schism was the one event which gave his strength to Wycliffe, and laid the foundation of his success; the mutual

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

exasperation caused by this schism; the opposite curses; the dissolution of morals; and the distraction of heart which many pious and sorrowing multitudes suffered, who believed that union with the visible head of the Church, the representative of Christ, was essential to salvation; combined to compel the most holy devotees of Rome to doubt the certainty of the papal instructions. The chief remedy for the evils of the heart, the Church, and the world, is the blessing of the Head of the universal Church on the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. This was perceived by Wycliffe, as it is now confessed by the Church of England, and was acknowledged by the uncorrupted Fathers. He published, therefore, his treatise "On the truth and meaning of Scripture." He contends in this work for that principle which, when universally admitted, will make all things right, the supreme *authority and entire sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures*, and for the necessity of translating them into English. Faithfully and intrepidly he insists on that great truth on which Christ established His Church at the first,—the privilege, right, and duty of every individual Christian, to think, examine, and decide for himself, in all the questions which relate to the soul committed to his charge. He calls the Scriptures by one of their best and holiest epithets, "the truth and the faith of the Church." The accounts, too, which his last biographers give of his preaching and sermons, prove that in these as well as in his writings, Wycliffe may be considered as the anticipator of the Articles of the Church of England; the forerunner of the conclusions which the Fathers having previously taught, have been embodied in our existing Liturgy. He uniformly with the Fathers and the Reformers represents the Holy Scriptures as the supreme authority from which we are to seek the knowledge of our duty; and the grounds of our social and moral obligations. He sets forth the great truths of the Gospel; he insists on the frailty and depravity of man; he represents the atonement of Christ as the only foundation for the acceptance of the sinner; and urges the influence of the Holy Spirit, as the only fire which can baptize the hearts of men unto holiness and purity. To give effect to all he taught, he translated the whole Scriptures into English. He scattered the manna from heaven around the tents of

his fellow-Israelites in the wilderness ; and as the bread of life, the people received it. It was not, as many have supposed, the first time that some portions of the Bible were translated into English. The Anglo-Saxon translations, however, had been partially neglected or forgotten ; and the version of Wycliffe did its work. The same objections were urged against its publication, which are still urged against the free circulation of the sacred volume. High prices were paid for the whole work, and even for small portions of its holy contents ; and the consequences of his zeal and labours, and of the diffusion of his publications, are said to have been such an universal dissemination of anti-papal opinions, that of every two men who were seen on the road, one was a member of the Catholic Church, who believed in the conclusions of Wycliffe. He gave the Bible to the country, and it accomplished the end whereunto God had sent it. *The Scripture alone is certain truth ; the Scripture alone is the faith of the Church*, is the great and solid maxim upon which, as the unmoved rock, Wycliffe built up the spiritual Church, the citadel of Zion : and the learned restorers of true Christianity in England, have set their seal to his labours, by interweaving the Scriptures in the services of the Church. The Bible was the ark of Israel ; the palladium which the defenders of the city had betrayed to its enemies ; the holy of holies to the desecrated temple of the invisible Church ; the soul of the infirm body of the Church, whose whole head was sick with the disease of legends, traditions, saints, mediators, and unscriptural devices ; and whose whole heart was faint with the terror of a foreign bishop, and of a corrupt and cruel priesthood. The Bible was given to the country. The souls of the people did not then, as they do now, loathe the light food. It was to them the sword of the Spirit, the shield of faith, the whole armour of God ; and the sword, the shield, and the armour, were all kept bright in that constant warfare, which the army of the papacy compelled them to maintain ; till the day when God's providence alone brought forth judgment unto victory, and interwove the Bible with the prayers, in our own language as we have it, the strength and bulwark of the Church, till this very day.

The Life of Wycliffe has been written by Lewis, Vaughan, and Le Bas. The account, therefore, of his works, labours,

BOOK III.
 CHAP. XI.

controversies, partial retractations, but more general boldness in adhering to his conclusions, is too well known to be here repeated. He did not attack the doctrine of transubstantiation till the year 1381. Up to this time Wycliffe had enjoyed the friendship of the young king's uncle, John of Gaunt. A daughter of John of Gaunt was married to the possessor of Raby, the lordly Neville. Wycliffe, the birth-place of Wycliffe, is near to Raby. It is probable that the Reformer may there have met with the protector. However this may be, the friendship of John of Gaunt ceased, when the palladium of the Church of Rome was attacked by the Reformer. Wycliffe proposed his objections from the theological chair at Oxford. The chancellor, William de Burton, immediately summoned a convocation of doctors to condemn the positions of the Reformer: a solemn decree was pronounced against Wycliffe, which concluded with denouncing imprisonment, suspension, and excommunication on the hearers of his doctrines. The decree was immediately enforced: it was forwarded to the very school in which Wycliffe was at the moment addressing his pupils, and promulgated before them. The suddenness of the proceeding produced some confusion, but Wycliffe recovered his self-possession, defied his opponents to refute his opinions, and declared his resolution to appeal, not to the bishops, not to the pope, not to the university, but to the Church as it was represented by the Christian civil power. He appealed to the king. We cannot affirm that he was able to anticipate the theory which is rightly and wisely received in our own age,—that the Church is not composed of the clergy only, but of the people who believe; and that the clergy are their ministers, and must be protected therefore by the civil power. It is probable that he intended only to throw himself upon the protection of John of Gaunt, who had so often befriended him. The king was a minor. The administration of the government was committed principally to his uncle: and Wycliffe probably thought that he should be safe by appealing to a powerful friend. The experiment failed. The double boldness of denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, and appealing to the civil power for shelter from the consequences of an ecclesiastical offence, alienated his best earthly friend and patron. John of Gaunt no sooner

heard of his appeal, than he posted to Oxford for the express purpose of commanding Wycliffe to be silent, and to teach such doctrines on the sacrament no more from the professor's chair. The double authority of the protector and chancellor was obeyed partially. Wycliffe lectured no more on the subject, but he published that unanswerable treatise, the *Ostiolum*, or *Wicket*, in which he exposed the blasphemous presumption, the absurdities, and contradictions of the dogma, that the created can create the Creator. One hundred and sixty years elapsed,—so slowly does truth conquer once firmly established error,—before the teaching of Wycliffe so leavened the minds of the people, that the law which made transubstantiation the faith of the Church of England was rescinded.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

In the month of May, 1382, two years and a half before the death of Wycliffe, Urban having sent the pall from Rome to Courteney, who succeeded the murdered Sudbury, a convention was holden by the archbishop at the priory of the preaching friars in London. The self-possessed prelate, after assuring his terrified assessors that an earthquake which alarmed them, was a proof of the vengeance of God against heresy; urged the condemnation of twenty-four conclusions selected from the writings of Wycliffe. *Ten were condemned as heretical, fourteen as erroneous.* The articles declared to be heretical related chiefly to the sacrament and the mass; to the forfeiture of the priestly function and power by mortal sin; to confession; to the holding of possessions by the clergy; and to the derivation of the papal from the imperial power. Among the articles deemed to be erroneous, was the opinion that a prelate might not excommunicate those whom the law of God did not excommunicate, and that it was treasonable to excommunicate one who has appealed to the king. The primate issued his instructions to the Bishops of London and Lincoln to take the most active measures for the suppression of the condemned doctrines. The university of Oxford was required to be vigilant. Religious processions were commanded in London. The citizens were addressed from the cathedral pulpit in a most impassioned sermon on the dangers of the Church and the virulence of its enemies. The spiritual peers petitioned against the Lollards, and against the opinion that Urban was not a true pope, with many others, which are received in

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

the present day as undoubted truths and axioms. A royal ordinance was published empowering the sheriffs to arrest and imprison itinerant preachers, till they should justify themselves according to law. The Archbishop of Canterbury assumed the ominous title of *Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity*⁵; and though Wycliffe (possibly because John of Gaunt was still considered his friend) was not summoned, many of his admirers and partizans were required to appear before the Chancellor of Oxford, to answer for their proceedings. In conformity, however, with his declaration, when he was interrupted among his pupils at Oxford, Wycliffe proceeded to appeal to the king and the parliament. The mass of the laity seem to have been so generally imbued with the conviction that some great changes in religion, and in the hierarchy, were required, that the House of Commons followed up the appeal of Wycliffe by protesting, though in vain, against the royal ordinance; by which the civil authorities were converted into the instruments of the hierarchy.

Wycliffe, however, was now summoned to Oxford, to answer for his opinions on the eucharist. He was openly forsaken by the Duke of Lancaster. He resolutely, however, maintained his conclusions. He delivered two confessions of faith, one in Latin and one in English. He affirms in both, that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not true. These confessions were assailed by six antagonists, whose weapons did him no harm. The judges, however, pronounced no severer sentence against him than obtaining the royal

⁵ In the beginning of the first mandate of Archbishop Courteney, he merely styles himself "Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolic See." In the course of the same instrument, he adds to these titles that of "Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity," (*Inquisitor Hæreticæ Pravitatis*: Wilkins, iii. p. 163,) an ominous title. The expression occurs twice in the second column, and for the third time in p. 165, but the title is omitted in the two ensuing following proclamations against Hereford and Repyngdon.

There is some mystery about this assumption of the title "Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity" by the archbishop. I observe that the address to the archbishop by the twelve divines of Oxford, does not give it to him, though they repeat his other two titles (Wilkins,

iii. p. 171); neither is he so called in the bull of Pope Urban (Wilkins, iii. p. 173); neither is the title assumed in the mandates of the archbishop, commanding prayers to be offered for the success of the Bishop of Norwich (Wilkins, iii. p. 176, &c.).

In this year, 1382, power was given by royal proclamation, to the archbishop and bishops, to arrest and commit to their own prisons, all teachers of heresy, "clam vel palam, ubicunque inveniri possent, arrestandos, et prisionis suis propriis, seu aliorum," &c. &c.—Wilkins' *Concil. edit. 1737*, vol. iii. p. 156.

The king called himself "Defender of the Faith" in this proclamation, "hos zelo fidei Catholicæ ejus sumus, et esse volumus defensores."—*Id.* p. 156.

mandate that he should be banished from the University of Oxford. He retired to Lutterworth, or possibly to Bohemia, for a short time. He employed the short remainder of his life in continuing his efforts by writing. He replied to the citation of Urban to appear before him in Rome, in which, while he acknowledges the pope to be the highest vicar of Christ upon earth, he commends to his holiness the abdication of worldly pursuits, and assures him that he would have obeyed his summons if his health had permitted. His energy continued unabated in spite of his palsy till his death in 1384. A long series of publications continued to issue from his pen during the last two years of his life: fourteen or fifteen treatises are assigned to this period. Never was the voice of Wycliffe raised more loudly in the cause of scriptural truth, than at the approach of that hour when he was required to render up his account to God. He considered his life to be now in the utmost danger. He prepared for martyrdom. The confusion of the times, however, the mutual anathematization of the two pontiffs, the possibility that the power of the Duke of Lancaster would be exerted to protect his person, even though he disapproved of the extent of his opposition to the Church of Rome—the great attachment many persons had conceived to his venerable, useful, holy name—all united to protect the reformer from the vengeance of his enemies. He died in peace at Lutterworth in the public execution of his sacred office. He died as a soldier at his post. He was seized with paralysis, during the time of the celebration of the mass in his church, on the 29th of December, 1384, and lingering only two days, died in the sixty-first year of his age, on the last day of the year.

I have related the usual history in which all his English biographers write, that Wycliffe⁶ remained at Lutterworth, under the sentence of banishment from Oxford by the king, between the interval of the issuing of the king's letter and his death. It is possible, however, as I have said, that he left the kingdom during this interval, either for a longer

⁶ A curious discussion has arisen, whether the reformer, John Wycliffe, was the same John Wycliffe who was Warden of Canterbury Hall. See the Gentleman's Magazine, August, 1841, pp. 146—148. October, 1841, pp. 378, 379. December, 1841, pp. 591, 592. March, 1842, p. 122. April, 1842, pp. 387, 388.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

or a shorter period, and retired to Bohemia. It is said that he there conversed with John Huss, then a boy either of eleven or eight years of age, and became acquainted also with many of the Bohemian or Prague reformers⁷. The tradition is curious. I will submit the evidence to my readers.

The author of "the History of the Church of Great Britain⁸, from the birth of our Saviour until the year 1667," states upon the authority of John Amos Cominius⁹, that "the popish bishops and monks obtained of King Richard, that Wycliffe should be banished out of England. He therefore, repairing to Bohemia, brought a great light to the doctrine of the Waldenses, where *John Husse*, being but yet a young man, had divers conferences with him about divers divine matters. But at length he was recalled home again from exile; and the year before he died, he wrote a letter to *John Husse*, encouraging him to be strong in the grace that was given to him, to fight as a good soldier of Jesus Christ both by word and work, doctrine and conversation, &c. John Husse hereby took heart very daringly, in the university church at Prague, &c. That the same year *Jerome of Prague*, returning out of England and carrying Wycliffe's books with him, rooted up the [then] prevailing error with the like boldness in the schools, as *John Husse* did in the Church."

Mornay du Plessis¹ gives the same account from other authorities². "At non deorant ex alterâ parte potentes adversarii, episcopi, prelati, monachi, mendicantes præ ceteris, qui post Edwardi obitum apud Richardum II. obtinent, ut Anglia Wiclfus expellatur, unde in Bohemiam sese recipiens, magnam Waldensium doctrina lucem attulit, cum Johannes Hussus adhuc juvenis, de rebus sacris cum eo sermones miscuisset, &c."

Bale informs us, "Vivente Anglorum rege Edwardo tertio [Wiclfus] securus mansit inter ferocissimos Sodomæ tyrannos. Sed ipso mox defuncto (ut Annales tradunt) sub Richardo Secundo exilium ad aliquot annos est passus in

⁷ See the *Dissertatio Historica De Johannis Hussi Martyrio, Ortu, Educatione, Studiis, Doctrinâ, Vitâ, Morte, et Scriptis*, p. 9, 4to, Jena, 1698.

⁸ A book "Compiled from the most celebrated authorities of antiquity," p. 115, 4to, London, 1674.

⁹ *Hist. Selavon. Eccles.*

¹ *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, 4to. Editio tertia et ultima recognita. *Gouchemi*, 1662.

² Thom. Waldensis in *Epist. ad Martin. IV.* Thom. Walsingham in *Rich. II. Gulielm. Caxtonus in Chron. ann. 1371, 1372.*

Bohemiam. Impavidus tamen Christum semper docuit, BOOK III.
CHAP. XI. Evangelii decorem renovare conatus³." This date assigned to the tradition is different from that given by Du Plessis.

Spanheim, after allusion to the acknowledgment by Wycliffe of the doctrine of transubstantiation, as recited by Knyghton⁴, goes on to say, "Sed et a Richardo II. mox regie literæ impetratæ, quibus carceres, vincula, supplicia, in Wiclefitas toto regno decerneret, ut dictum modo est. A quo tempore latitaturus in exilio Wiclefus annos aliquot, et juxta nonnullos, in Bohemiam concessurus, uti *Matthæus Janovius*, alias Parisiensis, post Militzium, qui præibat Hussiticæ reformationi⁵." Spanheim then gives from Polydore Vergil the following extract: "Ad extremum hominum confidens, cum rationibus cogere ad bonam redire frugem, tantum abfuit ut pareret, ut etiam maluerit voluntarium petere exilium, quam mutare sententiam; qui ad Boëmos nonnulla hæresi ante inquinatos profectus, a rudi gente magno in honore habetur, quam pro accepto beneficio confirmavit⁶," &c. &c.

Wharton speaks of the retirement (not banishment) of Wycliffe. "Sunt etiam, qui Wiclefum in Bohemiam secessisse, inventaque ibi ampla simul ac fœcunda discipulorum messe, doctrinam suam longe lateque propagasse volunt⁷."

It is somewhat remarkable that Lewis, and the more modern writers who have written memoirs of this illustrious reformer, should have omitted all notice of Wycliffe's probable visit to Bohemia. "The mind of Wycliffe," says Turner, "was one with which the devout Bohemians could readily have sympathized; and it is certain that on the death of the queen, her attendants conveyed many of the writings of the English reformer home⁸, where they contributed to prepare the oppressed for the struggle which ensued under Jerome and Huss, the illustrious successors of Militz, Strickna, and Janow.

Baker in his *Chronicle, Life and Reign of Edward the*

³ *Illustrium Majoris Britannie* p. 36. *Scriptorum*, &c. 4to, 1548.

⁴ *De Eventibus Angliæ*, l. v. col. 2649, 2650.

⁵ Davide saltem Chytræo teste, *Orat. Rostoc. habita*, ann. 1569, de statu Eccles. in Græciâ, Asiâ, Bohemiâ,

⁶ *Historiæ Anglic. lib. xix.*

⁷ *Append. ad Histor. Literar. Guliel. Cave, Henr. Wharton, &c. Oxon.* 1743.

⁸ *Turner's History*, v. 198, ap. *Vaughan*, ii. 163.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

Third, speaks of Wycliffe's retirement as voluntary, though he calls it in the margin a banishment. "Wycliffe himself," he says, "when censured by the bishops to abjure his opinions, chose rather to leave his country than his doctrine; and going over to Bohemia, was there much honoured while he lived, and hath been more since he died; at least a great part of his doctrine continues in veneration amongst that people to this day."

To this I shall only add, that an embassy, consisting of Thomas, Earl of Kent, Mareschal of England, brother of the queen-mother; Hugo Segrave, Lord High Steward; and Simon de Burley, Lord Chamberlain⁹, was sent to negotiate a matrimonial alliance between the king and Anne of Luxemburg, sister to the Emperor Wincellaus. These courtiers were all the especial friends of Wycliffe, and converts to his doctrine. The embassy left England in Jan. 1381. Their letters of *safe conduct* bear date Jan. 12, 1381, and the ratification of the treaty, Sept. 1st of the same year¹. Now the ambassadors on this important errand having been selected, as may be conjectured, by the voices of the queen-mother, John of Gaunt, Thomas of Gloucester, &c., and the circumstance of these being persons who had publicly stood forward as the avowed friends of our learned reformer, is it not highly probable that he would either accompany, precede, or follow them to Prague? These considerations add much weight to the probability that Wycliffe passed some months among the Bohemian reformers of Prague, either between the arrival and departure of the embassy in 1381, or after his condemnation at Oxford.

The result of the labours of Wycliffe will never pass away from the churches of Christ. Though John Wycliffe, like John Calvin, made the great and fatal mistake of so *identifying the errors of the Church with the existence of the Church*, as to imagine the Gospel of Christ could be permanently taught, maintained, and upheld, without the institutions of the Church; though John Wycliffe (like John Calvin in an after-age) seems to have believed, that episcopal discipline and government might be advantageously discarded; yet the common epithet with which he has been honoured

⁹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. vii.

¹ *Id.* vol. vii. pp. 281. 331.

must be considered as justly given him—"the morning star of the reformation." He was the morning star which shone at the termination of that mournful period which has been called "*the dark ages.*" *They were justly so called*, not because there was no light, no learning, no reading of the Scriptures, but because the light was not general, the learning was confined to the few, the reading of the Scriptures was not universal. We call the night dark, not because there is no light. The moon may shine, the stars may glitter, comets may shed their brilliance through the heaven, and the transient meteor may help to prevent the total darkness; but we call the night dark, as the contrast with the day which is light; and because though all these lesser lights may illumine the earth, the sun does not pour forth the brightness of his light upon the people. So it was in the dark ages. The moon of the Church shone upon the nations. The stars of learning and genius illumined them. The comet of some more brilliant and dazzling scholar or student, excited their wonder and surprise. The meteor of the hour bewildered or dazzled them—but the sun was not in the heavens, the light of the Scriptures of truth did not shine upon the people, and it was night and not day to the nations. *Wycliffe* was the morning star which predicted the ending of the night, and the dawn of a bright and glorious day. *Wycliffe* struck the rock in the desert, and the living waters sprung forth, which still flow, and ever shall flow on; till the river of life shall make glad the city of our God, and every living thing shall be healed², where those waters flow. *Wycliffe* rolled away the stone, and the sheep of Israel drank of the well. *Wycliffe* was the voice in the wilderness, preparing the way of the Lord, and renewing the fulfilment of the promise, that every mountain and hill on which the idolatry of the corruption of true religion is practised, shall be finally brought low. *Wycliffe* planted the acorn of the oak, which is still, still deepening its roots and extending its branches, and growing up, men know not how, till the fowls of the air lodge in the branches of it. *Wycliffe* brought the solid gold of the Scriptures from the cell of the monastery; and the Church did but coin that gold for use, when

² Ezek. xlvii. 9.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

it distributed its precious portions through our daily, and yearly services. *Wycliffe* rose up among the people, as the cloud, like the man's hand, in the famine and drought in Israel, rose from the sea; and presently there was the sound of the abundance of rain. So God poured forth upon His chosen land and people, the British Israel, the showers of the holy rain which refreshed and restored the Churches. *Wycliffe* commenced that era which may be called the scriptural period of the Church, which I hope to consider in the next book of this work. I purpose there to describe the *origin* and *progress*, the *success* and the *errors*, and the consequent downfall of the influence of that power, among the Christians, who professed to appeal to the holy Scriptures alone as the foundation of their faith, while they proceeded to the extreme of rejecting or disregarding the institutions and sacred unity of the Catholic Church, because of the errors, the intolerable errors of the papacy. Great, wise, good, holy, eminent, and useful as may have been the reformers, the followers and admirers of *Wycliffe*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, and others, they were guilty of indefensible opinions, actions, and conduct; which have rendered the *unqualified recommendation of their teaching and example an impossibility*. As the members of the Church of Rome, however, deem any accusation of error in that most heretical Church to be a great and unpardonable crime; so also do the followers and admirers of the great scriptural reformers, deem every accusation of delinquency or error to be no less a great and unpardonable offence. Both are wrong. The wounds of Christ are in all ages inflicted upon Him by His friends, as well as by His enemies. History can only be impartially read or written, and its true and useful lessons can only be taught or learned, by contemplating the crimes and the follies, as well as the virtues and excellences of the learned, the wise, and the good, among individuals; or, the errors, the spirit of persecution, and the useless, unwise, and offensive enactments of the Churches and societies, which constitute the Catholic Church of Christ. As *St. Paul* concluded both Jew and Gentile to be equally under sin³, and therefore generally, by God's mercy, invited to become members of one united

³ Romans iii. 5.

holy Church; so also would I presume to show both to the Romanist and to the opinionist; to the friends of Wycliffe, and to the enemies of Wycliffe; to the friends of Rome, and to the enemies of Rome; that the experience of past history, as well as the various indefensible errors they still both mutually maintain and defend, render them alike sinners before God; and they are both and all invited to acknowledge their various errors; and with the consciousness of many common alienations from the spirit of their holy faith, to desire once more the union of Christians in one holy Catholic Church.

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

We have contemplated the rise, progress, and virtuous influence of the Church of Rome; with the abuse of that influence in the Gregorian and Hildebrandian policy. We shall go on to contemplate the rise, progress, and virtuous influence of the antagonistical power, with the abuse of that influence. Both still co-exist as enemies whose rivalry is fully developed, with principles irreconcilable, with hostility that threatens universal war. The final object of the present work will be to submit both to the friends and enemies of Rome, not only the experience of the past, but the lessons to be derived from that experience; and the mode by which the common confession of the truth of those lessons may lead to their greater union. If Christ, as many, from various universal and possibly unanswerable arguments believe, should be again manifested to His Churches before He come in His glory to judge the living and the dead; all sects, all Churches, all parties, all individuals at the appearance of the visible Head of the Catholic Church would hasten to confess their various errors, and seek and long for union. I believe that the results of such confession, and the plan, therefore, of such union, may be discovered, developed, and submitted to the universal Church. I hope to effect this great object: but before I do so, *I purpose to speak as freely of the errors of the enemies of Rome, as I have spoken of the errors of the friends of Rome.* I trust that the view I shall submit to the reader, if I live, of the great schism, the Councils of Constance, of Basle, of Lateran, and Trent; of the divisions in England, and on the continent; of the fearfully convulsive struggles to recover its Gregorian power, by the Church of Rome; and the

BOOK III.
CHAP. XI.

mournful injury which our common Christianity has received from the errors of those who justly, manfully, and most righteously opposed that power—will be considered as justifying my hope and trust and prayer, that the members of the Catholic Church may at length learn, from the experience of the past; to desire, and seek, and *resolve to establish among themselves that union, for which their common Saviour prayed*, when He went forth to become the great and tremendous sacrifice for them all. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. The early Bishops of Rome were martyrs; the primitive Christians of Lyons, Smyrna, and other Churches were martyrs; the persecuted Waldenses were martyrs; Huss and Jerome were martyrs; Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Newman, and the Rector of Babraham, who pressed our Prayer-book to his heart in the flames, and rightly thanked God for giving that book to the nation, were martyrs. Modern Rome has produced its martyrs. The Presbyterian Scotland, and the Puritan and Dissenting England, have added their partizans to the list of martyrs. These all died in faith, and all sealed their testimony to the common truths of Scripture with their blood. Shall it be said that their hateful hating of each other, or the hateful hating in their imperfect appreciation of the whole truth of God which they may have all severally had, for some true doctrine, or opinion, still continues in the invisible world? Or are we to imagine for one moment that in their present praises, as glorified spirits before the throne of God, they deem themselves respectively to have been, not the martyrs, as Stephen was, for the common religion of our common Saviour; but martyrs only for the Churches of Rome, of Lyons, or of Smyrna, or the Valleys; for the Church of Bohemia, or for the Church of England; for the cause of Presbyterianism, or for the cause of Puritanism and Dissent? Is it not certain that they would all claim the honour of dying for Christ and His Church? If Christ were to return to earth, surrounded with His martyred saints, and they could behold once more the divisions of Christians, *would the disembodied spirits of the martyred saints teach the spirits of their still divided brethren to persevere in their mutual hatreds*, and to inflict still their mutual martyrdoms on each other? Would this be the communion of saints? Would they not

all prove their remembrance of the forgiveness of their own sins, by joining in the prayer of Christ,—that they and their brethren might be one? Would they not unite to say to all Churches and to all Christians, *You have all many errors*, as well as many sins to repent of, and to resign? Would they not bid them all to seek for Christian union on the basis of this common confession; and would not the Churches and the members of the Catholic Church try to discover the means of greater union? I believe that the time will come when this mutual confession of error, this common desire of union, and the consequent resolution to obtain such union, will eventually prevail. I believe that the time will come when God's providence shall so overrule the experience of the past history, and the events of the present and future history, of the universal Church; that the prayer of Christ for the union of His people will be answered. I believe, though we cannot at present perceive any certain tokens of such accomplishment of Christ's dying prayer,—that the day will come when God's providence will so order the course of events, and *God's Holy Spirit will so be poured forth upon the believers in Christ's religion, that the Church of Rome shall surrender its greater heresies and errors; the Church of England shall surrender its still remaining imperfections; and all sects and parties shall surrender their various clashing, contending, untrue conclusions, at the altar of God, at the footstool of Christ.* The world knows not how this can be, nor when this can be. It derides, therefore, the expectation of such union as folly, and the holder of such expectation as a fool. But I am sure that *Christ's dying prayer cannot have been offered in vain; and that the prophecies which declare that the heathen shall be His inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth His possession, must be interpreted as revealing a state of things which has not yet existed, and which therefore must exist in future.* Having such conviction, I walk by faith and not by sight. I endure, and persevere, as seeing Him who is invisible.

INDEX.

A.

ABELARD asserts the privilege of reasoning; he is condemned by the council of Sens and the pope, ii. 369.

——— tenets of, ii. 451.

Acephali, their origin from the Monophysites, i. 436.

———, tenets of the, ii. 448.

Acts of the council of Ephesus, i. 373—377.

——— of the council of Chalcedon, i. 427.

Adamites, tenets of the, ii. 444.

Adeodatus, pope, ii. 25.

Ælfric, extract from, on the bread and wine in the Sacrament, ii. 190.

Ælrians, tenets of the, ii. 446.

Ætians, tenets of the, ii. 446.

Agapetus, pope, i. 509.

Agapetus II., pope, ii. 160.

Agatho, pope, ii. 25.

———, interferes in behalf of Wilfrid, bishop of Northumberland, ii. 26.

———, holds papal elections without the imperial consent, ii. 27.

———, procures the summoning of the third council of Constantinople, ii. 27.

Agnostes, tenets of the, ii. 449.

Alaric establishes the body of laws called *Breviarium Aniani*, i. 380.

Albigenses, tenets of the, ii. 450.

———, crusade against the, ii. 494.
———, treachery, cruelty, and piety of the crusaders against the, ii. 495.

———, different names by which they were known, ii. 535.

———, ridicule first, and then revenge, the treatment they received from the papal power, ii. 536.

Albigenses, various testimonies to their purity of doctrine and manners, ii. 537.

———, Gibbon's theory of their origin indefensible, ii. 539.

Aleuin, the author of the Caroline books, ii. 68, n.

Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, some remarks of his gave rise to the heresy of Arius, i. 257.

Alexander, pope, i. 458.

Alexander II., pope, ii. 203.

———, summons the emperor to Rome, ii. 204.

———, his reasons for blessing William the Conqueror, ii. 206.

———, cites Henry, of Germany, to appear before him, ii. 209.

———, the first who conferred the mitre on abbots, ii. 210.

Alexander III., pope, ii. 405.

———, holds the council of Tours, ii. 418.

———, summons the third Lateran council, ii. 432.

Alexander IV., pope, ii. 580.

———, perseveres in the policy of his predecessors, ii. 581.

———, absolves Henry III. from his oath to the barons, ii. 583.

———, his death and character, ii. 584.

Alexandria, first and second councils of, against Arius, i. 258.

Alford, the Jesuit, his learned work on the early faith of England, ii. 288.

Allegiance, divided, the curse of the papist, ii. 321.

Almaric, or Amalric, condemned by the fourth Lateran council, ii. 520, n. 522, n.

- Alogians, tenets of the, ii. 445.
- Amachius, governor of Phrygia, his severity against the Christians, i. 415.
- Ambition, the ante-Nicene church corrupted by, i. 314.
- Ambrose compels Theodosius the Great to perform public penance, i. 355.
- America, United States of, toleration, without establishment, in, i. 113.
- Anacletus, pope, i. 458.
- Anacletus II., elected pope by certain cardinals, but declared schismatical, ii. 375.
- Anastasius, his account of the addition made by Charlemagne to the papal territories controverted, ii. 61, n.
- Anastasius, pope, i. 471.
- Anastasius II., pope, i. 492.
- Anastasius III., pope, ii. 155.
- Anastasius IV., pope, frequency of appeals to Rome in his time, ii. 396.
- Anastasius, bishop of Aquileia, unsuccessfully contests the pontificate with Benedict III., ii. 86.
- Anastasius, bishop of Naples, his cruelty to his brother sanctioned by the pope, ii. 141.
- , excommunicated by John VIII., ii. 143.
- “Ancient Christianity,” extract from that work on Romish perversions of Scripture, ii. 505, n.
- Angelics, tenets of the, ii. 444.
- Angels, nature of man higher than that of, i. 262.
- Anicetus, pope, his discussion with Polycarp respecting the time of celebrating Easter, i. 459.
- Animals require only instinct for their happiness, i. 18.
- Anselm, abbot of Bec, his piety and sincerity, ii. 320.
- , accepts the archbishopric of Canterbury, ii. 322.
- , his contest with the king regarding his going to Rome to receive the pall, ii. 323.
- , a decided Gregorian, or papist, ii. 324.
- , his conduct condemned by a national council, ii. 326.
- , mode of his reception of the pall through the hands of the king, ii. 327.
- , again insists on going to Rome, and does so, in defiance of the king, ii. 328, 329.
- , restored to his see by King Henry I., ii. 334.
- , his conduct the precedent for Becket, ii. 336.
- Anselm, continuance of the controversy between him and the king, ii. 339.
- , his death, ii. 340.
- Ante-Nicene councils, their origin and influence, i. 310.
- Anterus, pope, i. 460.
- Anthropomorphites, tenets of the, ii. 445.
- Antidicomarites, tenets of the, ii. 447.
- Antiquity to be venerated, but not idolized, ii. 665.
- Antoninus Pius, persecution under, i. 129. Why he persecuted, 136.
- Apollinaris, heresy of, i. 350.
- Apollinarists, tenets of the, ii. 447.
- Apostles, the only source of authority to preach, during their lives, i. 70.
- Apostles’ creed, formation of the, i. 159.
- Apostolical canons, their probable date and origin, i. 323. Translation of them, 325.
- constitutions, on their value, i. 172.
- succession, impossibility of certainly tracing it in the church of Rome, ii. 153.
- more certain in England than in Rome, ii. 550.
- of truth, ii. 540.
- Apostolics, tenets of the, ii. 444.
- Appealing to Rome, constitutes it the principal tribunal for all Christendom, ii. 222.
- Appellite, tenets of the, ii. 443.
- Aquarii, tenets of the, ii. 444.
- Aquileia, synod of, i. 173.
- , patriarch of, his solemn acknowledgment to Gregory VII. of the pope’s supremacy, ii. 489, n.
- Aquinas, plan of his *Summa Theologia*, ii. 365, n.
- Arabicians, tenets of the, ii. 448.
- Archbishops of Canterbury, tabular view of, from Augustine to Becket, ii. 289—292.
- Archdeaconries, England divided into, by William the Norman and Lanfranc, ii. 315, n.
- Archontiaci, tenets of the, ii. 444.
- Arian princes, their divisions strengthen the power of Rome, i. 441.
- controversy, its origin, i. 257, and n. Its progress, 258.
- Arians, procure the banishment of Athanasius, i. 348.
- and Christians, mutual hatreds of, i. 436.
- , tenets of the, ii. 446.
- Aristotle-mania of Scholasticism, ii. 366.

- Arius, his history before the council of Nice, i. 256.
 —, present at the council of Nice, i. 266. Different accounts of his personal appearance, 266, n.
 —, controversy between him and Athanasius, i. 302.
 —, reflections on his death, i. 304.
 Arles, council of, i. 244.
 Armenians, sect of, sprung from the Monophysites, i. 438.
 Arnold of Brescia opposes Rome, ii. 376.
 — is burnt by pope Hadrian IV., ii. 377.
 —, his attempts at reformation premature, ii. 387.
 —, tenets of, ii. 451.
 Arnulf, made archbishop of Rheims, but deposed for high treason, ii. 168.
 Arnulph, bishop of Liseaux, speech of, at the council of Tours, ii. 419.
 "Articuli Cleri," origin of that statute, ii. 633, n.
 Artotyrites, tenets of the, ii. 444.
 Ascetic devotion, much, may be united to little wisdom, ii. 604.
 Athanasius, controversy between him and Arius, i. 302.
 —, banished by Constantine, i. 303.
 —, his death, i. 305.
 Augustine opposes Pelagius, i. 367.
 Augustine the monk, his mission a misfortune to England, ii. 8.
 —, Christianity in England before him, ii. 281.
 —, the pall granted to him by pope Gregory, ii. 287.
 —, state of Christianity in England on his arrival, ii. 288.
 Austerities, religious, practised in the eleventh century, ii. 179.
 Authority and power, difference between, i. 85.
 —, church, nature of, i. 86.
 —, necessary to the existence of peace amongst Christians, i. 182.
 —, collision between it and the use of reason, ii. 368.
 —, though rightly opposed, strengthened by rashness, ii. 517.
 Avignon, important effects of the removal of the papal see to that place by Clement V., ii. 631.
- B.
- Balguy, Dr., his opinions on the indifferency of church government controverted, i. 77, n.
 Balma, bishop of Geneva, case of, i. 103.
 Banishment of a bishop, whether it implies deposition, ii. 302.
 Baptism, faith of the early church concerning, i. 160.
 Baptismal regeneration considered, i. 161.
 Baronius, his error as to the name of the ecclesiastic Mark, i. 243.
 —, his strong language on the state of the church in the tenth century, ii. 155.
 —, abstract from, of the chief acts of pope Gregory VII., ii. 229—256.
 —, on the corruptions in the church in the tenth century, ii. 357.
 —, extract from, on the remorse of Henry II. at the assassination of Becket, ii. 471, n.
 —, notice of his ecclesiastical annals, ii. 478.
 —, state of the Christian world when he wrote, ii. 479.
 —, estimate of the value of his work, ii. 480.
 —, beautiful prayer with which he concludes his annals, ii. 481.
 Basilidians, tenets of the, ii. 443.
 Becket, origin of the influence of, ii. 403.
 —, predisposed by his previous studies to advance the pretensions of the papacy, ii. 404.
 —, the era of his archbishopric the most important in the English annals, ii. 408.
 —, probable causes of his promotion, ii. 409.
 —, history of his quarrel with the king, ii. 411.
 —, his conduct and sincerity, ii. 422.
 —, the supporter of the council of Tours, ii. 470.
 Beguards and Beguins, condemned by the council of Vienne, ii. 624.
 Belief, happiness of implicit, i. 36.
 —, superiority of that which is founded on evidence, i. 36.
 Bellarmine, his fifteen notes of the church, i. 110.
 Bells, origin of christening, ii. 165.
 Benedict Bonosus, pope, ii. 4.
 Benedict II., pope, procures a decree declaring the ordination of popes independent of the emperor, ii. 40.
 Benedict III., pope, triumphs over the emperor's candidate Anastasius, ii. 85.
 Benedict IV., pope, ii. 152.

- Benedict the Protoscrinarius elected pope by a faction, but deposed and banished by the emperor Otho, ii. 164.
- Benedict VI., pope, ii. 166.
- Benedict VII., pope, ii. 166.
- Benedict VIII., pope, ii. 172.
- , heads an army against the Saracens, ii. 173.
- Benedict IX., pope, ii. 176.
- , his dissolute character, on account of which he is repeatedly driven from his see, which he resigns at length to Gratian, ii. 177.
- Benedict X., pope, deposed at the end of ten months, ii. 198.
- Benedict XI., pope, annuls the proceedings of his predecessor, Boniface VIII., ii. 619.
- Benedict XII., pope, ii. 643.
- , refutes the doctrine of his predecessor John XXII., ii. 644.
- , the papal power diminishes under him, ii. 644.
- Benedict Levita, the probable author of the false decretals, ii. 103.
- Benedictine monasteries, when originally founded, ii. 35.
- Benefices, all, declared to be at the pope's disposal, ii. 586.
- Berengarius, proceedings against him under pope Nicholas II., ii. 199.
- Berengarians, tenets of the, ii. 450.
- Berenger opposes the doctrine of transubstantiation, ii. 267.
- Bernard, St., anecdote of, ii. 375.
- , his influence and austerity, ii. 389.
- , exalts and increases the influence of Rome, ii. 390.
- , his character and conduct, ii. 391.
- , his zeal against heretics, ii. 392.
- , improperly called the last of the fathers, ii. 393.
- , reflections suggested by his character, on the oneness of all saints in Christ Jesus, ii. 394.
- Beveridge, his opinion of the apostolical canons, i. 336.
- Bible, the record of revelation, i. 24.
- , superiority of the, to tradition, i. 24.
- , complete, yet exhaustless, i. 25.
- , authority of the, superior to that of the uninspired teacher, i. 28.
- , the only infallible guide both to priests and people, i. 34.
- , commentary on, referred to, i. 13.
- , treatment of the, by Romish partisans, i. 155, n.
- Bishop, James the first, at Jerusalem, i. 73.
- and Bishopric, meaning of those words, ascertained from history, i. 189.
- Bishops, law of Constantine concerning, i. 252, n.
- , early, many of them characterized by ambition, i. 316.
- of Italy strengthen the see of Rome, i. 467.
- , order by Leo I. for their attendance yearly at Rome, i. 485.
- , their great power in the time of pope Nicholas I., with instances of its exercise, ii. 88.
- , further instances of the great power exercised by them before that period, ii. 90.
- , origin and progress of their temporal power, ii. 95.
- , their power counterbalanced the papal influence, ii. 96, n.
- , their decrees influential in the church previous to the existence of canon law, ii. 96.
- , their power in the tenth century as great as that of kings, ii. 160.
- , whether they could accept their office from laymen, ii. 187.
- , in the time of Bernard, had the power of imprisoning heretics, ii. 392.
- , not to be regarded as such without previous confirmation by the pope, ii. 486.
- Blondel, his elaborate work on the false decretals, ii. 100.
- Bogomili, or Bogarmite, tenets of the, ii. 451.
- Bohemia, condition of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 221.
- Bohemians, early opponents of the papal power, and why, ii. 672, n.
- Boniface I., pope, maintains the power of the papal see, i. 479.
- Boniface II., pope, excommunicates the dead, i. 495.
- Boniface III., pope, assumes the title of universal bishop, ii. 13.
- Boniface IV., pope, furthers the progress of idolatry in the Christian church, ii. 14.
- Boniface V., pope, ii. 16.
- establishes the right of asylum in churches, ii. 17.
- Boniface VI., pope, ii. 149.
- Boniface VII., pope, ii. 167.
- Boniface VIII., pope, his zealous adherence to the Gregorian policy, ii. 605.
- , his pompous procession to the Lateran to be enthroned, ii. 606.

- Boniface VIII., his contest with the king of France, ii. 606.
 ———, excommunicates the Colonnas without any charge of heresy, ii. 607.
 ———, his bull exempting the clergy from paying taxes without his permission, ii. 608, n.
 ———, mediates between France and England as a private individual, ii. 610.
 ———, claims the crown of Scotland, ii. 611.
 ———, commands the French clergy not to pay taxes, ii. 611.
 ———, threatens to excommunicate the king of France, ii. 614.
 ———, his letter, refusing to yield any of the papal claims, ii. 615, n.
 ———, invests the bishop of Worcester with the temporalities of his see, ii. 616.
 ———, charges against him by Philip, king of France, ii. 617, n.
 ———, his disgrace and death, ii. 618.
 ———, his blasphemous assumptions, ii. 619.
 Bonosians, tenets of the, ii. 447.
 Breaking bread, on the meaning of that phrase, i. 70, n.
 Brevarium Aniani, that body of laws established by Alaric, i. 380.
 Britain, state of Christianity in, when Augustine arrived there, ii. 9, and n.
 British bishops present at the council of Arles, i. 244.
 ———, ancient, did not receive the pall, ii. 282.
 ——— Christians, their aversion to any intercourse with Rome in the time of Augustine, ii. 9, n.
 Browne, J. H., his proofs of man's immortality, i. 18, n.
 Bruys, Peter de. See Peter de Bruys.
 Bulgaria, the dispute on, completes the Greek schism, ii. 143.
 Bull of Pope Lucius III. the foundation of the inquisition, ii. 462.
 ———, consequences of that bull, ii. 463.
 Bulls, papal, abound with misapplied texts, ii. 579.
 Burning of heretics by the church, first recorded instance of, at Orleans, ii. 175, n.
- C.
- Cæcilianus, accused of cruelty by the Donatists, i. 234.
 Cæcilianus, the validity of his ordination as bishop of Carthage disputed, i. 236.
 Decisions in his favour, 243—245.
 Cainites, tenets of the, ii. 444.
 Caius, pope, i. 463.
 Calixtus II., pope, ii. 349.
 ———, renews the excommunication against the emperor Henry V., ii. 350.
 ———, conquers and degrades Bourdin, the antipope, ii. 351.
 ———, settles the question of investitures, ii. 352.
 ———, holds the first Lateran council, ii. 352.
 Callistus I., pope, i. 460.
 Calvin, did not object to episcopacy, i. 104.
 ———, his opinion of the English liturgy, i. 104, n.
 ———, the great mistake made by him, ii. 690.
 ———, did not deserve unmixed approbation, ii. 692.
 Canon, sixth, of the Nicene council, remarks on, i. 275, n.
 Canon law, attempt to give it the force of the statute law in England, ii. 360.
 ———, Roman, the fetter of the church, ii. 374.
 ———, its severe language against heretics, ii. 454—460.
 ———, manner of quoting it explained, ii. 456, n.
 ———, Roman, its nature and object, ii. 460, n.
 Canonization of saints, first instance of, ii. 168.
 Canons, influence of, when made laws of the empire, i. 256.
 ———, Nicene, i. 271—285. Their influence upon all churches, 286.
 ———, apostolical, a collection of the customs of the early church, i. 312.
 ———, probable origin and date of, i. 323. Translation of them, i. 325.
 ———, opinions of various learned men on their origin and authority, i. 336.
 ———, abstract of Krabbe's dissertation on the, i. 335—346.
 ———, quotations from, by the early fathers, i. 339—341.
 ———, why so called, i. 341.
 ———, classified abstract of them, with their probable dates, i. 342.
 ——— of Sardica, probably spurious, i. 355.
 ——— of the first council of Constantinople, i. 357.

- Canons enacted by the council of Chalcedon, i. 430.
- of St. Paul's church appeal to pope Innocent II. respecting the election of the bishop of London, ii. 380.
- Canterbury, archbishops of, the only acknowledged legates, ii. 335. 346.
- and York, revival of the dispute between those sees, ii. 350.
- , papal usurpation over the see of, ii. 388.
- , archbishops of, appointed by the pope, ii. 597.
- Cauute visits Rome, and obtains privileges from the pope, ii. 174.
- Capet, Hugh, his accession to the French throne, ii. 168.
- Capua given by the pope to Sicily, ii. 382.
- Cardinals, college of, the election of popes transferred to, by a decree of pope Nicholas II., ii. 200.
- Carpocratians, tenets of the, ii. 443.
- Carthage, council of, i. 233.
- Cataphrygians, tenets of the, ii. 445.
- Catari, on the name, given to the Albigenses by their enemies, ii. 536.
- Cathari, tenets of the, ii. 445. 451.
- Catharine of Sienna, miracles and wonders of, ii. 656.
- , influences Gregory XI. to return to Rome, ii. 658.
- Catholic, first use of the word, i. 184.
- church, theory of its formation, i. 190.
- faith, meaning of the, i. 386.
- Celestine, pope, 480.
- Celestine II., pope, ii. 384.
- Celestine III., pope, ii. 475.
- , exerts his spiritual power in favour of Richard I. against the duke of Austria, ii. 476.
- Celestine IV., pope, ii. 559.
- Celestine V., pope, enacts a decree that a pope may resign, of which he avails himself, ii. 604.
- his imprisonment and death, ii. 605.
- Celibacy of the clergy, commanded by Siricius, bishop of Rome, i. 469.
- , established by pope Gregory VII., ii. 260.
- , enforced in England by a national council, ii. 338.
- , its enforcement a monstrous crime, ii. 341.
- Cerdonians, tenets of the, ii. 444.
- Cerinthians, tenets of the, ii. 443.
- Chalcedon, council of, against Eutyches, i. 425.
- , synopsis of that council, i. 426.
- Chalcedon, acts of the council of, i. 427.
- , canons enacted by the council, i. 430.
- Characters of great or successful men, how formed, ii. 215, n.
- Charlemagne, singular occurrence on his march to Italy, ii. 61.
- , adds to the papal territories, ii. 71.
- , crowned at Rome by pope Leo III., ii. 75.
- Charles of Moravia elected emperor in opposition to Louis, ii. 645.
- Charles IV., emperor, remonstrated with by Petrarch for his submission to the pope, ii. 649.
- Chevallier, Mr., on tradition as used in the Church of England, i. 29, n.
- Childeric the Third, king of France, the first king deposed by means of the papal power, ii. 36.
- Christ, his foreknowledge of the errors of the church, i. 92.
- , his religion essentially aggressive, i. 123.
- , divinity of, the principal article in the early creeds, i. 156.
- Christ's divinity affirmed by revelation, i. 261. The glory of Christianity, 289.
- Christopher, pope, ii. 153.
- Christian Priesthood, i. 32.
- , high dignity of, i. 32.
- , error taught by a majority of the, i. 33.
- Societies, the earliest, their object, nature, and constitution, i. 49.
- world, state of the, in the year 300, i. 212.
- Christianity, its gradual influence on mankind, i. 7.
- , its aggressive nature, first excited popular odium, i. 122.
- , universality of the hatred against its original teachers, i. 125.
- , its conquests prove its truth, i. 142.
- , final results of, i. 209.
- , doctrine of Christ's divinity its glory, i. 289.
- , too deeply rooted to be extirpated by the emperor Julian, i. 416.
- , its truth confirmed by the actions of Julian, i. 419.
- , continues to extend during the convulsions in the western empire, i. 423.
- , spread of, in the fifth century, i. 443.

- Christianity, state of, in Britain, when Augustine arrived there, ii. 9.
- identified with the papacy, ii. 122.
- , as the leaven of society, little regarded in the monastic system, ii. 159.
- in England before Augustine, ii. 281.
- Christians, early, spirit of the, i. 124.
- , three classes of persons may be so called, i. 153.
- , causes of their persecution of each other, i. 211.
- , contrast of their state before and after the council of Nice, i. 265.
- , early modes of worship among the, i. 207.
- , study of the Scriptures among the, i. 208.
- , primitive theology of the, ii. 363.
- Chrysostom, his labours under the emperor Arcadius, i. 366. Dies in exile, 367.
- Church, its authority to teach, i. 56.
- Threefold origin of this authority, 58.
- , power of the, to inflict censure, i. 79.
- , erroneous use made of that word by the Church of Rome, i. 79, n.
- , the spiritual society of all believers, i. 194.
- , governed by the emperors after they became Christian, i. 354.
- , state of the, from the pontificate of Nicholas I. to the council of Trent, ii. 124.
- , in the eleventh century, had become one great secular empire, ii. 212.
- and empire, state of the, from the death of Marcian to the accession of Justinian, i. 437.
- authority, nature of, i. 86.
- , universal, certainty of its expectations, ii. 695.
- history, early, division of, i. 55.
- Church, Ante-Nicene, corrupted by ambition, i. 314.
- Church, Christian, plans proposed for its union, i. 12, 13.
- Church, congregational, their view of excommunication, i. 82, n.
- Church, primitive, the formation of the, i. 66.
- , state of, at the accession of Constantine, i. 151.
- , faith of the, i. 152.
- Church, primitive, its faith with regard to baptism, i. 160.
- , its celebration of the eucharist, i. 162.
- , use of liturgies in, i. 166.
- , government of, i. 168.
- Church of England, its view of excommunication, i. 81, n.
- , its constitution, i. 107.
- , its repeated solemn recognitions of episcopacy, i. 108.
- , worthy of the support of Christians, i. 109.
- services of the, i. 165.
- , its evident independence of Rome in the reign of Henry I., ii. 344.
- Church of Rome, its view of excommunication, i. 81, n.
- , purity of, in the time of Cyprian, i. 187.
- , gradual increase of the power of the, i. 442.
- , its origin, i. 456.
- , its founders and first rulers, i. 457.
- , list of its bishops, from Peter and Paul, down to the time of Justinian, i. 458.
- Church of Scotland, its view of excommunication, i. 81, n.
- Churches, early, theory of their formation, i. 50. Their development, 51. Gradual completion of their laws, 52.
- , episcopal, the true, i. 111.
- , their prospects, i. 112.
- , their independence of each other, i. 178.
- , morality of the, i. 205.
- , Eastern and Western, attempt to re-unite them under pope Leo IX., ii. 192; its utter failure, 193.
- , Christian, frequently built over heathen temples, i. 407, n.
- , national, sometimes acted independently of the popes in the thirteenth century, ii. 496.
- and governments never suspect their own failings, ii. 631.
- Cicero, his testimony with regard to the introduction of new gods, i. 133, n.
- Circumcelliones, fanaticism of the, i. 241.
- , tenets of the, ii. 447.
- “Circumspecte agatis,” statute of, object of, ii. 600.

- Civil power, persecutions by, before Constantine, i. 117.
- , first instance in which it changed its decrees to meet the decisions of the ecclesiastical, i. 480.
- Clarendon, constitutions of, nature and character of the, ii. 415—417.
- , reasons why it was well that those constitutions were eventually rescinded, ii. 421.
- Claude, bishop of Turin, opposes image worship, ii. 80.
- Clement I., pope, i. 458.
- Clement II., pope, poisoned by an emissary of Benedict IX., ii. 186.
- Clement III., pope, engages the chief sovereigns of the West in the crusades, ii. 474.
- , places Scotland under an interdict, ii. 475.
- Clement IV., pope, pursues the Gregorian policy, ii. 585.
- , declares all benefices at the disposal of the bishop of Rome, ii. 586.
- , issues excommunications for political offences, ii. 587.
- Clement V., pope, enters into a secret compact with the king of France to obtain the popedom, ii. 620.
- , repeals the bulls of Boniface VIII., ii. 621.
- , suppresses the order of the Templars, ii. 622.
- , summons the council of Vienne, ii. 623.
- , absolves Edward I. from his oath to observe the Great Charter, ii. 626.
- , manner in which he drained England of its wealth, ii. 627.
- Clement VI., pope, excommunicates the emperor Louis, and procures the election of Charles of Moravia, ii. 645.
- , the papal influence lessened in England during his pontificate, ii. 646.
- Clement VII., antipope, his election commences the great schism, ii. 676.
- Clergy alone commanded to nominate and ordain the pope, ii. 42.
- , origin and progress of the laws against their marriage, ii. 263.
- , English, not to pay secular fines, unless ecclesiastically enforced, ii. 585, n.
- , punished for obeying their bishops and the pope, ii. 603.
- , outlawed, and their property seized for taxes by Edward I., ii. 609.
- Clergy, parochial, the intellectual strength of England, ii. 556.
- , protest of the English, against the papal exactions, ii. 557.
- , French, commanded by pope Boniface VIII. not to pay taxes, ii. 611.
- Clugny, account of the abbey of, ii. 178.
- , solemn trifling of the observances there, mistaken for religion, ii. 214, n.
- Code, Theodosian, establishment of the, i. 379.
- Codex Justinianus Primæ Prælectionis, i. 445.
- Cognitor, nature of his office, i. 407, n.
- Coining, power of, when first claimed by a pope, ii. 62.
- Collier, remarks on an expression used by him concerning Anselm, ii. 321.
- Colluthianists, tenets of the, ii. 447.
- Colonnas, two cardinals of that family excommunicated by pope Boniface VIII., ii. 607.
- Commentary on the Bible, referred to, i. 13.
- Common law inferior in authority to the canon law, ii. 414.
- Commonitory of the empire, i. 409.
- Commons of England, complaints of the, against the papal exactions, ii. 663.
- Communion between the Eastern and Western churches, destruction of the, i. 440.
- Conon, pope, ii. 41.
- Conscience, definitions of, ii. 423.
- Constantine, life of, before his conversion, i. 221.
- , probable natural cause of his conversion, i. 223. Possible supernatural cause of that event, 224.
- , his vision of the cross, not miraculous, i. 225.
- , results of his victory over Maxentius, i. 226.
- , assumes the pontificate, i. 227.
- , issues his first edict in favour of religious toleration, i. 228.
- , publishes the edict of Milan, i. 229.
- , probable opinion of, on the subject of toleration, i. 238.
- , defended from the charge of intolerance, i. 239.
- , appeal to him by the Donatists, i. 244.
- , his desire to avoid persecution, i. 247.

- Constantine, his severe enactments against the Jews, i. 249.
- , various laws of, in favour of Christianity, i. 251.
- , his efforts to Christianize the Pagans, i. 252.
- , good effects of his laws, i. 253.
- , his opinion of the authority he held over the church, i. 255.
- endeavours to reconcile all parties in the Arian controversy, i. 259.
- summons the council of Nice, i. 260.
- meets the assembled council at Nice, i. 267.
- makes the Nicene canons part of the civil law, i. 290.
- , his severity against Arianism, i. 292.
- , extracts from his decrees against Arianism, i. 293, n.
- , his laws the basis of future persecutions, i. 295.
- , causes why his power was greater than that of his predecessors, i. 296.
- changes his conduct towards the Arians, i. 301.
- banishes Athanasius, i. 303.
- , his policy continued by Theodosius the Great, i. 347.
- Constantine, pope, the first who received homage from the emperor, ii. 48.
- , the first who ventured to excommunicate an emperor, ii. 48.
- Constantinople, first council of, called by Theodosius, i. 353.
- , synopsis of that council, i. 356. Canons of, 357. Date of its sitting, 357, n.
- , second council of, summoned by Justinian, i. 513.
- , synopsis of that council, i. 515.
- , bishop of Rome did not preside at that council, i. 516.
- , Justinian, the head of the fifth general council, i. 517.
- , proceedings of this council, i. 518.
- , third council of, summoned by Constantine V., ii. 27.
- , causes of the assembling of that council, ii. 28.
- , synopsis of that council, ii. 29.
- , memoranda on that council, ii. 30, 31, n.
- Constantinople, fourth council of, called by the emperor Basilius, ii. 126.
- , paucity of bishops at that council, ii. 127.
- , synopsis of that council, ii. 128.
- , memoranda on that council, ii. 128—130, n.
- , acts and canons of that council, ii. 129—132.
- Constantinople, bishop of, declared equal to the bishop of Rome, i. 484.
- Constitutions, apostolical, value of the, i. 172.
- Controversies, early, respected doctrines only, i. 53.
- , papal, modern and ancient the same, ii. 325.
- among Christians, all relate either to faith or discipline, ii. 681.
- Convulsions in the western empire, i. 421.
- Cornelius, pope, i. 460.
- Corpus Juris Canonici, definitions from the, i. 360—363.
- Council of Arles, i. 244.
- of Carthage, i. 233.
- of Chalcedon. See Chalcedon.
- of Constantinople. See Constantinople.
- of Ephesus. See Ephesus.
- of Hierapolis, i. 172.
- of Jerusalem, tabular view of, i. 171.
- of Nice. See Nice.
- , the sixth general, history and proceedings of, ii. 27—32.
- , the seventh general, history and proceedings of, ii. 63—70.
- , the eighth general, history and proceedings of, ii. 126—132.
- , the ninth general, synopsis of, ii. 353.
- , the tenth general, synopsis of, ii. 378.
- , the eleventh general, history and proceedings of, ii. 432—436.
- , the twelfth general, history and proceedings of, ii. 517—527.
- , the thirteenth general, history and proceedings of, ii. 560—562.
- , the fourteenth general, history and proceedings of, ii. 590.
- , the fifteenth general, synopsis and proceedings of, ii. 624—626.
- Councils, origin of, i. 54, 170.
- , contending, on the Arian controversy, i. 306.
- , numerous, in the third century, i. 313.

- Councils, the parliaments of the church, i. 322.
- , not to be summoned without the consent of Rome, i. 483.
- , great number of, held during the life of pope Gregory VII., ii. 269.
- , synoptical tables of nine councils held at Rome under Gregory VII., ii. 271—275.
- , various, held against the Albigenses, ii. 549, n.
- , Christian, must be summoned by princes, not popes, ii. 680.
- , general, objects of, i. 263.
- , summary of the first five, i. 519.
- , the decisions of the first four declared equal with the gospels, ii. 7.
- , national, supplied the place of parliaments in the reign of Henry I., ii. 345.
- Courtency, archbishop, assumes the title of "Inquisitor of heretical pravity," ii. 686.
- Creed, Apostles', formation of the, i. 159.
- Creeds the result of reasoning on subjects of revelation, i. 42.
- universally used in the primitive churches, i. 156.
- Crema, John de, his insolent conduct as legate in England, ii. 360.
- Crime, punishment of, not intolerance, i. 232.
- , the Christian religion first made an apology for its commission, i. 246.
- cannot be sanctioned by rank, birth, or greatness, ii. 618.
- Cross seen by Constantine in the sky, i. 224. Not miraculous, 225.
- Crotty, Dr., evidence of, regarding the third canon of the fourth Lateran council, ii. 531.
- Crusades for recovering possession of the Holy Land, first recommended by pope Sylvester II., 171.
- originated by pope Urban II., ii. 319.
- considered as salvation to the souls of the crusaders, ii. 474.
- Cyprian, becomes bishop of Carthage, i. 183.
- , his efforts to preserve church discipline, i. 185.
- , discipline of the churches in the time of, i. 183. Effects of his discipline, 186.
- , his treatise on the unity of the church, i. 189. His idea of that unity, 192. Estimate of the value of his treatise, 196. Romish interpolations of it, 197.
- Cyprian, his dispute with Stephen, bishop of Rome, on heretical baptism, i. 199. 461.
- , his martyrdom, i. 198.
- Cyprianic episcopacy, theory of the, i. 191.

D.

- Damasus, pope, increases the power of the Roman see, i. 465.
- first institutes papal vicars, i. 468.
- Damasus II., pope, ii. 186.
- Damiani, Peter, his letter to pope Alexander II., ii. 225.
- Dark ages, why the medieval period justly so called, ii. 691.
- Deaconesses, their duties, i. 391, n.
- Decius, persecution under, i. 130.
- Decretals, false, their origin, nature, and objects, ii. 97.
- , must be officially rejected by the church of Rome, ii. 98.
- , origin of them and of the true decretals, ii. 99.
- , celebrated work of Blondel on the, ii. 100.
- , further proofs of their spuriousness, ii. 102.
- , their probable author, Benedict Levita, ii. 103.
- , object of their author, ii. 104.
- , ecclesiastical maxims laid down in them, ii. 105.
- , their chief object the exaltation of the papacy, ii. 106.
- , original form of the Pseudo-Isidorian collection, ii. 107.
- , their effect on the universal church, ii. 108.
- , why first quoted by pope Nicholas I., ii. 109. 114.
- Decretals of Gregory IX., what meant by, ii. 549.
- Definitions in the ecclesiastical law, i. 360.
- "De Hæretico Comburendo," passing of that statute under Henry IV., ii. 673.
- , repealed by the efforts of James II., when Duke of York, ii. 673.
- De Marca, his description of the pall, ii. 284.
- Denmark, influence of the English mis-

- sionaries on, in the eleventh century, ii. 219.
- Deposing power of the popes, inquiry into its real origin, ii. 37.
- Deus dedit, pope, assumes the power of working miracles, ii. 16.
- Dietatus Papæ, ascribed to pope Gregory VII., really to be found in the rescripts of Nicholas I., ii. 120.
- , justly to be regarded as the fundamental maxims of the policy of the church of Rome, ii. 120, n.
- Diocletian, persecution under, i. 130. Its extreme severity, 139.
- Dionysius, pope, i. 462.
- Discipline and manners of the early Christians, i. 181.
- common, the bond of common union in the early churches, i. 185.
- of Cyprian, effects of, i. 186.
- Dispensations, the five, i. 69, n.
- Disputes in the church, absurdity of those in the seventh century, ii. 34.
- Divine wrath, fear of, influences political movements, ii. 61.
- Divinity of Christ, the principal article of the early creeds, i. 156.
- , early heresies on, i. 157.
- affirmed by revelation, i. 261. The glory of Christianity, 289.
- Divisions in the church after the council of Nice, i. 348.
- , ecclesiastical, of the Roman empire, i. 352.
- Dodwell, his controversy with Ruinart on the early persecutions, i. 149.
- Dominion, temporal, cannot be entrusted to the priesthood, ii. 333.
- Domitian, persecution under, i. 128. Why he persecuted, 136.
- Domnus, or Donus, pope, ii. 25.
- Domnus, or Donus II., pope, ii. 166.
- Donatists, their factious conduct one cause of the first persecution by Christians, i. 219.
- , origin of the schism of the, i. 235.
- , their arrogant pretensions, i. 241.
- , their first appeal to Constantine, i. 242.
- , the bishops of Gaul decide against them, i. 243.
- , insolent conduct of the, i. 245.
- , the first who made the religion of Christ an apology for crime, i. 246.
- Donatists, tenets of the, ii. 447.
- Donatus, the real author of persecution by Christians, i. 233.
- Doyle, Dr., evidence of, regarding the third canon of the fourth Lateran council, ii. 530. 533, n.
- Dryden, his lines on the truth of Christianity, i. 141.
- Du Mesnil, a writer on ecclesiastical history, ii. 478.
- Du Pin, his testimony on the extent of the bishop of Rome's authority before the time of Constantine, i. 180, n.

E.

- Eardulf, king of Northumbria, said to have been restored by pope Leo III., ii. 75.
- Eastern churches submitted to the pope by Justinian, i. 503.
- church subjected to the Roman at the second council of Lyons, ii. 592, n.
- Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, his political influence in France, ii. 110.
- Ebionites, tenets of the, ii. 445.
- Ecclesiastical divisions of the Roman empire, i. 352.
- power, nature and limits of its influence, i. 47—96.
- , progress of the, from the age of Justinian, ii. 1.
- not to be confounded with papal, ii. 36.
- unity and liberty, papal meaning of, ii. 419.
- Ecclesiastics, assumptions of the, in the days of Becket, ii. 410.
- , their character and power at that time, ii. 411.
- , the offices of the state necessarily held by them formerly in England, ii. 660.
- Edict of Milan published by Constantine, i. 229.
- Edicts, rescripts, and decrees, difference between, i. 298.
- Edward the Confessor, causes of his canonization, ii. 425.
- Edward I. respects the liberties of the people as well as the rights of the crown, ii. 596.
- seizes the goods of the clergy on their refusal to pay taxes, ii. 609.
- , his subserviency to pope Clement V., ii. 627.
- Edward III. with his parliament, refuses the demands of pope Urban V., ii. 653.

- Edward III. protects the Florentines when under excommunication, ii. 656.
- , compromise between him and Gregory XI. about English benefices, ii. 662.
- Eleutherus, pope, i. 459.
- Eliberis, or Elvira, council of, i. 178.
- Elphege, archbishop of Canterbury, goes to Rome to procure the pall, ii. 172.
- Emperors of Rome the originators of persecution, i. 381.
- Eneratite, or Tatians, tenets of the, ii. 444.
- England, its free government proposed as a model, i. 3.
- , church of, its view of excommunication, i. 81, n.
- , its constitution, i. 107.
- , its influence on the world, i. 116.
- , the papal decrees concerning Wilfrid rejected in, ii. 46.
- , always one chief object of attention to Rome, ii. 205.
- divided into archdeaconries by William the Norman and Lanfranc, ii. 315, n.
- , power over, always one great object of the papacy, ii. 334.
- , the treasury of Rome in the thirteenth century, ii. 555.
- , immense revenues derived from it by Rome, ii. 570.
- , remonstrances of the parliament of, against the papal exactions under Innocent IV., ii. 571.
- , laity of, refuse obedience to the papal exactions, ii. 572.
- , ineffectual laws of, to check the papal usurpations, ii. 573.
- , gradual decline of the papal power there in the time of Edward I., ii. 599.
- , bishops of, supersede the command of Christ, ii. 599.
- , struggles in, to maintain the right of an appeal to Scripture against the authority of the popes, ii. 602.
- , papal, the treasury of Rome, ii. 626.
- , manner in which the papal agents exhausted its wealth, ii. 627.
- , effect of the continental discussions on, with regard to the papal power, in the pontificate of John XXII., ii. 641.
- , its bishops required to renounce the papal temporal power, ii. 642.
- England, diminution of the papal influence in, in the pontificate of Benedict XII., ii. 644.
- , the papal influence in, still further lessened under Clement VI., ii. 646.
- , the statute of "Provisors" enacted in, ii. 647.
- , appeals to Rome from, prohibited by the statute of "Præmunire," ii. 650.
- , the offices of state in, necessarily held by ecclesiastics in former times, ii. 660.
- English people, their refusal to proceed to the extremities of popish cruelty, ii. 598.
- Ephesus, council of, why called, i. 370.
- , synopsis of that council, i. 371.
- , proceedings of the council of, i. 372. Disputes subsequent to it, 373.
- , acts of that council, i. 373—377.
- , council held at, called the council of robbers, i. 424.
- Epiphanius, letter of Justinian to, i. 503.
- Episcopacy the discipline of the apostolic age, i. 63.
- , exceptions to, in the early ages, i. 67, n.
- , principles of, the universal law of all governments, i. 74.
- , nature of our obligations to adhere to it, i. 77.
- , primitive, picture of the, i. 198. Unity of the churches under it, 202.
- , the only successful opponent of the papacy, i. 204.
- , causes of its great influence and power in the ninth century, ii. 88.
- , instances of the exercise of its power in early periods, independently of the bishop of Rome, ii. 88—92.
- , origin and progress of the temporal power of the, ii. 95.
- Episcopal usurpation, earliest attempts at, i. 179.
- power, Rome has always aimed to destroy it, i. 479.
- ambition, a cause of papal supremacy, i. 486.
- churches all equal, ii. 223.
- Equality originally subsisted amongst all Christians, whether lay or clerical, ii. 94.

- Error, perseverance in, the curse of Rome, ii. 309.
- , the sincerity of, the curse of the church, ii. 578.
- Establishment of religion need not imply persecution, i. 319.
- Eucharist, true nature of the, i. 163.
- Eugenius, pope, grants to bishops the power of imprisoning, ii. 20.
- Eugenius II., pope, neutralizes the oath of allegiance to the emperor by reservations, ii. 78.
- , the first pope who resisted the wish of the universal church, ii. 79.
- Eugenius III., pope, flies to France, ii. 386.
- , after several times quitting Rome, finally dies there, ii. 387.
- Enomians, or Aëtians, tenets of the, ii. 446.
- Europe, condition of, at the accession of Hildebrand to the popedom, ii. 217—222.
- Eusebius, pope, i. 463.
- Eutyches, the heretic, some account of, i. 422.
- , deprived by the synod of Constantinople, i. 423.
- , absolved by the council at Ephesus called the council of robbers, i. 424.
- , council of Chalcedon called against him, i. 425.
- , errs, when opposing Nestorius, i. 439.
- Eutyhianism, sects originating in, i. 436. 440.
- Eutyhians, tenets of the, ii. 448.
- Eutyhianus, pope, i. 463.
- Evaristus, pope, i. 458.
- Evil, revelation alone explains why it is permitted, i. 2.
- and good, attempt to reconcile them, the cause of the first persecutions, i. 119.
- Excommunicated persons, duty of the civil magistrate towards, i. 84.
- Excommunication, nature of, i. 80.
- , definitions of, by various churches, i. 81, n.
- little regarded at present, i. 82.
- , former terrors of, i. 83.
- made a political weapon, ii. 342.
- a spiritual punishment only, ii. 412.
- issued for political offences, ii. 587.
- Experience, knowledge derived from, i. 17.
- alone instructs both churches and states, i. 318.
- Extravagantes, what meant by, ii. 549.
- F.
- FABIAN, pope, i. 460.
- Faith, the Scriptures the chief rule of, i. 44, and n.
- of the primitive church, i. 152.
- , the Scriptures and the creeds the two rules of, i. 156.
- Felicians, tenets of the, ii. 449.
- Felix I., pope, i. 463.
- Felix II., pope, enlarges the dominion of the papal see, i. 490.
- Felix III., pope, exempts the clergy from the civil tribunals, i. 495.
- Firnilian accuses the church of Rome of schism, i. 312, n.
- Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, condemns the heresy of Eutyches, i. 423. His barbarous treatment by the council at Ephesus, and death, 424.
- Flcury on Nestorianism, i. 378.
- Florians, tenets of the, ii. 447.
- Formosus, pope, the first instance of a pope being called from another see, ii. 148.
- , his decrees disregarded by the eastern bishops, ii. 149.
- , his body said to have been disinterred and thrown into the Tyber, ii. 149.
- , on the bull which he is said to have sent to the king of England, regarding filling up the vacant sees, ii. 334, n.
- France, infidel, rejects truth as well as error, i. 11.
- , under Pepin, increases the power of Rome, ii. 59.
- , the pope appoints a vicar over the churches of, ii. 83.
- , never so much the vassal of Rome as Spain and Italy, ii. 138.
- successfully resists pope Hadrian II., ii. 139.
- , church of, resists the usurpations of pope John VIII., ii. 144.
- , state of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 218.
- placed under an interdict by pope Innocent II., ii. 382.
- , king of, threatens to burn the pope for heresy, ii. 640.
- Franco, or Boniface VII., pseudo-pope, ii. 167.

- Fratricelli, condemned by the council of Vienne, ii. 624.
- Frederic, the emperor, his law against heretics made use of to accomplish his own destruction, i. 450, n.
- , his severe laws against heretics, ii. 545.
- , fearful measures adopted by him to prevent a council being held at Lyons, ii. 558.
- , though not deemed a heretic, deposed by a council, ii. 560.
- , appeal of, to France and England against the pope, ii. 565.
- Frederic of Austria appeals from the pope to a general council, ii. 637.
- charges the pope with heresy, ii. 637.
- French bishops, their continued resistance to Rome, ii. 172. 175.
- G.
- Gaianites, or Theodosians, tenets of the, ii. 448.
- Galerius, the severity of his persecution of the Christians, i. 139. Publishes an edict of toleration on his death-bed, 139.
- , cruelties and death of, i. 212.
- , stops the persecution against the Christians on his death-bed, i. 214.
- Gallican liberties, commencement of the question on the, i. 482.
- bishops, their contest with pope John XV., ii. 169.
- Gallienus, whether he made Christianity a religio licita, i. 138, n.
- Gangra, good laws passed by the council of, i. 306, n.
- Gaul, the bishops of, decide against the Donatists, i. 243.
- Gelasius I., pope, affirms his supremacy by divine right, i. 490.
- commands communion in both kinds, i. 491.
- , remarkable bull of, by which he claims power over councils, i. 492, n.
- Gelasius II., pope, driven from Rome by the emperor Henry V., ii. 348.
- returns, is again expelled, and dies in France, ii. 349.
- Gerbert, his able support of the canons of the church against the usurpations of Rome, ii. 169.
- Germany, condition of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 221.
- Gibbon, his remarks on the persecution of the early Christians, i. 141.
- Gibbon on the character of Constantine, i. 230.
- , his false view of the institutes of Justinian, i. 382.
- , his partiality to the emperor Julian, i. 413, n.
- , his sneering remark on the origin of the word Christian, i. 414, n.
- , his remarks on the succession of pontiffs after Gregory VII., ii. 314, n.
- Giesler, on the appointment of the inferior clergy, i. 63, n.
- Gilbert de la Porrée, tenets of, ii. 451.
- Gilly, Dr., value of his "Waldensian Researches," ii. 541.
- Gnostics, their heresies respecting the person of Christ, i. 157.
- , tenets of the, ii. 443.
- Goderic, the hermit of Finchale, pretended miracles of, ii. 426, and 427, n.
- Good and evil, the attempt to reconcile, caused the first persecutions, i. 119.
- Gospel, causes of its original success, i. 118, n.
- light never wholly extinguished in the church, ii. 639.
- Gothofred acknowledges the authenticity of Justinian's epistles, i. 505.
- Gotteschale, doctrines held by, ii. 110, n.
- Governments, their duties towards Christianity, i. 231.
- and churches never suspect their own failings, ii. 631.
- Grace of God not limited to his own means of grace, i. 193.
- Gravina acknowledges the authenticity of Justinian's epistles, i. 505.
- Greek church condemns the use of images, ii. 53, n.
- emperors, their weakness one cause of the increase of the papal power, ii. 56.
- schism completed by the dispute on Bulgaria, ii. 143.
- Gregorians and Imperialists, the empire divided between, ii. 203.
- , contests between them at Rome, ii. 349.
- Gregory I., the great, pope, ii. 6.
- , sends Augustine the monk to England, ii. 8.
- , desires to govern, not to convert the English, ii. 10.
- , begins the system of exempting monks from episcopal jurisdiction, ii. 11.
- , permits pagan ceremonies to be interwoven with the Christian service, ii. 11.

- Gregory I. sanctions the use of images, ii. 12.
- _____, compiles the canon of the mass, ii. 12.
- Gregory II., pope, first exacted an oath of obedience from Christian bishops, ii. 48.
- _____, pronounces damnation on those who disobey, ii. 49.
- _____, his controversy with the emperor Leo III., on the use of images, ii. 50.
- _____, declares himself the temporal ruler over Italy, ii. 50.
- Gregory III., pope, zealous for image worship, ii. 54.
- Gregory IV., pope, claims superiority over the French bishops, ii. 82.
- Gregory V., pope, ii. 169.
- _____, compels Robert I., king of France, to repudiate his queen Bertha, ii. 170.
- Gregory VI., pope, ii. 183.
- _____, his vigorous proceedings against the robbers, ii. 184.
- _____, resigns the pontificate, ii. 185.
- Gregory VII., pope, twenty-seven maxims of, ii. 121, n.
- _____, elected pope, ii. 210.
- _____, extolled or condemned by an immense number of biographers, ii. 211.
- _____, formation of his character in Clugny, ii. 213.
- _____, anecdote of him when a child, ii. 213, n.
- _____, combined in himself the character of monk and emperor, ii. 215.
- _____, elected pope, even at the funeral of his predecessor, ii. 216.
- _____, makes Rome the tribunal to judge bishops, ii. 224.
- _____, the autoerat of Europe, and Western emperor, ii. 226.
- _____, prefers the Saracen to any anti-papal power, ii. 227.
- _____, feudal oath of allegiance to him by the prince of Capua, ii. 228.
- _____, abstract of his chief acts, from Baronius, ii. 229—256.
- _____, real controversy between him and the Western world, ii. 258.
- _____, meek language of his haughty assumptions, ii. 259, n.
- _____, establishes the celibacy of the clergy, ii. 260.
- _____, triumphs over both reason and Scripture, ii. 261.
- Gregory VII. decrees the belief in transubstantiation, ii. 265.
- _____, synoptical tables of nine councils held by him in Rome, ii. 271—275.
- _____, forbids Divine service to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, ii. 276.
- _____, the fearful power exercised by him over Europe and England, ii. 277.
- _____, instances of his sincerity and cruelty, ii. 311.
- _____, general view of his system and character, ii. 307—312.
- Gregory VIII., pope, his improper use of Scripture language to excite war, ii. 473.
- Gregory IX., pope, injures the papal cause by his personal hatred of the emperor Frederic, ii. 546.
- _____, his repeated excommunications of the emperor, ii. 547.
- _____, holds the council of Toulouse, ii. 549.
- _____, weakens the moral power of the papacy, ii. 551.
- _____, his exactions in England, ii. 552.
- _____, his death, ii. 559.
- Gregory X., pope, ii. 588.
- _____, the friend of the prince of Wales (afterwards Edward I.), ii. 589.
- _____, summons the second council of Lyons, ii. 590.
- _____, assumes the whole management of that council, ii. 592, n.
- _____, his suspension and renewal of the interdict upon Florence, ii. 594.
- _____, his laws still a part of the canon law of Rome, ii. 594.
- Gregory XI., pope, weakens the spiritual power of the papacy by his triumph over Florence, ii. 654.
- _____, excommunicates the Florentines, ii. 655.
- _____, extract from his bull against the Florentines, ii. 655, n.
- _____, publishes four bulls against Wycliffe, ii. 656. 668.
- _____, influenced by Catherine of Sienna to return to Rome, ii. 658.
- _____, compromise between him and Edward III. about English benefices, ii. 662.
- _____, nineteen errors of Wycliffe submitted to him, ii. 666.
- _____, his death, ii. 673.
- Grossetete, bishop of Lincoln, resists

- the exactions of pope Innocent IV., ii. 575.
- Grossetete, his death and character, ii. 577.
- Guelphs and Gibbelines, their origin, ii. 164.
- Guiscard, Robert, his oath of fidelity to pope Nicholas, ii. 489, n.
- Guizot, his progress of the church through four stages, ii. 194.
- , extract from, on the school-men, ii. 367, n.
- , striking remark of, ii. 386.
- H.
- Hadrian, persecution under, i. 129.
- Why he persecuted, 136.
- Hadrian, pope, enlarges the temporal power of the papacy, ii. 60.
- , the first pope who coined money, ii. 62.
- , receives accessions of territory from Charlemagne, ii. 71.
- , defends the worship of images, ii. 72.
- Hadrian II., pope, ii. 124.
- , the first who attempted to set a prince on a throne by his own absolute authority, ii. 125.
- , requires the emperor Basilius to summon the fourth council of Constantinople, ii. 126.
- , refuses the oriental bishops a seat in the council till they have sworn obedience to Rome, ii. 126.
- , his real object at that council, ii. 133.
- , first attempted to regulate the succession of princes, ii. 137.
- , unable to establish his supremacy over the French bishops, ii. 139.
- Hadrian III., pope, ii. 146.
- Hadrian IV., pope, gives Ireland to King Henry II., ii. 398.
- , extracts from the correspondence between him and Henry on that subject, ii. 399.
- , his lofty pretensions, ii. 400.
- , absolves Henry from his oath respecting his father's will, ii. 402.
- Hadrian V., pope, ii. 596.
- Hallam, Mr., his opinion on the origin of the papal power considered, ii. 37.
- Harpfield, his description of the pall, ii. 284.
- Hatred against Christianity universal, on its first publication, i. 125.
- Heart sins not punishable by society, i. 91.
- Helvidians, tenets of the, ii. 447.
- Henoticon of the emperor Zeno, written to produce peace in the church, i. 438.
- Henry I. king of England, his controversy with Archbishop Anselm, ii. 339.
- Henry II. receives from the pope the gift of Ireland, ii. 398.
- , desirous to honour the church, ii. 407.
- , compelled by his duty to his people to oppose Rome, ii. 408.
- , resisted not only the papal, but the ecclesiastical power generally, ii. 418.
- , on the penance suffered by him at the tomb of Becket, ii. 427.
- , his degradation the triumph of Rome, ii. 428.
- Henry III., his degrading compliance with the pope's demands, ii. 555, n.
- , his weakness encourages the papal usurpations, ii. 575.
- , absolved by the pope from his oath to the barons, ii. 583.
- Henry IV. gives power to the priesthood, ii. 672.
- Henry VIII., his confiscations of church property, i. 107, n.
- Henry III., emperor, solicits the pope to excommunicate a king, ii. 196.
- Henry IV., emperor, his character well suited to further the designs of Gregory VII., ii. 259.
- Henry V., emperor, marches to Rome, and expels pope Paschal II., ii. 347.
- Heresies and sects, origin of the names of, ii. 430.
- Heresy, definition of, i. 90, n.
- , ought not to be punished as a political crime, i. 299.
- , severe enactments of the Theodosian code against, i. 394. 396.
- , arguments the only remedy for, i. 395.
- , the tares of, why permitted to grow with the wheat, ii. 429.
- , the heads of the church resolve to extirpate it, ii. 432.
- , extended meanings of the word, ii. 452.
- , papal definitions of, ii. 453.
- , political objection to a papal legate, so considered, ii. 476.
- , supposed, princes commanded to extirpate, ii. 491.

- Heretics, definition of, in the time of Justinian, i. 447, n. 448.
- not to be called Christians, by the law of Justinian, i. 450.
- differed from each other as much as from the church, ii. 431.
- , review of the civil laws against, ii. 438.
- , the jurisdiction concerning them in England retained by the bishops, ii. 442.
- , list of, in the early centuries, ii. 443—452.
- , severe language of the canon law against, ii. 454—460.
- Hermogenians, tenets of the, ii. 445.
- Hertford, council of, held by archbishop Theodore, ii. 22.
- , the ten canons enjoined to be observed by that council, ii. 23, n.
- Hierachites, tenets of the, ii. 445.
- Hilary, pope, strengthens the papal supremacy, i. 486.
- , sets aside the canons of the universal church, i. 487.
- Hildebrand, commencement of his influence on the Roman see, ii. 176.
- , a monk of Clugny, ii. 180.
- , assists Gratian in procuring the papal chair, ii. 181.
- , probable motives of his conduct, ii. 182.
- , why he negotiated the resignation of Benedict IX., ii. 183.
- , his influence indispensable to the pope, ii. 184.
- , destroys the power of the Italian princes, ii. 195.
- , procures the elevation of Victor II. to the pontificate, ii. 196.
- , lays the foundation of his theocracy in blood, ii. 204.
- , his authority over England, ii. 209.
- [See Gregory VII.]
- Hinemar, archbishop of Rheims, actively opposes and condemns Gotteschalc, ii. 110.
- , resists the usurpation of the pope, ii. 111.
- , defends the French ecclesiastical councils, ii. 112.
- , submits to the papal authority, ii. 115.
- , his defence of Charles the Bald against the pope, ii. 138.
- , his bold letter to pope Hadrian II. in the case of Hinemar of Laon, ii. 140.
- , his further efforts against the pretensions of Rome, ii. 144, 145.
- History, right mode of considering, ii. 125.
- , advantages in the study of ancient, over the study of modern, ii. 629.
- Holiness and morality the two guides to man, i. 26.
- alone, not a sufficient bond of Christian union, i. 203.
- Honorius, pope, embraces the Monothelite heresy, ii. 17.
- , the first pope who was condemned by a general council, ii. 18.
- , his authority in England, ii. 18.
- Honorius II., pope, extends the papal power in England, ii. 359.
- Honorius III., pope, ii. 543.
- , continues the policy of Hildebrand, ii. 544.
- , his attempts to derive an additional revenue from England, ii. 546.
- Honorius IV., pope, intercepts the subsidies granted for the crusades, ii. 601.
- , his legate enforces the veneration of the consecrated wafer, ii. 603.
- Hoods, to prefer coarse to fine, declared to be heresy, ii. 634.
- coarse, friars burnt for persisting in wearing them, ii. 635.
- Hooker, his account of the Nestorian heresy, i. 372, n.
- Hopkins, bishop, on the false decretals, ii. 98, n.
- Hormisdas, pope, three measures by which he strengthened the papal supremacy, i. 493.
- Hosius, bishop of Cordova, presides in two councils at Alexandria, i. 259, n.
- Hungary, state of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 219.
- Hyginus, pope, i. 458.

I.

- Iconoduli, or Iconolatæ, tenets of the, ii. 449.
- Iconomachs, condemned by the eighth general council, ii. 131.
- Image-worship adopted in the East, ii. 63.
- expressly forbidden in Scripture, ii. 79.
- supported by pope Eugenius II. against the will of the universal church, ii. 79.
- Images, the use of, sanctioned by Gregory the Great, ii. 12.

- Images, contest respecting the worship of, between the pope and the emperor, ii. 50.
- , Italy revolts in favour of their worship, ii. 51.
- , the church of Rome strengthened by adopting them, ii. 53.
- said to have saluted the dead body of pope Formosus, ii. 150, n.
- Improvement, progressive, of the human race, authors who have written upon this subject, i. 21, n.
- Indecency sanctioned in the Romish confessionals, ii. 483.
- Independence of the early churches of each other, i. 178.
- Independents, their view of excommunication, i. 82, n.
- , their rise, i. 105.
- , founded on supposed philosophy, i. 106.
- , reasons for supposing their influence to be declining, i. 106, n.
- Infallibility, papal, an argument against, ii. 160.
- cannot justly be claimed either by churches, sects, or individuals, ii. 659.
- Infidelity, is not unimpassioned enquiry, i. 143.
- Innocent I., pope, influence of, i. 472.
- , makes the first great effort of the usurpation of Rome, i. 473.
- , represses heresy by the civil power, i. 474.
- , history of his bold, yet subtle manner of asserting the papal supremacy, i. 475—477.
- Innocent II., pope, ii. 375.
- , lays France under an interdiction, ii. 376. 382.
- , summons the second council of Lateran, ii. 377.
- , appeals made to him by certain English canons, ii. 380.
- , extends the power of Rome to Ireland, ii. 381.
- , gives Capua to the king of Sicily, ii. 382.
- Innocent III., pope, greatness of Rome under his pontificate, ii. 484.
- , requires the citizens of Rome to swear allegiance to him as their temporal sovereign, ii. 485.
- , excommunicates the three chief princes of Europe, ii. 486.
- , oaths of feudal fidelity to him taken by the kings of England and Arragon, ii. 487, n.
- , chargeable with the chief guilt of establishing the inquisition, ii. 490.
- Innocent III., author of the hymn *Veni Creator*, ii. 496.
- , contest between him, king John, and the English barons, ii. 500.
- , opposed by the peerage of England, ii. 501.
- , accused of avarice, ii. 502.
- , necessity of rescinding his principles, ii. 504.
- , his literary labours, ii. 505.
- , his sermons before the council of Lateran, ii. 506.
- , effect of his sermons on the council in procuring the decree against heretics, ii. 507.
- , works of, before his pontificate, ii. 500.
- , extract from his work on the miseries of man, ii. 511.
- , his presumptuous piety and pretensions, ii. 512.
- , his unwillingness to assume the papal power, ii. 513.
- , extract from his sermon on the papal supremacy, ii. 514.
- , his motives and ambition, ii. 515.
- , his conduct after his accession to the pontificate, ii. 516.
- , summons the fourth council of Lateran, ii. 517.
- , his objects in calling that council, ii. 518.
- , imposes his own decrees on that council, ii. 522, n.
- , his death, ii. 542.
- Innocent IV., pope, elected after a vacancy of nearly two years, ii. 559.
- , forced by the emperor Frederic to fly to Lyons, ii. 560.
- , holds the first council of Lyons, ii. 560.
- , his exultation on the death of Frederic, ii. 563.
- , his laws and constitutions against heresy, ii. 564, n.
- , sets up thrones and kingdoms to sale, ii. 566.
- , uses the doctrine of supererogation as a means of revenue, ii. 568.
- , sends his legate into England with extraordinary powers, ii. 569.
- , his death and character, ii. 577—579.
- Innocent V., pope, ii. 595.

- Innocent VI., pope, his excellent personal character, ii. 648.
- , compelled by the "Free Companies," to grant them absolution, ii. 649.
- , increasing weakness of the papal power during his pontificate, ii. 650.
- Inquisition, bull of pope Lucius III. the foundation of the, ii. 440. 462.
- , difference between it and the former tribunals, ii. 464.
- , nature of its courts, ii. 465.
- , its chief court under pope Innocent III., ii. 466.
- , rise and progress of the inquisitorial power, ii. 467.
- , its system of espionage first commanded by the council of Tours, ii. 469.
- , papal supremacy its first object, ii. 471.
- , episcopal, not so rigorous as the Dominican, ii. 472.
- made permanent, and committed to the Dominicans, ii. 551.
- Inquisitors, that word first used in the Theodosian code, i. 398.
- Institutes of Justinian, what, i. 445.
- Intolerance of both parties in the Arian controversy, i. 307.
- Investiture, origin of the right of, ii. 257.
- Ireland, power of Rome extended to, by pope Innocent II., ii. 381.
- granted to Henry II. by pope Hadrian IV., ii. 398.
- , the pall not anciently sent from Rome to, ii. 401, n.
- , causes of the interference of the popes with, ii. 402, n.
- Irene, the empress, her zeal for image-worship, ii. 63.
- , increases the papal power, ii. 70.
- Irish church ruled by Canterbury before the time of Henry II., ii. 389.
- Irving, Mr., his opinions, and the treatment they received, i. 299.
- Isidore, bishop of Seville, his collection of canons and decretals, ii. 100.
- , not the author of the false decretals, ii. 100.
- J.
- James, the apostle, nature of the primacy he held at Jerusalem, i. 73.
- , the brother of John, Spanish traditions concerning him, i. 126, n.
- , Mr., just remarks by him on the mixture of Paganism and Christianity, i. 404, n.
- Jerusalem, council of, the model for all others, i. 171. 311.
- Jews, severe law of Constantine against them, i. 249, and n.
- Joachim, the monk, condemned by the fourth Lateran council, ii. 520, n. 522, n.
- Joan, pope, story of, and reasons for its rejection, ii. 85, n.
- , that story an argument against tradition, ii. 86, n.
- John I., pope, i. 494.
- John II., pope, i. 496.
- , temporal power granted to him by Justinian, i. 502.
- , Justinian submits the Eastern churches to, i. 503.
- , letter of Justinian to, from the *Volumen Authenticum*, i. 505.
- John III., pope, ii. 3.
- John IV., pope, ii. 19.
- John V., pope, ii. 41.
- John VI., pope, ii. 44.
- , nature and extent of the papal power during his pontificate, ii. 45.
- John VII., pope, ii. 47.
- John VIII., pope, ii. 140.
- , claims the right to elect the emperor, ii. 141.
- , sanctions the cruelty of Anastasius, bishop of Naples, ii. 141.
- , his pusillanimity possibly gave rise to the story of pope Joan, ii. 142.
- , his efforts to bring Bulgaria under his jurisdiction complete the Greek schism, ii. 143.
- , ready to cancel the acts of his predecessors to serve his own views, ii. 144, n.
- , his usurpations over the French church, ii. 144.
- , is imprisoned by two Italian nobles, ii. 145.
- , the first pope who presided personally at a council, ii. 146.
- John IX., pope, ii. 151.
- , makes various changes in the German sees, ii. 152.
- John X., pope, ii. 155.
- , the first pope who headed an army, ii. 156.
- John XI., pope, ii. 157.
- John XII., pope, in distress, submits to the German imperial power, ii. 161.
- is deposed for his vices, by an imperial council at Rome, ii. 162.

- John XII., remarks on the authority of the council which deposed him, ii. 162, n.
- John XIII., pope, ii. 164.
- , deposed by the Roman nobility, but restored by the emperor Otho, ii. 165.
- , said to have confirmed the privileges of Glastoubury abbey, ii. 165.
- John XIV., pope, put to death by Franco, ii. 167.
- John, the son of Robert, pseudo-pope, ii. 167.
- John XV. (or XVI.), pope, ii. 167.
- , his controversy with the Gallican bishops, ii. 169.
- John XVII., pope, ii. 171.
- John XVIII., pope, reckoned also amongst the patriarchs of Constantinople, ii. 171.
- John XIX., pope, though a layman, obtains the pontificate by money, ii. 174.
- , concedes to the decrees of the Gallican bishops, ii. 175.
- John XXI., pope, ii. 596.
- John XX., alias XXI. XXII., pope, ii. 629.
- , elected under French influence, ii. 633.
- , his cruelty to the bishop of Cahors, ii. 633.
- , burns the Gray friars who persisted in wearing coarse hoods, ii. 634.
- , is opposed by Louis of Bavaria, ii. 635.
- , commands the emperor Louis to abdicate, ii. 636.
- , is accused of heresy, ii. 638.
- , his heretical sermons, ii. 639.
- , threatened by the king of France to be burnt as a heretic, ii. 640.
- , his recantation and death, ii. 640.
- , his submission to the universal church the first fatal blow to the papal supremacy, ii. 641.
- John, king of England, reasons of his yielding to the threats of the pope, ii. 487.
- , oaths of feudal fidelity taken by him to pope Innocent III., ii. 487, n.
- , singular effects produced by his submission to the pope, ii. 490, n.
- , contest between him, the pope, and the barons, ii. 500.
- Jortin, his opinion of traditions, i. 29, n.
- Jovian, the emperor, favours Christianity, i. 351.
- Jovianists, tenets of the, ii. 447.
- Judgment, private, unlimited right of, i. 43.
- , on its exercise, i. 79, n.
- , mode of its exercise illustrated, i. 154.
- Julian, early history of, i. 412.
- , his efforts against Christianity, i. 413.
- , degrades the Christians, i. 414.
- , offers human sacrifices at Carræ, i. 415, n.
- , instances of his rancour against Christianity, i. 416.
- , his death in battle against the Persians, i. 417.
- , his actions confirm the truth of Christianity, i. 419.
- Julius I., pope, protects Athanasius, i. 464.
- Justinian, the emperor, orthodoxy and political errors of, i. 444.
- , collection of his laws, i. 445.
- , code respecting religion, i. 446.
- , severe laws of, against heretics, i. 447—453.
- , the better laws of, are part of our own laws, i. 451.
- , civil laws of, against heretics, part of the laws of the church of Rome, i. 453.
- , his laws received at the present day in nearly all the states of Europe, i. 456.
- , the papal friendship indispensable to, i. 501.
- , grants temporal power to the pope, i. 502.
- , submits the eastern churches to the pope, i. 503.
- , letter of, to Epiphanius, i. 503.
- , dies suspected of heresy, ii. 3.
- , edict of, the true origin of papal power, ii. 38.

K.

- Kelly, Dr., evidence of, regarding the third canon of the fourth Lateran council, ii. 531.
- Kenulf, king of Mercia, his application

- to pope Leo III. concerning the see of Canterbury, ii. 74.
- Krabbe, abstract of his dissertation on the apostolical canons, i. 335.
- L.
- Labarum, description of the, i. 226, n.
- Labbe on the false decretals, ii. 98, n.
- Lando, pope, ii. 155.
- Lands granted by sovereigns on certain conditions, ii. 258.
- Lanfranc supersedes Stigand as archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 208.
- strengthens the cause of the papacy in England, ii. 306.
- , his character and laws, ii. 307.
- , refuses to execute the exorbitant requisitions of the pope, ii. 312.
- , shows himself the servant, but not the slave, of Gregory, ii. 313, n.
- Langton, cardinal, present at the fourth Lateran council, ii. 497.
- , originally an adherent to the pope, ii. 498.
- , his subsequent independent conduct, ii. 499.
- Lateran council, first, held by pope Calixtus II., ii. 352. Synopsis of the, 353.
- Lateran council, second, held by pope Innocent II., synopsis of the, ii. 378.
- , canons of the, ii. 379.
- Lateran council, third, synopsis of the, ii. 433.
- , acts of the, ii. 434—436.
- Lateran council, fourth, synopsis of the, ii. 519.
- , acts and proceedings of the, ii. 520—527.
- , translation of the third canon of the, ii. 523—526.
- , auricular confession enjoined by the, ii. 526.
- , its canons demanded by the people of that day, ii. 527.
- , opinions given by modern Roman Catholics on its third canon, ii. 529—533.
- , the extermination of the Albigenses the real object of that canon, ii. 534.
- Law of the land, proposal for declaring the Scriptures to be part of the, i. 115.
- Law, state of the, considered with regard to the persecution of the early Christians, i. 132.
- Laymen may exhort, but not in the name of the church, i. 71, n.
- Le Bas, extract from his "Life of Wycliffe," ii. 641.
- Legate, papal, commanded to extort money from the English, ii. 558.
- Leo I., pope, boldness of the scale on which he asserted the papal supremacy, i. 481.
- Leo II., pope, destroys the independence of the bishops of Ravenna, ii. 39.
- Leo III., pope, the first bishop of Rome who openly disclaimed subjection to the emperor, ii. 73.
- , restores the ancient jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury, ii. 74.
- , crowns Charlemagne at Rome, ii. 75.
- , orders the restoration of Eardulf, king of Northumbria, ii. 75.
- Leo IV., pope, the great influence of his personal character, ii. 84.
- , the first who dated his decrees from the year of his pontificate, ii. 84.
- Leo V., pope, ii. 152.
- Leo VI., pope, ii. 157.
- Leo VII., pope, ii. 157.
- , weakness of the temporal power of the pope in his time did not hinder the exercise of his spiritual influence, ii. 158.
- Leo VIII., pope, disgraceful contentions at Rome during his pontificate, ii. 163.
- Leo IX., pope, ii. 187.
- , his election confirmed by the people at Rome, ii. 188.
- , his efforts against simony, ii. 189.
- , establishes the doctrine of transubstantiation, ii. 190.
- , affirms the power of summoning all councils, and deposing all bishops, ii. 190.
- , specimen of the style adopted by the bishops of Rome, from one of his letters, ii. 191, n.
- Leo III., emperor, his controversy with pope Gregory II. concerning images, ii. 50.
- Leonists, derivation of that name given to the Albigenses, ii. 533, n.
- Liberius, pope, favours Arianism, i. 465.
- Liberty, perverted to schism, leads to rebellion, i. 220.

- Liberty flourishes when controversies are free, ii. 154.
- Licinius, gives toleration to the Christians, i. 216.
- , relapses into paganism, and openly defies Christ, i. 217.
- , defeat of, by Constantine, i. 218.
- Linus, pope, i. 458.
- Liturgies used in the three first centuries, i. 166.
- Locke, his definition of reason, i. 38.
- Lollards, on their origin, ii. 633, n.
- Lombard. See Peter Lombard.
- Louis of Bavaria opposes pope John XXII., ii. 635.
- , commanded by the pope to resign the imperial authority, ii. 636.
- , excommunicated by Clement VI., ii. 645.
- Luciferians, tenets of the, ii. 447.
- Lucilla, superstitious conduct of, i. 234.
- Lucius I., pope, i. 460.
- Lucius II., pope, dies of the wounds he received in a contest with the people of Rome, ii. 385.
- Lucius III., pope, ii. 437.
- , his bull the foundation of the inquisition, ii. 440. 462.
- , consequences of that bull, ii. 463.
- Luther, accomplished the destruction of ecclesiastical despotism, ii. 679.
- , did not deserve unmixed approbation, ii. 692.
- Lyons, first council of, synopsis of the, ii. 561.
- , decrees of the, ii. 562, n.
- , unavailing remonstrances made to it by England on the papal exactions, ii. 570.
- Lyons, second council of, synopsis of the, ii. 591.
- , constitutions of the, ii. 592, 593.
- , its laws for the election of popes in force at the present day, ii. 594.
- M.
- Macarius deposed by the sixth general council, ii. 32.
- Macedonians, tenets of the, ii. 446.
- Macedonius, his heresy condemned by the first council of Constantinople, i. 356. Further notice of him, 357, n.
- Mackintosh, Sir James, extract from, on the controversy between the nominalists and realists, ii. 373, n.
- Magistrate, civil, duty of, to excommunicated persons, i. 84.
- , his duty in matters of religion, i. 96.
- , in what sense the ecclesiastical ruler, i. 97.
- , Christian, his duty, i. 115.
- Mahometanism, its rise and progress, ii. 14.
- Malmesbury, William of, his statement regarding pope Formosus controverted, ii. 334, n.
- Man, his requirements as a mortal, an immortal, and a progressing being, i. 18—26.
- , his nature higher than that of angels, i. 262.
- Manicheans, tenets of the, ii. 445.
- Marcellinus, pope, i. 463.
- Marcellus, pope, i. 463.
- Marcian the emperor, continues the policy of his predecessors, i. 420.
- Marcionists, tenets of the, ii. 444.
- Marcus, pope, i. 463.
- Marcus Antoninus, persecution under, i. 129. Why he persecuted 137.
- Marinus, or Martinus II., pope, reverses the decrees of pope Hadrian and John respecting Formosus, ii. 146.
- Marinus II., or Martinus, pope, a great patron of monasteries, ii. 159.
- Marriage, its sacredness and happiness, ii. 262.
- of the clergy, origin of the laws against the, ii. 263.
- Martin I., pope, appoints papal vicars over bishops, ii. 20.
- Martin IV., pope, lays an interdiction on Viterbo for political offences only, ii. 598.
- , his last acts and death, ii. 601.
- Martyr, true meaning of the word, i. 195, n.
- Martyrdoms early, a proof of truth, i. 144.
- Martyrs for our own church to be venerated, i. 145.
- died for Christ, and not for their own churches only, ii. 694.
- Mass, the canon of the, compiled by Gregory the Great, ii. 12.
- Matilda, countess, ancestry of the, ii. 275, n.
- Matrimonial causes, interference of Rome in, has ever contributed to her influence, ii. 207.
- Maxentius, the emperor, death of, i. 214.
- , consequences of Constantine's victory over him, i. 226.

Maximin, persecution under, i. 130.
 ———, cruelties and death of, i. 215.
 Mede, Dr., on the eucharist, i. 163.
 Melchisedecians, or Miltiades, pope, i. 463.
 Melchizedecians, tenets of the, ii. 444.
 Meletius deposed by a council at Alexandria, i. 178.
 Melvill, striking passage from his sermons, i. 143.
 Menandrians, tenets of the, ii. 443.
 Merton, synod of, encroaches on the regal authority, ii. 583.
 Metangismonites, tenets of the, ii. 447.
 Metaphysical studies cannot convert the soul, i. 40.
 Metropolitans compelled to take an oath of obedience to the popes, ii. 348.
 ———, English, interference of Rome with their capitular election, ii. 388, n.
 Michael, patriarch of Constantinople, anathematized by the legates of pope Leo IX., ii. 193.
 Milan, edict of, published by Constantine, i. 229. Extracts from, 230, n.
 Milton, his remark on the fathers, i. 29, n.
 Ministers, a succession of, implied by the divine institution of the church, i. 76.
 Miraculous gifts, nature of, i. 64. Their duration in the church, 64.
 ——— powers in the church one great cause of the original success of the Gospel, i. 118, n.
 Missa fidelium and missa catechumenorum, difference between, i. 310, n.
 Monasteries, their uses and abuses in the tenth century, ii. 159.
 ———, their uses and abuses, ii. 214, n.
 Money demanded of England by the pope under threat of excommunication, ii. 582.
 Monitor, what meant by praying without a, in the early church, i. 167, n.
 Monks, first exempted from episcopal jurisdiction by Gregory the Great, ii. 11.
 Monophysite, meaning of that term, i. 422.
 Monothelite heresy a modified Euty-chianism, ii. 32.
 Monothelites, tenets of the, ii. 449.
 Montanism, the first schismatical heresy, i. 174.
 Montanists, councils against the, i. 173. ———, tenets of the, ii. 445.
 Montanus, the first enthusiast, i. 172.

Montanus, sanctioned by Victor, bishop of Rome, i. 176.
 Montesquieu, an erroneous remark of his, corrected, i. 99, n.
 Moral persuasion the only weapon of churches, i. 87.
 Morality and holiness, the two guides to man, i. 26.
 ———, three modes of establishing it on the basis of religion, i. 100.
 ——— of the early churches, i. 205.
 ———, its only true foundation, i. 206.
 Moravia, condition of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 221.
 Mosaical priesthood, i. 31.
 ———, resembled that of a tutor, i. 32.
 Murray, archbishop, evidence of, regarding the third canon of the fourth Lateran council, ii. 530.

N.

Nation, one, ought to constitute one church, ii. 643.
 Nazarenes, tenets of the, ii. 443.
 Neander, his view of the miraculous gifts of the apostles, i. 64, n.
 ———, his opinion respecting the toleration of Christianity by Gallienus, controverted, i. 136.
 Nero, the first persecutor of the Christians, i. 134. Causes of the persecution by him, 135.
 Nestorianism, rise of that heresy, i. 369.
 Nestorians, tenets of the, ii. 488.
 Nestorius, some account of, i. 369.
 ———, proceedings against him at the council of Ephesus, i. 374.
 Newman, on the use of private judgment, i. 43, n.
 ———, his opinion on the justice of punishing heretics controverted, i. 268, n.
 Nice, council of, political cause of its meeting, i. 264.
 ———, eminent men at the, i. 266.
 ———, number of bishops at the, i. 267, n.
 ———, creed there decided upon, i. 268.
 ———, synopsis of the, i. 269.
 ———, conclusion of the, i. 270.
 ———, canons of the, i. 271.
 —285
 ———, remarks on the sixth canon of the, i. 275, n.

- Nice, council of, erroneous decision in discipline by the, i. 279.
- Nice, second council of, summoned on the question of image-worship, ii. 63.
- synopsis of the, ii. 65.
- , memoranda on the, ii. 65—68, n.
- , eight sessions of the, ii. 66.
- , twenty-two canons of the, ii. 67.
- Nicholas I., pope, the real author of the *Dictatus Papæ*, ii. 37.
- , state of the world and of the episcopal power at the time of his pontificate, ii. 83.
- , the first pope who was crowned at his installation, ii. 92.
- , claims authority over the Greek emperor, ii. 93.
- , why he first quoted the false decretals, ii. 109, 114.
- , claims authority for the canons over the imperial laws, ii. 112.
- , restores Rothade, bishop of Soissons, after his deposition by Hinemar, ii. 113.
- , declares the decretals to be equal with Scripture, ii. 116.
- , exercises authority over emperors and kings, ii. 117.
- , his conduct to patriarchs and councils, ii. 118.
- , subjects Ravenna to the see of Rome, ii. 119.
- , the founder of the power of Gregory VII., ii. 120.
- Nicholas II., pope, elected through the influence of Hildebrand, ii. 193.
- , still further increases the power of Rome, ii. 201.
- , prefers the best and most learned men, ii. 202.
- Nicholas III., pope, ii. 496.
- , obtains the appointment of the archbishops of Canterbury, ii. 497.
- Nicholas IV., pope, pursues the Gregorian policy, ii. 603.
- Nicolaitans, tenets of the, ii. 443.
- Nobles, not to sit in presence of a bishop, ii. 145.
- Noëtians, tenets of the, ii. 446.
- Noetus, his heresy respecting the Logos, i. 177.
- Nogareto, employed by the king of France in the capture of pope Boniface VIII., ii. 617.
- Norway, state of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 219.
- Novatians, the Puritans of their day, i. 133.
- , tenets of the, ii. 445.
- Novellæ of Justinian, what, i. 445.
- Nyctages, tenets of the, ii. 443.
- O.
- Oath of obedience to the popes changed into an oath of allegiance, ii. 299.
- of communion with Rome not an oath of fidelity, ii. 623.
- Oaths, four forms of, taken by the bishops to the popes, ii. 293. Specimens of them, *ibid.* n.
- of allegiance to the popes, various specimens of, ii. 487, n.
- required by the popes the same as that of the feudal vassal, ii. 490.
- Object of the present work, i. 13.
- Obligation, religious, what meant by, i. 75.
- Œcumenical, that name first used at the council of Constantinople, i. 355, n.
- Offences, spiritual, not political crimes, i. 290.
- Oliva, John Peter, his tenets condemned by the council of Vienne, ii. 625.
- Onokoitis, a picture in ridicule of the Christians, i. 129.
- Ophites, tenets of the, ii. 443.
- Opinions, limits to their publication, i. 95.
- of rulers sometimes made the criterion of orthodoxy, ii. 3.
- Ordination of a bishop, what necessary to its validity, i. 235, n.
- Origen, his account of the first persecutions, i. 146.
- Origenists, tenets of the, ii. 446.
- Origin of the present work, i. 1—6.
- Orthodoxy, the opinions of rulers sometimes made its criterion, ii. 3.
- Ostiarîi, or doorkeepers, i. 391, n.
- Otho, king of Germany, crowned emperor by pope John XII., ii. 161.
- , he deposes that pope, ii. 162.
- , restores pope Leo VIII., and regains authority for the emperors to nominate the future popes, ii. 164.
- , restores pope John XIII., ii. 165.
- Owen, Dr. John, on excommunication, i. 32, n.
- Oxford, council at, ordains the present church festivals, ii. 545.
- , useful canons passed at a council there in 1232, ii. 554.

Oxford, university of, gives a cold reception to the papal bull against Wycliffe, ii. 669.

P.

Paganism, last efforts and utter abolition of, i. 410.

Pagi, a writer on ecclesiastical history, ii. 478.

Pall, origin of its being sent from Rome to bishops, ii. 17.

—, origin of the gift of the, uncertain, ii. 278.

—, granting it, implied an assumed superiority, ii. 279.

—, not received by the ancient British bishops, ii. 282.

—, difficulty of tracing its origin, ii. 283.

—, description of the, by Harfsfield and De Marca, ii. 284.

—, earliest authentic account of sending it, ii. 285.

—, not given originally without consent of the emperor, ii. 286.

—, granted by pope Gregory to Augustine for his services in England, ii. 287.

—, tables showing the English archbishops who received the pall from Augustine to Becket, ii. 289—292.

—, language of the popes on giving it, ii. 295.

—, eventually bestowed as a proof of authority, ii. 297.

—, the chief emblem of the papal usurpations, ii. 298.

—, contention about it in the case of Anselm, ii. 327.

Pandects of Justinian, what, i. 445.

Papacy, episcopacy its only successful opponent, i. 204.

—, Christianity too often identified with the, ii. 122.

—, the three great pillars on which it rested in the time of pope Nicholas I., ii. 123.

—, power over England always one of its great objects, ii. 334.

Papal definitions of heresy, ii. 453.

—, anti-heretical laws as severe as the pagan laws, ii. 461.

—, friendship indispensable to Justinian, i. 501.

—, meaning of ecclesiastical unity and liberty, ii. 419.

—, populace, cruelty of the, in the middle ages, ii. 361.

Papal power, causes of the enlargement of the, i. 497.

Papal power, its extent under Justinian, i. 498.

—, time of the origin of the papal temporal power, i. 499.

—, all exerted against private judgment, i. 500.

—, difficult to assign the exact origin of the, i. 511.

—, and ecclesiastical, not to be confounded, ii. 36.

—, increased by the empress Irene, ii. 70.

—, rests on the right of appeal to the pope, ii. 94.

—, in early times partook of the general increase of episcopal authority, ii. 96.

—, opposed in all ages of the church, ii. 135.

—, spiritual, the foundation of papal temporal power, ii. 158.

—, summary of the history of its progress, ii. 468.

—, superior to the regal in England, ii. 477.

—, begins to excite the disgust of its friends, ii. 553.

—, temporal and spiritual, inseparable, ii. 609.

—, indefinite, and therefore unlimited, ii. 649.

—, pretensions increase with the papal power, ii. 296.

—, remedies worse than political diseases, ii. 331.

—, supremacy at one time useful to Europe, i. 488. 508.

—, over kings, theory of the, ii. 136.

—, its abolition the duty of princes, ii. 137.

—, the first object of the inquisition, ii. 471.

—, begins to be a question of money, ii. 475.

—, its oppressive character in England, ii. 628.

—, receives its first fatal blow by the submission of John XXII. to the universal church, ii. 641.

—, its total rejection essential, ii. 662.

—, system, its permanency an Utopian theory, ii. 630.

—, usurpations, slow progress of the, i. 470.

Papist, the, most dangerous when most sincere, ii. 210, n.

Parishes, first division of England into, by Theodore, ii. 23.

Parochial clergy the intellectual strength of England, ii. 556.

- Paschal, pope, ii. 77.
 Paschal II., pope, ii. 331.
 ———, circumstances which tended to strengthen his (the Gregorian) party, ii. 332.
 ———, disputes between him and the king of England, ii. 337.
 ———, reproves the king of England and the bishops for presuming to hold national synods without consulting him, ii. 344.
 ———, condemns his own act with an eternal anathema, ii. 345.
 ———, confirms the legatine authority to the archbishops of Canterbury, ii. 346.
 ———, expelled from Rome by the emperor Henry V., ii. 347.
 ———, regains possession of Rome, where he dies suddenly, ii. 348.
 Past, the history of the, the instruction for the future, ii. 574.
 Paternians, tenets of the, ii. 448.
 Patriarchal priesthood, i. 30.
 ——— authority, resembled the paternal, i. 31.
 Patripassians, or Noëtians, tenets of the, ii. 446.
 Patritianists, tenets of the, ii. 447.
 Paul, St., view of his progress after his conversion, i. 65.
 ——— of Samosata, councils of Antioch against him, i. 177.
 ———, pope, enlarges the papal territories, ii. 58.
 Paulianists, the council of Nice orders them to be rebaptized, i. 284.
 ———, tenets of the, ii. 445.
 Paulicians, tenets of the, ii. 452.
 Peckham, archbishop, renews the constitutions of Ottobon, ii. 597, n.
 ———, holds a synod which sanctions taking away the cup from the laity in the Lord's Supper, ii. 600.
 Pedro II. of Arragon, his oath of fidelity to the pope, ii. 488, n.
 Peerage of England oppose pope Innocent III., ii. 501.
 Pelagian heresy, account of the, i. 368.
 Pelagians, tenets of the, ii. 448.
 Pelagius, author of the Pelagian heresy, i. 367.
 Pelagius I., pope, declares separation from the apostolic see to be schism, ii. 2.
 Pelagius II., the first pope elected without imperial consent, ii. 4.
 ———, infallibility and supremacy first claimed by, ii. 4.
 Penance and repentance not the same, ii. 24.
 People, their duty in judging of the doctrines taught them, i. 57.
 Pepin, king of France, increases the temporal possessions of the pope, ii. 57.
 Periods, four, into which history may be divided since the ascension, i. 5.
 Permission of evil explained only by revelation, i. 2.
 Persecution, history of, by the civil power, i. 6.
 ———, by the ecclesiastical power, i. 8.
 ———, under the Puritans, i. 9.
 ———, by the advocates of the influence of human reason, i. 10.
 ———, religious, definition of, i. 94.
 ——— of Christians by Christians, causes of the, i. 211.
 ———, four chief causes of, i. 218.
 ———, principles by which it was sanctioned, i. 287.
 ——— introduced by the laws of Constantine, i. 294.
 ——— not necessarily connected with the establishment of religion, i. 319.
 ———, history of, by the ecclesiastical power from the time of Justinian, ii. 1.
 ———, gradual rise of the spirit of, in the church, ii. 439.
 Persecutions, causes of the first, i. 119.
 ———, scriptural accounts of the first, i. 126.
 ———, early, their popular nature, i. 127.
 ———, under Domitian and Trajan, i. 128.
 ———, under Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Antoninus, i. 129.
 ———, under Severus, Maximin, Decius, and Valerian, i. 130.
 ———, their nature and causes considered, i. 131.
 ———, summary of their causes, i. 140.
 ———, Gibbon's remarks on, i. 141.
 ———, Origen's account of, i. 146.
 ———, the original, were incessant, i. 147.
 ———, on the theory of ten only, i. 148.
 ———, Dodwell and Ruinart controversy concerning, i. 149.

- Persecutors, their sincerity to be dreaded, ii. 308.
- , the worst, struck the first blow against heathenism, i. 212.
- Perseverance in error the curse of Rome, ii. 309.
- Persuasion, moral, the only right weapon of churches, i. 87.
- Peter de Bruys, opinions held by, which were condemned by the second Lateran council, ii. 378, n.
- Peter Lombard unites authority with reasoning, ii. 371.
- , character of his "Book of Sentences," ii. 372.
- Philagathus, antipope, ii. 170.
- Philip the Fair, king of France, resists pope Boniface VIII., ii. 610, 611.
- , his reply to the claims of Boniface, ii. 613.
- , arrests the papal legates, and burns the pope's letters, ii. 614.
- , charges brought by him against Boniface, ii. 617, n.
- , takes Boniface prisoner, ii. 618.
- , enters into a compromise with the Gregorian party, ii. 620.
- Philosophy, scholastic, its effect in strengthening the power of Rome, ii. 373.
- Photinians, tenets of the, ii. 446.
- Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, deposed and banished by pope Nicholas I., ii. 118.
- , anathematized by the eighth general council, ii. 131.
- Pillar, our Lady of the, origin of that title, i. 126, n.
- Pius I., pope, i. 458.
- Plan of the present work, i. 6—13.
- Plato, his fine sentiment on religion, i. 26, n.
- , his definition of truth, i. 54, n.
- Pneumatomachians, notice of that sect, i. 357, n.
- Poland, condition of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 221.
- Political opinions punished by spiritual censures, ii. 675.
- Pontian, pope, i. 460.
- Pontificate assumed by Constantine, i. 227.
- Popery, the dominion of mere authority over conscience, i. 44.
- , the worst heresy, i. 92.
- , prohibition of Scripture essential to, ii. 310.
- , the heaviest of all God's judgments, ii. 421.
- Popery, the religious government over unconvinced conscience, ii. 492.
- , includes ecclesiastical as well as papal despotism, ii. 679.
- Popes claim the right to elect the emperors, ii. 141.
- , the election of, taken from the clergy and people, ii. 200.
- , declared not to be subject to councils nor churches, ii. 406.
- Porretanus, Gilbert, heresies of, ii. 370.
- Portugal, state of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 218.
- Post-Nicene councils adopted the faults of Nice, i. 320.
- Power, civil, its prevalence to A. D. 533, i. 5.
- , its undue predominance the cause of persecution, i. 5.
- , ecclesiastical, its prevalence from A. D. 533 to 1563, i. 5.
- , results in the establishment of popery, i. 5.
- , civil, nature and limits of its influence, i. 96—116.
- , ecclesiastical, nature and limits of its influence, i. 47—96.
- , and authority, difference between, i. 85.
- , balance of, in the primitive churches, i. 316, n.
- , ecclesiastical, its progress from the time of Justinian, ii. 1.
- Præmunire, statute of, enacted in England, ii. 650.
- Pragmatic Sanction, published by Louis IX. of France against the decree of pope Clement IV., ii. 586.
- Prayers, extempore, not customary in the primitive church, i. 166.
- Preaching, who alone can give authority for, i. 67.
- , the apostles the only source of this authority during their lives, i. 70.
- , unlawful, except to those who have been ordained by competent authority, i. 73.
- Presbyterians, opposed toleration in the time of the Commonwealth, i. 60, n.
- Presbyterianism, its origin, i. 103.
- , doctrines taught by, i. 104.
- , progress of, i. 105.
- Priesthood, authority of the, i. 27.
- , comparative views of the authority of the, at different periods, i. 28—35.
- , the, to be dreaded for its error and ambition, even when most sincere, ii. 183.

- Priesthood, temporal dominion cannot be entrusted to the, ii 333.
- Priests and people, common duty of, i. 34.
- Principles, four, essential to national happiness, i. 3.
- , good and evil effects of their union or separation, i. 4. 12.
- , nature and limit of their influence on the human mind, i. 15.
- Priscillian, the first martyr to dissent, i. 309. Account of his persecution and death, 349.
- Priscillianists, rise of the sect of, i. 349.
- Priscillians, tenets of the, ii. 447.
- Private judgment, unlimited right of, i. 43.
- , on its exercise, i. 79, n.
- , mode of its exercise illustrated, i. 154.
- , all the papal power exerted against, i. 500.
- Protestant, all Europe really so, before that word was in use, ii. 632.
- Protestantism coeval with papal usurpations, ii. 575, n.
- Providence, plan of, unfolded only by revelation, i. 2.
- discovered in the laws against clerical marriages, ii. 265.
- seen also in permitting the great evil of the doctrine of transubstantiation, ii. 268.
- Provisors, statute of, enacted in England, ii. 647.
- Prussia, condition of, when Hiidebrand became pope, ii. 221.
- Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II., her beneficial influence over that emperor, i. 420. Marries Marcian, 420.
- Q.
- Questions, political, in the eleventh century merged in ecclesiastical, ii. 270.
- Quini-sextime council opposes the see of Rome, ii. 33.
- , its decisions rejected by pope Sergius, ii. 43.
- R.
- Radbert propounds the doctrine of transubstantiation, ii. 267.
- Ravenna subjected to the see of Rome by pope Nicholas I., ii. 119.
- Raymond of Toulouse, excommunication of, ii. 493.
- Reason, when perverted, mischievous effects of its exclusive influence in government, i. 5.
- , the nature and limits of its influence, i. 35.
- , its use in matters of religion, i. 33.
- , its submission to revelation a part of human duty, i. 41.
- to be chiefly guided by the written revelation, i. 43.
- , the use of, collision between it and authority, ii. 368.
- Reformatio Legum, extract from, on excommunication, i. 81, n.
- Reformation, the, only the termination of the resistance which had been given to the usurped power of Rome from its beginning, ii. 134.
- Regalia Petri, meaning of, ii. 395, n.
- Regeneration, baptismal, considered, i. 161.
- Religion, establishment of, without toleration, i. 100.
- , establishment of, with toleration, i. 102.
- , state of, in the United States of America, i. 114.
- , popular, its austere character in the eleventh century, ii. 179.
- Remigius abjures his profession to archbishop Stigand, by command from the pope, ii. 294, n.
- Repentance and penance not the same, ii. 24.
- Respect, tokens of, interpreted by the see of Rome to be acts of homage, ii. 73.
- Results, final, of Christianity, i. 209.
- Retrospect of the period between the years 969 and 1123, ii. 354.
- Revelation alone explains why evil is permitted, i. 2.
- , its proper influence on the mind considered, i. 17 25.
- required by man for his happiness, i. 19, 20.
- given to him for this end, i. 20.
- gradually developed, i. 21.
- defined, i. 22 ; general view of it, 22.
- referred either to prophecy or duty, i. 23.
- , evidences of, i. 23.
- , the Bible its record, i. 24.
- divided into three chief dispensations, i. 26.
- , its first teachers alone inspired, i. 28.

- Revelation, equally binding on priests and people, i. 34.
- , influence of its advocates from the period of the council of Trent to the reign of Charles II., ended in much error and persecution, i. 5.
- , the anticipation of the results of reasoning, i. 39.
- affirms the divinity of Christ, i. 261.
- Revolution of 1688, compared with the great schism, ii. 678.
- Richard I., his complaints of the papal power in England, ii. 477, n.
- Roman civil power, history of the causes and extent of persecution by the, i. 117.
- republic re-erected under the pontificate of Gregory II., ii. 53.
- see, state of, when Hildebrand first began to exercise his influence upon it, ii. 176.
- Roman-catholic, origin and meaning of the term, i. 385, n.
- Romanus, pope, ii. 151.
- Rome, causes of the alienation of Christians from, i. 33.
- declared by Justinian to be the source of all law, i. 506.
- the temporal sceptre passes to the bishops of, i. 507.
- must restore to the churches their spiritual privileges, i. 509.
- refuses to acknowledge the episcopacy, i. 510.
- , the ecclesiastical power becomes vested in the see of, i. 520.
- , conformity with, called the unity of the church, ii. 15.
- , its encroachments resisted by the catholic church, ii. 25.
- , its influence established in England at the end of the seventh century, ii. 44.
- , power of, increased by France, ii. 59.
- , submission to, identified with the fear of God, ii. 115.
- , corrupted, while it preserved the truth, ii. 121.
- , its deepest temporal degradation does not weaken the strength of its spiritual usurpation, ii. 174.
- , appeal to, constitutes it the principal tribunal for all Christendom, ii. 222.
- Rome, bishop of, declared to be responsible to God alone, i. 493.
- , takes precedence even at Constantinople, i. 494.
- Rome, bishop of, his authority unknown in the early church, i. 175.
- , extent of his authority in the primitive church, i. 180.
- , not supreme at the council of Nice, i. 275, n.
- Rome, church of, its erroneous use of the word church, i. 79, n.
- , its view of excommunication, i. 81, n.
- , its denial of toleration, i. 100.
- , evil consequences of its unimproving character, i. 101.
- , its purity in the time of Cyprian, i. 187.
- , did not originate persecution, i. 321. 381.
- , begins to share the imperial power, i. 380.
- , never recedes from a demand of power once made, i. 475.
- , strengthened by adopting images, ii. 53.
- , must officially reject the false decretals, ii. 98.
- , impossibility of tracing the apostolical succession in the, ii. 153.
- , becomes a kingdom of this world, ii. 191.
- , why preserved, notwithstanding its corruptions, ii. 357.
- , increased power of the, over the catholic church, ii. 363.
- Rome, city of, the emperors abandon its government, ii. 54.
- Rome, papal, its history made up of its perpetual encroachments, and the resistance they called forth, ii. 314.
- , communion with, identified with subjection to, ii. 343.
- , appeals to, the chief source of its continued power, ii. 347.
- , its political influence useful in the middle ages, ii. 356.
- , unchangeableness from its follies, its curse, ii. 362.
- , its power strengthened by the scholastic philosophy, ii. 373.
- , its opponents not always right in their own opinions, ii. 377.
- , the usurping claims of, urged under plea of grievance, ii. 413.
- , canon law of, its nature and object, ii. 460, n.

- Rome, papal, only to be satisfied by universal supremacy, ii. 503.
 ———, perseverance in error its curse, ii. 508.
 ———, where danger can be apprehended from, ii. 509.
 ———, must change, or be deserted, ii. 528.
 ———, distinguished for three hundred years before the Reformation by its avarice and cruelty, ii. 544.
 ———, its moral influence injured by its rashness, ii. 548.
 ———, consequences which must result from the subjection of England to it, ii. 569.
 ———, its opponents the friends both of the crown and the people, ii. 576.
 ———, holds the balance between the popular and regal powers, ii. 588.
 ———, appeals to, from England, in civil cases, prohibited, ii. 650.
 ———, the enemies of, have their peculiar faults, ii. 693.
- Rothade, bishop of Soissons, deposed by Hincmar, ii. 111.
 ——— appeals to the pope, who restores him, ii. 113.
- Ruinart, his controversy with Dodwell, on the early persecutions, i. 149.
 His conclusions to be received, 150.
- Russia, condition of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 220.
- S.
- Sabellians, tenets of the, ii. 446.
- Sabinian, pope, ii. 13.
- Sacrifice and sin, definition of, i. 162.
 ———, Christian, meaning of the, i. 164.
- Sacrifices, of divine institution, i. 162, n.
- Saints of God, of different communions, reflections on their oneness in Christ Jesus, ii. 394.
- Sapor, king of Persia, persecutes the Christians, i. 348, n.
- Sardican canons, probably spurious, i. 355, 465.
- Schism, definition of, i. 90, n.
 ——— between the eastern and western churches, its origin, ii. 132.
 ——— the great, destroyed the Gregorian power, ii. 676.
 ———, compared with the Revolution of 1688, ii. 678.
- Schismatics excluded from the imperial bounty by Constantine, i. 240.
- Scholasticism, its Aristotle-mania, ii. 366.
- Scholastic theology, origin of, ii. 364.
 ———, supports the papacy, ii. 567.
- Schoolmaster, Christian, anecdote of one at Antioch, i. 415, n.
- Schoolmen, reasoning, their submission to the church, ii. 367.
- Sclavi, on the shores of the Baltic, the last idolaters of Europe, ii. 220.
- Scotland, church of, its view of excommunication, i. 81, n.
- Scripture, prohibition of, essential to popery, ii. 310.
 ———, perverted in the bulls of the popes, ii. 473.
 ———, appealers to, against the popes, excommunicated, ii. 602.
 ———, appeals to it revived in the time of Wycliffe, ii. 651.
 ———, its final triumph over Rome certain, ii. 664.
 ———, the sufficiency of, the strength of the church, ii. 674.
 ———, God's blessing on the knowledge of, ii. 682.
 ———, alone, the faith of the church, ii. 683.
- Scriptures, the only rule of faith, i. 44, and n.
 ———, proposal for declaring them part of the law of the land, i. 115.
 ———, received by the primitive church, as we now receive them, i. 152.
 ———, study of the, among the primitive Christians, i. 208.
 ———, among its prayers, the strength of the English church, ii. 683.
- Secundus summons a council to consider the case of Cæcilian, i. 237.
- Sedes Stercoraria, explanation given by Mabillon of the, ii. 86, n.
- Self-denial different from self-tormenting, ii. 214.
- Semi-Pelagians, account of the, i. 369.
- Sergius, pope, ii. 42.
 ———, rejects the decision of the Quini-sexstine council, ii. 43.
- Sergius II., pope, ordained without the sanction of the emperor, ii. 82.
 ———, appoints a vicar over the churches of France and Germany, ii. 83.
- Sergius III., pope, ii. 153.
 ———, his vicious character, ii. 154.

- Sergius IV., pope, his contests with the French bishops, ii. 172.
- Sethites, tenets of the, ii. 444.
- Severians, tenets of the, ii. 444.
- Severinus, pope, ii. 19.
- Severus, persecution under, i. 130.
- Why he persecuted, 137.
- Simonians, tenets of the, ii. 443.
- Simony, efforts of pope Leo IX. against, ii. 188.
- , various kinds of real or supposed, ii. 189, n.
- Simplicius, pope, i. 488.
- , establishes vicars in the western churches, i. 489.
- Sin and sacrifice, definition of, i. 162.
- Sincerity must be united with truth, ii. 312.
- no proof of right opinions, ii. 424.
- of error the curse of the church, ii. 578.
- Sins of the heart, not punishable by society, i. 91.
- Siricius, pope, increases the power of that see, i. 468.
- , acknowledges the superiority of a council, i. 471.
- Sisinnius, pope, ii. 47.
- Sixtus I., pope, i. 458.
- Sixtus II., pope, i. 462.
- Sixtus III., pope, i. 481.
- Sixtus V., pope, singular instance of excommunication by, i. 82, n.
- Smith, Dr. Pye, on the corruptions of the early churches, i. 201.
- Soames, extracts from, on the gift of the pall to the English archbishops, ii. 279, n.
- Societies, the earliest Christian, their object, nature, and constitution, i. 49.
- Soter, pope, i. 459.
- Soul of the slave and of the prince equal before God, ii. 276.
- Spain, traditions in, concerning St. James, i. 126, n.
- , burning alive there as recently as the year 1826, i. 249, n., 309.
- always pre-eminent in persecution, i. 308.
- , condition of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 218.
- Spirit in which the present work is written, i. 14.
- Spittler, his remarks on the apostolical canons, i. 337.
- States cannot be governed on one principle only, ii. 183.
- Stephen, pope, his controversy with Cyprian, i. 199. He is declared to be schismatical, 200.
- , begins the usurpation which has been continued by his successors, i. 460.
- Stephen, his disputes with Cyprian and the eastern bishops, i. 461.
- Stephen II. chosen pope but not consecrated, ii. 56.
- , pope, first acknowledged as a temporal sovereign, ii. 56.
- Stephen III., pope, still further enlarges the papal power, ii. 58.
- , claims the power to dissolve marriages, ii. 60.
- Stephen IV., pope, crowns Lewis le Debonnaire, ii. 76.
- Stephen V., pope, declares the decrees of the church of Rome irrevocable, ii. 147.
- , asserts supremacy over every church in the world, and declares the Roman church infallible, ii. 148.
- Stephen VI., pope, insults said to have been offered by him to the dead body of Formosus, ii. 150;—reflections on the miracles said to have been witnessed on that occasion, ii. 150, n.
- , is thrown into a dungeon and strangled, ii. 151.
- Stephen VII., pope, ii. 157.
- Stephen VIII., pope, ii. 159.
- Stephen X., pope, requests Hildebrand to appoint his successor, ii. 197.
- Stephen, bishop of Tournay, opposes appeals to Rome, ii. 397.
- Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, deposed for resisting the Gregorian party, ii. 208.
- , one chief cause of the Norman conquest, ii. 280.
- , would not ask his pall from the Gregorians, ii. 294.
- , prevented universal submission to the Gregorians, ii. 300.
- history of his refusal of unconditional submission to the pope, and its singular consequences on the independence of England, ii. 301.
- , the archiepiscopal opponent of Rome, ii. 303.
- , hatred to him the cause of the papal blessing on William, ii. 304.
- his deposition, ii. 305.
- Stigmata of St. Francis affirmed by a papal bull, ii. 581.
- Stillingfleet, his remarks on traditio apostolica, and traditio apostolorum, i. 337, n.
- Supererogation, frauds of the doctrine of, ii. 568.
- Supremacy of Rome, summary of the causes of the, i. 496.

- Supremacy, universal, Rome satisfied with nothing less, ii. 503.
- Sweden, state of, when Hildebrand became pope, ii. 219.
- Sylverius, pope, i. 512.
- Sylvester, pope, no evidence of his having presided at the council of Nice, i. 463.
- Sylvester II., pope, gives to the king of Hungary the crown used at the present time, and declares him perpetual legate, ii. 171.
- Symmachus, pope, i. 493.
- T.
- Tanchelini, tenets of the, ii. 452.
- Tarasius presides at the second council of Nice, ii. 69.
- Tares of heresy not permitted to grow with the wheat, ii. 429.
- Tatians, tenets of the, ii. 444.
- Taylor, Jeremy, on the early triumphs of Christianity, i. 142.
- Telesphorus, pope, i. 458.
- Templars, suppression of the order of, ii. 622.
- Temporal power of the papacy, time of its origin, i. 499.
- Tertullian, what meant by his expression of praying without a monitor, i. 167, n.
- Tertullianists, tenets of the, ii. 448.
- Tessarescedecariteæ, tenets of the, ii. 448.
- Texts, misapplied, abound in the papal bulls, ii. 579.
- Theodore I., pope, requires the bishop of Constantinople to be tried at Rome, ii. 19.
- Theodore II., pope, ii. 151.
- Theodore the monk, sent into England by Vitalian as archbishop of Canterbury, where he establishes the Roman ceremonial, ii. 22.
- originates the division of England into parishes, ii. 23.
- the founder of Anglo-Saxon literature, ii. 24.
- Theodosian code, establishment of the, i. 379.
- , the principal foundation of the persecuting canon law, i. 379.
- , its effects, i. 383—409.
- , summary of its contents, i. 383—408.
- , its extensive and lasting influence, i. 409.
- Theodosians, tenets of the, ii. 448.
- Theodosius the Great, continues the policy of Constantine, i. 347.
- commences his reign, i. 353.
- , his edict, authorizing Trinitarians to assume the name of catholic, i. 353.
- , his policy continued by Theodosius the younger, i. 365.
- Theodosius, junior, calls the council of Ephesus, i. 370.
- Theology, scholastic, supports the papacy, ii. 567.
- Theopaschites, sect of, sprung from the Monophysites, i. 437.
- Θεοτόκος, origin of the controversy respecting that word, i. 369.
- Three chapters, edict of Justinian, so called, i. 514.
- Thurstan, archbishop of York, attends the council of Rheims, and is banished by king Henry I., ii. 350.
- , allowed to return to his see, ii. 351.
- Θυσιαστήριον, on the proper meaning of that word, i. 164, n.
- Toleration, doctrine of, does not justify religious caprice, i. 88.
- , its exercise provided for by Christ, i. 89.
- , without establishment, in the United States of America, i. 113.
- not allowed under the Pagan system, i. 134.
- , first edict in favour of, by Constantine, i. 228.
- Toulouse, council of, why held, and the disgraceful decrees passed by it, ii. 549, 550.
- Tours, council of, its persecuting canons, ii. 420.
- , first commands inquisitorial espionage, ii. 469.
- Traditio apostolica and traditio apostolorum, difference between, i. 337, n.
- Traditores, who so called, i. 233.
- Trajan, persecution under, i. 128.
- Transubstantiation, doctrine of, unknown to the Church of England in the tenth century, ii. 166—190.
- against reason, Scripture, and the senses, ii. 199.
- , the doctrine of, decreed by pope Gregory VII., ii. 265.
- , origin of that doctrine, progress of its enforcement, ii. 266.
- made an article of faith by the fourth council of Lateran, ii. 520, n.

- Transubstantiation the great provocative to infidelity, ii. 667.
- , slow progress of that doctrine in England, ii. 602.
- Transubstantiators, tenets of the, ii. 450.
- Trent, council of, acclamations and anathemas with which it was concluded, i. 270, n.
- “Trialogus” of Wycliffe, an account of that work, ii. 666.
- Trinitarian Christians the true Roman Catholics, i. 353.
- Tritheists, tenets of the, ii. 449.
- Truce of God, establishment of the, ii. 318.
- Truth, definition of, by Plato, i. 54, n.
- , conduct of the enquirer after, i. 59.
- , travels of the enquirer after, from the early ages, downward, i. 60.
- , and not liberality, to be followed, i. 188.
- , sufficient to conquer error, without persecution, i. 454.
- , the will of the emperors in the Justinian period, made the test of, i. 455.
- , apostolical succession of, ii. 540.
- Truths must be reconciled, not made to clash, i. 48.
- Tu es Petrus, first adopted by pope Leo I., i. 481.
- , on the true meaning of this text, ii. 326, n.
- Tusculum, counts of, claim the papacy as a right, ii. 177.
- U.
- “Unam Sanctam,” copy of that celebrated bull, ii. 612, n.
- Union, future, the only ground on which it may be hoped for, i. 12.
- , plans of, proposed, i. 13.
- United States of America, toleration without establishment in, i. 113.
- Unity of the church, Cyprian’s treatise on the, i. 189.
- of churches under the primitive episcopacy, i. 202.
- and union, difference between, i. 407.
- and liberty ecclesiastical, papal meaning of, ii. 419.
- Unordained Christians may exhort, but not in the name of the church, i. 71, n.
- Urban I., pope, i. 460.
- Urban II., pope, ii. 316.
- becomes the umpire between national parties, ii. 317.
- Urban II. anathematizes the antipope Clement III., ii. 316, 317.
- commands William Rufus to restore the lands of the see of Canterbury, ii. 329.
- Urban III., pope, ii. 473.
- Urban IV., pope, summary of his pontificate, ii. 584.
- Urban V., pope, ii. 651.
- revives the claim of tribute from England, ii. 653.
- , his dying declaration, ii. 654.
- Urban VI., pope, tumultuous proceedings at his election, ii. 674.
- , appalling character of the history of his pontificate, ii. 676.
- Usages of the churches, in the ante-Nicene period, become the laws of the church universal, i. 313.
- Usurpation, episcopal, earliest attempts at, i. 179.
- Usurpations, papal, ineffectual laws of France and England to check the, ii. 573.
- , resistance to, the foundation of our present liberties, ii. 584.
- V.
- Valens, the emperor, persecutes the Christians, i. 351.
- , law of, that no plebeian should be ordained, ii. 6.
- Valentine, pope, the first who was enthroned at his installation, ii. 81.
- Valentinians, tenets of the, ii. 443.
- Valerian, persecution under, i. 130.
- Vaudois, some of them the first who suffered death for religious opinions in England, ii. 420, n.
- Venema doubts the authenticity of Justinian’s epistles, i. 504.
- Vicars, papal, first instituted by Damasus, i. 468.
- , poor, entitled by law to adequate support, ii. 554, n.
- Vices of the popes did not affect their spiritual power, ii. 157.
- Victor, pope, the first who attempted to impose the Roman custom on other churches, i. 175.
- favours the heresy of Montanus, i. 176.
- commences intolerance in non-essential matters, i. 459.
- Victor II., pope, ii. 194.
- , appealed to by the emperor to excommunicate a king, ii. 196.
- Victor III., pope, ii. 312.
- , continues the war against

- the imperial party successfully, ii. 314.
- Vienne, synopsis of the council of, ii. 624.
- , transactions of that council, ii. 625.
- Vigilius, pope, banished from Constantinople during the meeting of the council there, i. 512.
- Virgin Mary, on the worship offered to her in the church of Rome, ii. 482.
- , description of a curious wood-cut of her, in the "Annals" of Baronius, ii. 483.
- Vitalian, pope, his great influence in England, ii. 21.
- Viterbo, interdict on, for political offences only, ii. 598.
- Vivi-comburation, history of, i. 249, n.
- Volumen Authenticum of Justinian, i. 445.
- , letter from, to pope John II., i. 505.
- W.
- Waddington on Nestorianism, i. 378.
- , extract from, on the settlement of the question of investitures, ii. 254, n.
- Wafer, consecrated, veneration of the, decreed, ii. 603.
- Waldenses, in the ninth century, resisted the corruptions of the church of Rome, ii. 81.
- , tenets of the, ii. 450.
- , severity of the canon law against them, ii. 458.
- , different names by which they were known, ii. 535.
- Warburton on the power of the church, i. 85, n.
- Weakness of the states of Europe has ever been the strength of Rome, ii. 216.
- Western empire, convulsions in the, i. 421.
- , overthrow of the, i. 434.
- Westminster, statute of, when passed, and why, ii. 599.
- Whitby, his work on tradition, i. 29, n.
- Wilfrid strengthens the power of Rome in England, ii. 26.
- , the papal decrees concerning him rejected in England, ii. 46.
- Will, unity of, in the person of Christ, the Monothelite heresy, ii. 32.
- William the Conqueror, reasons of the pope for aiding him with his blessing, ii. 206.
- , requests the pope to send legates to England, ii. 207.
- William Rufus, his contest with Anselm and pope Urban II., ii. 321—330.
- Winchelsey, archbishop, his speech on the superiority of the spiritual authority over the temporal, ii. 608.
- , holds a synod against the taxation of the clergy, but finally submits to the king, ii. 609.
- Witnesses, decrees of pope Leo IV., on the number of, necessary to convict a bishop of crime, ii. 84, n.
- Worcester, bishop of, fined for obedience to the pope, ii. 616.
- World, political state of the, in the days of pope Nicholas I., ii. 89.
- Worship, modes of, in the primitive church, i. 207.
- , public, celebrated in the native language of every country till the time of Gregory the Great, ii. 7.
- Wycliffe, his attempts at reformation premature, ii. 387.
- , opposes the mendicant friars, ii. 650.
- , appeals to the pope against his archbishop, ii. 652.
- , rejects the temporal, but not the spiritual power of the pope, ii. 653.
- , four bulls against him issued by pope Gregory XI., ii. 656.
- , appointed one of the commissioners on the grievance of granting English benefices to aliens, ii. 661.
- , his eminent position as a protestant prophet, ii. 664.
- , nineteen alleged errors of, submitted to the pope, ii. 666.
- , publishes his *Triologus*, ii. 666.
- , difficulties under which he laboured, ii. 667.
- , the four papal bulls against him, ii. 668.
- , had not the personal boldness possessed by Luther, ii. 669.
- , only began the work of the Reformation, ii. 670.
- , events which tended to the security of his early adherents, ii. 671.
- , publishes his tract on the sufficiency of the Scriptures, ii. 673. 682.

Wycliffe, his appeal to the sovereigns of Europe, ii. 677.
 ———, accomplishes the destruction of papal despotism, ii. 679.
 ———, condemned at Oxford for his attack on transubstantiation, ii. 684.
 ———, discussion of the question, whether he visited Bohemia, ii. 688.
 ———, the one great mistake made by him and Calvin, ii. 690.
 ———, an estimate of the character and importance of his labours, ii. 691.
 ———, did not deserve unmixed approbation, ii. 692.
 ———, twenty-four of his conclusions condemned by archbishop Courteney, ii. 685.
 ———, defends his opinions on the eucharist at Oxford, ii. 686.
 ———, his death, ii. 687.

Z.

Zachary, the first pope consecrated without the confirmation of the civil power, ii. 55.
 ———, concludes a treaty of peace without reference to the imperial government, ii. 55.
 ———, his great personal influence, ii. 56.
 Zeno, the emperor, issues the edict called the Henoticon, i. 438.
 Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, patronizes Paul of Samosata, i. 177.
 Zephyrinus, pope, first received the title of bishop of bishops, i. 459.
 Zozimus, pope, maintains and enlarges the power of the papal see, i. 457.

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