









THE

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HISTORY

OF

THE POPES OF ROME,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME:

INCLUDING

THE HISTORY

OF

SAINTS, MARTYRS, FATHERS OF THE CHURCH,

RELIGIOUS ORDERS, CARDINALS, INQUISITIONS, SCHISMS,

AND THE GREAT REFORMERS.

By LOUIS MARIE DE CORMENIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:

JAMES M. CAMPBELL.

1847.

M. W. DODD,

PUBLISHER AND BOOKSELLER,

BRICK CHURCH CHAPEL, OPPOSITE CITY HALL,

NEW YORK.

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ENTERED, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1846, by  
JAMES M. CAMPBELL,  
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States, of the Eastern District  
of Pennsylvania.

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Printed by King & Baird.

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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THE want of a history of the popes of Rome, at once complete, concise, and written in a popular style, has long been felt as a desideratum in our language. That void is supplied in the following work. At this juncture, when the struggle of the church of Rome for future power, has been transferred from the shores of Europe to our own land, it seemed desirable that such a book should be placed within the reach of all.

This work opens to our view a clear exposition of the public history and private practices of the men, who, from the position of simple pastors of a single church, advanced their authority, step by step, until they became not only the ecclesiastical, but in the temporal lords of Christendom. It treats with comprehensive minuteness of their onward march to greatness from their first usurpations over the surrounding churches, until, in the zenith of their pride and power, they trampled emperors and kings beneath their feet, absolved nations from their allegiance, took away and bestowed kingdoms, and parcelled out a world to whom they would. The craft of the first Leo—the steady perseverance of the early popes in their settled policy of aggrandizement—the bold daring of Hildebrand, the monk of Cluny, the master spirit of his age—the public infamy and private debaucheries of Borgia—the reckless audacity of the Farnese, and the voluptuous licentiousness and philosophical atheism of the tenth Leo, are painted by a master's hand. The actors in the scenes recounted, live and move and have a being, as they pass in review before us.

A short but spirited review of the political condition of the world until Christianity was placed on the throne of the Roman empire, with the various heresies that have occurred, with their leading doctrines and principal actors, are set forth with great clearness and comprehensiveness. In a word, the reader of this work will find himself, at the close of its perusal, acquainted with all the leading facts connected with the history of the Christian church, and the accompanying political history of the world.

Coming from the pen of a Roman Catholic, but one who is enabled to see that good may be found out of the pale of his own church, it may be read without the suspicion of its truth, naturally attendant on such a production from the pen of one of adverse faith. The vices of the men who claim to be the vicars of Christ on earth are not slurred over; the horrors attendant on religious bigotry and fanaticism in the persecution, torture and murder of fellow men, are truthfully portrayed; and the claim for the popes to infallibility best exposed by the record of their ambition, avarice, public dishonesty and private turpitude.

All are not portrayed as base; for in the long catalogue of the rulers of the church of Rome, it would indeed be strange, if there were not found, as there are, men endowed with noble natures, lofty aspirations, and generous desires for the benefit of their fellows: these shine forth as brilliant lights in the surrounding darkness.

The strong republican feelings of the author have led him to watch with a close and critical eye all movements having a tendency to the concentration of power, either in church or state, in the hands of a single individual, and will meet with a ready response in the only large and powerful nation of the world in which civil and religious freedom may be truly said to exist in a pure form.

His views, however, on any subject treated of, and more especially concerning the so-called philosophers of the eighteenth century, are not, of course, endorsed by the translator. It was his aim to set his author down as he found him, and nothing more. One word of explanation may be necessary. Whenever the words "priest" and "priesthood" occur they refer exclusively to the ministry of the Roman church, as do the words "church" and "religion" to that church and its tenets.

That some portions of the work are calculated to excite disgust in the minds of the readers can readily be understood. In dealing however with impurity we cannot avoid bringing many things to light which a fastidious taste will deprecate. The horrid corruptions of the Roman church would however never be known unless the tinsel covering which gilds it is removed, and the putrid mass of corruption lying beneath the veil of its infallibility can never be exhibited without the removal of that veil. Private vice as well as religious corruption have marked its progress, and to expose the one it is necessary to lay bare the other.

An earnest desire to place the history of this all-aspiring church, and the true character of its infallible heads, before his countrymen, as a beacon and a warning, led him to undertake this task. Should he succeed in this, his object will be accomplished.

## P R E F A C E .

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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES is an immense work, which embraces within its scope the political, moral, and religious revolutions of the world. It runs through a long series of ages, during which the bishops of Rome, whose mission was to announce to men a divine religion, have forgotten it in their pride of power, have outraged the morality of Christ, and become the scourge of the human race.

Formerly the thunders launched from the Vatican by sacrilegious priests, overthrew kingdoms, and covered Europe, Asia and Africa, with butcheries, wars and conflagrations. But the times are changed; religious passions are softened; philosophy has overthrown absolute thrones, and broken down the colossal power of the popes.

A brief analysis of these epochs precedes our history, and offers a frightful picture of monstrous debaucheries, bloody wars, memorable schisms, and revolutions. It prepares, by its wonderful recital, for the long succession of pontiffs and kings celebrated for their crimes, or illustrious for their exploits.

In the past ages the HISTORY OF THE POPES introduces us to the butcheries of the inquisition, which we now hope will receive the honours of excommunication from posterity.



*Lith. of Wagner & M<sup>o</sup> Geyser, Philad<sup>a</sup>*

Sabas Bishop of Jerusalem



## HISTORY OF THE POPES.

THE wisdom of nations has caused blind fanaticism to disappear; reason and tolerance have replaced the religious passions which drove men to the most horrible extremes, and caused them to resemble tigers, gorged with blood, rather than human beings.

The pride of the popes, and their insatiable ambition, found in absolute monarchs powerful and frequently docile auxiliaries, in imposing upon the people their execrable wishes, in overwhelming the weak, in aggrandizing their estates, and at length in reaching so great a height of audacity, that they called themselves the representatives of God upon earth, and arrogated the right of giving away kingdoms, deposing princes, and dividing the world.

The shades of ignorance then obscured the mind; the people, stupified in a frightful slavery, rent each other like wild beasts, in order to please their tyrants, and subserve their ill-regulated passions. Ages of misfortune, massacres, incendiarism and famine!

Abusing the credulity of the people, kings destroyed empires in their senseless sway, and made a desert alike of the city and the country.

The popes, more loose and savage than the tyrants of ancient Rome and Byzantium, seated upon the pontifical chair, crowned with a triple diadem of pride, hypocrisy and fanaticism—surrounded by assassins, poisoners, and courtiers—surrendered themselves to all kinds of debauchery, and insulted the public misfortunes.

But the darkness is dissipated; murder, assassination, misery, and devastation, have given place to truth,—eternal truth, which the policy and the cruelty of kings had buried under the rubbish of empires!

History—great and magnificent lesson! it wanders through the past when the pitiless barbarity of priests, aided by the ignorance of men, overwhelmed the world; when the inhabitants of the country, naked and ragged, caused horror in the brigands themselves, who found nothing left to pillage but dead bodies. It recalls the epochs of disaster, confusion and solitude, when the smallest farm houses among English, French and Romans, were armed against the wretches in the pay of kings and nobles, who were greedy for their prey; all were bent on pillaging the labourer and massacring the people: and, astonishing and horrible to relate, the very animals, accustomed to the sound of the tocsin, a signal of the arrival of the soldiery, ran without guides to their hiding-places.

Nations will learn to judge of emperors and kings, inflexible and inexorable despots, who drove on millions of men to cruel wars, in order to sustain the most unjust pretensions, augment the number of their slaves, increase their wealth, satisfy the unbridled luxury of their courtiers, satiate the avidity of their mistresses, or perhaps occupy the unquiet and restless spirit of a king devoured with *ennui*.

The people will learn great truths from history; they will learn by what bold impiety, what sacrilegious deeds, popes and kings have been the causes of the greatest misfortunes to Europe, during two thousand years of tyranny and fanaticism.

During the reign of Tiberius appeared a man, the son of Mary, called Christ. The nations were plunged in ignorance; the law of Moses was obscured by human traditions; the morals of the Israelites, and of those of other people, were in a like degree of corruption. This man, all extraordinary, all divine, did not content himself with mourning over the human race. He preached, he dogmatized, he taught a code of severe morality, opposed to the corrupt maxims of the age.

His disciples, chosen from among the people, taught, as they had learned from their divine Master, sage precepts, a holy and rigid morality, a mysterious doctrine, and incomprehensible dogmas. The disciples of Christ did not employ force to cause men to receive their precepts; on the contrary, they were persecuted in all ways, and their preaching, aided by their example, made the most rapid progress.

They persecuted the man of God. They pursued him with a fury equal to the zeal with which he bore witness against vice; and he terminated his divine mission by an infamous punishment.

The first Christians were distinguished by the names of brethren,—holy, faithful; they were humble, obscure, and poor, working with their own hands for their subsistence. They spread themselves secretly in peace; some went to Rome, mixed up among the Jews, to whom the Romans permitted the exercise of their worship in their synagogues.

It was towards the year 60 of our era, that the Christians commenced separating themselves from the Jewish communion. They separated themselves on account of the violent quarrels among the synagogues scattered through Rome, Greece, Egypt and Asia; they

were accused of atheism by their Jewish brethren, and excommunicated three times on the Sabbath day.

Many churches were formed, and the separation became complete between the Jews and Christians. The Romans had an equal contempt for both. This people, the most tolerant on the earth, permitted their extravagance so long as they did not interfere with the order of things established by law; but when these obscure sectarians became persecutors—when they spat upon the images of the gods—when they overthrew their statues, then the prefect of Rome gave them up to the axe of the victors.

In the first age the apostles and their successors concealed themselves in the catacombs of Rome, wandering about in villages and caverns. The popes had not yet an episcopal throne; they did not step upon the heads of kings; they did not yet overthrow empires.

The alms of the Neophytes rendered the place of bishops in the great cities very lucrative; their credit extended itself, because of their wealth; their insolence and audacity increased in a like proportion, and their formidable power raised itself by a deception of the people.

When the churches received a form, they recognized five orders; the superintendents of souls, the bishops; the elders of the society, who were the priests; the servants or deacons; the initiated or believers, who partook of the love feasts; the catechumens, who were awaiting baptism: all these dressed like the rest of mankind, nor were they constrained to preserve celibacy.

Becoming more numerous, they raised themselves up against the Roman empire, and forced the magistrates to act with severity against a sect which troubled the public order. They did not punish the Jews, who were separated from the Christians, and who shut themselves up in their synagogues; they permitted to them the exercise of their religion, as that of all other worships.

But the Christians, declaring themselves enemies of all other religions, and especially of that of the empire, were many times punished by its laws. From this crowd of martyrs have the priests of Rome filled their legends. Historians affirm that few Christians perished as martyrs; no one was persecuted for his religious belief, but for acts forbidden by all laws.

Councils even were tolerated; they recount five in the first century, six in the second, and thirty in the third. The emperors beheld with contempt, sometimes with indignation, the progress of this new religion, which was elevating its worship on the ruin of the gods of the empire.

Diocletian, who passes for a persecutor, was, during more than eighteen years, the avowed protector of the Christians; they occupied important places about his person; he even married a Christian, and permitted them in Nicomedia, his residence, to build a superb church opposite to his palace. Galerius con-

vinced Diocletian that this sect, which he protected, was intoxicated with fanaticism and fury.

The emperor published an edict for the destruction of the church in Nicomedia; a fanatic tore it to pieces. Information was laid and proof found of a wide-spread conspiracy, which extended itself from one extremity of the empire to the other. Antioch, Jerusalem, Cæsarea and Alexandria, were filled with these intolerant innovators. The hearth of this fire was in Italy, Rome, Africa and Asia Minor. More than two hundred thousand of the conspirators were condemned to death.

We arrive at the epoch when Constantine placed Christianity upon the throne. From thence we see Christians, animated by a furious zeal, persecuting without pity, fanning the most extravagant quarrels, and constraining pagans, by fire and sword, to embrace Christianity.

Constantius Chlorus had a Christian concubine, the mother of Constantine, and known as Saint Helena. Cæsar Constantius Chlorus died at York in England, at a time when the children, whom he had by the daughter of Maximilian Hercules, his legitimate wife, could make no pretensions to the empire. Constantine, the son of his concubine, was chosen emperor by six thousand German, Gallician, and British soldiers. This election, made by the soldiery, without the consent of the senate and Roman people, was ratified by his victory over Maxentius, chosen emperor at Rome,—and Constantine mounted a throne soiled with murders.

An execrable parricide, he put to death the two Licinii, the husband and son of his sister; he did not even spare his own children, and the empress Fausta the wife of this monster, was strangled by his orders in a bath. He then consulted the pontiffs of the empire, to know what sacrifices he should offer to the gods in order to make expiation for his crime. The sacrificing priests refused his offerings, and he was repulsed with horror by the high priest, who exclaimed, "Far from hence be parricides, whom the gods never pardon." After this a priest promised him pardon for his crimes, if he should become purified in the water of baptism, and the emperor became a Christian.

He then left Rome, and founded his new capitol of Constantinople. During his reign the ministers of the Christian religion commenced showing their ambition, which had been concealed during three centuries. Assured of impunity, they cast the wife of Maxentius into the Orontes, murdered his relatives, massacred the magistrates in Egypt and Palestine, drew from their retreat the widow and daughter of Diocletian, and threw them into the sea.

Constantine assembles the council of Nice, exiles Arius, recalls him, banishes Athanasius, and dies in the arms of Eusebius, the chief of the Arians, having been baptized on the bed of death, in order to escape the torments of hell.

Constans, the son and successor of Constantine, imitates all his barbarity; like him, he assembles councils, which proscribe and anathematise. Athanasius sustains his party in Europe and Asia by combined skill and force; the Arians overwhelm him. Exiles, prisons, tumults and assassinations, signalize the termination of the abominable life of Constans.

Jovien and Valentinian guarantee entire liberty of conscience. The two parties exercise against each other hatred and merciless rage.

Theodosius declares for the council of Nice. The empress Justine, who reigned in Illyria and Africa, as the tutress of the young Valentinian, proscribes him.

The Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, and Franks, hurl themselves upon the provinces of the empire; they find the opinions of Arius established in them, and the conquerors embrace the religion of the conquered.

The pope Anastasius calms, by his justice and his toleration, the religious quarrels which separate the churches of the East and the West; but the hatred of the priests soon terminated, by crime, a life which had been glorious for religion, and dear to humanity.

Mahomet appeared in the seventh century. A skilful impostor, he founds a new religion, and the greatest empire of the world. Banished from Mecca, he re-assembles his disciples, establishes the foundation of his theology, and marches to the most surprising conquests.

The Christians were divided by gross heresies. The Persians made a terrible war on the empire of the east, and pursued Jews and Catholics with an implacable hatred. All was confusion in church and state.

The bishops had not yet arrogated to themselves temporal jurisdiction; but the weakness of the empire of the west gave rise to this scandalous usurpation, which has covered Europe with butcheries, disasters, and ruin.

Peppin, king of France, allies himself in succession with popes Zachary and Stephen. In order to cloak from the eyes of the people his usurpation of the crown of France, and the murder of his brother, he surrenders to the Holy See the domains in Romagna, taken from the Lombards.

Stephen the Third, an hypocritical priest, does not delay to signalize his new power, by the excess of the most frightful ambition.

Under Stephen the Sixth, fury is at its height. The clergy are divided into factions, and the pope is chosen in the midst of the carnage. The pontiff, after his victory, put out the eyes, and tore out the tongue, of Constantine the Second, his predecessor.

Charlemagne invades Lombardy; deprives his nephews of their inheritance; despoils his brother-in-law to punish him for having undertaken their defence, carries him to Lyons in chains, and condemns him to terminate his days in prison. Then Leo the Third placed a crown of gold upon his head, and a mantle of purple on his shoulders. But the descendants of Charlemagne could not preserve at

Rome the influence this usurper had acquired, by granting to the popes the land he had taken away from the Lombards.

Paschal the First, by a criminal boldness, put out the eyes and cut off the heads, in the patriarchal palace of the Lateran, of Theodorus, a high officer of the Roman church, and of Leo his son-in-law, because they had remained faithful to Lothaire. On the death of this pope the people endeavoured to prevent his burial, and wished to drag his dead body through the streets of Rome.

Eugenius, his successor, occupies himself in transporting from the sepulchres of Italy putrefied bones, the frightful vestiges of human nature. He sent them into France, Germany and England, and sold them to Christian Europe.

Leo the Fourth has the impudence to assure the bishops of immunity for the most frightful crimes.

After the death of Leo, a woman mounts the chair of St. Peter, celebrating mass, creating bishops, and giving her feet to be kissed by princes and people. The popess Joan becomes enceinte by a cardinal, and dies in the pangs of child-birth, in the midst of a religious ceremony.

In the ninth century, the Greek and Latin churches separate. Ridiculous differences cause five centuries of murders, carnage, and frightful wars; and twenty-five bloody schisms in the west soil the chair of Rome.

The Arabs and Turks overwhelm the Greek and African churches, and elevate the Mahomedan religion upon the ruins of Christianity.

The Roman church maintains itself, amid troubles, discords and ruin. During this epoch of anarchy, the bishops and abbots in Germany became princes, and the popes obtain absolute power in Rome.

Stephen the Seventh, driven on by a pitiless rage, orders the sepulchre of Formosus to be despoiled, causes them to take out from it the dead body, and, horrible to relate, has it brought into the synod assembled to degrade him. Then this frightful body, covered with the pontifical habits, is interrogated in the midst of scandalous and infuriate clamour. "Why hast thou, being bishop of Portus, usurped, through ambition, the universal see of Rome?" Then the pope, pushed on by an execrable barbarity, orders his three fingers and head to be cut off, and his dead body to be cast into the Tiber.

Sergius invades the pontifical chair. He leads publicly a life, soiled with debaucheries, with the famous courtesan Marozia. Their son becomes pope, under the name of John the Twelfth, and surpasses them by his monstrous crimes. Cardinals and bishops accused him of incest with his mother—of violating the holy virgins—of adultery, homicide, profanity and blasphemy.

Gregory the Fifth cuts off the feet, hands, tongue and ears of John and Crescentius, and makes them walk, thus mutilated, through the streets of Rome.

Benedict the Ninth is raised to the Holy See at

twelve years of age, by the intrigues and gold of the Count of Tuscanella. He immediately surrenders himself to excess of depravity, and the most shameless debaucheries. The Romans, worn out by his outrages, drive him from Rome, and name another pope, Sylvester the Third. Benedict, by the assistance of his relatives, seats himself anew in the Holy See; but perceiving himself to be an object of universal execration, and fearing a terrible fall, he, by an infamous simony, sells the Holy See, and consecrates a third pope, John the Twentieth. He then retires into the palace of his father, in order to surrender himself to the most infamous pleasures.

After having made this odious traffic, the desire of ruling re-enters his soul, and places him a third time in this dishonoured chair. Alone, against the Romans, who held him in horror—alone against the two other popes, producing a triple schism—he proposes to his adversaries to divide between them the revenues of the church.

These three anti-popes, by a shameful traffic, divide into three parts the patrimony of the poor, and boldly rule; the one at Saint Peter's, the other at St. Mary Major, and the third at the palace of the Lateran; an execrable triumvirate.

A bold, avaricious and dissolute priest, purchases from the three popes their infamous titles to the papacy, and succeeds them under the name of Gregory the Sixth.

Hildebrand, the monk of Cluny, the prisoner of popes, the most deceitful of priests, usurps the pontifical see, under the name of Gregory the Seventh. He launches his anathemas against kings; excites public wars; fills Germany and Italy with disorder, carnage and murder. He excommunicates the emperor of Germany; takes from him the title of king; frees his people from the oath of obedience; excites princes against him, and at last reduces him to such a state of misfortune, that the force of his mind is shattered. At length—extreme of pride and degradation—the king sought the pope “in the depth of winter, fasting, with naked feet and in his shirt, having a pair of scissors and a hair-brush in his hand.”

Adrian, the son of an English friar, causes the emperor Barbarossa to hold the stirrup of his palfrey; and in order to add barbarity to his triumph, demands that the famous Arnold of Brescia should be delivered up to him to be burned alive, because he had preached against the luxury of priests, and the abominations of pontiffs.

Alexander pushes still further than his predecessors his outrages against kings. The emperor Frederick, in order to free his son Otto, who was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans, supplicates the pope to absolve him from excommunication. The inflexible Alexander demands that the emperor should come in person to ask for his pardon, in the presence of the assembled people, without his robes or his crown, having the rod of a

beadle in his hand, and that he should prostrate his face to the earth. When he was extended on the ground at the entrance of the church, Alexander put his foot on his neck and trampled on him, exclaiming, “Thou shalt tread upon the serpent and the cockatrice, and shalt crush the lion and the dragon.”

Celestin the Third, affords a frightful example of insatiable avarice. Alexander had trampled under his feet Frederick Barbarossa, who demanded the liberation of his son. This new pope, for money, crowned the emperor Henry the Fourth, an execrable monster, who renewed the impious sacrilege of Stephen the Seventh, by exhuming the dead body of Tancred, that his head should be cut off by the public executioner. He put out the eyes of William, the young son of Tancred, after having made him an eunuch. He condemned the count Jourdan to a horrible punishment, having caused him to be affixed to a chain of heated iron, and to be crowned by a circle of hot iron, which they fastened on his head.

Innocent the Third preached the crusades against the infidel, and increased his treasury from the riches of the people. This crafty, sacrilegious pope, established the monstrous tribunal of the inquisition. Then he preached a crusade against the Albigenses, and despoiled the estates of Raymond the Sixth, count of Toulouse. He sent forth St. Dominick, with power to persecute with fire, sword, and unheard-of torments, the unfortunate Waldenses. The crusaders stormed the city of Beziers. The frightful Dominick, Christ in one hand and a torch in the other, creates the carnage, and sixty thousand dead bodies were buried under the ruins of that city, which was reduced to ashes. Toulouse, Carcassonne, Alby, Castelnauary, Narbonne, Arles, Marseilles, Aix, Avignon, were devastated by the arms of the pope.

Gregory the Ninth, in order to maintain his ambitious projects and the unbridled luxury of his court, levies imposts on France, England and Germany. He excommunicates kings, frees people from their allegiance, and is driven from Rome by his subjects. Raymond the Seventh, though a Catholic, but the son of a heretic, is pursued by him and despoiled of his estates. The pope sends a legate into France, to sustain this abominable war in Languedoc and Provence. Raymond defends himself gallantly; and the people, tired of the insatiable avarice of Gregory the Ninth, refuse to pay the imposts, and force the pope to conclude a peace.

The pontiff, arrested in his progress, condemns Raymond to pay ten thousand marks of silver to his legate, two thousand to the abbey of Citeaux, a thousand to that of Grand Ligne, and three hundred to that of Belle Pouche, all for the remission of his sins, as the treaty signed at the door of the cathedral of Paris witnesses.

Innocent the Fourth, in the midst of his crimes performed a generous action, which reconciles humanity to him. He undertakes the

defence of the Jews of Germany, whom the princes and priests persecuted, in order to enrich themselves with their spoils. In that barbarous age, a false zeal for religion served as a pretext for the most revolting injustice. They invented calumnies against the Jews, accused them of eating the heart of a new-born infant at the passover supper; and, when they found the body of a dead man, they put them to the torture, and condemned them to perish by the most frightful torments.

Urban the Fourth signs a shameless treaty with St. Louis and Charles of Angou, to enrich themselves with the kingdom of Naples, and divide the estates of the young Conradin. The pope overcomes the scruples of the king of France, and causes the duke of Angou to swear that he will abandon to the Holy See the domains to which he laid pretensions, and pay eight thousand ounces of gold every year.

Clement the Fourth continues the policy of his predecessor. The young Conradin returns to his estates, and fights a decisive battle, and is made prisoner, together with Frederick of Austria. After a rigorous captivity, Charles of Angou, by the order of the pope, condemns them to perish by the hand of the executioner. The young duke of Austria was the first executed. Conradin seized the head of his friend, and received the mortal blow holding it in his embrace.

Martin the Fourth mounts the chair of St. Peter, and makes a sacrilegious agreement with Charles of Angou; the one a political tyrant, the crafty usurper of Sicily, the other the consecrated tyrant of Rome. Their cruelties excite general indignation. A vast conspiracy is formed; John of Procida, a Sicilian gentleman, is the soul of it. He engages Michael Paleologus to join it; goes to Spain to obtain the aid of Peter of Arragon, and hastens through the cities of Sicily to excite their minds to vengeance.

On the third day of Easter, 1282, at the hour of vespers, is the signal for the carnage given. At the sound of the bell, a cry of death resounds through all the cities of Sicily. The French are massacred in the churches, in the public places, and in private houses; every where is murder and vengeance. Ten thousand dead bodies are the trophies of the Sicilian vespers.

Boniface the Eighth becomes pope, after having assassinated his predecessor. He outrages the people, defies kings, pursues with hatred the Ghibelins, the partizans of the emperor of Germany, invents the jubilee to draw the wealth of the nations into his treasury, and excites so profound a hatred against himself, that the states assemble at Paris, by order of Philip the Handsome, to judge the pope. The archbishop of Narbonne accuses him of being a simoniac, an assassin, and an usurer; of not believing in the eucharist, nor the immortality of the soul; of employing force to cause the secrets of the confessional to be revealed; of living in concubinage with his two nieces, and of having children by them; and, last of all, of having employed

the riches acquired by the sale of indulgences to pay the Saracens to invade Sicily.

Nogaret and Sciara Colonna are charged to carry to the pope the order to appear at Lyons to be judged by a general council. They arrive, at the head of three hundred horsemen, at the city of Anagni, the residence of Boniface. Meeting with resistance, they force an entrance into the palace, and present to the pope the accusations against him. Boniface, transported by fury, charges Nogaret with injuring him, and curses the king of France and his descendants to the fourth generation. Then Sciara Colonna struck him on the face with his iron gauntlet, until the blood flew.

Clement the Fifth and Philip the Handsome accuse the templars of enormous crimes, and condemn them to the most frightful punishments, in order to enrich themselves with their immense wealth. By the order of the king, the grand master of the Templars, accompanied by his knights, is conducted to punishment, to be burned alive in the presence of cardinals and priests, who cruelly contemplate these bloody stakes.

After having divided with the king the spoils of the Templars, Clement the Fifth established his court at Avignon, and publicly abandoned himself to the most depraved debauchery, with his nephew and the daughter of the Count de Foix. He preached a new crusade against the Turks, sold indulgences, and, joining ridicule to infamy, gave to each crusader the right of delivering four souls from purgatory; and the people have been scourged for eighteen hundred years under the pitiless rod of these criminal popes.

John the Twenty-second seized the tiara, seated himself on the pontifical throne, and said, "I am pope." In order to strengthen this usurpation, he launched his anathemas against the emperor of Germany and the king of France, persecuted sectarians, burned heretics, freed people from their allegiance, armed princes, inundated kingdoms with his monks, preached new crusades, sold benefices, and drew into his treasury twenty-five millions of florins, collected from all parts of the Christian world.

Benedict the Twelfth stops the depredations, arrests the imposts which his predecessor had levied upon the people, practises a severe morality, reforms the morals of the clergy, and dies in the midst of his apostolical labours.

Clement the Sixth buys from the celebrated Joanna of Naples, the country of Avignon, promising therefor three hundred thousand florins of gold, which he never paid, and declares her innocent of the murder of Andreas, her husband, whom she had caused to be assassinated.

Under Urban the Sixth commenced the great schism which divided the west; two popes were elevated to the pontifical chair.

Urban the Sixth ruled at Rome; Clement the Seventh, the anti-pope, at Avignon. During a period of fifty years the two popes and their successors excited cruel wars, and excommunicated each other. Italy, Naples, Hungary

and Spain, espoused the cause of Urban; France sustained Clement the Seventh. Every where brigandage and cruelty abounds, produced by the order of Clement, or the fanaticism of Urban.

The unfortunate and guilty Joanna sent forty thousand ducats to the pope, in order to strengthen her cause. By way of thanks, Urban caused her to be strangled at the foot of the altar. The pontiff had induced Charles de Duras, the adopted son and heir of Joanna, to commit this horrid parricide.

The prince having refused to divide with the pope the spoils of Joanna, the fury of Urban was turned against six cardinals, whom he supposed to form the party of Charles. They were thrown, laden with chains, into offensive dungeons; their eyes were put out, the nails of their feet and hands wrenched off, their teeth broken, their flesh pierced with rods of heated iron, and at length their bodies, frightfully mutilated, were tied up in sacks, whilst still alive, and thrown into the sea.

Clement the Seventh held his seat at Avignon, and levied enormous imposts on the church of France, in order to enrich the cardinals and satisfy the unbridled luxury of his court. His conduct was not at all inferior to that of his competitor in violence, deceit and crime.

The two popes desolated Europe by their armies and those of their partisans; fury had blotted out the sentiments of humanity; every where were treason, poisoning, massacre. An endeavour was made to remedy the public calamities, but the two popes opposed all propositions which could restore peace to the church.

The schism continued under their successors; the cardinals not being able to overcome the obstinacy of the two popes, cited Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth to appear before a general council, convened at Pisa; and, when they refused to do so, the patriarch of Alexandria, assisted by those of Antioch and Jerusalem, pronounced, with a loud voice in the church, whose doors were opened, and in the presence of the assembled multitude, the definite sentence of deposition against them.

Alexander the Fifth endeavoured to strengthen the union of the church, to reform the morals of the clergy, to give the sacred charges to virtuous men, and died of a poisoned clyster, administered by the orders of the cardinal Baltheazar Cossa. This base assassin assembled the conclave, and, seizing the pontifical mantle, placed it on his shoulders, exclaiming, "I am the pope."

The affrighted cardinals confirmed the election of John the Twenty-third; but the deposed popes, Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth, revived their pretensions to the see of Rome; an horrible war, excited by anathemas, fills Prussia and Italy with blood. The empire has three emperors, as the church has three popes, or rather the church and the empire have no heads.

A general council assembles, and proceeds

to the deposition of Pope John the Twenty-third. The bishops and cardinals accuse him of murders, incest, poisoning and sodomy; of having seduced and carried on a sacrilegious intercourse with three hundred religious women; of having violated three sisters; and of having confined a whole family, in order to abuse the mother, son and father.

Martin the Fifth burned alive John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the leaders of a new sect, which preached against the disorders of the priests and the ambition of the pontiffs, and led men back to sentiments of humanity. He then organizes a crusade against Bohemia; but the inhabitants of this wild country, exalted by generous principles of liberty, contend with courage against fanaticism. Embassadors are sent to Prague, with proposals for peace, and the Bohemians reply, "that a free people have no need of a king."

The legates of the pope and the emperor command in person the armies sent against the Bohemians, to prevent their communing in the two kinds, bread and wine. Frightful madness. For a subject so trifling Germany is given up to the horrors of a civil war; but the cause of the people is triumphant. The troops of the emperor are defeated in many engagements, and the army of the legates is cut to pieces.

Eugenius the Fourth mounts the Holy See; he confirms as legate in Germany Julian Cæsar, in order to exercise cruel persecutions against the Hussites. During his reign an important act transpires; a struggle takes place between the powers of the church; the council of Basle endeavours to bring under subjection the power of the popes, and the pope declares that his see is beyond the reach of councils. The fathers make a terrible decree, declare Eugenius the Fourth a profanator, incorrigible, and a scandal to the church, and depose him from the papacy.

Felix the Fifth is nominated as pope, and Eugenius becomes the anti-pope. The councils of Florence and Basle excommunicate each. Depositions, violence, cruelty succeed. Vitteleschi, archbishop of Florence, is assassinated by the orders of Eugenius; divided kingdoms take the part of one or the other, and a schism is renewed which lasts until the death of Eugenius the Fourth.

During the pontificate of Nicholas the Fifth, took place the celebrated capture of Constantinople by the Turks; the pontiff, solicited by the Grecian ambassadors to grant them succours of men and money, harshly refused, and we must attribute the loss of this powerful city to the perfidy of the Roman court, which sacrificed the rampart of Christianity, and basely betrayed a people whom they should have succoured.

The merits and the piety of Calixtus the Third, elevate him to the pontifical throne, which he honours by his genius.

Sextus the Fourth employs all his care and solicitude in increasing his wealth. He augments the imposts, invents new charges, and sells them at auction to satisfy the avarice of

Peter Riére, of Savana, and of his brother Jerome, whom he had created cardinals, and who ministered to his horrid pleasures.

This shameless pope established at Rome a brothel, the courtézans of which paid him a golden Julius weekly. This revenue amounted to twenty thousand ducats a year. An execrable act committed by him is alone sufficient to render his memory for ever odious. The family of the cardinal of Saint Lucia having presented to him a petition, that he (the cardinal) should be permitted to commit sodomy during the three warmest months of the year, he wrote at the bottom of the petition, "Let it be as desired."

He then formed a conspiracy against Laurent and Julian de Medicis, sends Raphael Riére to Florence, and during a solemn mass, and whilst the cardinal was elevating the host, the conspirators stabbed Julian de Medicis. Laurent courageously defends himself, and, although wounded, gains the sacristy. The people precipitate themselves upon the conspirators, disarm them, and hang them from the windows of the church, as well as Salviato, archbishop of Pisa, in his sacerdotal robes.

Innocent the Eighth succeeds Sextus. His election cost him more than all the treasures of the Holy See; the resources were exhausted, but the genius of the pope remained. He appointed fifty-two venders of bulls, whom he charged to squeeze the people, and joined to them twenty-six secretaries, who each lodged with him two thousand five hundred marks of gold. His private life was defiled by the vilest scandals. Educated at the court of king Alphonso, of Sicily, he had contracted the frightful vice of sodomy. His remarkable beauty had procured him admission into the family of Phillip, cardinal of Bologna, as the minister to his monstrous pleasures. On the death of his protector he became the minion of Paul the Second, and of Sextus, who elevated him to the cardinalship.

The grand master of Rhodes delivered to Pope Innocent the young prince Zizimus, to protect him from the pursuit of his brother Bajazet. The sultan of Egypt sends ambassadors to offer to the pope four hundred thousand ducats and the city of Jerusalem in exchange for prince Zizimus, whom he wishes to place at the head of his troops, in order to march against Constantinople, and engages to restore that city to the Christians; but the sultan Bajazet bid higher, and the pontiff retained Zizimus a prisoner in his states.

We enter now upon the reign of a pope who, by the admission of all historians, is the most dreadful of all men who have afrighted the world. A depravity hitherto unknown, an insatiable cupidity, an unbridled ambition, a cruelty more than barbarous—such were the horrid qualities of Roderick Borgia, chosen pope, by the title of Alexander the Sixth. His passions were so unbridled that, having become enamoured of a widow who had two daughters, not content with the mother, he bent the daughters also to his desires; he caused one of them to be placed in a convent,

and continued his incest with the most beautiful, whom they call Rosa Vanozza.

She bore him five children, one of whom was the famous Cæsar Borgia, who would have surpassed the crimes of his father, if the devil himself could have equalled them.

During the pontificate of Innocent, assassins and bandits had so increased in number, that the cardinals, before entering the conclave, fortified their dwellings with musketry, and pointed cannon along the streets. Rome was become a public market, where all holy charges were for sale; Roderick Borgia publicly bought the suffrages of twenty-two cardinals, and was proclaimed pope.

Armed with the sacerdotal power, his execrable vices daily increased; he delivered himself up to the most monstrous incest, and horrible to relate, the two brothers, Francis and Cæsar, mingled their infamous pleasures with their father's in the embraces of their sister Lucretia.

The immoderate ambition of the pope knew no bounds; all laws, human and divine, were trampled under feet. He forms alliances and breaks them; he preaches crusades, levies imposts in Christian kingdoms, inundates Europe with his legions of monks, enriches himself with the wealth they carry to him, and calls Bajazet into Italy to oppose the king of France. Later, his policy causes him to seek the aid of Charles; and, protected by the French, he undertakes the ruin of the petty sovereigns of Romagna. He puts some to death by the dagger, others by poison, fills all minds with dread, and prepares for Cæsar Borgia the absolute dominion of Italy.

His insatiable avarice invented the most sacrilegious means of enriching itself; he sold the sacred charges, the altars, even Christ himself, and then took them back again to sell again the second time. He nominated the cardinal of Modena as distributor of his graces and dispensations; in the name of this minister of iniquity he sold honors, dignities, marriages, divorces; and as the simony of the cardinal did not bring in sums sufficiently large to sustain the extravagance of the family of Alexander, he administered to him the fatal poison of the Borgias, to obtain for himself the immense riches which he had amassed.

He made promotions to cardinalships, receiving payment therefor; then declaring the Holy See the heir of the property of prelates, he poisoned them, in order to enrich himself with their spoils. All these crimes still did not afford him sufficient money, and he published that the Turks were about to wage war against Christianity, and under the veil of religion he extorted sums so enormous, that they surpass belief. At last Alexander the Sixth, soiled with murders, debaucheries and monstrous incests, having invited to sup two cardinals, whose heirs he wished to become, took the poison destined for them, and rendered up his execrable soul to the devil.

The people, tired of the insupportable yoke of the bishops of Rome, and ruined by the insatiable avidity of the priests, commenced

waking from the lethargic sleep into which they had been plunged. Luther, a monk of the order of the Augustines, sallies from his retreat, rises against Leo the Tenth and the indulgences, draws people and rulers to his new doctrine, strengthens it with all the power of his genius, and snatches from the tyranny of the popes the half of Europe.

Clement the Seventh, by his perfidy, excites the wrath of the emperor, Charles the Fifth. Rome is delivered up to pillage during two entire months; houses are sacked, females violated. The army of the Catholic king committed more atrocities than pagan tyrants had invented against the Christians during three hundred years. The unfortunate Romans were suspended by the feet, burned, beaten with leathern straps in order to compel them to pay ransoms; in fine, they were exposed to the most frightful punishments, in order to expiate the crimes of their pontiff.

Catholics and Protestants cover Germany with embarrassments, murders and ruin.

The mass is judicially abolished at Strasburg.

Paul the Third had obtained a cardinal's hat by surrendering Julius Farnese to the monster Alexander the Sixth; became pope—he poisoned his mother, in order to enrich himself as her heir, and joining a double incest to a second parricide, he put to death one of his sisters through jealousy of her other lovers, and poisoned Bosa Sforza, the husband of his daughter Constance, whom he had corrupted.

He launches anathemas against the unfortunate Lutherans. His nephews became the executioners of his cruelties, and they boasted publicly of having caused rivers of blood to flow, in which their horses could swim. During their butcheries the pope was plunged in his monstrous debaucheries with his daughter Constance.

During his reign Ignatius Loyola founds the order of the Jesuits.

Calvin, sublime spirit, causes his powerful voice to be heard, and continues the progress of the religious reformation.

Julius the Third fulminates his anathemas against the Lutherans, and puts them to death in the most cruel manner. Joining depravity to cruelty, he elevates to the cardinalate a young lad employed about his palace in the double capacity of keeper of the monkeys and minion to the pope.

Paul the Fourth excites the fury of the king of France against the Protestants, forms an execrable league for their destruction, and fills all Europe with his ravages. At his death the Roman people, freed from his frightful yoke, force the dungeons of the inquisition, set fire to the prisons, knock down the statue of the pope, break off the head and the right hand, drag them during three days through the streets of Rome, and cast them into the Tiber.

Pius the Fourth terminates the Council of Trent, and this great event does not produce any sensation among the people. This pontiff, desirous of arresting the downfall of the Holy See, excites the fanaticism of Charles the Ninth

and Phillip of Spain, and these two princes meet at Bayonne to devise means to exterminate the Calvinists.

The beginning of the pontificate of Gregory the Thirteenth was signalized by the most horrible of all crimes, the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, an execrable plot, brought about by the counsels of Spain and the suggestions of Pius the Fourth. Persecutions, butcheries, and wars had increased astonishingly the number of Calvinists; Catharine de Medicis, that cruel and infamous Jezebel, not being able to exterminate them by force, had recourse to perfidy. Charles the Ninth, accustomed to cruelty, and furiously violent, adopted the criminal desires of his mother, and a general massacre of the Protestants was decreed.

At midnight, on the eve of Saint Bartholomew, the clock of the palace gives the signal; the tocsin is rung at St. Germain's, and at its doleful sound, soldiers surround the dwellings of the Protestants, and kill in their beds children and old men. They seize the females, and after having violated them, open their wombs and draw out half formed children, tear out their hearts, and with savage ferocity rend them with their teeth and devour them.

A thing almost incredible, so horrible is the action, occurred: this Charles the Ninth—this king, to be execrated to all ages, armed with an arquebuss, fired from one of the windows of the Louvre upon the unfortunate who saved themselves by swimming the river. One window still remains, an imperishable monument of the barbarity of kings. Gregory the Thirteenth addressed his felicitations to Charles on the remarkable success of the enterprise.

On the death of the pope, the cardinal of Montalto entered the conclave, old, broken down, and supported upon a crutch. The ambition of the cardinals concentrated their suffrages upon this old man, who appeared so nigh to death. They summed up the votes, and scarcely had half of them voted, when, without waiting for the conclusion, Montalto cast his crutch into the midst of the hall, drew himself up to his full height, and thundered forth the *Te Deum* with a voice so loud and clear, that the vault of the chapel resounded with it.

He becomes pope, under the name of Sixtus the Fifth. Hypocritical and inflexible, he allies himself secretly with queen Elizabeth, and launches anathemas against her kingdom; he then excommunicates the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde, in order to revive in France the forms of fanaticism.

Clement the Seventh renews the proud scenes of his predecessors; he wishes to compel Henry the Fourth to come to him in person, with naked feet, in order to undergo a proper discipline, and to learn that he held his crown as a gift from the pope. But ambassadors were received in his stead, and this humiliating ceremony took place in the church of St. Peter's, at Rome, in the presence of the people.

Gregory the Fifteenth excites Louis the Thirteenth to persecute the Protestants. He

renews the war in Bohemia, and not being able to corrupt the people of Geneva, orders the duke of Savoy to destroy them.

Under Urban the Eighth, the celebrated Galileo, that old man who had passed seventy years in the study of the secrets of nature, is brought before the inquisition, condemned, cast into prison, and forced to retract this great truth, "that the earth moves around the sun."

Clement the Ninth, of a lofty soul and prodigious knowledge, encourages the arts, recompenses *savans*, and surrounds the pontifical throne with all the lustre of the age. He diminishes the imposts, employs his treasures in succouring the Venetians and the Isle of Candia against the infidels; he suppresses the religious orders which pressed heavily on the people, and who, under the guise of piety, abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery.

By his eloquence and moderation he appeased the interminable quarrels of the Jansenists and Mollenists, and arrested the ill-regulated ambition of Louis the Fourteenth, who was desolating Europe by his destructive wars. The intrigues of the Jesuits give up to the Turks the Isle of Candia; this generous pope, struck to the heart by the treason of these unworthy priests, launches an anathema upon them, and dies, after a reign of three years. The Holy See has never been occupied by a more virtuous man than Clement the Ninth; his memory should be dear to Christianity, and the mind reposes in contemplating it from the long catalogue of crimes which the history of the popes offers to us.

Under Innocent the Eleventh, the persecutions against the Lutherans and Calvinists recommence; churches are demolished, cities destroyed, eighteen thousand Frenchmen are put to death, and the Protestants driven from the kingdom.

Innocent the Eleventh, as Gregory the Thirteenth, had done on the occasion of Saint Bartholomew, addresses his congratulations to the king of France, and commands public rejoicings to be made in his honour at Rome.

The reign of Clement the Eleventh is agitated by religious quarrels. The Jesuits in China are accused of offering there the same worship to Confucius as to Jesus Christ. The pope sends the cardinal Journon to Pekin, charged to reform this culpable idolatry. This virtuous prelate dies, a victim to his zeal, in the midst of the cruel persecutions which the Jesuits excite against him.

This terrible congregation, encouraged by the pope, extends its odious power over kingdoms, and inspires terror among all people.

Clement the Eleventh publishes the famous bull *Unigenitus*, which excites general indignation, and continues religious quarrels up to his death.

Benedict the Thirteenth wishes to renew the scandal occasioned by this bull of disorder; but philosophy now commences to make progress, and his pretensions, which at other times would have caused torrents of blood to flow, only excited contempt.

The moderation of Benedict the Fourteenth repairs the evils occasioned by his predecessors. He terminates the religious quarrels, repulses the Jesuits, moderates the bull *Unigenitus*, and puts an end to the troubles which were afflicting France. This pope, one of the luminaries of the church, carries into the chair of the pontiffs a spirit of toleration, which extends a salutary influence every where. The religion of Christ is no longer imposed on the world by persecution and fanaticism. Benedict exhibits, in the high functions of the priesthood, an enlightened mind, great maturity of judgment, a profound wisdom which no passions trouble, a perfect disinterestedness, and an extreme love of justice.

He reforms the morals of the clergy, suppresses orders of monks who were odious to all, employs his treasures in founding hospitals, establishing public schools, and rewarding magnificently the arts. He calls upon all to profit by the advantages of science, and to come forth from the shades of ignorance.

Clement the Thirteenth imitates neither the virtues nor the moderation of his predecessor; he openly protects the Jesuits, launches forth anathemas, and prepares the ruin of the Holy See.

The excesses of the Jesuits had tired out the people, their crimes and their ambition affrighted kings, universal hatred demands their expulsion; they are driven from France. They are banished from the states of the king of Spain in Europe, Asia and America; driven from the two Sicilies, Parma and Malta. The order is exterminated in almost all the countries which had been the theatre of its power, in the Philippines, Peru, Mexico, Paraguay and Brazil.

France bestows upon the pope Avignon and the county of Venaisin, as an appurtenance to his crown. The king of Naples, on the other hand, seized upon the cities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo.

The famous bull *in Cæna Domini*, a monument of madness and pride, which the popes yearly fulminated from Rome since the time of Paul the Third, is proscribed. The pontifical darkness commences to be dissipated; princes and people no longer prostrate themselves at the feet of the servant of servants of God.

Clement the Thirteenth sees the colossal power of Rome falling to pieces, and dies of chagrin in not being able to retard its fall.

Clement the Fourteenth causes philosophy to mount the seat of the popes. For a short period he retains the pontifical power of the Holy See; his character and moderation restoring to him the power which the absurd fanaticism of his predecessors had alienated.

Portugal broke with the See of Rome, and wished to have a patriarch of her own. The courts of France, Spain and Naples were indignant at the ridiculous excommunication of the duke of Parma, by the Holy See. Venice reformed, without the assent of the pope, the religious communities which impoverished the nation.

Poland wishes to diminish the authority of

the Holy See. Even Rome permits its indignation to shine forth, and appears to have forgotten that she had been mistress of the world. Clement, by skilful policy, and consummate wisdom and prudence, arrests this movement; but the priests, the enemies of toleration, did not pardon the pontiff, and he died of poison.

Then liberty, that rock of reason, imparted its sublime light to all minds; men commenced to break the dark chains of superstition. An universal disquiet manifested itself in the masses, a happy presage of moral revolutions.

Pius the Sixth wishes to seize upon the wonderful power of the pontiffs of Rome, and pursues the execrable policy of his predecessors.

The emperor of Austria, Joseph the Second, stops the increase of convents, which threatened to overrun his kingdom, suppresses bishoprics, forms seminaries, and protects his states against the rule of the Holy See.

The grand duke of Tuscany prepares the same reforms; dissolves the convents, abolishes the authority of the nuncios, and prohibits his priests from appealing to Rome for judgment.

At Naples, a philosophical minister takes from the avarice of the pope indulgences, the collection of benefices, his nomination to vacancies. He refuses the tribute of a hackney, richly caparisoned, shod with silver, and carrying a purse of six thousand ducats—a disgraceful tribute, which the nation paid to the pontiff.

The sovereign approves the policy of his minister, prohibits the introduction of bulls into his states, orders the bishops to give up the dispensations they had purchased at Rome, takes away from the pope the power of nominating bishops for the Two Sicilies, and drives the internuncio from his kingdom.

The French Revolution is at hand. The States General, at Versailles, ordain reforms in the clergy, abolish the monastic vows, and proclaim liberty of conscience.

The pope excites bloody troubles in Avignon, in order to reattach it to the Holy See. His pretensions are repulsed by the National Assembly, which solemnly pronounces the reunion of this city to France.

Italy is conquered by the French armies. Pius the Sixth, a coward and a hypocrite, begs for the alliance of the republic. But the justice of a great nation is inflexible. The assassination of general Dupont demands great reparation. The pontiff is carried from Rome, conducted to the fortress of Valence, and terminates his debased career by cowardice and perfidy.

The conclave assembles at Venice. After an hundred and four days of intrigue, the Benedictine Chiaramonti was chosen pope, under the name of Pius the Seventh.

The pontiff forms an alliance with the republic, and signs the famous concordat.

A new era commences for France; the republic gives place to the empire, and Napoleon mounts the throne. The pope is forced to go to Paris, in order to consecrate the emperor, and augment the magnificence of this imposing ceremony. The weakness of character of Pius the Seventh, delivers him up defenceless to the plots which the hatred of the clergy contrive with the enemies of the emperor. Napoleon, indignant at the machination directed against his power by the counsellors of the pope, makes a decree, which changes the government of Rome, declares the reunion of the estates of the church to the empire, and the sovereign pontiffs deprived of temporal authority.

The ancient boldness of the clergy has survived revolutions; Pius the Seventh essays the thunder of the Vatican. The bull of excommunication is affixed during the night in the streets of Rome; it calls the people to revolt, excites them to carnage, and designates the French for public vengeance. But Rome, delivered from the sacerdotal yoke, is deaf to the appeal of fanaticism.

Wars succeed in Europe, kingdoms are conquered, old governments overthrown, and Napoleon at length falls beneath the blows of the kings whom he has crowned. His catastrophe changes the destinies of nations, and restores to the pope the inheritance of St. Peter.

Pius the Seventh makes a triumphal *entrée* into Rome, and at length dies, surrounded by cardinals, in the pomp and magnificence of power.

Since him, three popes have occupied the chair of St. Peter, but their silent passage marks no place in the history of nations.

The proud pontiffs, who launched anathemas on kingdoms, gave or took away empires, extended over the people the yoke of fanaticism and terror, now, protected by Austria, protected by the oppressors of the people, basely seek the protection of kings, in order to trample upon the Romans, and maintain upon their head the pontifical tiara.

People of Italy, arise from your lethargic slumber—contemplate the capitol—recall the remembrance of ancient Rome and her glorious destiny! Let but your legions arouse, and the shades of the great will march at their head to conquer in the name of liberty.

## P R E F A C E .

THE entire want of truthful historians—and the multitude of apochryphal books, both in Greek and Latin—are an impediment to our own judgment of the first ages of Christianity.

We are but faithful translators of the opinions of the Fathers of the Church, religiously pursuing the order of transactions, and the obscure style of their writings.

But, after we have passed through this epoch of darkness, we shall unroll a long series of extraordinary events and horrible crimes, worthy of fixing attention upon the marvellous history of the Pontiffs of Rome.

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# H I S T O R Y O F T H E P O P E S .

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## T H E F I R S T C E N T U R Y .

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### SAINT PETER, THE FIRST BISHOP OF ROME.

[A. D. 1.—TIBERIUS, CLAUDIUS, CALIGULA and NERO, Emperors.]

*The birth of Christ—St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, and first Bishop of Rome—He becomes the disciple of Christ—Miraculous draught of Fishes—He walks on the Sea—Character of St. Peter—Punishment of Annanias and Sapphira—He founds the Church at Antioch—St. Peter never at Rome—False Legends—Impiety of Simon Magus—Pretended contest between him and St. Peter—He is carried off by the Devil—Council of Jerusalem—Error of St. Peter—He is reprimanded by St. Paul—His Travels—Martyrdom of St. Peter established by false traditions—The sect of the Nicolaites, and their infamous habits.*

CHRIST was born in a little city of Judea ; poor and deserted, a stable was his dwelling, a manger his cradle.

The child grew in knowledge ; the divine wisdom of his preaching extended his name through Judea, and Jesus became the apostle of the people. An innumerable multitude listened to the eternal truths he taught, and were converted to the new doctrine.

The princes of Judea pursued with fury this glorious apostle, who elevated himself against the vices and corruptions of the age, against the pride of the great, the debaucheries and luxury of the priests. The man of God was seized by their fierce satellites, condemned to humiliating punishments, and fixed to the cross as an infamous criminal.

But his precepts, preserved by his disciples, have traversed ages and revolutions ; his sublime morality has spread itself through the universe, and Christ has become the God of nations.

The first of the apostles of Jesus was Simon Peter, and with him commences the succession of the bishops of Rome.

Simon was born in Bethsaida, a small town of Gallilee, upon the bank of lake Genesaret. A fisherman by occupation, the products of his labour supported his family. He had a brother named Andrew, who, being a disciple

of John the Baptist, had heard from his master an eulogium on Jesus of Nazareth. He learned from him that this extraordinary man was the Messiah, predicted by the prophets and so long waited for by the Jewish nation. Andrew communicated this great news to Simon his brother, and went with him to Jesus ; and Christ, regarding Simon, gave to him the surname of Peter, which in the Syriac signifies a stone or rock. The two brothers passed the rest of the day with the Saviour, and became his disciples. It is thought they were with him at the wedding at Cana.

Some months after, Jesus, returning from Jerusalem, encountered them on the borders of lake Genesaret, where they were mending their nets. He entered into their boat, and told Simon to cast their nets into the sea. Simon observed that they had laboured unsuccessfully all night ; but, nevertheless, he did as he was ordered, and their nets were filled with so great a quantity of fish, that two boats were loaded with them. Simon, whom we shall call Peter, surprised at this miracle, cast himself at the feet of the Messiah, begging him to depart from him, for he was a sinner. His humility the more endeared him to Jesus, who gave him the first place among his disciples.

One day, when the apostles were traversing the lake of Tiberias, they saw Jesus, whom

they had left upon the bank, walking to them on the waves. Surprised at this prodigy, they took him for a phantom, and Peter cried out, "Lord, if it is you, command that I shall come to you, walking upon the water. Christ replied, "Come." At this Peter jumped from the bark, and walked upon the water as it had been land. But his faith not being strong enough, he commenced sinking, and would have been drowned, if he had not called to his Master. The Saviour, taking him by the hand, said to him, "Man of little faith, why hast thou doubted?"

St. Peter afterwards displayed the most ardent zeal for his Master. Jesus seeing that many of his disciples, rebuffed by the severity of his morality, had abandoned him, addressed himself to the twelve apostles, "and you, why do you not also leave me?" Peter replied in the name of all, "Whither should we go Lord? you have the words of eternal life; we believe and know that you are the Messiah, the Son of God." On another occasion, Jesus demanding from his apostles, whom they believed him to be, Peter was the first to reply: "You are the Word, the Son of the living God." The Saviour said to him, "You are most happy, Simon, son of Jonas, for flesh and blood have not revealed this unto you, but my Father, who is in heaven. And I say unto you, thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give to you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and all that you shall loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven, and all that you shall bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven." This reply of Jesus to St. Peter has given rise to three difficulties, concerning which theologians have for a long time disputed.

The first is founded on these words: "Thou art Peter and on this rock will I build my church."

The second arises from the promise of the Saviour, in which, in speaking of his church, he says, "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The Catholics affirm that these words give to the pope the privilege of infallibility. The Protestants, on the other hand, maintain, that a church, which always chooses its chief from among men subject to error and falsehood, cannot claim for its pontiff the divine wisdom, which is never deceived.

The third arises out of the power which the priests claim for themselves of absolving sinners. The Protestants recognize none but God alone as having power to absolve men of their sins, and regard as an intolerable abuse the indulgences granted by the bishops of Rome.

After the glorious confession of faith made by St. Peter, and the sublime promises made to his apostles, Jesus foretold to his disciples that he was about to suffer death at Jerusalem. Peter represented to him that the Son of God could not die, and the Lord called him *satan*, imposed silence upon him, and made him walk behind the apostles. This mortifi-

cation was the only punishment inflicted on him, and it caused him to lose none of the favour of his master, who chose him to be a witness of his transfiguration.

On the eve of the day on which Jesus was about to suffer death, Peter and John prepared the supper. The Saviour, being about to wash the feet of his disciples, the chief of the apostles refused to submit to this act of humility on the part of his Master; but his resistance ceased, as soon as the Messiah declared to him that he could not have a part in the kingdom of heaven unless he submitted to this ablution. Then Peter presented to Jesus not only his feet, but also his hands and his head.

During this last supper, the Saviour said to Peter, that the devil had demanded leave to try him, but that he prayed his Father that his faith should not fail him. The supper finished, Jesus went forth, and Peter asked him whither he was going. "I go," said the Lord to him, "whither you cannot follow me." But Peter replied, "Lord I am ready to go with you to prison, or to death itself."

A generous resolve, in which he did not persevere long; for though he had the courage to cut off the ear of Malchus, a servant of the high priest Caiaphas, he had the cowardice to deny his Master three times before a servant maid, who asked him if he was not also one of the disciples of Jesus. He at once effaced this mark of his weakness by the sincerity of his repentance, and by the abundance of his tears, and became from thenceforth the most zealous preacher of the Christian faith.

The members of the new church having then but one heart and one soul, all their goods were in common. Those who possessed lands or houses sold them, and brought the money to the apostles for distribution to the poor. It happened that a man named Ananias, in concert with Sapphira, his wife, having sold an inheritance, retained a part of the price, and brought the rest to the apostles. But Peter, enlightened by the divine Spirit, reproached them for their fault, and they fell dead at his feet.

It would be difficult to decide upon the year in which the church of Antioch was founded; nevertheless there can be no doubt that St. Peter took up his residence in that city, of which he has always been considered the first bishop.

After having preached some time at Antioch he returned to Jerusalem, at the period at which the famine foretold by the prophet Agabus, was beginning to afflict the country. Then Herod Agrippa, wishing to conciliate the affection of the Jews, by affecting a great zeal for the law, excited against the church a persecution more terrible than that which followed the martyrdom of Stephen.

St. James, brother of John the Evangelist, was one of the first victims. Peter himself was cast into prison and condemned to death; but an angel of the Lord opened the gates of his prison, broke his chains, and set him at liberty. From that time to the council of Jerusalem, a period of about seven years, the

Scriptures are entirely silent in regard to the actions of St. Peter. It is most likely he was employed in revisiting the churches he had founded in Asia, and confirming the faithful in the faith.

It is supposed that he then came to Rome, to combat idolatry; and the orthodox place the time of his first journey towards the end of the forty-eighth year of Jesus Christ. Others fix this celebrated time during the first year of the emperor Claudius, or at the commencement of the reign of Nero. Before discussing the time of its occurring, it would be best to prove the actual fact of the journey. There is no mention of it in the New Testament; and if it is alleged that the early writings are cited against the Protestants on this subject, they will reply that it is not the first error they have authorized. In fine, the disagreements which we find in the chronology of different authors, who have spoken of this journey, cause great doubts in relation to it.

We are compelled to admit the force of reasoning of the Protestants, who steadily deny the existence of the journey of St. Peter to Rome. They deny also to the pope a primacy over his colleagues, and fortify their position by these words of Jesus to his apostles: "He who would be first among you, let him be the last. Nations have princes who rule them, but it shall not be so with you."

When one shall undertake to prove that St. Peter was the prince of the apostles, and that he had authority over all the church, the Protestants have a right to demand that it should be demonstrated, that he established the exercise of his jurisdiction at Rome, and that the popes have succeeded to all his privileges, how far soever they may have departed from the sublime precepts of the evangelist.

Besides, as far as we can judge from the last chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and from all the Epistles of Saint Paul, we must believe that he came into the capital of the empire before St. Peter; but the pontiffs have a great interest in maintaining the contrary, and persuading the world that they are the heirs general of St. Peter and his immediate successors. They have even dared to affirm that the papal seat of this apostle was of wood, and they expose it to view in a church to the veneration of the people; a falsity not worthy of being refuted. Let us, however, now glance through the opinions of sacred authors in relation to this pretended journey of St. Peter to Rome.

According to their legends there was, in the capital of the empire, a celebrated impostor called Simon the Magician, who dared to announce himself as the eternal father. In Tyre he had procured a prostitute named Helena, whom he proclaimed as the thought or word which the rebellious angels had retained upon earth, causing her to pass from one body to another of various females. He assured the world that she was the famous Helen of Troy, and that those who believed in her would obtain salvation. He maintained,

with matchless impudence, at Jerusalem, that he was the son of God; at Samaria, that he was the Father, and among other nations, that he was the Holy Spirit.

Such was the doctrine, as ridiculous as impious, of Simon the Magician. Tradition assures us that this impostor came to Rome during the reign of the emperor Claudius; and Justin Martyr, in his second apology, reproaches the Romans with having adored him as a god, and raised a statue to him with this inscription: "To Simon, the Holy God." Baronius observes, that during the reign of Gregory the Thirteenth, there was found in an island of the Tiber, a stone on which was engraved this inscription, "To Simon, Holy God." There is little question that the ancient Romans raised a statue to a god whom they named indifferently, sometimes Saucus, or Sanguis, Fidius and Semo. Justin, deceived by the early Christians, may have imagined that this statue was erected in honor of Simon the Magician. This conjecture has to our mind the force of proof, and destroys entirely the fable of the contest between St. Peter and Simon.

The Legends of the Saints affirm that the apostle went to Jerusalem to combat the magician, and that having convinced him of falsehood in the presence of the people and the emperor Nero, he commanded an angel to strike him, and that the impostor perished miserably. Others say, that Simon vaunted himself on having performed more miracles than St. Peter, and that he raised himself in the air, borne up by the devil; but that the true apostles Peter and Paul, having prayed, invoked the name of Jesus; and that the demons, frightened, dropped the magician, whose legs were broken by the fall. If this fable had any foundation, and the Romans had seen Simon perish at the prayer of the apostle, would they not rather have erected a statue to him than to the magician. Thus the proof which is drawn from this supposed performance, entirely destroys it. Besides, the contradictions which are to be found in the different authors upon whom reliance is placed to sustain it, proves that this journey is a pious fraud.

The first Epistle of St. Peter is dated from Babylon, which has led some visionary to declare that he gave this name to the capital of the empire. A short time after the apostle wrote his first epistle, the emperor Claudius drove the Jews from Rome, because they excited violent seditions on account of the doctrines of Christ. It is supposed that the edict of the emperor obliged Peter to return to Judea; for he was at Jerusalem when St. Paul, deputed by the church of Antioch, came thither with Barnabas and Titus to consult the apostles and elders. Some converted Jews maintained the necessity of circumcision in order to salvation. They had been reduced by Cerinthus, a false brother and false apostle, who, through blind zeal, excited religious quarrels, and desired to exact from the faithful all the observances of the Mosaic

law. The apostles resolved to assemble, in order to deliberate concerning it; and they formed the first Christian assembly, which made statutes to aid the scruples of weak consciences.

Not only did the apostles and priests take part in the council, but the mere faithful voted, and the question was decided by the unanimous voice of the church of Jerusalem. This usage is now abolished, and the pontiffs of Rome order the people to follow blindly the decrees which are prescribed for them.

St. Paul and St. Barnabas returned to Antioch, where Peter joined them soon after. He conformed to the decree of the council of Jerusalem, living as the Gentile converts, without regarding the distinctions prescribed by the law. This apostle was so little infallible, that some Jewish Christians having come there from Jerusalem, he separated himself from the Gentiles, and no more ate with them; which induces us to suppose that the observance of the law was necessary, at least for the Jews. "He destroyed to some extent that which he himself had built up in the council of Jerusalem, and overthrew the discipline which he had established." But St. Paul set him right, and resisted him, as he wrote to the Galatians he had done.

St. Peter received this remonstrance with admirable mildness and humility. He did not pride himself upon his primacy; he did not consider that St. Paul had persecuted the church; was his inferior, and younger than himself in the apostolate. He yielded to the remonstrance addressed to him, and changed his sentiments, or rather his conduct. This first pontiff did not arrogate to himself the right of imposing his will upon the faithful, and of constraining the church to submit to his decisions.

Having given a recital of the actions of St. Peter, according to the Scriptures, we will relate the different traditions which exist concerning this apostle. Lactanus pretends that he made a second journey to Rome, twenty-five years after the passion of the Saviour; it is this which has given rise to the error of the twenty-five years in his pontificate. He adds, that he made a last journey to Jerusalem towards the year 62, in order to nominate a successor to St. James the Less, who was the first bishop of that city; and that he returned from thence to Rome, where he continued to preach with success. We know, however, nothing positive in relation to this first chief of the church, from the year 51 to the time of his death, a period of fifteen years. The orthodox pretend that he received the crown of martyrdom as Christ had predicted, but there is no proof that his blood was shed at Rome, despite the assertions of Baronius, Fleury, and others. Baillet affirms

that the two apostles, Peter and Paul, were martyred on the same day, and conducted to the prison of Mamertin, which was at the foot of the capitol. But, according to the view of a Benedictine, who resided a long time in the capitol of the Christian world, it appears that the place still designated under this name resembles very little a prison, and is opposite to one or two ancient sewers, through which the filth of the city was discharged. The general opinion in regard to the martyrdom of St. Peter is, that he was crucified, head downwards. They fix the period of his death in the year 66. St. Augustin says that this apostle went to his punishment, exhibiting great marks of weakness.

The second epistle which he wrote before his death, presents the same uncertainty as his first letter from Babylon. We are even ignorant of the year in which this precious treasure was entrusted to the church. It is addressed to the faithful dispersed throughout Asia, Pontus, Cappadocia and the neighbouring provinces. It recommends to them to follow the morality of the prophets and apostles, to preserve themselves from false priests who deny Jesus Christ, blaspheme the Divinity, and abandon themselves to the most infamous debaucheries. The apostle thus designates the Nicholaïtes, who took their name from Nicholas, one of the seven first deacons of Jerusalem, the chief of a sect in which the men despise marriage, and deliver themselves up to the most monstrous acts of sodomy.

These heretics ate without scruple the food offered to idols; they maintained that Christ was not the Son of God the Father; that the Creator had committed the chief power to the goddess Barbelo, who inhabited a heaven eight times higher than the Christian heaven. They pretended that she gave birth to the God Jaldabaoth or Sabaoth, who inhabited the seventh heaven, and who cried out to the inferior gods, "I am the first and the last, and there exists no other ruler besides me." They published books, and pretended revelations under the name of Jaldabaoth; and assigned barbarous titles to a multitude of princes and powers, whom they located in every heaven.

These fanatics considered the divine acts and persons, the Trinity, the Virgin, original sin, the incarnation of Christ, and even the dogmas of religion, as mysteries, of which they gave explanations, frequently ridiculous, and sometimes sublime.

To the thinking man and the philosopher, the existence of the Nicholaïtes, in the first ages of Christianity, is an irrefragable proof that the Catholic religion has not been established in an immutable manner by its author, and that it must undergo an organization which requires many ages to accomplish.

## ST. LINUS, THE SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 67.—NERO, GALBA, VITELLIUS, and OTHO, Emperors.]

THERE is nothing positive in the first ages concerning the pontifical see. The chronology of authors is full of astonishing variations, and there is no uniformity among them in relation to the order of succession of the first bishops of Rome. The wisest part is to follow the opinions which make St. Linus the successor of the apostle Peter, in the government of the church.

If we can believe the pontifical books, St. Linus was of Tuscan origin, and his father was named Hereulan. He was invested with the apostolical ministry at the same period as St. Peter, which is an irrefutable truth, that this apostle was not the sole bishop of Rome, and could not pretend to the title of universal bishop. Other historians affirm that St. Linus, Anaclet and Clement, were all three charged with the government of the faithful, and that St. Peter had fixed upon Clement for his successor, in preference to Linus and Anaclet; but Clement, who was without ambition, fearing lest the faithful, who had been under the charge of his colleagues, would not submit to his authority, modestly drew back. Anaclet followed his example, and Linus found himself alone in the government of the church, after the death of the apostles Peter and Paul.

There is no agreement as to the duration of the pontificate of St. Linus, and all his actions are buried in obscurity. He died towards the year 67, and was the first bishop of the church of Rome, in the opinion of the ancients, who fixed the duration of his reign at eleven years, nine months and five days; but in this first age of the church, every thing is uncertain.

As long as St. Linus laboured for the increase of the faith, religion enjoyed great tranquillity. During his pontificate, a law was passed prohibiting females from appearing in the congregations without having the head veiled. We must accord him honour for this rule, which modesty has perpetuated.

At this period Christians were not allowed to assemble in churches for the exercise of their religion. A most common opinion is that St. Linus received the crown of martyrdom towards the close of the year 78, the duration of his episcopate only counting from the death of St. Peter. Baillet avows that this opinion has difficulties, and that St. Linus did not survive Peter but a year or two, or that he even died before that apostle. Father Pagé believes that he perished in the frightful persecution of Nero, and that he was condemned to death by the consul Saturnin, after having delivered his daughter, who was possessed of a devil.

We should observe in the midst of these contradictions, that Linus has only been honoured in the church as a martyr since the ninth century, and that before this epoch St. Telesphore was regarded as the first saint who perished by the sword.

Writers differ as to the order of succession to St. Linus. Some say that St. Clet succeeded him. Others, that it was Clement who became the immediate successor of St. Peter. All those variations cast great obscurity over history, and hinder us from arriving at the truth.

Two works, written in Greek, on the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul, for the edification of the eastern churches, are attributed to him. But scholars know that these books, which are full of gross errors and ridiculous fables, are not the productions of this bishop. Platinus affirms with a singular good faith, that Linus wrote a life of St. Peter, in which he speaks of the combat of this apostle with Simon the Magician.

Some years before the death of St. Linus, Jerusalem was taken by Titus. This unfortunate city, delivered over to the fury of religious wars, overrun by bands of fanatics, who murdered old men, violated females and delivered themselves up to the most frightful crimes, filled the measure of its disorders by revolting against the Roman empire. Titus marched at the head of his troops to conquer the rebels. He invaded Palestine, attacked Jerusalem, rendered himself successively master of the first and second walls which surrounded the city; but at the last he met with so desperate a resistance, that he was obliged, after having tried seven assaults, to undertake a regular siege. All communication between the city and country was intercepted. Soon provisions failed and famine began; but the hatred which the Jews entertained for the Romans was so great, that they resisted the horrors of famine, and sustained themselves with the flesh of horses and dogs; when this failed, they seized upon every thing. They ate straw, hay, even the leather of their saddles. They even devoured dead bodies. It is related that during the seige, a noble woman named Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, not being able to resist the tortures of famine, roasted her own child; she had eaten the half of it, when a band of soldiers attracted by the smell, entered her house, and threatened her with death if she did not deliver to them the food she had concealed. This unfortunate mother then opened the door of an apartment where were the remains of this horrible repast, and said to them: "Lo, I have preserved for you the best part, take it," and immediately fell dead.

The Romans now made a new assault, and carried the third wall. All the inhabitants were put to the sword, the temple destroyed, the city entirely razed, and, according to the usage of the Romans, the ploughshare was passed over it. Titus left but a span of the western wall, and the towers Hippicus, Phazael and Mariamne, that they might serve to transmit to future generations the recollection of his victories.

## SAINT CLET, THE THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 79.—VESPASIAN, TITUS, and DOMITIAN, Emperors.]

*Birth of St. Clet—Actions attributed to him—Falseness of the priests, in the falsification of the texts of the Evangelist—St. Luke married—Death of St. Clet—False decretals.*

THE succession of St. Clet or Anaclet is very uncertain. Some authors place this pontiff after St. Clement, but this is not the best established opinion. He was an Italian; his father's name Emilianus; he came to Rome during the reign of Nero. The apostles converted him to the Christian faith, and soon took him out of the ranks of the disciples to associate him with them in the holy ministry. Some fix the duration of his episcopate at twelve years and some months. Father Pagi, following the pontiff of Damasus, affirms that he only governed the church of Rome six years.

The actions of this bishop are concealed in profound obscurity; but there is no doubt of his holiness, and his zeal for the propagation of Christianity. They attribute to him the ordination of twenty-five priests, and the division of Rome into parishes, (that is, of the houses in which the faithful assembled to celebrate divine worship.) The Chronicle adds, that he established seven deaconates. The pontiff of Damasus furnishes us with these particulars, and insinuates that the church of Rome had been carried on up to this time by bishops and priests, without deacons. St. Luke, the author of an evangelical book and the Acts of the Apostles, lived at this epoch, and his writings

teach us, was married. But the bishops of Rome have falsified the text of Scripture, in order to destroy an authority so imposing, in favor of the marriage of priests.

Though the church honours St. Clet as a martyr, it is nevertheless probable that he died in peace towards the year 90 of Jesus Christ. Seven hundred years after the death of this bishop, a knave advised them to attribute to him the decretals which we yet possess.

It was about this time that the apostle St. John was, according to the sacred chronologists, cast into a cauldron of boiling oil by order of the cruel Domitian. They gravely relate that God, not having destined John to a martyr's death, he came forth from the cauldron without being in the least injured. Nevertheless this miracle did not put an end to the persecutions of Domitian, and the apostle was exiled to the isle of Patmos, one of the Sporades of the Archipelago, where he composed his Apocalypse or prophetic documents, which he addressed to the seven principal churches.

After the death of Domitian, John obtained permission to return to Ephesus, where he wrote his Epistles and his Evangelist, which form the last part of the sacred writings recognized by the councils.

## SAINT CLEMENT THE FIRST, FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 91.—DOMITIAN, NERVA, and TRAJAN, Emperors.]

*Birth of St. Clement—Visions of Hermas—Popes Zozimus and Jerome contradictory in relation to the martyrdom of Clement—His principles in the desert—Apocryphal books.*

CLEMENT was a Roman; his father, whose name was Faustus, inhabited the Celian quarter. Some authors call him a relative of the Cæsars. This error is founded on the resemblance between his name and that of the consul S. Flavius Clement, nephew of the emperor Vespasian, who was put to death by the orders of his cousin Domitian. The pontiff called himself a child of Jacob, which induces us to suppose he was a Jew rather than a Gentile.

The life of Clement is found in the so-called constitutions of the apostles; but these works are not authentic, although they contain some truths which are imbibed from the tradition of the first ages. They attribute to this pope the appointment of seven notaries, directed to write the acts of the martyrs.

The emperor Domitian having determined

to declare war against the Christian religion, Hermas was advised of it in several visions, whose recital is found in the book of the pastor, and he received an order to give information to the pope, in order that he might advise the other churches, and fore-strengthen them against the tempest. Clement continued to govern the church during the persecution, and lived into the third year of Trajan's reign, which is the 100th year of Jesus Christ. Rufin and pope Zozimus bestow on him the title of martyr, and the church in its canons places him among the number of saints who have shed their blood in its behalf. But Eusebius and Jerome induce us to suppose that he died in peace.

St. Ireneus, towards the close of the twelfth century, in an enumeration of the first popes, also recognizes Telesphorus as the first pope

who had been crowned with glorious martyrdom.

An ancient history, whose correctness however is very doubtful, relates that St. Clement was banished by Trajan into the Chersonesus, beyond the Euxine sea, and that by means of his prayers he caused a fountain to flow out of a rock, which furnished water to the other confessors. He remained about a year in the desert, and converted all the inhabitants of the country. After this Trajan sent thither an officer, by whose orders Clement was cast into the sea with an anchor attached to his neck. The next day the waters retired more than a league from the shore, and discovered the faithful a temple of marble, under which they built the tomb of the martyr; and every year the miracle is renewed on the day of the festival of the saint. This extraordinary legend has been adopted by Platinus and father Pagi.

The great reputation of Saint Clement has caused them to attribute to him all the writings which are esteemed the most ancient, after the canonical Scriptures, and which have no certain author. They still produce in his name five pontifical letters; the first two are addressed to James the brother of Christ; the third to all the bishops, priests and faithful; the fourth to Julius and Julianus; and the fifth to the Christians of Jerusalem. But all are apocryphal, as well as the canons of the apostles and the apostolic constitutions, which are a collection of all the discipline of the church. He passes also for the author of the recognitions which contain a pretended history of his life; the author recounts many journeys of St. Peter, and relates at length his dispute with Simon the Magician. This work is also called the *Itineraries of St. Peter*.

During the reign of Clement died the venerable Barnabas, an apostle of the second order, and author of a very singular doctrine which he divides into two parts. The first was di-

rected against the Jews; the second contains the prophecies which appear to be drawn from the Indian doctrine of the metempsychosis, which had been carried into Greece by the Pythagorians.

St. Barnabas explains, by moral allegories, the prohibitions of the Jewish law with regard to the animals called impure. "The hog," says he, "designates the voluptuous and ungrateful, who are not grateful to their masters but in their need; birds of prey are the powerful, who live without labour at the expense of the people; the fish which remain at the bottom of the water, figure impenitent sinners; the hare and the weasel are symbols of impurities; the animals which ruminate, and which we are permitted to eat, represent the just, who meditate upon the precepts which God gives them; their cloven foot teaches us that whilst travelling through this world they wait for a future life."

In speaking of Genesis he affirms "that the six days of the creation represent as many periods of a thousand years; and that at the seventh period, which is figured by the Sabbath, Christ will come to judge the living and the dead, and time shall be accomplished. Then (adds he) the sun, the moon and the stars, shall be destroyed, and the commencement of the eighth day will be the aurora of a new creation."

In speaking of the future ages of the church he makes this singular prophecy: "It shall enter upon an oblique path, the road of eternal death and punishment; the vices which lose souls shall appear; idolatry, audacity, pride, hypocrisy, duplicity of heart, adultery, incest, apostasy, magic, avarice, murder, shall be the portion of its ministers; they will become the corrupters of the works of God, the adorers of the rich, the oppressors of the poor." They attribute to St. Barnabas the foundation of the church at Milan.

## POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

*The Emperor Tiberius—His hypocrisy—The vices of Caligula—He names his horse as Consul—Violence of his passion for Cæsonia—He is assassinated by Cassius—The Emperor Claudius—His faults—He is poisoned by Agrippina—Infamous Excesses of Nero—He puts to death his mother and his preceptor Seneca—He marries a man—Delivers himself up in open day and before his Court to the most shameless debauchery—His cruel persecution of the Christians—He drives his chariot through his garden by the light of human torches—The burning of Rome—Death of Nero—Character of Galba—He is massacred—Otho seduces the people by his liberality and mounts the throne—His abandoned morals—Vitellius—His cruelty and gluttony—Vespasian declared Emperor—His good qualities—His defects—The Emperor Titus—The vices of Domitian—His cruelty—A new persecution against the Christians—New tortures—Good qualities of Nerva—His liberality to the poor—He sells his palace in order not to be a charge on the people.*

TIBERIUS reigned at Rome when the church was sprinkled by the blood of Jesus Christ. It is pretended that after having taken cognizance of the proceedings against Christ, the emperor proposed to the senate to receive him into the number of their gods.

This prince, endowed with extreme dissimulation, understood perfectly the art of governing men, and by his art he extended his sway over Rome and the empire; he knew how to accustom his subjects to slavery, and received from them eulogiums on his mildness, whilst he was exercising his tyranny and his despotism with the greatest violence, but always under the appearance of justice.

The infamous Caligula succeeded Tiberius. This prince, in order to insult the senate, wished to bestow the honours of the consulate on his horse. He built a temple which he solemnly dedicated, and in which he immolated peacocks, Numidian fowls, and birds of rarest plumage. His cruelty was even greater than his other vices. In the Cæsars of the emperor Julian, he is treated of as a ferocious beast. This monster had compassed the death of Tiberius, pushed on by ambition and a desire to reign, in order that he might plunge with impunity into the most horrible excesses. Cruel even in the arms of his mistresses, he threatened Cæsonia, whilst in the midst of the excess of his lust, "to employ tortures to extract from her by what artifices she made him love her with so much ardour."

Caligula united in his own person the vices of all men, and had no virtues; but it is more easy to imagine the horrors of such a reign than to describe them. At length he was killed by Cassius, surnamed Chereeses, the captain of his guard, and chief of a conspiracy against his life. The entire people rejoiced in the death of the emperor, and gave evidence thereof by fetes and rejoicings. This prince had been so basely servile towards Tiberius, and so cruel to those who had given him the crown, that the citizens said of him, "No one could make a better slave and more treacherous master." It would have been very stupid to have shed tears for one who paid fifty thousand crowns to a coachman as a new-year's gift, and condemned an innocent man to pay a like sum. He was so

shameless as to mourn that his reign had not been signalized by some horrible calamity, as an earthquake, a famine or a pestilence, and he dared to say, "I wish the Roman people had but one head, that I might cut it off at a blow,"—an execrable thought, which kings alone are capable of forming.

The emperor Claudius, the successor of Caligula, was irresolute, credulous, timid and cruel. He loved without restraint wine and women, and when intoxicated, surrendered without reflection and judgment every thing that his courtizans demanded of him. His memory was treacherous, his mind weak, and his heart so base that he suffered Caligula to spit upon and horsewhip him. He massacred his friends, domestics and relatives, and became the slave of his freedmen and mistresses. At length Agrippina poisoned him, and he died on the 13th of October, Anno Domini 55.

Nero having come to the throne, improved upon his vices, and committed the greatest crimes without any sense of shame. We cannot read his history without being struck with horror. He bathed his hands in the blood of all persons of distinction, and put to death Agrippina his mother, and Seneca his preceptor. Incestuous and pederast, he married a man, and had the shamelessness to commit in open day, and before all his court, actions which the obscurity of the night conceals in legitimate marriages. In order to enjoy the frightful spectacle of the burning of the ancient city of the Dardanians, he spread his cohorts of slaves, armed with torches, through all the streets of the city, with orders to fire it in every quarter. During this frightful incendiarism, Nero, crowned with flowers, and surrounded by courtizans, sung to the accompaniment of his own lyre the verses of Virgil on the burning of Troy. The flames devoured the ten quarters of the capital of the world, and only left in the suburbs some houses half burned. This fire took place on the 19th of July, in the year 64 of our era.

In order to cast off on the innocent the public hatred which rested on him, Nero accused the Christians with being the authors of the conflagration, they having become odious as the professors of a new religion. They ar-

rested some of the faithful, whom they accused of many crimes without examining the truth, and the judges condemned them to death, not as incendiaries, but as the enemies of the human race. They joined cruel insults to their punishment; they covered them with the skins of beasts, that they might be torn to pieces by dogs; they were hung on crosses, or affixed to stakes, which pierced their necks, and in this position they clothed them in garments covered with pitch or other combustible matter, which they set on fire, in order that the victims should serve as burning torches to give light by night. Nero made an exhibition in his gardens, through which he himself drove a chariot by the lights of these human torches.

Historians speak indignantly of the cruelty of this prince, who sacrificed thousands of men to his execrable tyranny. It was the first persecution of the church by the emperors. In the end, the Christians regarded it as honourable, saying with Tertullian, "What has Nero ever condemned that was not good?" His atrocities at length excited a general revolt; the people penetrated into the palace of the Cæsars, demanding with loud cries the death of the tyrant. Then Nero, despairing of escaping from his enemies, and fearing a cruel end, ordered one of his slaves to pierce him with his sword.

On the death of this monster, Galba, who had taken up arms on the news of the revolt of Vindex in Gaul, was elevated to the throne. This prince, broken down with age, as weak in mind as in body, abandoned the government of the empire to his freedmen, which caused Tacitus to say that his reign was precarious. His great age and his infirmities prevented him from exercising the functions of supreme chief of the state, and he resolved to adopt the young Piso, more illustrious even for his virtues and misfortunes than his birth. But Otho, who had so disgraced himself by permitting Poppea his wife to become the mistress of Nero, laid claims to the honour of the adoption. He gained the army by his liberality, and putting himself at the head of his partizans, stormed the palace of Galba, massacred the unfortunate old man, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. This infamous usurper was a voluptuary, prodigal, weak, effeminate, and was cherished only by the wicked on account of the similarity of his morals to those of Nero.

At the last, however, Otho effaced the prejudices disadvantageous to his courage, which his conduct had produced, by a glorious end, which a poet has placed above that of Cato.

Vitellius, though altogether incapable of reigning, was named emperor by the army of Germany, which conducted him in triumph to Rome. This prince abandoned himself to every vice, but especially to those of intemperance and cruelty. In a repast given to him by his brother, two thousand of the most exquisite fish, and seven thousand of the rarest birds, were served up. The roads between the two seas were continually traversed by his purveyors. In order to attain to fortune

or honours, it was only necessary to discover the means of appeasing his appetite, which was not only insatiable but disgusting. At the sacrifices he seized upon the half-cooked entrails of the victims; and in his journeys he devoured all the broken and half-eaten food which he found in the taverns. Insensible and cruel, he shed blood for the pleasure of seeing it flow; and put to death, under various pretexts, the old companions of his studies. What must have been the frightful state of Rome and of the empire, after having suffered in the same year from the tyranny of Otho and the cruelty of Vitellius?

Vespasian, whom Nero had sent into Palestine to quell the rebellious Jews, having learned that the empire was torn to pieces in the west by a civil war, resolved to avail himself thereof to seize the government. He united his legions to those of Mucianus, and drove Vitellius from Rome. Becoming master of the empire, he re-established military discipline, which the civil wars and the debaucheries of the emperors had dreadfully corrupted, and applied himself with equal zeal to reform the laws of the state. Vespasian was the enemy of courtiers, loved the truth, and had no secret enmities. Naturally kind, he detested the cruelty of his predecessors; but his good qualities were tarnished by his passion for women, which led him to commit acts of violence; and by his sordid avarice, which caused him to sell justice.

Titus, his son, succeeded him, and was the best of princes. He is called "the delight of the human race." If in the course of the day he had found no occasion of doing good, he is related to have said mournfully these beautiful words, worthy of the greatest men of the republic: "I have lost a day." He was the enemy of vengeance, and showed himself as virtuous, as those who preceded him were cruel and corrupt. When he died the Romans said of him, "that he ought never to have lived at all, or to have lived for ever."

Domitian, the son of Vespasian and brother of Titus, inherited his sceptre but not his virtues; for Providence rarely gives good kings, as if to indicate to nations that the supreme power ought never to be entrusted to the hands of a single man. History teaches us that Domitian was proud, vain, presumptuous, avaricious, prodigal and cruel. He excited a long and inhuman persecution against the church, in which a great number of Christians were put to death; others were banished into the island of Patmos, where St. John wrote his Visions or his Apococalypse. This cruel emperor took great pleasure in causing men to be devoured by dogs. Every day almost some senators were put to death; and the hands of the brave men who had refused to aid him in the civil wars, or who had followed him with a bad grace, were cut off by his orders. At last, by a new method of torture, of which we have no knowledge, he caused his friends to be burned in the part which was offered to Pollio.

Petronius Secundus and Parthenius, leaders of the guard, assassinated Domitian, and declared Marcus Cocceius Nerva emperor. This prince was benevolent, generous, modest and sincere. Martial, in the Cæsars of Julian, pronounces him the mildest of sovereigns; and Silenus has nothing with which to reproach him. Appolonius, attached to his court, bears witness, in Philostatus, that he never saw him abandon himself to pleasure; and according to Xiphilin, this emperor said of himself, "that he did not find himself, on a self-examination, culpable of any thing which would prevent him from living in repose and safety, if he quitted the empire." He restored to the citizens of Rome all the wealth which

he found in his palace, and which Domitian had taken from them. He gave a million crowns of gold to poor citizens, and trusted the distribution of it to the senators. At a time when the public misfortunes called for sacrifices, he sold his furniture, garments, vessels of gold and silver, his palace, and all that he regarded as superfluous, in order that he should not be a charge to the nation. In grateful return the people bestowed upon him great honours, and wished to erect statues to him; but he refused, from an admirable sentiment of modesty. He died, according to Aurelius Victor, at the age of 63, after a reign of sixteen months.

## ANACLET, THE FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 103.—TRAJAN, Emperor.]

*Different opinions regarding Popes Clet and Anaclet—He forbids the priests to wear their beard, and their hair—Uncertain period of his death.*

MANY authors suppose St. Clet and St. Anaclet to have been two different popes, who have found a place in the calendar as martyrs. They rest this upon the opinion of the Greeks, who have always preserved the name of Anaclet or Anenclet, whilst the Latins have kept that of Clet. Other historians, on the contrary, give two names to one and the same pope. But as it is impossible to arrive at the truth with positive certainty, in this case, we will shun discussion, and follow the usually received opinion.

Anaclet was a Greek, born at Athens, the son of a man named Antiochus. We are ignorant of the time at which he came to Rome, and of the precise period with which he was charged with the government of the church. Baronius assures us that it was on the 3d of April, in the year 103. This pontiff prohibited ecclesiastics from wearing their beard and their hair; he ordained that bishops should not be consecrated but by three other prelates; that they should invest candidates for the sacred orders with them in public; that all the faithful should partake of the eucharistic bread after its consecration; and that those who should refuse to receive the communion

should be obliged to leave the Christian assemblies: but it is very difficult to guarantee the authenticity of these various rules.

Three decretals are produced in the name of St. Anaclet, which are evidently supposititious, as are all those attributed to his successors up to the time of Siricus. Different writers have demonstrated this falsity, and Father Pagi has supported their reasoning with much force and ability. The author of this hypothesis, who is concealed under the name of Isidore Mercator, or Le Marchand, remains unknown. We only know that Ricaud, Bishop of Mayence, was the first who brought this work from Spain, and that he made it public towards the end of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century.

The pontifical writings assure us that St. Anaclet governed the church of Rome for nine years, and that he suffered martyrdom on the 13th of July, Anno Domino 112, in the third year of the reign of Trajan. Father Pagi is of a contrary opinion; he makes him die in the year 95, during the reign of the cruel Domitian. This opinion appears to us as badly founded as the others.

## SAINT EVARISTUS, THE SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 112.—TRAJAN and ADRIAN, Emperors.]

*The birth of Evaristus—Obscurity of the Martyrological documents—False decretals.*

ACCORDING to the pontifical writings, Evaristus was a Greek by birth; his father, named Judah, was a Jew, and originally from the city of Bethlehem.

Many ancient writers make mention of this

bishop, and inform us that he succeeded St. Anaclet; but they cite nothing particular of the functions of his ministry. It is believed that this pontiff established the ecclesiastical division of the city of Rome, by dividing it

into quarters, and distributing titles and parishes. It was probably a new distribution, which the increase of the faithful rendered necessary. He performed three ordinations, and conferred the order of the priesthood on six persons, the episcopate on five, and the diaconate on two. Very uncertain traditions attribute to him the establishment of new institutions, which were not, however, introduced into the church until succeeding ages.

According to chronology, Saint Evaristus died during the reign of the emperor Adrian, Anno Domini 121. According to the martyrologists he governed the church of Rome nine years and three months. The chronicle of Eusebius allows him but nine years of episcopacy.

Following the opinion which has confounded St. Clet and St. Anaet, the pontifical writings fix the death of St. Evaristus in the year 109; but it has not been proved that he suffered as a martyr, though the church honours him as such.

The priests attribute to him two decretals which are not his work, and they deduce from

this bishop the custom of dedicating or consecrating churches, a custom imitated from the pagans, and which had only of late been introduced into the Christian religion.

During the pontificate of Evaristus a new sect arose, which recognized as its chief a priest named Basilides. This heretic taught that God the Father existed alone; that he had produced the spirit, which in its turn had created the word; that this latter had engendered providence, from whence proceed wisdom and power, from whom the forces, princes and angels issued; and that finally these last had formed the world and the three hundred and sixty-five heavens, from whence came the days of the solar year. He maintained that these angels, having subdued the work of their hands, God the Father, or the supreme Sovereign, had sent his first-born to deliver the world; and that the Spirit was incarnate under the human form. Basilides affirmed that Christ, in the sacrifice of the cross, had miraculously taken the form of Simon, the Cyrenian, whom the Jews had crucified in his stead.

## ALEXANDER THE FIRST, SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 121.—ADRIAN, Emperor.]

*Elevation of Alexander to the Episcopate—The Fathers of the Church and St. Ireneus differ as to the martyrdom of this Pontiff—The priests attribute to him the institution of holy water, in imitation of the lustral water of the Pagans—Trickery of the Popes—The relics of Alexander the First would form an hundred bodies, of natural size—False decretals.*

WE will follow, during these obscure times, the same chronology as the Cardinal Baronius, and place the elevation of Alexander to the chair of St. Peter, towards the year 121, and in the second of the reign of Adrian. He was a Roman; his father's name was Alexander. During his pontificate the emperor put an end to the persecution which Trajan had excited against the church, and the Christians commenced to breathe freely.

We know nothing particularly of the life or death of this pontiff. The acts in which are found related the captivity and martyrdom of Alexander, appear to us too suspicious to merit the confidence which should be reposed in original and authentic documents. We suppose, with St. Ireneus, that he died in peace, though the church places him in the number of her martyrs, and grants to him the honours of canonization.

The institution of holy water is attributed to this father, as well as that of bread without leaven for the communion, and that of the admixture of water with wine in the chalice for the celebration of the mass. Platinus and Father Pagi have been simple enough to adopt this fabulous tradition. The Cardinal Baronius confidently asserts that the institution of holy water does not belong to Alexander the First, and the reason which he gives is

curious. According to him, an invention so sacred could only come from the apostles, and he wishes that we should accord to them the honour of it. The Protestants pretend, with more reason, that the holy water is but an imitation of the lustral water, which the church has borrowed from the pagans, as well as many other of their ceremonies.

The epoch of the death of Alexander is placed towards the year 132. Many cities of Italy, France and Germany, preserve the remains of this pontiff; but if all these bones were gathered together, one hundred bodies of natural size might be formed from them.

At the same time, and during the reign of the emperor Adrian, took place the destruction of Jerusalem. Fifty fortresses were leveled to the ground, nine hundred and eighty-five villages were given to the flames, and more than a million of Jews were put to death or reduced to slavery.

As the Christians were no less odious to the Romans than the other Jewish sects, Adrian destroyed the holy sepulchre. He raised on the very spot on which Christ had expired a statue of Venus Callipyga; and transformed the grotto in which Jesus had been born into a temple, which he dedicated to the beautiful Adonis.

## SIXTUS THE FIRST, EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 132.—ADRIAN and ANTONINUS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Sixtus the First—Uncertainty as to the duration of his pontificate—Fables as to the institution of Lent, and several religious practices.*

AFTER the death of Alexander, the See of Rome remained vacant for twenty-five days. Sixtus was chosen by the faithful to exercise the functions of the episcopate. He was a Roman, the son of a man named Helvidius, according to some, or, if we believe the pontifical writings, of Pastor. Baronius supposes that the father of Sixtus was probably Junius Pastor, of whom a pagan author makes mention.

We know of none of the acts of this bishop. The learned are not agreed concerning either the beginning or the end of his pontificate. He governed the church of Rome for ten years according to some, a few months less according to others, who rely on the authority of Eusebius. Sixtus, despite the uncertainty of his very existence, has been placed in the list of martyrs, and the epoch of his death is fixed towards the year 142.

Sacred historians attribute to him the institution of Lent, and pretend that he commanded the priests to make use of a linen communion cloth, on which was placed the body of Jesus Christ. They add, with equally little foundation for their story, that he introduced the custom of singing the "Holy of holies," and prohibited the laity from touching the holy vessels. Though these things are said on the authority of the pontifical writings, it is impossible, in the opinion of those who wish to

judge dispassionately, to pass them off as the doings of this holy father.

The two decretals which appear in the name of this pope, are evidently fables, as Marin and Baluze have proved. The title of one of these decretals is too proud for the times of the primitive church: "Sixtus, Universal Bishop of the Apostolic Church, to all Bishops, health, in the name of the Lord." Father Pagi himself is convinced that this title was unknown to the pontiffs of the first ages.

The Catholics have involved themselves in this error, in their contest with the Protestants, who refuse to yield to the pope the title of universal bishop, as unworthy of a bishop who assumes the title of servant of the servants of God. The place of bishop of Rome was then regarded as a post which could satisfy neither the ambition nor the passions of priests, and those only were elevated to this dignity who joined holiness of morals to contempt of death.

The church pretends to have preserved the mortal remains of St. Sixtus, but we ought not to yield any credence to these uncertain traditions. We also refuse credit to the authenticity of the relics which Clement the Tenth sent to Cardinal de Retz, to be placed in deposit in the Abbey of St. Michael in Lorraine.

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 SAINT TELESPHORUS, THE NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 142.—ANTONINUS, Emperor.]

*Birth of Telesphorus—New fable on the institution of Lent—On the Midnight Mass—Death of the Pope.*

TELESPHORUS was a Greek by birth, and had been reared in the cloisters from his earliest youth, which is all we know of this bishop.

According to a glossary inserted in some editions of the Chronicles of Eusebius, it is said that the church is indebted to this holy father for the institution of Lent. The priests, who wish to derive from the apostles the present usages of the church, tell us that Telesphorus only re-established it. Cardinal Baronius boasts that he has demonstrated this pretended truth, but the reasons which he adduces are very weak. Others affirm that this pontiff was neither the restorer nor the institutor of it, and that he only established the seventh week, which we call Quinquagesima. We will demonstrate, that this ceremony was

not in use in the church until five hundred years after the death of this holy father. The church also attributes to him the institution of the midnight mass at Christmas. Platinus and some historians have transmitted to us this fable.

It is generally believed that St. Telesphorus suffered martyrdom in the year 134, and several authors assure us of the fact; but there is no agreement as to the year in which this event is said to have occurred. Legends fix the martyrdom of Symphorosa and her seven sons during the pontificate of Telesphorus.

According to the versions of the fathers, the emperor Adrian, having built a splendid palace on the banks of the Tiber, wished to dedicate it to the proper deities, with religious

ceremonies, and addressed himself to the pagan priests; they refused to obey him unless a Christian widow, who lived in the neighbourhood, should be surrendered to them. They add, that Adrian acceded to their demand, and that Symphorosa was seized, with her seven children, who were attached to stakes around the temple of Hercules, whilst the mother herself had her flesh torn from her by red-hot

pincers, by four executioners, who demanded, at each new torment, if she would consent to sacrifice to the false gods. It is difficult for us to reconcile this act of cruel fanaticism with the tolerance the Romans always displayed for the religion of others; and we are obliged to doubt this legend, as well as the acts of the martyrs during the first ages of the church.

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## SAINT HYGINUS, THE TENTH POPE.

[A. D. 154.—ANTONINUS, Emperor.]

*Character of St. Hyginus—Rules attributed to him—Falshoods of the priests, in relation to this new martyr—He introduces godfathers and godmothers in baptism—Apochryphal writings.*

HYGINUS was an Athenian, and the son of a philosopher whose name history has not preserved. Authors speak of him as a holy man, who preferred a retreat and obscurity in the forest to the splendour of the palace. Nevertheless he made a great many rules for the order and distinction of ranks among the Roman clergy. Authors liberally bestow upon him the quality of a martyr, but it is doubtful whether he shed his blood for his religion; and ancient writers have either not known of it or not spoken of it.

The usage of having godfathers and godmothers at the baptism of children, is derived from St. Hyginus, as well as that of consecrating churches. Authors assure us that he wrote a treatise on God, and the incarnation of his Son; but this work is apochryphal, as well as the two decretals which pass under his name; the first is addressed to all the faithful, the second to the Athenians. Cardinal Baronius

places the death of this holy father Anno Domini 158, and in the nineteenth of the reign of Antoninus.

Alexandria was always the brilliant hearthstone of the lights which illuminated the Christian world, and the seat of the heresies which desolated the church. During the pontificate of St. Hyginus the subversive ideas of the philosophers of Alexandria took a decided character, and were propagated in other churches by the preachings of the Gnostics. These heretics followed the errors of Epiphanius, the disciple of Basilides and son of Carpocras, who defined the reign of God as the reign of commonalty and equality, affirming that commonalty was a natural and divine law, and that property in goods and the distinction of marriage were the greatest curses of humanity. After his death Epiphanius was honoured as a god in the island of Cephalonia.

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## SAINT PIUS THE FIRST, ELEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 158.—ANTONINUS PIUS, MARCUS AURELIUS, and CELIUS VERUS, Emperors.]

*Contradiction among the Fathers of the Church, in relation to the order of succession of Pope Pius the First—His birth—The Roman Martyrology makes him a martyr—Decretals attributed to him.*

THE fathers of the church are not agreed as to the order of succession of Pius the First. Some place him next after Anicet, and Jerome favours this opinion, counting Anicet, however, as the tenth pope after St. Peter. The same order is found in some old chronicles; but the opinion which gives the first rank to Pius, is generally adopted. It is founded on the authority of Hegesippus, St. Ireneus, Tertullian, Eusebius, the two Nicephori—in fine, on the unanimous agreement of the Greeks and Latins. We ought to adhere to the opinion of Hegesippus and St. Ireneus, who were the contemporaries of Pius the First.

He was an Italian, born in the city of Aquileia, and the son of a man named Rufinus. There is no doubt he lived a holy life, and laboured zealously for the increase of Christianity; but his particular actions are unknown. He held the See of Rome for ten years, up to the year 167, and the tenth year of the reign of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Caelius Verus. The Roman martyrology numbers him among the martyrs, and Baronius supports this opinion by reasons destitute of truth. The ancient writers who speak of this bishop, make no mention of his career having been terminated by violence, from

whence we are led to suppose he died peacefully.

Gratian speaks of several decrees published in the name of Pius the First, the falsity of which it is easy to detect. Fabulous traditions add, that Hermes or Hermas, the same of whom we have spoken under the pontificate of Clement, was a brother of Pius the First, and the author of a book which he wrote by command of an angel, who appeared

to him in the form of a shepherd. This Hermas was a visionary, who, in his book of the Pastor, relates ridiculous histories, and stupidly invented fables.

We must also pass by two decretals in the name of Pius the First, which are evidently false; the one addressed to all the faithful, the other to the Christians of Italy. These pieces are unworthy of the holy bishop to whom they have been attributed.

## ANICET, THE TWELFTH POPE.

[A. D. 167.—MARCUS AURELIUS and CÆLIUS VERUS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Anicet—Dispute between the Pope and St. Policarp—Heresies of Balsilides and Carpocras—They allow all pleasures—The martyrdom of Anicet controverted—The martyrs of Lyons and Vienna.*

THE learned have made many researches, in order to learn the beginning, the duration, and the end of the pontificate of this bishop. We are nevertheless compelled to avow that we know nothing positive of Anicet. We only know that he was originally from a small town in Syria, and that his father's name was John.

At the commencement of his pontificate, he was visited by St. Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, and the disciple of St. John the Evangelist. They talked over many questions of discipline, on which they agreed. But it was not so on a point of less importance. Policarp, following the custom of the Asiatics, established by the example of the evangelists, St. John and St. Philip, celebrated the festival of Easter, as did the Jews, on the fortieth day succeeding the first moon of the year. But Anicet, attached to the traditions of his church, did not celebrate it until the Sunday following the fortieth day. The tranquillity which the church then enjoyed, permitted the bishop to extend his authority over the faithful, and Anicet wished to compel all Christians to follow this practice. This was the first violation of the usages established by the apostles.

Nevertheless, the bishop of Smyrna resisted the pontiff, and preserved the privileges of his see. The holy father was obliged to yield; and they agreed to follow the usages established in the two churches: an evident proof that it was then understood, that difference of opinion, in regard to exterior ceremonies, should not disturb the quietude of conscience, nor serve as a pretext to attack a received doctrine.

St. Polycarp affirmed, that the discipline of the church should not be arbitrary; that is, that nations should be permitted to serve God, in accordance with such rites as they thought to be most agreeable to the majesty of the Supreme Being. They appear to have been convinced of this truth, in the early ages of Christianity; and they shunned breaking the bonds of charity in relation to subjects which did not render any one criminal in the sight of God.

The pontificate of Anicet has been rendered illustrious, in ecclesiastical history, by the monstrous heresies against which he was called to contend. The doctrines of Basilides and Carpocras, the chiefs of the Gnostics, commenced, despite their extravagance, to make headway. These heretics maintained, that we could abandon ourselves to every pleasure; that women ought to be in common; that there was no resurrection of the body; and that Christ was but a phantom. They permitted sacrifices to idols, and the denial of the Christian faith in times of persecution. Such a doctrine gave room for an exercise of zeal on the part of the bishop of Rome, who wished to preserve his flock from the contagion of these heresies. The individual actions of this pontiff are unknown to us.

His death is said to have occurred Anno Domini 175; but he did not suffer martyrdom, although Baronius assures us he did, and cites an extremely curious story in regard to his relics. Anicet was the first pope who commanded the priests to shave their heads in the form of a crown. During the latter years of his pontificate, there took place in Gaul a violent persecution against the Christians.

Attala, Biblis, St. Pothinus, St. Blandinus, St. Epiphodus, St. Alexander, St. Symphorien, and some others, who have been called the martyrs of Vienna and Lyons, perished in the midst of the most dreadful tortures. We have still a letter, addressed by the faithful in those provinces to their brethren in Phrygia and Asia, which runs thus:

"Peace be unto you, and thanks to our Lord. The animosity of the pagans against us is so great, that we have been driven from our homes, the baths, and the public places. The weakest among us have saved themselves—the boldest have been led before the tribunals and magistrates, who have publicly examined them. Several slaves have been produced as false witnesses against us, who have testified that we practise the festival of Thyestes and the marriage of Œdippus: that is, that we

abandon ourselves to incest, and eat human flesh. These accusations have exasperated the people against us; and the cries of death, from an enraged crowd, have become the signal for punishment. The deacon Sanctus, who was the first tortured, sustained the violence of his punishment, and avowed himself a Christian. In his rage the judge, who interrogated him, caused them to apply plates of heated brass to all parts of his body. His legs and arms were crisped up, and the martyr no longer preserved the human form. The next day, as he was still alive, in order to conquer his firmness by the intolerance of his sufferings, they renewed the same torture, and the executioners applied the hot plates of brass upon the gaping wounds of the deacon. But suddenly the deformed body was miraculously restored—his wounds healed—the bones

which had been broken were marvelously reunited, and the martyr retook his original form. Then the executioners, seized with fright, suspended the punishment, and reconducted him to prison, near to the venerable Pothinus, bishop of Lyons.

Maturus, Blandinus, and Attalus were, in their turn, led before the judge; and, on their refusal to sacrifice to idols, they were led to the amphitheatre, where they were tortured with extraordinary cruelty. At length the pagans, seeing that torments, far from changing our belief, increased the number of Christian worshippers, ordered a general massacre of the faithful who were in the prisons. Epiphodus was decapitated; Alexander crucified; Symphorien had his throat cut. All the dead bodies were placed on one funeral pile, and the ashes cast into the Rhone."

## SOTER, THE THIRTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 175.—MARCUS AURELIUS, Emperor.]

*The birth of Soter—Uncertainty as to the duration of his pontificate—Thoughts on the charity of the Protestants towards the poor—Scandalous riches of the priests—Their sordid avarice—Sect of the Montanists—Female priestesses—St. Jerome a calumniator—Death of Soter.*

ACCORDING to the pontifical writings, Bishop Soter was born in Fondi, and was the son of Concordius. The learned are not agreed upon the commencement, or the duration of his pontificate; they only praise the charity of the holy father, and say that he did not suffer the pious custom, established by the first bishops of Rome of making collection for the wants of the poor, to be abolished. The avarice of the clergy has drawn these severe reflections from one of the most distinguished writers of the last century: "The custom of distributing alms to the poor is still preserved among the Protestants, and is abolished in the Catholic church. The presents made to churches are no longer, as in the early ages, employed to succour those in need; the priests regard themselves as the first poor, and absorb immense revenues. A revolting abuse, which should be repressed with severity."

Soter had to contend against the Montanists or Cataphrygians, whose heresy made progress during his pontificate. Montanus was a Phrygian or Mysian by birth, and chief of this sect; he proclaimed himself inspired by the spirit of God, fell frequently into extasies, and prophesied. Priscilla and Maximilla, women of remarkable beauty, became his disciples, and accompanied him in all his journeys—for, in the sect of the Montanists

women administered the sacraments, and preached in the churches.

They condemned second marriages, admitted a distinction of food, and had three fasts, which they kept very rigorously. But as if all these accusations were not sufficient to render Montanus and his sectaries odious, Jerome has calumniated them in supposing that they adored but a single person in the divinity; for it is a habit of theologians to magnify the faults of an adversary at the expense of truth, in order to overwhelm him.

The Martyrologists indicate the feast of Soter as that of a martyr, the 22d April, 179, and their opinion has been followed by Baronius. But it does not appear that this pope shed his blood for his religion, or that he died in prison, or that he even suffered punishment for the cause of Christ.

He ordered that priests should celebrate mass fasting, and prohibited religious women from touching the sacred vessels, or approaching the altar whilst the priest was celebrating the holy mysteries; but all these rules appear to be fabulous. A law is also attributed to him, prohibiting a woman from being recognized as a legitimate wife until after the priest blessed the marriage. Two epistles and some decretals, which are given to the world under his name, pass, in the opinion of all the learned, for supposititious works.

## ELEUTHERUS, THE FOURTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 179.—MARCUS AURELIUS, and COMMODUS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Eleutherus—He is accused of having joined the heresy of the Montanists—They adore thirty gods—Deliver themselves up to monstrous debaucheries—Knavery of sacred historians—Falseness as to the martyrdom of Eleutherus.*

ST. ELEUTHERUS was a Greek by birth, and originally from Epirus. Nicopolis was his country, and his father's name Abundantius. At the commencement of his pontificate, he received the celebrated deputation from the martyrs of Lyons, on the subject of the Montanists, who were exciting great troubles among the faithful of Asia, and which threatened even to invade Gaul. St. Irenæus, who had been chosen bishop of Lyons after the death of St. Pothinus, was charged with the letters addressed to the pontiff, in order to engage him to oppose the progress of the new heresy of the Montanists.

Some authors believe that Eleutherus was himself led away by the Montanists, who affected a great exterior piety; but the holy father soon found full occupation in the bosom of his own church. Blastus and Florinus, apostate priests, who had been deposed for their errors, raised themselves up against the received doctrine, and propagated the heresy of the Valentinians, whose chief, Valentin, professed the Platonic philosophy.

This heretic and his followers received the words of Scripture in a figurative sense, and condemned the holy books. They worshipped three eons, whom they regarded as gods, born one after another. They permitted the greatest impurities, and maintained that no one could attain to perfection until he had loved a woman.

About the same time the king Lucius, who reigned in some part of Great Britain, sent an embassy to St. Eleutherus to demand from him the means of becoming a Christian. Fleurent and some authors have adopted this story as true, rejecting only the fabulous circumstances of the conversion of Lucius. But truthful historians have shown that Gregory was the first pontiff who was occupied in the conversion of the English. It is possible that there were then Christians in Great Britain, but it is false that Eleutherus sent thither preachers at the request of the king of that country.

The holy father combated the opinions of Tatien, who insisted on abstinence from certain food, and commanded the faithful to eat the flesh of all animals. Since then, they have reformed this as well as many other things in the system of the first Christians, and even in that of the apostles.

Eleutherus, after having governed his church with great prudence for fifteen years and twenty-three days, died in peace, in the year 194, and was buried in the Vatican, if we are to believe the pontifical of Damasus. The Modern Martyrology and the Roman Breviary accord to him the quality of a martyr, and indicate the day of his fête in the offices of the church.

His body is preserved in the Vatican, where great solemnities are celebrated in his honour. The city of Nozes also claims to possess the body of this bishop. This, however, is not the first example of the rascality of the priests, who have multiplied relics, in order to extort offerings from the faithful.

During the pontificate of Eleutherus, St. Clement of Alexandria wrote the Stromates, or titles of Christian Philosophy. One of the most remarkable passages in his work is that which treats of marriage. St. Clement thus speaks of the different opinions of the philosophers: "Democritus and Epicurus regarded marriage as the principal source of our misfortunes; the Stoics regarded it as an indifferent act; and the Peripatetics as the least of all evils. But all these philosophers could not properly judge of it, being addicted to the infamous practice of sodomy.

"In the Christian religion, marriage is a moral institution; the natural formation of the body demands it; and the Creator has said, 'increase and multiply.' Besides, is not the power of engendering beings, who shall succeed us in the long series of ages, the greatest perfection to which man can attain? Marriage is the germ of a family, the corner-stone of the social edifice; and the Christian priests should be the first to set an example, by contracting holy unions.

"The Nicolaites, the disciples of Carpocrates and of his son Epiphanius, taught promiscuous concubinage, and rendered themselves guilty of a great crime in so doing in the sight of God; nevertheless, they are less culpable than the Marcionites, who, falling into a contrary excess, renounce the delights of a married life, in order not to increase the number of the sons of humanity.

"I blame Tatien, who pretends that commerce with females diverts us from prayer; and I condemn equally Julius Capien, who, from hatred to generation, declares that Christ had only the appearance of the virile parts in the human body.

"All these heretics are equally condemned by those who maintain, with reason, that men ought to use the liberty which God has given them in taking a wife. Some pretend that all the pleasures, even the sin against nature, are permitted to the faithful; others, differing from these, push conscience so far, as to regard as sacrilegious every union of the flesh, and condemn even their own origin. These senseless creatures wish to imitate Christ, forgetful that Jesus was not an ordinary man, and obstinately refuse to follow the example of the apostles St. Peter and St. Philip, who were married, and had each a large family of children."

## SAINT VICTOR, THE FIFTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 194.—PERTINAX and SEVERUS, Emperors.]

*Dates become more certain—Election of St. Victor—Heresy of Theodotus—Heresy of Albion—The Pontiff approves of the schism of Montanus—He favours the female Montanists—Proud conduct of Victor—He is rebuked by St. Ireneus, who refuses to obey him.*

VICTOR was an African by birth, the son of one Felix. The apostate Theodotus having returned into the bosom of the church, became the chief of a new sect, which caused great scandal at the commencement of this pontificate. His doctrine taught that Jesus Christ was human, and his disciples published abroad that bishop Victor thought with them.

The pontiff soon put an end to this calumny, by excommunicating Theodotus, with Arteman, his disciple, who formed then a new sect. He condemned at the same time the old errors of Albion and some other heretics, who appeared desirous of reviving them, through the means of the peace which the church then enjoyed.

But as infallibility was not then established, Victor allowed himself to be seduced by the Montanists. Tertullian, who had declared in favour of these innovators, assures us that the bishop of Rome approved of the prophecies of Montanus and of the two women, Maximilla and Priscilla, who followed him.

Another heresy soon after broke out in the church. Praxeas, who had aided in the proscription of the prophecies of Montanus, invented patripassianism, which destroyed the distinctions of the persons of the Deity. Victor attacked this new schism, and held a coun-

cil at Rome, which condemned Praxeas, who acknowledged his error.

About the same time, took place the celebrated struggle in relation to the festival of Easter. Up to this time, the difference of opinion and usage on this point of discipline, had not disturbed the peace of the Christian churches. Victor unjustly claiming a right of superiority over his brethren, wrote to all the churches of Asia vehement letters, threatening them with excommunication if they did not adopt his opinions.

This conduct of the holy father discontented a great number of bishops; even those who opposed the opinions of the Asiatics, refused to adhere to the opinions of the pope, and as they had sufficient power to tell the pastor of Rome what they thought of his pretensions, they reprimanded him in sharp and energetic terms. St. Ireneus also censured him in a letter, which he wrote in the name of the Christians of Gaul.

St. Victor was obliged to submit to the remonstrances and censures of the bishops of the west. He lived some years after; the pontifical writings assure us that he terminated his life by martyrdom, towards the year 202; but the martyrologies, in the name of St. Jerome, only bestow on him the title of confessor.

## POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

*The Emperor Trajan—His good qualities and vices—His death—Adrian—His extraordinary liberality—His cruelties—He puts to death six hundred thousand Jews—Antoninus, called the Pious—He permits the licentiousness of his wife—Antoninus the philosopher succeeds him—Scandalous debaucheries of Faustina—His death—Poisoned by his son—Character of Commodus—His shamelessness—His incests—He is poisoned by Marcia, and strangled by an athlete—Pertinax succeeds him—The soldiery assassinate him, and put up the empire at auction.*

ULPIUS TRAJAN, by birth a Spaniard, had been adopted by Cocceius Nerva, whom he succeeded. This prince was of a handsome form, with a just, sage, moderate and prudent mind, and understood the art of ruling in times of peace. It was on this account that the senate eulogized his mildness, his liberality, his magnificence, and his love for the republic. In imitation of Nerva, he swore that no good man should be killed or covered with ignominy by his orders. In giving a poignard to Saburaus, chief of his guard, he said to him, "If my orders are just, employ this in my service; if unjust, direct it against me."

He gained two signal victories over the Da-

cians, reduced their country to the condition of a Roman province, drove Chosroes king of Parthia from Armenia, tamed the Jews, conquered Assyria, and wished to pursue his career of conquest to the Indies, when he died at Selinus in Silicia. A magnificent column was erected over his tomb, which is every where known as the column of Trajan. This prince was endowed with the best qualities; but it is pretended he was addicted to wine and debauchery, and was superstitious, which is dangerous in a sovereign, for superstition has always caused great disorders in a state.

During his reign the Christians underwent a

violent persecution. Pliny the Younger, then governor of Bithynia, obliged by the duties of his office to persecute the new religion, wrote to the emperor, representing to him, that the Christians were accused of atrocious crimes, of which they were innocent. He also demanded from him, in what manner he should behave towards men whom the edicts of the prince condemned as culpable. Trajan replied, that he need make no inquiries, for if they were accused of being Christians, and convicted of it, it was right to punish them.

The crime of acting against the ordinances of the state, was made a pretext for this proceeding, the pretence being that the emperor had prohibited the assemblies, and that the Christians had violated the laws.

After the death of Trajan, Adrian, surnamed Elius, the son of one of his relatives, obtained the empire through the artifices of Plotina, whom he espoused in gratitude therefor. At the commencement of his reign, he burned the obligations of the people due to the imperial treasury, to the amount of twenty-two millions five hundred thousand crowns of gold. He visited the most beautiful provinces of the empire, and built in Great Britain a wall twenty-five thousand paces in length, with fortresses, to strengthen the Roman garrisons against the inhabitants of the island whom they could not entirely conquer. Then changing his conduct, he retired to his palace on the Tiber, to abandon himself to voluptuousness, and put to death a great number of citizens by the sword or poison.

This prince had great virtues, as well as great vices. He was liberal and laborious, and maintained order and discipline. He aided the people, applied himself laboriously to the administration of justice, and punished severely those who did not faithfully fulfil their duties. He composed several works in verse and prose, and we have still some fragments of his Latin poetry and Greek verses in the anthology. There is also in the Commentaries of Sparticus, an epitaph which this emperor composed in memory of a hunting horse, to which he was much attached.

But Adrian was cruel, envious, jealous of those who excelled in the arts, shameless, superstitious, and addicted to magic. Despite his vices, divine honours were rendered him by a decree of the senate.

He put an end to the wars which had been commenced; conquered the Jews, a nation always obstinate, massacred six hundred thousand, and prohibited the rest from returning to their country, and they were constrained to purchase with money the sad privilege of returning for one day in each year to weep over the ruins of Jerusalem.

Titus Fulvius Antoninus, called the Pious, succeeded Adrian, whose daughter he had espoused, and for whom he showed a weak compliance. This prince was remarkably handsome, sober, liberal, with a judicious mind and elevated sentiments. He governed the empire with so much wisdom, that his reputation spread through all the world.

Kings ought to engrave in letters of gold on their palaces his beautiful maxim: "It is better to save a single citizen, than kill a thousand enemies."

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, called the Philosopher, was the son of Antoninus Verus, whom Adrian caused Antoninus Pious to adopt, and whom he succeeded. He had espoused Faustina, the daughter of his predecessor, whose adulteries caused great scandal in the empire.

Antoninus triumphed over the Parthians, conquered Avidius Cassius who had rebelled in the east—subjugated the Marcians and the Quadi—established at Athens professors to teach the sciences—broke down the Scythians, and performed great actions. He associated with him in the government, Lucius Antoninus Verus, who had married Lucilla his daughter. This coadjutor in the empire, very different from Marcus Aurelius, abandoned himself to pleasure and debauchery. Historians regard it as extraordinary, that in a government divided between two princes, whose inclinations were so opposite to each other, that ambition and jealousy had not broken off their intimacy; but it must be attributed to the merit of Antoninus, who by his virtues compelled his son-in-law to have some guard over his conduct. Verus died before his father-in-law; supposed to have been poisoned by Faustina.

During the reign of these two princes the church underwent a fourth persecution, in which many of the faithful suffered martyrdom, among whom were the martyrs of Lyons, who are as famous in ecclesiastical history as in our legends. Some years after the death of Verus, Antoninus was himself poisoned by his physicians, who executed the orders of Commodus his son.

Lucius Commodus Antoninus occupied the throne after this parricide. Historians teach us, that he was the handsomest and most cruel of all men. He had a well-proportioned body, advantageous height, a grand and imposing air, eyes pleasant and full of spirit. The Romans said he was the son of Faustina and a gladiator.

This monster concealed, under this seducing exterior, the most frightful cruelty. At the age of twelve, he caused the master of the public baths, to be cast into a heated furnace, because he had made the water too warm. Become emperor, he ordered them to render him divine honours while still alive. His palaces contained three hundred boys and three hundred young girls, destined to gratify his passions.

During his reign the Moors, the Dacians, the Pannonians, the Germans, and the inhabitants of Great Britain, were conquered by his generals; and whilst the people were cutting throats for the glory of the sovereign, he himself was improving on the cruelties of Domitian and Caligula, and surpassing Nero in infamous debauchery.

The most faithful ministers of the last reign were massacred by his orders, and the most

venerable senators became his victims. He condemned an unfortunate man, who was accused of having read the life of Caligula, written by Suetonius, to be thrown to wild beasts in the circus. In his walks, when he met very corpulent citizens, he caused them to be split in the middle by a single blow, and delighted in seeing their entrails escape through the passing wound. This caused a writer of much celebrity to say, that the monks of our day, so gross and fat, could not escape death under such a peril, unless they observed more rigorously the fasts prescribed by their rules.

This cruel emperor spared neither his wife Crispina, nor his sister Lucilla. The Christians alone enjoyed repose during his reign. Gifted with herculean strength, he combatted himself in the amphitheatre seven hundred and thirty-five times; carried off from his combats a thousand trophies, and boasted that he had slain twelve thousand men with his right hand. At length, after a reign much too long, Marcia, his favourite concubine, gave him a poisoned drink; and, as he ejected the poison he had taken, she caused him to be strangled by an athlete named Narcissus.

After the death of the infamous Commodus, the senate chose, as the man most worthy of the empire, Publius Helvius Pertinax, who was sprung from a plebeian origin. The new emperor supported the privileges of the senate, punished informers, proscribed the buffoons of Commodus, and made useful regulations for the good of the citizens. But wishing to retain the troops in their duty, and remedy the disorders of the camp, he was assassinated by his soldiers. These wretches cut off his head; and having carried it through

the camp, mounted the ramparts, crying out that the empire was for sale.

Sulpicianus, the father-in-law of Pertinax, wished to buy it; but P. Didius Julian, who was richer, offered more, and promised six hundred crowns to each soldier; but he could not pay them. Severus having then penetrated into Italy, at the head of the army of Hungary, the senate declared Julian a parricide and usurper, and caused him to be put to death.

The extinction of the family of the Antonines, in the person of Commodus, brought upon the empire similar troubles to those which were before occasioned by the fall of the family of the Cæsars, in the person of the infamous Nero. From that time, a frightful military despotism ensued. The nomination of the emperors appertained exclusively to the soldiery of the prætorian guard, who made or unmade the elections according to their caprice or interest.

Later, the legions claimed, in their turn, the right of proclaiming emperors, and revolted against the Prætorians. Yet the empire was still in all its force; wise laws, moderate imposts, a certain degree of political liberty, an unlimited civil liberty, a vigorous population, rich provinces, flourishing and magnificent cities, a very active internal and external commerce, were the important advantages which the citizens of Rome then enjoyed, and which soon disappeared before the frightful despotism of the sword. The senate lost all influence in the state, and rude soldiers became the dispensers of the imperial crown; on all sides sprung up civil wars, invasions of barbarians and famines, which were the baneful presages of the ruin of the Romans.

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## THE THIRD CENTURY.

### ZEPHYRINUS, THE SIXTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 203.—SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, MARCIAN and HELIOGABALUS, Emperors.]

*The Bishops of Rome usurp despotic authority over the other Churches—Birth of Zephyrinus—Ridiculous fable of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove—The Pope becomes a heretic—New persecution—Cowardice of the Pontiff—He excommunicates the Montanists—His lenity towards adulteresses.*

It is a generally admitted truth, that the best and wisest laws are corrupted, whenever they grant too much power to a single individual; and the institution of the episcopate offers us a striking proof of it. The high dignity of pontiff changed the spirit of those who were clothed with it, inspired them with pride, and so flattered their ambition, that they regarded themselves as superior to other ministers of religion. Above all, we remark this change at Rome, as if this mistress of the world could not suffer within her bosom but princes and kings.

The bishops of the holy city commenced, towards the close of the second century, to claim for themselves a jurisdiction over other churches, which they had not received from the apostles; and in the third had already abandoned the precepts of humility taught by Christ. The first was the golden age of the church, if we may borrow the expression from Cardinal Lorraine; but in proportion as we are removed from the apostolic times, has corruption increased, and the despotism of the clergy weighed down the people. Victor had prepared the way for the dominion of

the pontiff, and his successors did not neglect on any occasion to extend their power.

Zephyrinus, who governed the church of Rome after St. Victor, was a Roman, and the son of Abundius. His election is attributed to the miraculous appearance of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove.

Some historians affirm, that the holy father fell a victim to the arts of the Montanists, and that Praxeas undeceived him, before he fell himself into the same error. During the pontificate of Zephyrinus, the persecutions were redoubled by order of the emperor Severus, and the bishop of Rome abandoned his flock in order to avoid martyrdom. When the calm succeeded the tempest, the pontiff reappeared, and in order to cause his cowardice to be forgotten, persecuted the heretics. He excommunicated the Montanists, and among them Tertullian, who had joined the party of these innovators.

The fall of this great man deeply afflicted the faithful, who attributed his apostasy to the bad treatment he suffered, and the envy of the ecclesiastics. The excommunication of the pope excited general indignation; and the evil reputation which his clergy had acquired, brought upon him universal blame.

At the same time Origen, banished for his Christianity, came to the capitol of the empire to see Zephyrinus, by whom he was favourably received. Authors preserve the most profound silence in relation to the actions of this holy bishop; they say, nevertheless, that he received kindly adulteresses who repented of their sin; and accuse him of relaxation of discipline, in treating mildly culpable females, whilst he closed the doors of the church to idolaters and homicides.

We cannot ascertain with any certainty the day nor even the year of the death of Zephyrinus; and although the church decrees to him the honours of martyrdom, there is rea-

sonable doubt whether he shed his blood for the Christian faith. The pontifical books have fixed the time of his death about the year 221. He was interred in the cemetery of Callistus in the Appian Way.

As we have already spoken of Origen, it becomes useful to know more of this new chief of heresies, whose sect increased greatly towards the end of the century. He had been educated by the care of a rich Christian lady, whom he afterwards left, in order to live in the most absolute solitude and most rigorous fasting, drinking nothing but water, and eating only vegetables. He pushed his fanaticism to such an extent, as to mutilate his privy parts, an operation prohibited by the laws of the church. "In spite of this great fault (adds the pious legendary) he was ordained bishop by Alexander, primate of Jerusalem, on account of his eloquence and his great learning, which made him one of the great luminaries of the church."

The doctrines of Origen were, however, very singular. He maintained, that in the beginning of the creation God had created a great number of spirits, equal in power, different in essence, and that the great number of them had sinned. That in order to punish them for their fall, God had enclosed them in bodies of divers forms, and that then these spirits became souls, angels, stars, animals, or men. As a consequence of this first idea, he maintained that souls were material; that angels were subject to good or evil. He maintained that the happy could still sin in heaven, and that the demons were not perpetual enemies of God. "But this conversion of the spirit of evil, (adds Origen,) will not happen until after a long series of ages, and when a considerable number of worlds shall have succeeded ours; for time never has been, nor never will be without a world, for God cannot rest idle."

## CALLISTUS THE FIRST, THE SEVENTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 221.—HELOGOBALUS and ALEXANDER SEVERUS, Emperors.]

*State of the Church—Cemetery of Callistus—General depository for the relics of all Christianity Indulgence of the Pope for depraved Priests—His death.*

CALLISTUS, or Callixtus, was a Roman, and the son of Domitian; he was elevated to the Holy See, and took great pains to profit by the calm which the clergy enjoyed during the reign of Heliogobalus, a prince entirely occupied by his debaucheries. The death of this emperor yet more augmented the tranquillity of the church, and the faithful began to enjoy the public exercise of their religion under Alexander Severus. This prince openly favoured the Christians, loved their discipline, and gloried in following most of their maxims. A pagan author relates a discussion which took place between the priests and the tavern

keepers of the city of Rome, on the subject of a spot on which the last wished to hold their revels, and which the Christians had selected to hold their religious meetings. The emperor adjudged it to the priests, although they had trespassed on the public property, and permitted Callistus to build a temple in the same place. Traditions add, that it was dedicated to the Holy Virgin; which is not presumable, as the custom of religious dedications had not then been established.

The most remarkable work attributed to this pontiff, is the famous cemetery which bears his name, and which is frequently

spoken of in the martyrologies and the legends: it is, beyond all contradiction, the most extensive and renowned of all the cemeteries of Rome; and the priests affirm that there are interred in it, sixty-four thousand martyrs and forty-six popes. It was in existence before the reign of the holy father, but the name of Callistus has been given to it, because he increased it in size, and was himself interred in it. Other traditions, on the contrary, say, that Christians and pagans were buried together in it, and that the church had no separate cemetery until towards the fifth century.

The actions of Callistus remain in the most profound oblivion, and the fast of Ember week has been falsely attributed to him, a usage of which no trace can be found before the pontificate of Leo, who lived towards the close of the fifth century.

The holy father prohibited the reception of accusations against the clergy, made by persons of bad character, or enemies of the accused; a wise precaution which was nevertheless rejected by the inquisitors of the faith when they pursued the unfortunate heretics. The pontiff regarded as heretical, such of the faithful as maintained that priests could no more exercise their pastoral duties, after they had fallen into certain crimes, and after they had repented of them. These rigid principles were repressed by Callistus, who foresaw that the ecclesiastics of all ages would have need of the indulgence of the church.

The acts of the martyrs teach us, that after having been a long time in prison, Callistus was thrown from a window into a very deep well, and that the faithful obtained permission to carry away his body, which was buried in the cemetery of Calepodus, in the Aurelian Way. It is supposed, but wrongfully, that he died in 226, after having governed the church five years and a month; for nothing is less authentic than the martyrdom of this pontiff. On the contrary, it is proved that there was no persecution during the reign of the emperor Alexander, and that this monarch protected Callistus, and granted him authority to found the first Christian church which was built in Rome.

Alexander was a Syrian by birth, and the surname of the Arch Synagogueist, which the Romans gave him, attests that he protected all Jewish sects, and especially the Nazarenes. Origen affirms, that Mammea, his

mother, was a Christian, and that she passed her days in receiving instructions in the truths announced by the apostles. Thus the authors of the martyrology, not being able to establish, in an incontestible manner, the martyrdom of Callistus, pretend that the prefect of Rome had persecuted him without the knowledge of the emperor. But in order to demonstrate the falsity of this allegation, it is enough to relate, that this magistrate, by name Ulpian, was a model of equity; and moreover, an action of this kind could not have been concealed a long time, since Alexander had prohibited, by an edict, governors of provinces, and other officers of the empire, from exercising any act of violence against his subjects on account of their religion, no matter what might be the rank, fortune, or belief of the accused. Thus it appears there were no martyrdoms during this reign; but on the contrary, the sectarians of the new religion were protected in high places.

Already had the Christian ideas, taught through numerous writings and spread by the indefatigable zeal of the fathers, penetrated into pagan society. Many of the rich citizens of the empire admitted some of the new dogmas, and had a great veneration for the ministers of its worship. A great man named Ambrosius, of a consular family, is particularly cited, who protected publicly at Alexandria, Christian literature, and who maintained at his own expense a considerable number of writers, who were occupied in transcribing the works of the ecclesiastics. Origen alone had seven notaries, who wrote at his dictation; twenty librarians made fair copies of his works, and female calligraphers then transcribed them for the other churches.

Those were called notaries, who possessed the art of writing abridged notes; each sign represented a word, in order that they might follow with facility an animated discourse. They were entrusted with the charge of reducing to writing depositions of witnesses, judicial proceedings and the deliberations of the senate, as in our day stenographers are charged with the task of reproducing all the words spoken in a discourse, even the acclamations and interruptions. Those were called librarians, or antiquarians, who transcribed in elegant characters, and for the common use, the notes and discourses preserved by the notaries.

## URBAN THE FIRST, THE EIGHTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 226.—ALEXANDER SEVERUS, Emperor.]

*Uncertainty as to the pontificate of Urban—Piety of the emperor—He wishes to receive Jesus Christ into the number of gods of the empire—The Pope, in contempt, spits upon a statue of Mars—His death—He augments the revenues of the clergy—Wealth of the bishops.*

URBAN was a Roman by birth, and the son of one of the first men of the city, named Pontianus. Nothing is known of the commencement, termination, or duration of his pontificate.

Whilst he governed the church of Rome, the Christians were not persecuted. Alexander Severus, who then reigned, so far from being hostile to them, favoured them under all circumstances, and was governed entirely by the advice of his mother Mammaea, who was a Christian. He placed the image of Christ in his library, among the great men whom he venerated, and even thought of placing him among the gods of the empire. Urban, profiting by the favourable dispositions of this prince, made a large number of conversions, and extended Christianity even into the dwelling of the emperor. In the meantime another Urban, who was the prefect of Rome, and a sworn enemy to the Christian name, cited the holy father before his tribunal and ordered him to burn incense to Mars. The pontiff, having been led before the idol, dashed the censor to pieces in contempt, and spat upon the god. The prefect condemned, at once, the holy bishop to die under the torture. Urban was led to prison, with several

of the faithful, and they died in martyrdom. But the writings from which we have drawn this life of the holy father, are pronounced false, and place his death in the year 233, which was the tenth of the reign of Alexander Severus. He was interred in the Cemetery of Pretextatus, in the Appian Way.

Authors say, that this bishop introduced into the church the use of precious vessels; if this be so, it places his conduct in strong contrast with that of Alexander Severus, who wanted neither gold nor silver in the temples of the idols, and said with reason, "that gold could not be of any advantage to religion."

The origin of the temporalities in churches is deduced from this bishop; it is added that he appropriated to the wants of the clergy the goods and lands which Christians offered to him, and that he divided the revenues proportionably to the labours of the ministers of religion. But now, the usage is much changed! the priests who perform their duty the most carefully, are the worst paid; those who have charge of a numerous parish, receive a moderate recompense; whilst bishops and archbishops are the possessors of immense wealth, which is daily accumulating.

## PONTIANUS, THE NINETEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 233.—ALEXANDER SEVERUS and MAXIMIN, Emperors.]

*Birth of Pontianus—He is exiled to Sardinia—His abdication—He dies under blows from a club.*

AUTHORS who speak of Pontianus, teach us that he was a Roman by birth, and the son of Calpurnius. He governed his church tranquilly for some months; but then he was troubled in the functions of his ministry by the enemies of Christianity, and was banished to Sardinia. This unhealthy country, covered with marshes, was chosen as a place of banishment for those whom they wished to put to death. Before his departure, the holy father, unwilling to leave his church without a head, and in order that the faithful at Rome might choose another bishop, solemnly abdicated the pontificate.

The emperor Alexander Severus had condemned Pontianus to exile, not on account of his religion—for this prince was no persecutor—but because he had permitted himself to listen to the artifices and calumnies of the ene-

mies of Pontianus, who accused him of a desire to disturb the empire. This bishop governed the church of Rome some months, and when Maximin excited a new persecution against the Christians, St. Pontianus was brought back from Sardinia, in order to receive the crown of martyrdom, and expired under the scourge, towards the year 237.

The chroniclers relate a wonderful story, received from the sacred historians, and which shows the charlatanism of the priests in the very first ages of Christianity. According to them, there existed in Cappadocia a woman possessed of a devil, who counterfeited the part of a prophetess. She seduced, by false miracles, many of the faithful, who regarded her as a saint. A priest named Rusticus, and a deacon, were even carried away by her delusions. She had the boldness to baptize, and

administer the Eucharist, with the same ceremonies which were observed in the church. But a man of great piety, publicly maintained that this woman was possessed of a devil, and by his prayers drove from her the demon Astaroth, who escaped, vomiting fire upon the assembled people.

The death of the celebrated Tertullian, priest of Carthage, and the worthy rival of

Origen, is fixed at about this period. He was, like his contemporary, a heretic, and became one of the most ardent propagators of the doctrines of the Montanists. His numerous writings attest the extent of his information, and the profundity of his knowledge. On this subject we will remark, that the fathers of the church have almost all of them been heretics.

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## ANTEROS, THE TWENTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 237.—MAXIMIN, Emperor.]

*Election of Anteros—His death—Supposititious writings—Avarice and ambition of the prelates of our age.*

WHEN Pontianus abdicated the episcopate, the faithful at Rome had so profound a respect, and so great an attachment for him, that they refused to choose another bishop during his life. But after his death they proceeded to an election, and chose Anteros, a Greek by birth, and the son of a man named Romulus.

Whilst he was occupied with the care of his flock, the persecution, which was continued with fury, did not spare him; and it is believed that he suffered martyrdom in the year 238, after having governed the Holy See during a single month only.

The letters attributed to him, were never written by him; and we can place no confidence in historians, who affirm that permission was given by him to bishops, to take other sees, not for their own advantage, but from the necessity of the case, or the advancement of religion; for, at this period, these prelates would not have recourse to the bishop of Rome, to authorize these arrangements, since the jurisdiction of the pontiffs was confined within the bounds of their diocese. Nevertheless, we ought to know that this usage, then unknown to the faithful, has been scandalously introduced into the church. Most prelates do not seek new bishoprics with a view to the advancement of religion, which is the last thing in their thoughts.

They do not inquire how many souls are to be conducted into the way of safety; but they know how much revenue a bishopric can yield—how many domestics, horses, or equipages they will be enabled to keep; and, by this insatiable avarice, they show themselves unworthy of the majesty and sanctity of the episcopate.

Julius the African, published then his universal history, which commenced with the origin of the world, and terminated with the fourth year of the reign of Heliogabalus. This historian, who was the most learned genealogist of his time, tells us that he has endeavoured to reconcile the two contradictory genealogies of Jesus Christ, given by the evangelists St. Luke and St. Matthew; and that he had even made a journey to Palestine, in order to consult the Jews, who pretended to be of the family of Christ; but that they could show nothing which attested the origin of Jesus. This same father, whose orthodoxy has been recognized by the church, affirms that the greatest part of the Bible is apochryphal; and cites, among others, the history of Susanna, and that of Bel and the dragon; which, he affirms, he could not find in the Jewish annals, anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the ruin of Judea.

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## FABIANUS, THE TWENTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 238.—MAXIMIN, PHILIP GORDIEN, and DECIVS, Emperors.]

*Wonderful election of Fabianus—New story of the Holy Spirit, in the form of a white dove—Seventh persecution of the church—Death of Fabianus.*

SOME days after the death of St. Anteros, Fabianus, who was a Roman or Italian by birth, and the son of Fabius, was chosen pope, in a singular manner, if we can believe Eusebius, and the authors who have followed his account. They say that Fabianus had returned to

Rome from the country, in order to be present at the elevation of the new pontiff. The faithful had assembled in a church, for the purpose of the election; and several persons of consideration were proposed, without any thought of Fabianus, though he was present.

Of a sudden, a white dove descended from above, and alighted on his head. Then the faithful, recalling to their recollection that the Holy Spirit had manifested itself, in a like form, at the baptism of Jesus Christ, exclaimed that God had exhibited to them his will. Immediately Fabianus was proclaimed pope, and conducted to the Episcopal See, without other formality than the imposition of hands. At this time, the custom of prostrating themselves before the pontiff of Rome, immediately on his election, nor of kissing his feet, had not been adopted.

According to some traditions, the holy father introduced the use of renewing the holy oil every year, on Holy Thursday, and of burning in the church that of the preceding year. But antiquity has preserved nothing important, nor certain, of the actions of Fabianus, nor of the rules which he introduced for the government of his charge. He excommunicated Privatus, bishop of Lambesa, a man of scandalous conduct, and pernicious doctrine, who had been already condemned, in Africa, by a council of ninety bishops. We are ignorant

of the dogmas which the heresy of Privatus taught, nor of the men who were drawn in by him; and it would be desirable were we ignorant of most of the schisms which have overwhelmed the churches.

According to the history of Eusebius, the emperor Phillip and his son were Christians; and the acts of the martyrdom of St. Pontianus, affirm that the bishop Fabianus baptized these two princes. But it is not likely that the soldiers, the grandees, and the people, would have suffered the rule of Phillip, if he had embraced Christianity. Besides, the senate, composed of the sworn enemies of the new religion, would not have placed him in the number of the gods of the empire.

After the death of these two princes, Decius, who succeeded them, troubled the church with a furious persecution, which is enumerated as the seventh. Many of the faithful, with the pontiff at their head, received the crown of martyrdom; but a very large number apostatized. Authors place the death of Fabianus in 253; but chronology, more correct, fixes it in the year 250.

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### [A. D. 250.]—VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

*The persecution continues—The great Cyprian bishop of Carthage flies disgracefully—St. Gregory Thaumaturgus abandons his flock—A Christian miracle, in imitation of paganism.*

PLATINUS is deceived in his chronology, when he says that the Episcopal See remained vacant only six days after the martyrdom of St. Fabianus. Historians are agreed, that before choosing another pontiff, they waited until the violence of the persecution had passed away; and this opinion is the better founded, since a large number of the ecclesiastics of Rome, and of the neighbouring bishops, were either prisoners, or had been driven away, or were lying in concealment. Thus the Holy See was not occupied for several years, and the clergy took charge of the church.

The persecution continuing to make great ravages, both in the eastern and western churches, the great Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was obliged, as he bears witness in his letters, to abandon his diocese, by the order of God. He was proscribed, and his goods confiscated. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocesarea, in Pontus, also took flight, and escaped, with his deacon, to a desert hill.

The persecutors pursued the two priests, and having discovered the place of their retreat, surrounded the mountain. Some guarded the passages from the valley—others sought them through the caves with which it abounded. Gregory told his deacon to unite with him in prayer, and to put his trust in God. He himself commenced praying, standing upright, with his arms extended, looking steadfastly to heaven. The pagans, after having searched all the most secret places, returned to the valley, convinced that they had only found two trees, near each other.

This astonishing metamorphosis affrighted the shepherd, who had served as a guide to the enemies of Gregory. During the night he returned to the mountain, and perceived the bishop and his deacon, motionless, in prayer, on the same spot where the persecutors had seen the two trees. He at once prostrated himself at their feet, and demanded to be baptized.

## SAINT CORNELIUS THE FIRST, TWENTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 252.—DECIVS, GALLUS, and VOLUSIAN, Emperors.]

## NOVATIAN, FIRST ANTI-POPE.

*The emperor Decius, hostile to the Christians—Election of Cornelius—The people then ratify the election of the popes—Schism of Novatian—Quarrel between the pope and anti-pope—Novatian consecrated bishop of Rome, in the midst of a debauch—Schism of Fortunatus, in Africa—Crimes of the priests—They violate the holy virgins—The persecution continues—Bishop Cornelius exiled—His martyrdom a falsehood.*

It is not surprising, that the Holy See remained vacant during a year and a half, and that the clergy did not choose another pontiff; for the emperor Decius would have preferred a revolt in the state, to the election of a bishop of Rome, who was capable of sustaining the Christian religion.

The priest Cornelius, a Roman by birth, and the son of Castinus, was not elevated to the chair of St. Peter, until a short time before the death of that prince.

Cornelius was of virgin purity, and of remarkable modesty and firmness. After having passed through all the degrees of the ecclesiastical offices, he had neither intrigued for—as so many other popes have done—nor even desired the Episcopate. He was chosen, as the most worthy, by sixteen bishops, who were by chance in the city. All the clergy bore witness to his merit, and the people who were present, consented to his ordination.

During these disastrous times, he had a dangerous persecution to sustain, whilst the Episcopate had already become the object of ambition to the clergy. Novatian, a priest of the Roman church, jealous of the elevation of Cornelius, declared against him. He affected great severity of morals, and complained that, at Rome, apostates were received to penitence with too much readiness. A portion of the members of the clergy, who were still prisoners, allowed themselves to be seduced by this apparent zeal for discipline. Novatus, a schismatic of Africa, aided his plans, and the two spread abroad calumnies against pope Cornelius. They accused him of having joined in the communion with bishops, who had sacrificed to idols, and of having abjured between the hands of the magistrate, in order to avoid persecution.

Novatian, in separating from the communion of Cornelius, drew off many confessors, and a large number of the faithful into his schism. He became the chief of those who called themselves *the pure*, because they maintained, that those who had fallen away during persecution, could no more hope for safety, nor obtain pardon for their faults. A council of sixty bishops, priests, and deacons, having assembled at Rome, to try this question, Novatian was condemned, and excommunicated.

Cornelius wrote to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, to apprise him of the result of this council. He speaks with bitterness of the spirit and morals of his opponents. Behold the portrait which he drew.

“I will tell you, how Novatian, that wonderful man, burning for a long time, with the desire of being a bishop, concealed his ill-regulated ambition, under the veil of sanctity, from the confessors, whom he had engaged in his interests. But, having discovered his artifices, deceit, falsehood, and perjury, they have renounced his friendship, returned to the church, and have publicly proclaimed, in the presence of bishops, priests, and many of the laity, the wickedness which he concealed, under a show of false humility. They have mourned over the misfortune into which they fell, of being separated from the faithful—of having been deceived by the falsehoods of this imposter.

“We have seen, my very dear brother, a wonderful change take place in his conduct. This priest, who affirmed, with execrable oaths, that he had no ambition, has become of a sudden, a bishop. This doctor—this defender of the discipline of the church—wishing to usurp the episcopate, to which God had not called him, associated with himself two abandoned men; sent them into a corner of Italy, to deceive three very simple and very ignorant bishops; beseeching them to come to Rome, for the purpose of appeasing, with the aid of other prelates, a difficulty which had occurred there. When they had arrived, he caused them to be shut up, with wretches like himself, unto the tenth hour of the day; and having made them drink to excess, he constrained them to consecrate him bishop, by a vain and imaginary imposition of hands. It is from this he draws all the right which he has, however unjustly, to the episcopal dignity.”

Novatian, nevertheless, maintained his authority, against that of Cornelius, and drew from him a large part of his flock. In the letters, which he wrote after his ordination, the anti-pope did not evince any respect for the holy father; and his testimony was authorized by that of the confessors who had declared for him.

Some time after, Fortunatus, who had been driven from the church, was ordained bishop of Carthage, by some schismatic prelates, in order to dispute that place with St. Cyprian. The usurper sent to Rome to demand communion with the holy father. Felicissimus, his deputy, presented himself at the gates of the church, accompanied by a band of furious heretics, who pretended to recognize Fortunatus as bishop of Carthage. But the pope would not hear them. He drove them from the church

with sacerdotal rigour, and treated them as he would have desired to do to Novatian. The faithful approved of the conduct of the father, toward Felicissimus, who had been lawfully condemned, of having appropriated, to his own use, money which he had on deposit—of having corrupted virgins, and committed adultery.

The persecution, which had relented towards the end of the reign of Decius, recommenced with more fury, on account of a violent pestilence, which extended over several provinces of the empire. The emperor Gallus, and his son, Volusian, had recourse to their idols, and sent edicts into all the provinces, to order sacrifices. But the Christians refused to take part in those superstitions, and they were blamed, as the cause of the public misfortunes, which were regarded as the effect of the anger of the gods.

Cornelius was the first, at Rome, who, during this persecution, confessed the name of Jesus Christ, and was sent into exile, by order of the emperor Gallus, to Centum Cellæ, now called Civita Vecchia, a very pleasant place, forty-five miles from Rome.

In spite of the honours which the church decrees him, we must presume that his death was natural, and that it happened in 253. St. Jerome, following the erroneous testimony of ancient traditions, affirms that the pontiff shed his blood in Rome; and that he was beheaded, after having governed the church for one year and some months.

Decius had impressed so profound a terror on the new Christians, that a great number abandoned the empire, to take refuge in the deserts of Egypt. During these migrations, many died of hunger and thirst; some were devoured by lions and tigers; others, after having passed the mountains of Arabia, fell into the power of the Nomade hordes. Those who were happy enough to escape all these dan-

gers, peopled the solitude of the Thebais, and became Eremites.

The legends relate a very curious history of the first of the Anchorites of the lower Thebais: "A young Christian, of Alexandria, named Paul," says the legendary, "the heir of a rich patrimony, profoundly versed in Grecian and Egyptian literature, had retired to one of his estates, in order to live far from the world, with his brother-in-law, and a young sister, for whom he had conceived a violent passion. But one day his brother-in-law, having detected him in incest, threatened to surrender him to the commissioners of the emperor.

"Affrighted by the threat, Paul fled to the solitude of the mountains, where he recovered, little by little, tranquillity of mind. His tears having softened the justice of God, he had a dream, in which an angel appeared to him, who promised him pardon for his crime, on condition he would pass his life in solitude.

"The next day, on awakening, Paul decided to follow the divine inspiration. He climbed a hill, which he found in his path; arrived at the top, he perceived a great cavern, closed by a stone; he penetrated it from curiosity, and found in the interior a spacious saloon, open to the day, and shaded by a venerable palm tree, which extended its protecting branches over all the grotto. A limpid fountain bubbled forth from the foot of a rock, and having flowed some paces onward, lost itself in a mazy winding, formed by two blocks of granite. Paul chose this place for his retreat, and lived there ninety years, although he was already thirty-three at the time of his flight from Alexandria."

The founding of the church of Toulouse, by St. Saturninus, and that of Paris, by St. Denis, are both recorded as occurring during the latter part of the pontificate of Cornelius.

## LUCIUS, THE TWENTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 253.—SALLUS, VOLUSIAN, and EMILIAN, Emperors.]

*Eulogium on Lucius—He is exiled—Return to Rome—Uncertainty as to his martyrdom.*

LUCIUS, the successor of Cornelius, was a Roman, and the son of Porphyry. He had accompanied the late pontiff into exile; and after his death was adjudged, by the faithful, the most competent to fill his place. But the holy father did not long exercise the duties of his charge, being banished from Rome by the persecutors. He was, however, recalled from exile, and permitted to return to his church, which he governed for five months. We are not satisfied that Lucius suffered martyrdom; and historians are in the same doubt as to the duration of his pontificate; but they are agreed that he died in the same year as that of his election, which was in 253.

Cyprian had been bishop of Carthage only

a few years, and his writings had already made him one of the pillars of the church in Africa. Previously to his conversion to Christianity, he had taught rhetoric, and acquired great wealth. Not only did he distribute all his goods among the poor, but he dedicated his life entirely to his new belief. St. Cyprian is the author of a treatise on morals, which is extremely rigorous in regard to ecclesiastical discipline; which shows that the clergy had, some of them, already become tainted by immorality.

The bishop Eucratius having consulted him, in order to know if he should refuse the communion to a play actor, who continued the practise of his art, although he had embraced

Christianity, "Drive this actor from the temple of God," replied the holy man, "the divine law prohibits men from clothing themselves in the garments of females, and imitating their steps and gestures\*. This impious person must cease to play the part of courtezans, and shameless queens upon the stage, or remain separate from the communion of the faithful. If he pleads his poverty, as his excuse, the church will grant him aid, as she does to her other children, provided he will be content with a frugal support, and not pre-

\* The female parts were performed, on the Roman stage, by lads, or effeminate looking men. Women did not appear on it.

tend that we owe him a reward for drawing back from a sin, which is his affair, not ours."

Another story, still more curious, is related in regard to St. Cyprian. A bishop, named Pompœnus, had consulted with him by letter, whether he should bestow the communion on holy females, who, having taken the vow of virginity, pretended to exercise themselves in conquering the spirit of evil, by sharing their beds with young priests and deacons. Cyprian replied, that if they had, in truth, preserved their virginity, he should not refuse them communion; but, that it would be better that they should not in future renew so dangerous a proof, in order to shun scandal.

## STEPHEN THE FIRST, TWENTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 253.—VALERIAN GALLIENUS, Emperor.]

*Birth of Stephen—Faults of the pope—He unjustly protects two bishops, accused of great crimes—His ambition—St. Cyprian assembles a council, and condemns the pope—Boldness of Stephen—Firmilian publicly reproaches him with crimes—St. Cyprian brings atrocious accusations against the pontiff—Fables in regard to the martyrdom of Stephen—Despotism of the pope.*

STEPHEN WAS a Roman by birth, and the son of a priest, named Julius. He was chosen bishop, in recompense for the services he had rendered the church.

At the beginning of his pontificate, he permitted himself to be seduced by two bishops of Spain, who, after having been legitimately deposed, came to supplicate the holy father to re-establish them. Those prelates, by name, Basilicus, bishop of Leon and Astorga, and Martial, bishop of Merida, had been convicted of being libellatici—that is of having been of the number of those who had not sacrificed to idols, but who had given or received letters of abjuration—in order to save their lives, liberty, or property. They were, besides, accused of enormous crimes, which rendered them unworthy of the episcopate, and had obliged the bishops of Spain to give them successors.

Stephen listened favourably to their complaints, because they favoured the increase of his authority; and without even examining into the truth of the charges, he re-established those two prelates in their churches. The clergy of Spain scandalized at the conduct of the pontiff, sent deputies to the bishops of Africa, imploring their aid against the disasters with which the ambition of the holy father threatened their province. Cyprian immediately assembled a council of twenty-eight prelates, who confirmed the deposition of Basilicus and Martial. He then sent to Rome two priests, to inform the pope of the decision of the African church. But, St. Stephen would neither see them, nor speak with them; and prohibited the faithful from receiving them, and extending towards them the rites of hospitality. His wrath carried him to still further

excess. He excluded from his communion the bishops of Africa; and he wrote to them in a manner so arrogant, that his pride excited the indignation of the Orientals.

Firmilianus, bishop of Cesarea, addressed a long letter to St. Cyprian, in which he testified the great esteem, and profound affection, he entertained for him; at the same time he exhibited his indignation against the pope, and spoke of him in the following words:

"Can we believe, that this man has a soul, and a body? Apparently, his body is crooked, and his mind disordered. He does not fear to speak of his brother Cyprian as a false Christ, a false prophet, a fraudulent workman; and, in order, not to be understood as speaking from himself, he has the audacity to reproach him, in the name of others."

This letter appears, to Pamelius, to be so violent, that he avows he would not have inserted it in his edition, if Morel and Turnebus had not related it before he did. Fleury has not dared to translate it. He, also, passes by in silence, the atrocious accusations which St. Cyprian hurled against the pontiff, reproaching him with being "arrogant, obstinate—the enemy of Christians, the defender of heretics, and with preferring human traditions to divine inspiration."

Thus, even in the first ages of Christianity, holy men mingled, in their disputes, that sharpness and bitterness, which we always see in religious contests. But then the unenlightened people, embraced with fury, the opinions of their bishops, and thousands perished, to maintain the errors of miserable priests.

The varying opinions of historians, as to the death of pope Stephen, do not permit us to

arrive at the truth. An ancient pontifical relates that he was condemned to banishment, as well as St. Cyprian, and St. Denis, of Alexandria. And that, afterwards, having returned to his church, he was arrested, and thrown into prison with two other bishops, nine priests, and three deacons. It is added, that he obtained from the magistrates permission to assemble in his prison, the principal ecclesiastics, and, with their consent, placed the sacred vessels, and the treasure of the church, in the hands of his deacon, Sixtus, whom he designated as his successor. He was then beheaded on the public square.

The acts of the martyrs, according to Baillet, are still less authentic than this pontifical. They relate that the holy father was taken, on the second day of August, before the emperor Valerian, who condemned him to be devoured in the circus, by wild beasts. But the sudden, and miraculous fall of a temple of Mars, having put to flight the guards, who accompanied him, the pontiff was enabled to escape into a neighbouring cemetery. Believing himself safe from their pursuit, he commenced offering divine sacrifices, when the soldiers found him, and cut off his head, upon

the altar. Father Pagi has followed these acts. We adopt, as more truthful, the opinions of the learned, who assure us that St. Stephen died in prison, in the fourth year of his pontificate, and in the beginning of the year 257.

His doctrine on baptism is very curious. He affirmed, that this regenerative sacrament, environed the soul of the Neophytes, and entered into them in two forms; strengthening himself with these words of John the Baptist: "He who shall come after me, shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire."

He cites then, as an irrefragable proof of the orthodoxy of his doctrine, the example of the centurion Cornelius, who received the Holy Spirit before he did the re-invigorating water, and that of the apostles, who, on the other hand, were baptized with water long before they had received the Holy Spirit. In fine, he demonstrates, by passages from the Evangelists, that this sacrament has a multiplied form; a doctrine entirely opposed to the decisions of œcumenical councils, and which would be sufficient to cause us to regard him as an heretic, if the church had not canonized him.

## SIXTUS THE SECOND, TWENTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 257.—VALERIAN GALLIENUS, Emperor.]

*Eulogium on Sixtus—His Election—He puts an end to the ridiculous quarrels about baptism—Heresy of Sabellius—The persecution continues—Death of the pope.*

SIXTUS, whom some authors call Xystus, and whom they consequently make the last of that name, was an Athenian by birth. He had exercised, with much charity, zeal, and fidelity, the duties of a deacon, under Etienne; and when that pope was arrested, he asked permission to follow him to prison. After that, he became the guardian and depository of the vases, furniture, and all the money of the church. After the death of Stephen, he was elevated to the episcopal dignity.

The fatal question of the baptism of heretics, continued to divide the faithful, after having scandalously separated St. Cyprian and St. Stephen. But Sixtus, less violent, or less ambitious than his predecessor, terminated this ridiculous quarrel, by yielding to the bishops of Africa. Hence, St. Ponce, deacon of Carthage, calls him in his works, a good and pacific prelate.

Dennis, of Alexandria, advised pope Sixtus, by letter, of an heresy which was beginning to appear. He wrote to him: "There has broken out at Ptolemaides, in Penasopolis, a doctrine, truly impious, containing many blasphemies against God the Father. It teaches us not to call Jesus Christ his only Son; and not to recognize the Holy Spirit."

The chief of this sect, named Sabellius, taught that the persons of the Trinity were

but three names; and that there was but one person in the Godhead, called in heaven God the Father; on earth, Jesus Christ; and in the creatures, the Holy Spirit. And that the Father, under the notion of the Son, had been born of the virgin, and suffered death.

Several bishops, having partaken of the sentiments of Sabellius, propagated them in their dioceses. This heresy was similar to that of Praxeas, and the Patropassians, who denied the Trinity, and the real distinction of the divine personages. It was transmitted to Sabellius, by Noetus, his master, and extended into all the provinces, to Rome even, and into Mesopotamia, where it found numerous partizans.

The violence of the persecution increased during the consulate of Memmius Fuscus and Pomponius, when the emperor Valerian, occupied in the East, by the war against the Persians, had left the government of Rome to Marcian, the declared foe of the religion. This latter, in the absence of the sovereign, gave orders to the senate, to pursue the Christians, and condemn to punishment the bishops, priests, and deacons; to punish senators and Roman knights, by taking from them their rank, and property, and to put them to death, if they persisted in their professions of Christianity. He made, besides, two other edicts: one against women of quality, whom he

threatened with exile; the other, against the Cæsareans, or freedmen of Cæsar, whom he declared confiscated as slaves to the prince, if they did not return to the religion of the empire.

Pope Sixtus was one of the first victims of this cruel persecution. He was seized, with a part of his clergy, whilst praying, at the cemetery of Callistus, and conducted to torture. St. Laurence, the principal deacon of the Roman church, followed him in tears, and said to him: "Whence go you, father, without your son? You are not accustomed to offer sacrifice without the minister. How have I displeased you? Prove if I am worthy of the choice you have made, in confiding to me the dispensation of the blood of our Lord." Sixtus replied to him: "I do not leave you, my son. A greater contest is prepared for you. You will follow me in three days."

The martyrdom of St. Saturninus, and St. Denis, are placed in the reign of Valerian. Saturninus, says the legend, had established his church at the capitol, at Toulouse, near to a temple dedicated to Jupiter, and celebrated throughout all Gaul, for its oracle. But after the arrival of the holy man, the demons ceased to speak, the reputation of the idol received a great shock, and the offerings were very much diminished. Then the pagan priests proposed to Saturninus to build him a splendid temple, without the city. Upon his refusal, they resolved to rid themselves of this pious bishop, by violence. On the day of a great festival, when the people had assembled

for a solemn sacrifice, they saw Saturninus going towards his church: "Behold," they cried, "the enemy of the gods, and the champion of this new religion! Behold him, who draws the anger of Jupiter upon us! Shall he sacrifice, or shall he die?"

Immediately the fanatical people seized on the holy bishop; they dragged him to the temple, forced him to kneel before the statue of the god, and presented incense to him, to burn in honour of Jupiter. But, instead of obeying them, the martyr spat upon the idol. The pagan priests, bound him by the feet to the tail of a savage bull, destined for the sacrifice. The animal, excited by the cries of the multitude, broke away with a bound, ran about the city, precipitated himself into the country, dragging in his course the corpse of Saturninus. At length, the cords breaking, some bloody fragments were left upon the ground, and were collected together by a poor female, who secretly buried them.

The legends of the saints, are filled with acts so singular and marvellous, that the strongest faith cannot admit their authenticity. Serious minds regard the martyrdom of Saturninus as a fable, invented by the priests; and we shall place in the same rank, the beheading of St. Denis, who, according to our martyrology, was decapitated with Eleutherus and Rusticus, on Mount Montmartre, took up his head after the execution, and carried it during a journey of more than a league, even to the chapel, which, at this very day, bears the name of this illustrious martyr.

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## [A. D. 258.]—VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

### MARTYRDOM OF SAINT LAWRENCE.

AFTER the martyrdom of Sixtus the Second, the See of Rome remained vacant for a year; the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, is the only remarkable event which occurred in this interregnum.

The holy deacon, on the day of the pontiff's death, distributed among the poor, the wealth of the church, not even excepting the vases used in the celebration of the Eucharist, which he sold to prevent them from falling into the hands of the pagans. The report of these great alms, excited the cupidity of Cornelius Secularis, the prefect of Rome, who supposed that the Christians had immense treasures in reserve; and in order to obtain them, he arrested Lawrence, who had them in his charge, as the deacon of the Roman church. The holy priest was led before the tribunal, and Cornelius interrogated him in these words: "We are assured, that in your ceremonies, the ministers offer the libations in vessels of gold, and catch the blood of the victim in cups of silver; that in order to lighten up your nocturnal sacrifices, you have

chandeliers of gold, in which you place candles, made of wax and perfumes; we know that to supply these offerings, the brethren sell their inheritances, and frequently reduce their children to poverty. Bring to the light of day, these concealed treasures; the prince has need of them to maintain his troops, and you ought, according to your own doctrine, to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's. I do not suppose your god coins money; he brought none when he came into the world, he brought only words; render us, therefore, your money, and be rich in words."

St. Lawrence replied, firmly to the judge: "I own that our church is rich, and that the emperor has not so great treasures. Since you demand it, you shall see our most precious goods; yield me only a few days to place all things in order, to make straight the state of our wealth, and prepare the calculations."

The prefect, trusting in this promise, and hoping to enrich himself from the treasures of the church, granted him three days. St.

Lawrence, traversed the whole city, in order to find every where the poor, whom the church maintained, the lame, the infirm, the mutilated; he assembled them, wrote down their names, and on the third day, having ranged them in the square before the church, sought out the prefect: "Come contemplate the treasures of our God; you will see a great court, full of vases of gold, and all our wealth heaped up under the galleries."

When Cornelius, perceived this troop of poverty-stricken wretches, who begged alms from him, he turned towards Lawrence, with threatening eyes. "False priest (said he) you shall be punished for your temerity!"

"Why are you offended, my lord?" replied the holy man; the gold which you desire so ardently, is a vile metal, drawn from the earth, and which excites us to the commission of all crimes. The true gold is the light of which these poor ones are disciples; the great ones of the earth are poor, truly miserable and contemptible. Behold the treasures which I promised you; behold these virgins and widows, who form the crown of the church. Avail yourself of these riches for Rome, for the emperor, and for yourself." The prefect, in a transport of rage, exclaimed, "Wretch! do you dare to despise the laws of the emperor, because you do not fear death—but the vengeance will be terrible!"

Then he ordered the executioners to bring a bed of iron, under which were placed, half-extinguished coals, in order to burn the martyr more slowly; they despoiled Lawrence of his garments, and fixed him on the gridiron. The resignation, and the courage he evinced, during this horrible punishment, converted several pagans, and among them persons of high distinction. The poet Prudentius related, that the Neophytes, or newly-baptized Christians, affirmed, that his face was sur-

rounded by an extraordinary brilliancy, and that a sweet odour exhaled from his consuming bones; he adds, also, that the infidels, and the impious, did not perceive the light or the odour. We must regard this, as a poetic ornament. It may be, that in the midst of his frightful torments, the blessed martyr did not cease to sing the praises of the Most High, and encouraged the faithful, to confess with him the holy doctrine of Jesus Christ. When he was calined on one side, he said to the prefect, in order to sport with his cruelty, as he had before done with his avarice: "Agent of the devil, cause them to turn my body on the other side." When it was done, he had the stoical courage to say to him: "As I am now cooked, you can eat me."

After the death of St. Lawrence, the persecution increased, and very many were martyred throughout the empire. It carried off St. Cyprien, bishop of Carthage, and many very distinguished of the faithful. But history throws no light on the combats which the clergy of Rome, had to maintain in this time of difficulty, and we are even ignorant of the state of ecclesiastical discipline.

Nevertheless, the legends relate at length the martyrdom of twelve Christians of Utica, who were cast into a bed of quick lime, and whose relics, the faithful afterwards collected; as the bodies formed a substance mixed with the lime, they enclosed, says the historian, this compact mass in an immense coffin, which was placed in the principal church.

According to the same chronicles, Theogenes, bishop of Hippona, was decapitated without the walls of the city, and three noble females, Maxima, Donatilla and Secunda, having refused to sacrifice to idols, were first violated by the executioner, and then beheaded.

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## DENIS, THE TWENTY-SIXTH POPE.

[GALLIENUS and CLAUDIAN, Emperors.]

*Birth of Denis—His humanity—He ransoms Christians taken prisoners by the Barbarians—Pursues the ambitious projects of his predecessors—Errors of the Millenarians—Heresy of Paul of Samosata—Zenobia, queen of Palmyra—Excommunication of Paul—Death of the pope.*

DENIS, was a Greek, and of a birth so obscure, that nothing is known of his family. In his early youth, he entered upon a cloistered life, and afterwards, was made a priest of the church of Rome, by St. Stephen. He had adopted the opinions of his bishop in relation to the baptism of heretics, but it appears, that he did not conduct himself with the same violence in this quarrel.

The emperor Valerian, having been vanquished and taken prisoner by the Persians, Gallienus, his son and successor, took the reins of government. The inaptitude of this new prince, exposed the provinces of the empire

to the ravages of the barbarians. The city of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia was ruined, sacked, and its citizens carried into slavery. As soon as Denis was informed of this disaster, he hastened not only to write to this afflicted church, but to send money into Cappadocia by safe hands, to ransom the Christian captives from the barbarians; and he did not cease his charity, from the recollection of the old contest of Firmilian, with his predecessor, Pope Stephen.

St. Athanasius, whose testimony is of great weight, relates several honourable acts of this pontiff, whom he regarded as among the an-

cient fathers, who were the most capable of informing us of the doctrine of the church, and of establishing rules for the government of general councils.

Some years after, the faithful in Egypt carried their complaints to Rome against Denis, bishop of Alexandria, whom they accused of advocating impious maxims, in the books which he wrote against the Sabellians, in order to establish the distinction in the divine persons. This accusation was frivolous, but the pope making use of it, in order to extend his power over the churches, and follow up the system of Stephen, consented to give judgment. He was somewhat guarded, however, in his measures, and not wishing to decide of his own authority in the matter, assembled a council, which disapproved of the doctrines of the bishop of Alexandria, and ordered that prelate to submit to the Holy See, and to go to Rome, to clear up the points which had been condemned.

The error of the Millenarians, had been for a long time established in Egypt, and threatened to overrun the west. The principal author of this sect, Bishop Nepos, rendering too judaically the text of the Holy Scriptures, maintained that Jesus Christ would reign on earth for a thousand years, and that the saints would enjoy in heaven, all the pleasures of the senses. Nepos founded his opinions upon the Apocalypse of St. John, and drew after him a great number of the faithful; history does not apprise us of the steps taken by Denis, the bishop of Rome, to put a stop to this heresy.

Soon after, the doctrines of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, excited a violent controversy in the church. Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, a princess of ability beyond her sex, wishing to know the principles of the Christian religion, addressed herself to bishop Paul, in order to be instructed in its mysteries. But this prelate had singular opinions for the age. He called Christ a man, and not a God. He taught the people the sublime morality of the evangelists, and neglected to instruct them in the dogmas of religion. The bishops of the east, scandalized at his con-

duct, assembled at Antioch, and pursued him as "a wolf, which ravaged the flock of the Lord." The council, animated by the fanatical zeal which has always distinguished ecclesiastical assemblies, proceeded to judge Paul of Samosata. By his eloquence, the philosophical priest prevailed on them to suspend the condemnation, which they were on the point of pronouncing against him and his doctrine. Finally, it was perceived, that Paul had used dissimulation, and that he had corrected neither his sentiments nor his morals.

They then assembled anew, to the number of seventy, and condemned him for having trifled with their credulity, and the pacific intentions of Firmilian, who had presided over the first synod.

Paul, convinced of error of doctrine, and looseness of morals, was deposed and excommunicated by the council.

Pope Denis died on the 26th of December, in the year 269, during the reign of the emperor Claudius the Second and Paternus, after filling the episcopal chair for ten years and some months. He was interred in the cemetery of Callistus.

During the pontificate of Denis, the philosopher Plotinus, celebrated for his great learning, flourished at Rome. This extraordinary man had not only drawn among his disciples a great number reared in the doctrines of paganism, but he even led off the sectarians of the new religion, and caused the churches of the Christians to be deserted, whenever he delivered his public instruction.

He pretended, like Socrates, to have a familiar demon; and affirmed, that by the light of reason alone, one could elevate himself as high as the sovereign God; who had, according to him, neither form nor essence, and was indefinable by human words. He combated all the Christian sects, and especially the Gnostics, who believed in spirits or secondary demons, among whom figured Christ.

Historians relate, that just before he died, Plotinus, turning to his disciples, said to them: "I go to reunite that of the divine, which existed in me, to that of the divine which exists in the universe."

## FELIX THE FIRST, THE TWENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 270.—CLAUDIUS the Second, and AURELIAN, Emperors.]

*Elevation of Felix—Paul of Samosata resists the decree of the council—He is driven from his See—Death of the pope.*

FELIX was a Roman, and the son of Constantius. He succeeded Denis, on the last day of the year 269. We know of none of the actions of his life, until his arrival at the pontificate. On mounting the chair of St. Peter, he found the church tranquil without, but torn within by the heresy of Paul of Samosata, of whom we have spoken, in the history of the

preceding reign. This bishop, supported by the favour of the idolatrous magistrates, and the credit which he had at Antioch, refused to submit to the decree of the council, which, having condemned and deposed him, had named to fill his place Domnus, the son of Demetrius. Paul, refusing to quit the episcopal residence, recourse was had to the

authority of the emperor Aurelian, who judged the affair with great justice. The prince decided, that the possession of the episcopal palace pertained to those who entertained relations with the bishop of Rome, and the other prelates of Italy, and that pope Felix, having refused to hold communion with Paul

of Samosata, he should consequently be driven from his See.

Felix died, according to general belief, on the 22d of December, in the year 274, having governed the church five years. He was interred in the cemetery of Callistus.

## EUTYCHIANUS, THE TWENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 275.—AURELIAN, TACITUS, FLORIAN, PROBUS and CARUS, Emperors.]

*Election of Eutychian—Numerous fables in regard to him—Heresy of Manes—Curious history, and extravagant quarrels—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Felix the First, the clergy, and the faithful people of Rome, chose Eutychianus to govern the church. The city of Luna, in Tuscany, was the country of the pontiff, and his father was named Marinus. History teaches us nothing positive of the actions of his life; nevertheless, we might form volumes, were we to believe the fables which are related of the holy father, and of which all the pontifical writings could not guarantee the authenticity.

During his reign sprung up the famous heresy of Manes; but without entering into the details of the life of this wretch, we will content ourselves with explaining his extravagant doctrine. He maintained, that there existed in the universe two principles, contrary to and co-eternal with each other; God and matter, light and darkness; the author of good, and the author of evil; the one the author of the New Testament, the other of the Bible. He rejected the holy evangelists, and called himself the spirit, sent by Jesus Christ. He affirmed that the Saviour had only the appearance of humanity, and had not suffered in reality. According to him, good and evil were substances. He regarded the earth, flesh, magistrates, kings and sin, as the creation of the evil principle. He denied that the actions of men were free, prohibited marriage, and blamed the people who made war. He forbade his disciples to eat flesh or eggs, or to drink milk, or wine, which he called the gall of the devil.

The Manicheans administered the eucharist in one kind, and profaned it by mingling with it human seed. They pretended that Jesus Christ was the Sun, and that he revealed his divinity by plunging the earth into darkness, on the day of his death. They regarded the moon as the abode of the Trinity, and the air as a river, on which the souls of the dead were wafted to eternal light. They did not believe in a general resurrection, and maintained that the souls of those they called followers, passed into the souls of the chosen, and returned to God, after having been purified; that the souls of the wicked were enclosed in the bodies of beasts, in plants and trees; and they regarded labourers as homicides.

This doctrine extended itself into all the provinces of the empire, and lasted several years; perchance it would not have made so great progress, but for its wildness and extravagance, for the nature of men leads them to follow after things which are the most singular, and least reasonable. The followers of Manes announced, that they did not wish to imitate the Catholics; that they employed not persecution, but simple reason, to free men from error, and lead them to God. Their teachers were powerful in argument, and their mild and insinuating manners insensibly attracted men to their ideas. We translate one of their dialogues in the style of the period.

“A Catholic was complaining of the flies, and said to a Manichean, that he could not endure these insects, and that God should destroy them. The Manichean demanded of him ‘Who made them?’ The Catholic in his wrath dared not reply that it was God. *The Manichean*—‘If it is not God, who then has made them?’ ‘I believe it is the devil.’ ‘If the devil made the flies, as your good sense causes you to declare, who made the bees?’ The other dared not say, that God had made the bee and not the fly. From the bee, the other led him on to the grasshopper, the lizard, a bird, a sheep, an ox, an elephant, and at last to man; and finally, persuaded him that God had not made man.”

History does not teach us what measures Eutychian took to check this heresy. The Martyrology only tells us, that the holy father ordered the priests to consecrate upon the altar figs, apples and grapes, in order to overthrow the doctrine of Manes, who prohibited from eating fruits. He ordered, also, that the bodies of martyrs should be enveloped in purple, and he himself performed this last duty to three hundred and forty martyrs; but the sacred historians leave us in ignorance in what persecution the church lost so great a number of the faithful. At length the pontiff Eutychianus went to receive the fruit of his labours, on the 8th of December, in the year 283.

Orosius and Sozomenes have left us a picture descriptive of the misfortunes of the empire, during these last pontificates. “The

armies, said they, disposed at their will, of the supreme power. Their leaders by turns seized the power, and the infamous Cyriades, a Persian by birth, was the chief of these thirty tyrants, who ruled the world for a period of several years.

"During their execrable rule, evils of all kind weighed down the empire; Britain was conquered by the Caledonians and Saxons; Gaul, by the Franks, the Germans and the Burgundians; Italy, by the Germans, the Suevi, the Marcomans and the Quadi; Media, Macedonia and Thraee, by the Goths, the Heruli, and the Sarmatians; the Persians over-

ran, even to the very borders of Syria; civil war, famine, and pestilence, ruined cities and destroyed populations, which had escaped the sword of the barbarians; towns were overthrown by earthquakes, which lasted several days; the sea flowed up from its bed, and inundated entire provinces; in Nubia, in Achaia, and at Rome, the earth opened, and swallowed up fields and houses.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, add the ecclesiastical historians, did God commence to show forth his vengeance against the persecutors of his church, which increased in fecundity through the blood of its glorious martyrs.

## CAIUS, THE TWENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 283.—CARUS, CARINUS, NUMERIAN and DIOCLETIAN, Emperors

*Election of Caius—Cruelty of Maximian—Martyrdom of the Theban legion—Remonstrances of the soldiers—Cowardly flight of the pope—Extravagant rules—Death of Caius.*

If the ancient pontificals are to be credited, Caius was a Dalmatian, and a relative of the emperor Diocletian. During the early period of his reign, the church enjoyed an apparent tranquillity, and the emperors gave no formal order to persecute the Christians. There were, nevertheless, executions—and the pontificate of Caius was rendered illustrious, through the martyrdom of St. Maurice, and of the celebrated Theban legion.

Maximian, on whom the emperor had bestowed the title of Cæsar, had passed over into Gaul to combat the factions of Amandus, Elienus, and the Bagaudi. After having conquered his enemies, the Cæsar brought from the east a legion called the Theban, composed of Christians, whom he wished to employ, together with his other soldiers, in persecuting the faithful; but the legion refused to march, and formed its camp at the foot of the mountain, now called the great St. Bernard. Maximian, irritated at this disobedience, demanded troops from the emperor to conquer the rebels. Diocletian sent reinforcements to him, ordering him to decimate the soldiers, and to reiterate his commands for the persecution of the Christians. The Thebans declared that they persevered in their resolution; then Maximian commanded them to be decimated a second time, and that the survivors should obey. This second execution did not quell their courage.

These soldiers of Christ were commanded by three principal officers—Maurice, Euxperus and Candidus, who exhorted them to die for their religion, and recalled to their recollection the example of their comrades, whom martyrdom had already conducted to heaven. Still they wished to avert the wrath of the tyrant, and addressed to him a remonstrance, full of nobleness and firmness.

"We are your soldiers, my lord, but we

freely confess that we are the servants of God; we owe to our prince duty in war, to God our innocence; we receive from you pay, He has given us life; we cannot obey you and renounce God our creator, our master and yours. If you ask of us nothing injurious, we will obey your orders as we have done to this time; otherwise, we shall obey Him rather than you. We offer the services of our arms against your enemies, but we do not believe we are permitted to bathe them in the blood of the innocent. We took an oath to God, before we did to you, and you can have no confidence in the second, if we violate the first. You command us to seek out Christians, in order to punish them; you have no need of seeking others, behold we are such. We confess God the Father, author of all things, and Jesus Christ his Son. We have seen you put to death our companions without mourning, and we have rejoiced that they have been honoured in suffering for their God. Despair has not driven us to revolt; we have arms in our hands, but we have not used them, because, we prefer to die innocent, rather than live culpable.<sup>27</sup>

Maximian, not being able to conquer a courage so heroic, ordered his officers to put them all to death; troops were marched to surround them, and cut them in pieces; but instead of offering the least resistance, these unfortunate soldiers laid down their arms, and offered their necks to their persecutors. The earth was inundated by streams of blood. Six thousand men, the usual number of a legion, were put to death by the orders of the tyrant. During the persecution which Diocletian then caused the church to undergo, the pontiff Caius had the prudence to save himself by flight.

Some authors attribute to him extravagant rules. According to them, he ordained that

a pagan or a heretic should not accuse a Christian; but such a decree would have been the signal of revolt against the secular power, and we cannot admit that Caius had the rashness to wish to brave the legitimate authority of the pagan magistrates, or that he ordained

a rule which he had no power to cause to be obeyed.

He died on the 24th of April, in the year 296, after having occupied the Episcopal See for twelve years. He was interred in the cemetery of Callistus.

## MARCELLINUS, THE THIRTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 296.—DIOCLETIAN and MAXIMIAN, EMPERORS.]

*Electio of Marcellinus—Persecution by Diocletian—Reflections on the priests of the nineteenth century—Horrible torments and sufferings of martyrs—the pope abjures Christianity—His death.*

MARCELLINUS was a Roman, and the son of Projectus; he was chosen to succeed Caius during the reign of Diocletian. Some years after his exaltation, the emperor excited the most cruel persecution against the Christians, which had occurred since the apostles' times. It broke out in the year 303, and all the provinces of the empire were inundated with the blood of the martyrs.

We give a passage from Eusebius, to put the reader in possession of the situation of the church, before this persecution. "The doctrine of Christ was held in great esteem and respect among the Greeks and barbarians," wrote the holy bishop; "the church enjoyed the free exercise of its worship; the emperors bore a lively affection to the Christians, and entrusted them with the government of provinces, without compelling them to sacrifice to idols; they were to be found in the courts of princes, and were permitted to practise, together with their wives, children and slaves, the duties of their religion.

"Dorotheus, one of the most renowned Christians, had been honoured with the friendship of the sovereign; an enlightened magistrate, and skillful governor of a province, he had evinced for the emperors, great proofs of his fidelity and zeal. The illustrious Gorgonus, and with him all those who had imitated their zeal for religion, partook of his power and credit. The bishops were honoured and cherished by the people, and the governors of the provinces. Multitudes of pagans came daily to make a profession of faith; churches were erected in every city; the people rendered to God solemn acts of thanks, and the temples were not large enough to contain the faithful.

"But too great liberty caused a relaxation of discipline, and the war commenced with outrageous language; the bishops, animated the one against the other, excited quarrels and disorders; at length, when falsehood and deceit were carried to the utmost excess, Divine justice lifted its arm to punish, and permitted that the faithful, who had entered upon the profession of arms, should be the first to be persecuted. Still they remained in a culpable insensibility; instead of appeasing the anger of God, they added crimes to crimes;

the priests despising the holy rules of piety, contended and quarrelled among themselves, fomented enmities and hatred, disputed for the first place as in secular affairs ———."

Such was the corruption of the ecclesiastics towards the end of the third century. Since that period, the derelictions of the clergy have increased; the priests show themselves always the same—always avaricious, ambitious, debauchees, proud, vindictive—always enemies of repose and of true piety—always dissimulators. Such at least was the opinion of Platinus; and that which we see in our own day, should convince us of the truth of these accusations.

Nevertheless, there were still found holy souls, who imitated the heroic example of the Theban soldiers. Many faithful gloried in the name of Christ, and terminated their lives by a sad martyrdom. Diocletian, the persecutor, declared in his edicts that the executioners were permitted to invent new tortures for the Christians; they were beaten with heavy clubs, with pliant sticks, with scourges, with leathern lashes, and with cords; they were bound with their hands fastened to posts, or quartered by machines; then they rent them with iron hooks, and tore off their flesh from their thighs, their bellies and their cheeks; some were suspended by one hand, others were bound to columns, so that their feet could not touch the earth, in order that the weight of the body should pull upon their bonds and augment their sufferings; in this state they underwent the interrogatories of the governor, and remained in torture for entire days. When the judge passed on to other patients, he left officers to watch for those, who, yielding to the power of their torments, would consent to deny Jesus Christ; and when they were foiled in their effort, the executioner mercilessly tightened the bonds until the martyrs were ready to die, when they loosened them from the posts, and dragged them to the earth, in order to revive them for new punishments.

The pope Marcellinus, during this unfortunate period, solemnly abjured the Christian religion; authors affirm, that according to the most authentic testimony, he offered incense to idols in the temples of Isis and Vesta, in

the presence of many of the faithful, in order to induce them to imitate the example of cowardice which he set them. They add, that afterwards a council, assembled at Sienna to judge the pope, dared not condemn him. The bishops, who were at the synod,

said to him, "condemn yourself by your own mouth, but you will not be excommunicated by our judgment." Marcellinus died on the 24th of October 304, after having held the Holy See for eight years and three months. He was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla.

## POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

*Septimus Severus—Puts to death senators—His vices and virtues—Debaucheries of his wife—Caracalla—Shamelessness of Julia his mother—Espouses her—Kills his brother—Buries alive four vestal virgins—Macrinus a debauched prince—Heliogabalus—Human sacrifices—Incest with his mother—Marcus Aurelius—Assassinated, because of his virtues—Maximin—His gluttony—His cruelty—His prodigious strength—The three Gordians—Philip usurps the empire—Decius—Gallus—Aurelian—Valerian falls into the power of the king of Persia—Gallienus—His defects—Claudius causes them to render divine honours to Gallienus—Aurelian—He is assassinated—Tacitus—His virtues—His generosity—Assassinated by the soldiers—Florian, his brother—Seizes on the empire—Is slain by the soldiery—Probus chosen emperor—Assassinated by the soldiers—Carinus—Numerian—Arrius—Aper massacres Numerian—Diocletian puts Aper to death—His cruelty—His avarice—His passion for building—Maximian Hercules, associated in the empire—He violates young females—His vices—Opinion upon absolute monarchies.*

SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, after having been declared emperor by the army of Pannonia, combated those who made pretensions to the empire, and massacred forty senators, who had supported Albinus his rival. After that, he was occupied by the war against the Parthians. He travelled over different provinces of the empire, and caused an entrenchment of a hundred and thirty-two thousand paces in length to be constructed in England. He died at York, in the year 212. Shortly before his death, he called to him his two sons, Bastianus and Geta, and said to them, as his last paternal advice: "My children, remain united, live well together, and do not trouble yourselves beyond that." This prince had great virtues; he was fond of philosophy and belles lettres; he did not pardon the least faults, and his severity retained his officers in their duty. He was humane and generous, but was too indulgent towards his wife, of whose debaucheries he was not ignorant, and who had even conspired against his life.

Septimus Severus left his empire to his son Antonius Bastianus, surnamed Caracalla, because he wore a long robe, after the fashion of the Gauls. This prince, in the early part of his reign, having accidentally encountered the empress, his mother, clothed in a loose costume, and with her bosom bare, cried out in an amorous transport, "I would, if I were permitted." The shameless princess replied, "You can, my son, if you will; for there exists no law for emperors and kings."

Of a base and furious character, Caracalla had already drawn the sword to slay his father; afterwards he assassinated his brother Geta, who reigned conjointly with him; and caused four vestal virgins to be buried alive, in order to amuse himself with this frightful punishment. The memory of Alexander was

so dear to him, that he threatened the most severe punishments against philosophers, who adopted the sentiments of Aristotle; and he wished to burn all the works of that historian, because he was suspected of having aided to poison that conqueror. One day, he informed the senate that the soul of Alexander had entered into his own body, and ordered his courtiers to call him the conqueror of Darius. During his reign, he put to death twenty thousand persons in punishments, and laid enormous imposts on all the provinces of the empire. He was slain, after a reign of six years and two months.

On the death of Caracalla, Opilius Macrinus, a man of very obscure birth, seized upon the empire; but his debaucheries having rendered him odious to the army, he was slain, after a reign of one year and two months.

Marcus Antoninus Varius Heliogabalus, the son of Caracalla and Julia, succeeded Macrinus. This prince was another Sardanapalus. Like him, a priest of the sun, he sacrificed to his idol the handsomest children in Italy. He was killed by his soldiers, in the year 222; and his mother, who had become the wife of this monster, was put to death at the same time.

Marcus Aurelius Septimus Alexander succeeded him, and was friendly to the Christians. He drove from his court flatterers and buffoons; and not being willing, that justice should be venal, he prohibited the judges from receiving presents. Maximin, one of his principal officers, excited some legions to revolt, and killed this virtuous prince.

Caius Julius Verus Maximin, after this murder, seized upon the empire. He was more than eight feet in height, and so large, that the bracelet of his wife served for a thumb-ring for him. His strength was extra-

ordinary, and no horse could run so fast. In his gluttonous appetite, he ate sixty pounds of meat, and drank twenty-four measures of wine, in a day. The senators, fearing to become the victims of his cruelty, declared him an enemy of the republic; and he was put to death—together with his son, whom he had associated with him in the empire—by the soldiery.

The oldest of the three Gordians was declared emperor by the army, which he commanded in the name of the senate. His son, Gordian the Second, having been conquered and slain in battle with the enemies of the empire, he strangled himself through despair. The young Gordian, son of Gordian the Second, was chosen in his place. This prince had the qualities, of both mind and body, necessary for a good governor. He gained great victories, which appeared to presage a happy reign; but he encountered a traitor in his army who slew him, in order to seize upon the empire.

The senate did not wish to recognize Philip as emperor, nevertheless, it confirmed his election, in order to avoid a revolt of the legions.

Decius, in his turn seduced the soldiers, who massacred Philip in his camp at Verona.

Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, after having conquered Philip, was chosen emperor by the suffrages of the army. His reign was signalized by a violent persecution, which he excited against the Christians.

Trebomanus Gallus marched against him, at the head of his legions, and having surprised him in an ambuscade, pursued him into the marshes, where Decius perished, without their being able to recover his body.

Gallus then entered into a disgraceful alliance with the Goths, and notwithstanding his cowardice, he was saluted as emperor by a legion; but soon after, the soldiers murdered him, together with his son.

The Scythians and Persians continued to make irruptions into the Roman provinces. Julius Emilianus, alone dared to encounter these barbarians, and gained over them brilliant victories. He was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers, who massacred him three months afterwards.

Licinius Valerian, a man of superior merit and great excellence, was elevated to the imperial dignity. His good qualities, gave promise of a reign of justice, mildness and equity. Unfortunately, he permitted himself to be corrupted by Maecian, a celebrated Egyptian magician, who caused him to commit great faults, and excited him against the Christians. This same Maecian, repaid his benefits by the most infamous treason. He led him into an ambuscade, and delivered him into the hands of Sapor, king of the Persians. The emperor was condemned to the most cruel slavery. Historians affirm, that the Persian monarch, used the back of Valerian as a stool, whenever he wished to mount his horse. After several years of suffering, the unhappy prince was condemned to be flayed, and buried alive in a vat of salt.

Licinius Gallienus, after the death of his father, was chosen emperor. He was cruel, cowardly and luxurious. He laid pretensions to the character of a man of learning, and delivered speeches and poems. During his reign, the empire was given up to pillage, and his bad conduct placed the management of affairs in a council of thirty tyrants, who ruled the state according to their caprice and their interest; at last he was surprised, and put to death by Aureolus.

Flavius Claudius the Second, having been declared emperor in 268, caused divine honours to be rendered to the celebrated Gallienus. Historians extol this prince highly, and maintain, that had he lived longer, he would have surpassed the Camilli and the Scipios. He conquered the Goths, exterminated thirty-two thousand Germans in a battle fought in 269; defeated Aureolus near Milan, and vanquished Zenobia, who had subjugated Egypt.

Valerius Aurelian, a man of obscure birth, was chosen emperor, after the death of Claudius the Second. He was as successful as that prince in his wars, and equally distinguished himself by his virtues. The victories which he gained over the enemies of the empire, procured for him a magnificent triumph at Rome. He then passed over into Scythonia, with the intention of subjugating the Persians, whom he had already conquered. Whilst on his march, Mnestheus, his secretary, whom he had threatened, on account of some indications of treason, counterfeited his handwriting, and seeking out some officers, who were friendly to him, showed them, on a forged list, the names of those whom Aurelian purposed to put to death, and his own among them, which he had placed there, in order to render the counterfeit more resembling the truth. On this, they resolved to be before-hand with the emperor, and assassinated him in his camp, between Byzantium and Heraclea. The historians, Aurelius Victor and Eutropus, say, that Aurelian was cruel and sanguinary, and did not keep within bounds, in the punishments he inflicted.

Marcus Aurelius, or Claudius Tacitus, was chosen by the senate, after a contest of six months, to succeed Aurelian. This prince, a man of letters, vaunted himself on having for a relative, the admirable Aurelius Tacitus, the historian. By his orders, ten copies of the annals of his ancestor were transcribed every year, which he placed in the archives. To other great qualities, he added sobriety, and moderation. Before his elevation to the throne, he was worth seven million crowns of gold, which he generously distributed to the people, and payed his soldiers with his savings; nevertheless, he was assassinated by them, they having killed his cousin, and feared they would be punished for the crime.

Marcus Annius Florian, the brother of Tacitus, seized the empire which he kept, however, but a month or two. He was conquered by Probus, near the city of Tarsus, and was massacred by the army.

Aurelius Probus, the son of a gardener or labourer, was chosen emperor in spite of himself. Before clothing himself with the imperial mantle, he assembled the legions and said to them, "Soldiers, you know not what you do; as it is impossible for me to flatter you, we will not live well together." But the army having proclaimed him three times the most worthy of the crown, he covered his shoulders with the purple, and received the oaths of the legions, as chief of the state. In the course of his reign he defeated four hundred thousand Germans; subjugated seventy cities, and would have pushed his conquests still further, if nine of their kings had not prostrated themselves at his feet to sue for peace. He then subjugated Clavonia, Russia, and Poland, and passed over into Thrace, where he gained brilliant victories, which procured for him the honour of a triumph. This prince, of a severe disposition, never allowed his soldiers to be idle; he employed them constantly on works useful for the safety, the ornament, or the advantage of the province in which they were. The legions, fatigued by discipline, massacred him, after a reign of six years and four months. This glorious inscription was placed on his tomb: "Here lies the emperor Probus, the conqueror of barbarian nations, the conqueror of the tyrants of nations."

Marcus Aurelius Carus, merited the empire, from his good qualities, and his great actions. He had two sons—Numerian, esteemed for his virtues, and Carinus, despised for his vices. It was unfortunate for his people, that this good prince reigned but two years. His death was so great a stroke to Numerian, that it was feared he would lose his life, from the quantity of tears which he shed. Carinus, the younger of his sons, was slain in Dahnatia, in a battle against Diocletian; and Arius Aper, massacred Numerian, in the hopes of succeeding him; but Diocletian disputed the power with this new pretender, and remained sole master of the empire.

Aurelius Valerius Diocletian, the son of a freedman, or of the secretary of a senator, associated with him in the government, Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximian, his intimate friend. In the course of his reign, he exhibited great qualities, as a soldier and a statesman, in successfully defending the empire against the incursions of the barbarians. His avarice was, however, excessive. He overburthened the people with imposts, in order to increase his treasures, and accused senators of conspiracies against the state in order to seize upon their goods. His passion for buildings, caused him to be called, the mason of the empire, and he compelled the provinces to furnish workmen and materials, to build his palaces. Abusing the sovereign power, this prince, cruel, shameless, destitute of faith

and honour, caused them to carry off young girls and boys, for his debauches, and abandoned himself publicly to his ill-regulated passions.

The people, were not only compelled to suffer from the tyranny of the execrable Diocletian, but they had to deplore still greater evils when he associated with him the cruel Maximian and the two Cæsars, Gallerius and Constantine Chlorus. Instead of one master, they had four, who had each his court and army, which quadrupled dignities and places, and consequently, the public expenses. In order to supply this frightful increase of expenses, the emperors oppressed and massacred the citizens, and ransacked the provinces, until the fields and cultivated grounds were converted into solitudes; they then abandoned these devastated territories, in order to commit elsewhere the same ravages.

As for Diocletian, that proud upstart, he seated himself on a throne of massive gold, shining with precious stones, and caused himself to be adored as a god, as well as his associates in the empire. In the official language of the time, the public orators even did honour to their letters and decrees; all that appertained to them, partook of a divine character, as well as their persons. The exchequer was, in sacrilegious mockery, called the sacred largesses; and the apartment in which they slept, the holy chamber.

This community of dignity, brought about a new sign of reverence, very ridiculous; neither acted nor governed, but in the name of all; the petitions and discourses addressed to them, and all public and private relations with each of them were obliged, necessarily, to conform to this rule of unity. One was spoken to as representing three others, and individual actions were no longer distinguished; and this close union which united them in indivisible praise, was rigorously observed. Flattery seized upon this political precaution, and shortly habituated itself to clothe each prince, individually, with this collective importance. The grammar even was changed, and they were taught in the schools to say, "you," to a single person. As inferiors, seek always to exalt themselves by an imitation of the great, this absurdity, became a general form of distinction and compliment, which, from the Latin, has passed into modern languages.

Diocletian, in corrupting the manners and customs, which are the basis of all government, prepared the way for the fall of the Roman empire, and taught nations this grand truth, that monarchies fall under their own weight, when the lights of reason and philosophy illumine the people, and teach them to know, that they are not destined to be the slaves of kings.

## THE FOURTH CENTURY.

## VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

[A. D. 301.—CONSTANTINE CHLORUS, Emperor.]

*Usages introduced in the first ages—Assembly of the faithful—Ceremonies of the Eucharist, and of baptism—Fasts—Rigor of discipline—Imaginary rights of the popes—Council of Cirtha composed of bishops, defiled with the greatest crimes—The debauchery of St. Boniface—Fabulous history of his martyrdom—Knavery of the priests.*

AFTER the death of Marcellinus, the Roman clergy governed the church of that city, for the space of three years.

During the first three centuries, religion, oppressed by the pagans, made slow and difficult progress. The faithful were forced to assemble by night, in private houses, in upper rooms, in the baths, under porticos, in the cemeteries, and even in the tombs, in order to administer the eucharist, and pray.

But Christians, animated by a holy zeal, assembled at these places, regardless of a shameful and violent death. The priests read the Old and New Testament, as the Protestants now do. The people brought bread and wine, for the administration of the eucharist. The communion was distributed, in both kinds, to all who were baptized, and the ceremonies terminated with a collection for the poor of the church.

In the first century, fountains and rivers supplied the baptismal water. Then this sacrament was administered to the sick, and children, in private houses, and in prisons. Next they went further from apostolic simplicity; for, in the time of Tertullian, infants were anointed, and they presented honey and milk, making many signs of the cross, and the baptized were clothed in a white garment.

The communion was administered indifferently; either in the morning, fasting, or in the evening, after supper. The eucharist—that is, the consecrated bread and wine—was carried to the sick and absent. As for fasts, they were discretionary, and no one was constrained to observe them.

In the second century, the faithful adopted the custom of praying for the dead; and, according to Tertullian, the prayers were preceded by many signs of the cross. In order to distinguish themselves from the pagans, they also abstained from eating the flesh of animals which had been strangled.

In the third century, a difference arose as to the administration of baptism to children; and, at the same time, the fast of Saturday, in commemoration of the burial of Jesus Christ, was introduced at Rome. But this custom was not approved of by the Orientals.

Christian worship had not yet altars. A single table of marble, served for the communion of the faithful. The discipline was, however, very severe against those who had committed homicide, adultery, or incest—or who had been convicted of apostasy. In the first

ages, a public confession was exacted. The Grecian, and Eastern churches had appointed a penitential priest, who compelled the culpable to wait without the gates of the church, clothed in sackcloth, mourning, and on their knees. Fasts, of several years, were imposed, according to the magnitude of their sins.

Sub-deacons were then established in the church; but history makes no mention of patriarchs, archbishops, or metropolitans. The bishops of the principal sees, unjustly arrogated to themselves superiority over those of the same country, and sometimes over those of several provinces, when these were dependent on the great cities. The popes, in their turn, put in the same pretensions, and the cowardice of the magistrates has rendered too real, their imaginary rights of jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal.

The persecution of Diocletian commenced to subside, in Italy, soon after the death of pope Marcellinus, and terminated shortly after in Africa. Then the bishops of Numidia, assembled at Cirtha, to give a pastor to that city; but these prelates were all apostates: some had surrendered the holy books to the pagans—others were soiled with great crimes. They soon agreed, and elevated to the see of the capital of Numidia, a bishop, celebrated in ecclesiastical history for his debauchery and his incests.

The sacred authors fix the martyrdom of St. Boniface, as occurring at this period. We give the legend: "A woman of illustrious birth, named Aglaa, dwelt in Italy, where she possessed wealth so enormous, that she had three times exhibited public games to the Roman people. Seventy-three supervisors had charge of her estates; and above all the others, she had placed a general supervisor, named Boniface, her favourite. He carried on a criminal intercourse with his mistress, and abandoned himself to all kinds of debauchery. But divine grace descended on his wicked soul, and initiated him into the truths of the Christian religion. Aglaa, touched with repentance for her past errors, surrendered herself to the most extreme practices of devotion; and, as her faults were great, she wished to keep fair with God by means of powerful protection. Not finding at Rome martyrs sufficiently distinguished, she sent Boniface to travel in the East, to bring back relics of illustrious martyrs.

"As soon as Boniface had arrived at Tarsus, in Cilicia, where the persecution still warmly

raged, he hastened, according to the orders of his mistress, to go to the public square, in order to see the martyrs in their torments. Some were hung, head downwards, before a slow fire; others quartered, upon four stakes, sawn asunder by the executioners—torn with hot pincers. Their hands were cut off, and tongues torn out. Others were fastened to the earth by stakes, driven through the throat, and were beaten by the clubs of the executioners. Boniface approached these martyrs, twenty in number, and exhorted them to combat, as true champions of the faith, in order to carry off an immortal crown. He was immediately arrested, and conducted before the tribunal of the governor. But, far from retracting, he had the courage to call him ‘an infamous wretch—a serpent of darkness—a man veiled in crime.’ Language so energetic, in the mouth of a new Christian, drew upon this stranger frightful punishment, and Boniface was condemned to be beheaded.

“The next day, his companions sought him through the city, and not finding him, said, ‘Our superior is in a tavern, enjoying himself, whilst we trouble ourselves with hunting for him.’ Whilst thus discussing, they met the brother of the jailer, and asked him if he could aid them in their search after a stranger, but now arrived from Rome. He replied to them: ‘Yesterday, an Italian was martyred for Jesus Christ, and his head has been thrown into the arena.’ ‘He, whom we seek, is a thick set man, of light complexion, who wears

a scarlet mantel, a roué, and a debauchee; who has nothing in common with a martyr.’ They followed him, however, and the jailer showed them the dead body of Boniface. Then he took up the head of the martyr, and gave it to them. Then the mouth of the martyr smiled, through the aid of the Holy Spirit. Then his friends mourned bitterly over his unfortunate end, and carried away his corpse with them.

“On the same day, an angel appeared to Aglaa, and said, ‘He who was your slave, is now our brother. Receive him as your lord, and treat him with honor, for all your sins will be remitted, by means of his intercession.’ Aglaa immediately transformed her palace into an oratory; and shutting herself up with holy priests, she prepared, with prayers, to receive the body of the martyr. When her envoys came near the city, she walked with naked feet, and in her chemise, before the precious relics, which she deposited, in the midst of flowers and perfumes, in a magnificent tomb, which she had erected at fifty stadia from Rome.”

The legend adds, that the saint performed great miracles—that he drove out devils, and healed the sick.

During this vacancy in the Holy See, many other executions of the faithful are related, which took place in Thessalonica. Among others, the martyrdom of the young Irene, who received the glorious palm upon a high mountain, where she was burned alive.

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## MARCELLUS THE FIRST, THIRTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 308.—MAXENTIUS, Emperor.]

*Election of Marcellus—He excites seditions in Rome—He is made an ostler, by order of Maxentius—His death.*

AFTER a vacancy of three years, the clergy and faithful of Rome placed themselves under the guidance of a holy man named Marcellus, a Roman by birth.

This new bishop wished to avail himself of the calm which religion enjoyed, at the commencement of his pontificate, to ordain rules, and re-establish in the church the discipline which the troubles had altered. But his severity rendered him odious to the people, and caused divisions among the faithful. Discord degenerated into sedition, and the quarrel terminated in murder.

Maxentius, seeing that the Christians were troubling the peace of Rome, laid the cause

of the disorders on the pope Marcellus, and condemned him to groom post-horses in a stable, on the high road. The holy father performed the duties of groom for nine months. Then the priests, having carried him off during the night, he was taken to the house of a Roman lady named Lucilla. The faithful assembled in arms to defend the pontiff; but the emperor marched his troops against the rebels, and dispersed them; and by his orders the house of Lucilla was converted into a stable, where Marcellus again performed the duties of a groom. The holy bishop, worn down by the fatigues of this wretched state, died after two years of pontificate, in the first month of the year 310.

## EUSEBIUS, THE THIRTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 310.—MAXENTIUS, Emperor.]

*Election of Eusebius—His exile—Ridiculous story of the cross of Christ, found by the mother of Constantine.*

In spite of the divisions which then reigned in the church of Rome, the clergy and the people had still a deliberative voice in the elections. They chose unanimously Eusebius, a Greek by birth, and the son of a physician. The tyrant Maxentius banished the new pontiff into Sicily, where he died some months after, in the same year as that in which he was elected, viz. 310.

The priests affirm that, during the pontificate of Eusebius, Helena, mother of Constantine, caused excavations to be made at Jerusalem; and that this princess found the cross on which the Saviour of the world had suffered.

But all serious historians have refuted this ridiculous story.

The acts of the martyrs, during the first years of the fourth century, are filled with miraculous legends of confessors and saints who suffered martyrdom; but the uniformity of the narrations deserves attention. There is always a Christian resisting the most frightful punishments, and finishing, by being beheaded, or thrown to wild beasts. Then the pagans always wish to annihilate the body, and the faithful, always, through the particular intervention of God, carry it off, unharmed by fire or water, in order to make relics of it.

## MELCHIADES, THE THIRTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 310.—MAXENTIUS and CONSTANTINE, Emperors.]

*Election of Melchiades—Debaucheries of Maxentius—Hypocrisy of Constantine—Liberty of worship—Schism of the Donatists—Condemnation of Donatus—The pope is accused of having surrendered the holy books to pagans, and of having sacrificed to idols.*

We enter now upon a vast career, less obscure than that of the preceding ages. History will lighten up, with her sublime torch, the enormous crimes and scandalous debaucheries which we shall find on the throne of the emperors, or the chair of the popes.

Melchiades, the new pontiff, was an African. During his reign, the church commenced enjoying a little tranquillity. Maxentius only persecuted religion at intervals; and then only to gratify his ill-regulated passions. Thus, he carried off Christian girls and women, whom he made subservient to his infamous pleasures. The conduct of the tyrant excited the indignation of the faithful, and Melchiades wrote to Constantine, who had advanced to Treves, to come and combat Maxentius.

Constantine had been providing, for a long time, the means to mount the throne, and his policy rendered him favourable to Christianity. He yielded to the entreaties of Melchiades, and his army marched on Milan.

His first act of power was to make an edict in favour of the Christian religion; but at the same time, he left to the pagans the free exercise of their ceremonies: "Because," said he, "I have learned that religion should be free; and that each one should be left to worship God as he judges proper." At this time, those who professed Catholicism, were still ignorant that we are permitted to force men to worship God, contrary to their convictions.

The popes were the first to put in use these execrable means, which they employed in the succeeding ages, with audacious tyranny.

Constantine, and Licinius his colleague, approached Rome. Maxentius, despairing of conquering them by force, notwithstanding his numerous forces, employed stratagem; but he fell himself into the snare which he had laid, and was drowned in the Tiber. After the death of the tyrant, Constantine entered the city in triumph, and the Christians celebrated, by public rejoicings, the victory which he came to gain.

In order to augment his power, this prince feigned to be zealously occupied about the wants and interest of the church, and mixed himself up in all the religious quarrels. The Donatists then commenced their famous dispute, the origin of which is very curious. A priest named Cecilian, had been chosen bishop of Carthage, by the faithful; but a party composed of deacons, who had received in deposit the vessels of this church during the persecution, opposed his ordination. These unworthy priests, hoping to divide among themselves these rich spoils, raised altar against altar.

Botrus and Calensius, enraged at not having been chosen to fill the see, joined them, and drew into their party a lady of illustrious birth, named Lucilla. Women always give a great impulse to all the plots which are formed, in church or state. Lucilla was rich, beautiful—surrounded by numerous friends. For a

long time her conduct had brought scandal upon the church. This woman was anxiously desirous to be avenged on Cecilian, who had reproved her, in a full assembly, for her levity and vices.

The three parties, united, formed a powerful faction, which declared against Cecilian, and refused to communicate with him.

Seventy bishops seconded their culpable designs. Having assembled in council at Carthage, they condemned Cecilian, because he had refused to appear before them, to justify himself; because he had been ordained by traitors; and lastly, because he had hindered the faithful from taking provisions to the martyrs, who were imprisoned during the last persecution.

After this decision, the fathers, regarding the see of Carthage as vacant, proceeded to a new election; and ordained a man named Majorin, a domestic of Lucilla, and who had been a reader in the deaconate of Cecilian.

Such was the origin of the schism of the Donatists in Africa. They derive their name from Donatus, of Casæ Nigræ, and from another, Donatus, still more renowned, who succeeded Majorin in the title of bishop of Carthage.

The Donatists carried their complaints before the emperor, and besought him to drive Cecilian from Carthage; but the prince, wishing to render an equitable decision, ordered

the bishop, and his adversaries, to appear before a council for judgment.

Cecilian went to Rome, with ten bishops of his party; Donatus, with an equal number of prelates. The synod assembled in the palace of the empress Fausta, called the house of the Lateran. The fathers declared Cecilian innocent, and approved of his ordination. Donatus was alone condemned, as the author of all the scandal of this accusation, and was convicted of great crimes, by his own confession. The other bishops were confirmed in their dignities, and permitted to return to their sees, though they had been ordained by the schismatic Majorin.

The pope and the other bishops rendered an account to Constantine, of the judgment which the council of Rome had pronounced upon the affair of the Donatists, by sending him a copy of the record of their proceedings. Melchiades died three months after, in the course of the year 314.

In spite of the condemnation which they had encountered, the Donatists persevered in their schism. They had the boldness to complain of the council of Rome, affirming that the judges had been corrupted by Cecilian; and even in the time of St. Augustine, under the emperor Honorius, they accused pope Melchiades of having delivered up the sacred books to the pagans, and of having offered incense to idols.

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## SYLVESTER, THE THIRTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 314.—CONSTANTINE, Emperor.]

*Birth of Sylvester—Council of Ancyra—Council of Neocæsarea—Celibacy of the priests— Disorders in convents—Heresy of Arius—He is exiled—Sect of the Valerians—The priests desire to imitate them—A holy bishop opposes the law of celibacy—His opinion adopted by the council—Knavery of the priests, in relation to the true cross—Pope Sylvester is accused of having abjured the Christian religion, by sacrificing to idols—His death.*

SYLVESTER, a Roman by birth, was the son of Rufinus and Justa, a woman of great piety. On his arrival at the pontificate, the church was occupied by no affair of more importance in the West, and in Africa, than that of the Donatists. The holy father obtained from the emperor permission to hold a new council in the city of Arles, and the heretics were anathematised, and driven from the communion of the faithful.

At the same period, a council was held at Ancyra, which has become famous for its canons. The tenth runs thus: "If deacons, at the ordination, have made protestation that they intend to marry, they shall remain in the ministry, by the permission of the bishop. But, if they have not made any protestation before their ordination, and they contract a second marriage, they shall be driven from the ministry." This confirms us in the opinion, that the celibacy of the priesthood was unknown in the apostles' times, and for a long

period after. Still, it is impossible to determine from what period it was that ecclesiastics have preferred "to burn than to marry." Historians show that, during the third century, priests, being more exposed to the fury of the persecutions than the laity, with difficulty found wives, and were accustomed to live in a state of celibacy.

The council of Neocæsarea took place some months afterwards, and a part of the same bishops assisted at the new assembly. The fathers enacted many regulations for ecclesiastical discipline. In the first canon, they prohibited priests from marrying under pain of being deposed. In the eighth, they permit those already married, to continue to live with their wives, and to leave them only on conviction of adultery. This usage still prevails in the Grecian church.

The famous Cornelius Agrippa blamed severely the law, which compelled ecclesiastics to deprive themselves of wives. He accused

the bishops, opposed to the marriage of priests, of permitting concubinage, in order that they might draw from it large revenues. He adds, that a certain bishop boasted that he had in his diocese, eleven thousand priests, living in a state of concubinage, who paid him a crown of gold yearly, to tolerate their mistresses. This motive alone, had induced him to oppose the marriage of priests.

In the synod, the fathers observed that marriage drew after it terrestrial and sensual occupations, which turned away ministers from the duty which the priesthood imposed on them. Unfortunately, the promoters of this jurisprudence had not studied human nature sufficiently, when they passed the law of celibacy. With more indulgence for human passions, they would have prevented the scandalous debaucheries of the priests, and the disorders of the convents.

During the reign of Constantine, the church entered upon a state of grandeur and prosperity, which was soon troubled by Arius, chief of a sect, who was born in Lybia. Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, took the new heresy under his protection, and contributed powerfully to its propagation. This prelate, adroit and skilful, had drawn to his party Constantia, sister to the emperor, whose good opinion he had obtained; and by her aid, it made rapid progress. Daring bishops listened favourably to the new schism, and terrible disputes and bloody combats took place. Then the emperor Constantine, in order to put a stop to the disorders, assembled the first general council at Nice, which condemned the doctrine of the Arians.

Arius taught a Trinity, in which God, the father, was elevated above other persons. He regarded Christ as the first of created beings, and affirmed that God had adopted him for his son; but, that the son did not partake of the paternal consubstance; nor was he equal to the father—nor consubstantial with him; nor eternal, nor co-eternal. That the son was not, until he was made; that he had been created out of nothing, as all the other beings of creation; and that he was not the true God, but made one by participation.

Some authors maintain, that the obscurity of the matter, aided much in the establishment of the heresy. They add that, at the last, Arius, having abjured his sentiments, in the presence of a council, remained at peace with the church. Others maintain, with more truth, that he was exiled, and cite a decree of Constantine, which ordered his writings to be burned, and threatened with death those who should have the boldness to preserve them—a singular decree, which condemned to banishment Arius and his disciples, and ordained penalty of death against those who preserved the heretical works.

The great question, in relation to the celebration of Easter, was also agitated, and decided by the council of Nice. The fathers determined to celebrate the same day, throughout all the church; and the Orientals engaged to conform to the practice of Rome, of Egypt,

and the West. They then made a canon in relation to eunuchs. They permitted those who had been mutilated by surgeons, or barbarians, to remain in the ranks of the clergy, and pronounced an interdict against those who had operated on themselves. The judgment of the fathers teaches us, that a badly understood zeal for purity, had led many priests to imitate Origen. The sect of the Valesians was distinguished for this cruel practice. They were all eunuchs, and prohibited their disciples from eating the flesh of animals until they had themselves undergone the same operation. Then they gave them every liberty, regarding them as safe against temptations.

An ecclesiastical writer, of a later age, urges the bishops of our communion, who have made vow of living in a state of celibacy, to make a law, which should constrain monks and abbots to follow the example of the Valesians. This cruel precaution would arrest the disorders of the clergy. But we fear that marriages would not be as fruitful as they are now, if all the priests were eunuchs.

“The grand council pushed its severity so far, as to prohibit bishops, priests, or clerks, from keeping in their houses women, sub-introduced, but a mother, sister, aunt, or other person, who could not excite suspicion.” They denominated sub-introduced, those who dwelt with the ecclesiastics as nieces, cousins, or young and handsome serving-women. The council of Eliberis had already made the same decree. At Nice, a law still more severe was proposed. It prohibited those who were in sacred orders—that is, bishops, priests, or deacons—from living with the women whom they had espoused when laymen. But the confessor Paphnuces, a bishop in the upper Thebais, rose and said, with a loud voice, “My brethren, we would not impose a yoke so heavy upon priests and clerks. Marriage is honourable, and the bed undefiled. Too great severity would be injurious to the church; for all men are not capable of so perfect a continence. It should be sufficient, to prohibit priests from marrying, without forcing them to surrender the wives they had espoused, before entering into holy orders.” The opinion of Paphnuces had greater weight with the council, from the fact, that the holy confessor, having never married, had preserved great continence in the Episcopal see. His opinion was adopted. The question of marriage was abandoned, and the priests were left entirely at liberty.

The council, having closed its sittings, the emperor Constantine wrote two letters, in order to enforce its decrees. Those who refused to submit to the decisions of the fathers, were pursued by the secular authority, which was more fearful than the canons of a council. The cares of the prince were not confined to the persecution of heretics. Constantine was engaged in extending the Christian religion into all parts of his dominions. He even wished to erect a splendid church on the very spot where Jesus Christ had been buried; and Helen, his mother, undertook a journey to the East, during the pontificate of Eusebius,

in order to build at Jerusalem the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Legends affirm, that in digging the earth to lay the foundation of the temple, they found the cross of the Saviour. The princess sent a portion of this precious relic to her son, but left the trunk of the cross at Jerusalem. Since that period, the wood of the true cross has so multiplied itself, that if we could collect all the pieces which are exposed for the veneration of the people, they would make fire wood enough to warm all the inhabitants of Paris during the most severe winter; for there scarcely exists a church, which does not boast of being enriched with these precious relics.

All that we have related, belongs rather to ecclesiastical history than to the life of pope Sylvester. The actions of this pontiff remain in oblivion; and the legends transmitted by the monks, since the fifth century, are less adapted to put us in possession of the truth, than to convince us that the history of a man so celebrated has been corrupted nearly up to its very source. We would not adopt the fictions of authors, who represent Sylvester as the catechist of Constantine and pretend that this prince was cured of a leprosy, and baptized by the pontiff. They add, that the emperor, in gratitude, made him a donation of the city of Rome, and ordered all the bishops of the world to be submissive to the pontifical see. They affirm that the council of Nice assembled by the orders of Sylvester; and that he first granted the right of asylum to churches.

Romuald, and some undiscerning compilers, give us all these ridiculous fables as facts, of which celebrated historians have proved the falsity.

In the council of Rome, held in 378, under pope Damasus, the fathers wrote to the emperor Gratian that Sylvester, having been accused by sacrilegious men, had pleaded his cause before Constantine, because there was

no council before which he could appear. They adduce this example to show that Damasus and the popes, his successors, could defend themselves before the emperors—a new proof that, in the first ages of the church, the pontiffs regarded themselves as secondary to the secular authority.

We will also remark, that the council of Nice granted to the bishop of Alexandria the same privileges as to the pastor of Rome. The authority of the pope was then enclosed within the bounds of his diocese; he had no jurisdiction nor power over the other bishops; on the contrary, he was compelled to submit to the decrees of councils, and the judgment of his colleagues.

In all the persecutions which St. Athanasius underwent from the Arians, the bishop of Rome was never consulted; nor did they submit to his decision the articles of faith which caused the disorders in the East, because he was only regarded as any other metropolitan bishop, to whom was due primacy in the rank of his see.

The liberality of the emperor Constantine produced great evils in the church, as the legend of Sylvester teaches us. It affirms, that on the day of the pretended donation of Constantine, a voice was heard from heaven, exclaiming, "To day is poison spread through the church."

The Donatists, who persevered in their schism, tarnished the memory of Sylvester. They accused him of having dishonoured the priesthood during the reign of pope Marcellinus, in delivering up the Holy Scriptures to pagans, and in offering incense to idols. Their accusations were supported by terrible and irrefragable proofs.

Sylvester died on the last day of the year 335, after a pontificate of twenty-one years. His body was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla, a short league from the city of Rome.

## MARK, THE THIRTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 336.—CONSTANTINE, Emperor.]

*Election of Mark—Obscurity of his history—Supposed writings—Refutation by the Protestants.*

ACCORDING to the most exact chronology, Mark, a Roman by birth, and the son of Priscus, was chosen on the 18th of January, in the year 336, to govern the church. His pontificate lasted eight months, and we are ignorant of any of his actions.

In the works of St. Athanasius is found a letter from the bishops of Egypt to pope Mark, in which they ask of him copies of the proceedings of the council of Nice—but the Protestants regard it as supposititious. The learned of our own communion deny the authenticity of this letter, and of the pretended reply

of the pope, in which he takes the proud title of universal bishop.

The holy father died on the 7th of October, 336, and was interred in the cemetery of Callistus.

During the pontificate of Mark, and under the reign of his successors, the new capital of the empire, built upon the site of ancient Byzantium, continued to make considerable progress. According to the historian Sozomenes, its circumference was already fifteen stadii. The interior of the city was divided, like ancient Rome, into fourteen quarters: the

public squares were surrounded by covered galleries; the principal streets came together at a magnificent forum, in which was raised a column of porphyry, supporting a statue of Constantine. The emperor inhabited a splendid palace, in advance of which he had constructed an immense circus; an hippodrome for horse-racing; a course for foot races; and an amphitheatre for the combats of wild beasts. Constantine built besides several theatres, porticoes or galleries for promenades, baths, aqueducts, and a great number of fountains. This prince also constructed a building, in which polite literature and the sciences were taught; a palace of justice; and public granaries, for the distribution of grain to the citizens who built the city, and to whom Constantine had allowed a perpetual rent, payable to them and their families, in grain. The capital was also enriched, at the expense of

other cities, with the most beautiful statuary of Greece. The Pythian Appollo, the Sminthian, and the Tripod of Delphos, decorated the Hippodrome. The Muses of Helicon, and the celebrated statue of Rhea, from Mount Didymos, were placed in the imperial palace. But that which most particularly characterized this reign, was the great number of Christian churches which were built at Constantinople. The cathedral called St. Sophia, and the church of the Twelve Apostles, built in the form of a cross, attracted admiration from the splendour of their architecture. The prince, destining this last for his burial place, had built a tomb of rich marble in the midst of the twelve sepulchres of the apostles, "hoping," says Eusebius, of Cæsarea, "to participate, after his death, in the glory of these princes of the church."

## JULIUS THE FIRST, THIRTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 337.—CONSTANTINE, CONSTANTIUS and his BROTHERS, Emperors.]

*Election of Julius—Baptism of Constantine before his death—He is canonized in the Greek church—St. Athanasius is accused of several crimes—Council of Antioch—The pope is maltreated by the bishops of the East—Deplorable state of the church—Death of the pope—His infallibility in danger.*

THE Holy See remained vacant several months, when Julius, a Roman by birth, was chosen to occupy it. Soon after the elevation of the holy father, Constantine retired to Byzantium, to escape from the execration of the senate, the Roman people, and even the Christians, whom he had overwhelmed with benefits. Baptism, which he had deferred to the last period of his life, was then administered to him, and he embraced Christianity—not from conviction, but from policy. Scaliger says, in speaking of this prince, "He was as much a Christian as I am a Tartar." The historian Zozimus also accuses him of having been converted to the new religion, because the priests of paganism refused him expiation for the enormous crimes which he had committed, whilst the Christian religion offered him full and entire absolution. The Grecian priests have, nevertheless, placed this monster in their menology, and honour him as a saint. He died soon after his baptism, and left by his will his empire to his three sons and two nephews.

The followers of Arius increased daily; they seduced Constantius, who had obtained, in the division of the empire, Asia, the East, and Egypt. But the emperor Constantine the Younger, who reigned in Spain, Gaul, and all the country beyond the Alps, protected the orthodox. St. Athanasius was re-established in his church at Alexandria, where he was again exposed to the calumnies of his enemies, who accused him of having committed

murders, and excited violent seditions in his diocese.

In order to put a stop to the scandal, the patriarch Eusebius assembled, in the city of Antioch, a council, composed of eighty-seven bishops, in order to judge Athanasius. No bishops from Italy or the West presented themselves in the name of Julius; and the council, presided over by Eusebius, was again desirous of driving St. Athanasius from his see. They decided the different articles of faith in favour of the Arians, and composed twenty-five canons of discipline, which have since been received by the whole church. The second canon is particularly remarkable. The fathers condemned those who entered the churches in a spirit of disobedience or singularity, and refuse to join in prayer and the communion. They ordered that they should be driven from the church. This demonstrates that, in the first ages of Christianity, the faithful, taking part in Christian assemblies, were accustomed to participate in the mysteries of the eucharist.

The partizans of Eusebius addressed to Rome letters, filled with complaints of the intimacy which the holy father maintained with Athanasius, and of his pretensions to re-establish in their sees the bishops deposed by the councils. They sent these letters by the deacons Elpidius and Philoxenes, whom the pope had sent to Antioch, ordering them to bring back, as soon as possible, the reply of the pontiff. Julius immediately assembled

a new council, to judge the cause of Athanasius, and wrote to the emperor Constans, to apprise him of the treatment which this prelate, and Paul of Constantinople, had suffered. The prince wrote to Constantius, his brother, beseeching him to send three bishops, to render an account of the deposition of Paul and Athanasius. The ambassadors went to Gaul, in obedience to the emperor's orders; but the bishop of Treves was unwilling to receive them to his communion; and they, on their side, refused to enter into a conference with the bishop of Alexandria, pretending that they did not justify the judgment of the Orientals, and contented themselves with placing in the hands of Constans the new profession of faith which had been composed since the council.

The church was then in frightful disorder. Bishops and fathers launched at each other terrible anathemas. The assembly at Sardes pronounced a condemnation against the enemies of Athanasius, and eight of the principal chiefs of the faction were deposed and excommunicated. The Eusebians, on their side, confirmed the proceedings against Athanasius and his adherents. They deposed Julius, bishop of Rome, for having admitted them to his communion; and Osius, of Cordova, for having formed an intimate friendship with Paulinus and Eustathes, bishops of Antioch.

They excommunicated Maximin, bishop of Treves, and deposed Protogenes, bishop of Sardes—the one because he favoured Marcel, who had incurred a condemnation—the other because he had sustained the deposed priests. The churches of the East and West were thus divided, and did not communicate for several years. At length Gregory the usurper of the see of Alexandria, being dead, the emperor recalled St. Athanasius, and re-established him at the head of his flock.

Other new heresies broke out, during the pontificate of Julius; but history does not teach us whether the holy father protected or combatted them. He died on the 12th of April, in the year 352, after having governed the church of Rome during fifteen years, and was interred on the Aurelian Way, in the cemetery of Callipodus.

Julius, before his death, had allowed himself to be deceived by the hypocrisy of Ursaces and Valerus, who had simulated a reconciliation with Athanasius, in order to labour the more efficaciously for his downfall; and the Holy Spirit, according to the promise of the evangelist, did not discover to the pontiff the artifices of these bishops, whom he received to his communion.

Gratian and Yvon have preserved several decrees of Julius, in which the holy father condemns usury.

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## LIBERIUS, THE THIRTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 352.—CONSTANS, JULIAN, JOVIAN, VALENTINIAN, and VALENS, Emperors.]

*Election of Liberius—He cites St. Athanasius before his tribunal—He excommunicates him, and is then reconciled to him—Council of Arles—Disgraceful fall of the pope—The extraordinary affection of the Roman ladies for him—Liberius excommunicates St. Athanasius a second time—The pope becomes a heretic, and draws several bishops with him, into the doctrines of Arius—He changes his sentiments through policy—He returns to Arianism, and dies a heretic—The priests have made a saint of him.*

AFTER a vacancy, of which the precise duration is unknown, Marcellinus Felix Liberius was chosen to govern the church of Rome, in the room of Julius the First. He was a Roman by birth. As soon as the Orientals were advised that Liberius occupied the pontifical see, they wrote to him against Athanasius. The pope eagerly seized upon the opportunity afforded him of augmenting the influence of his see. He sent Paul, Lucius, and Emilius, to St. Athanasius, citing him to appear at Rome, to reply to the accusations against him; but Athanasius, doubting the issue of a judgment, whose preparation announced the triumph of his enemies, refused to appear. Then Liberius condemned the holy bishop, and launched against him the most terrible anathemas.

The bishops of Egypt assembled immediately in a synod, declared their metropolitan orthodox, and sent back to the pontiff the excommunication launched against him.

Liberius discovered that his ambition had led him into a dangerous path; and in order to lead back the bishops who had repulsed his pretensions, he addressed to St. Athanasius, his early friend, a letter full of friendship and respect.

He then assembled a synod of the bishops of Italy, and read in their presence the letter of the Orientals against Athanasius, and that of the bishops of Egypt in his favour. The council, comprising more of the partisans of St. Athanasius than his enemies, decided that it was contrary to the law of God, to favour the views of the Orientals, and advised the pope to send to the emperor Constans, Vincent, bishop of Capua, and several fathers, to beseech him to assemble a council at Aquileia, to put an end to these differences.

The new council was convoked in the city of Arles, whither the emperor went, after the defeat and tragical death of the usurper Magnentius. The deputies of the pope, Vin-

cent of Capua, and Marcel, bishop of another city of Campania, not sharing with him in the privilege of infallibility, had the baseness to urge earnestly that the fathers should pronounce condemnation of the heresy of Arius, themselves engaging, on this condition, to subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius. The Orientals refused to condemn the doctrines of Arius, and maintained that they ought themselves to excommunicate Athanasius. Vincent of Capua, was seduced by the gold of the heretics, and ranged himself on the side of the Arians. Liberius, afflicted by this weakness, wrote to the celebrated Osius of Cordova, to express to him his grief, and protested that he would rather die in defence of the truth, than become the accuser of St. Athanasius. But he did not persevere long in this generous resolution; and his disgraceful fall spread scandal and desolation through the church. The conduct of Vincent greatly embarrassed the pope, in regard to the condemnation of the Arians, a constant aim of the Holy See. The pontiff, before entering on a path which might prove dangerous, determined to take the advice of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari. This prelate despised the world, a virtue very rare in persons of his rank. He was well informed, an extraordinary thing among bishops. His life was pure, and he was not wanting in firmness. Besides, he was well informed in religious controversies, and did not believe that the Orientals designed to attack the faith. His advice was, that the holy father should send deputies to the emperor to obtain permission to treat of all the articles of the faith in a general council, offering himself as one of the ambassadors.

Liberius accepted thankfully this proposal; then Lucifer, a priest called Panacrus, and the deacon Hilarius, were charged to hand to the emperor a respectful but firm letter. Constantius, solicited by the Catholics and the Arians, agreed to the wishes of the two parties, and by his orders a general council assembled at Milan. St. Athanasius was there condemned, on the accusations of his enemies; which decree the prince sustained with all his authority, and the orthodox prelates who refused to submit to the will of the emperor, were exiled to Chalcedon.

Constantius, irritated in seeing that his pacific dispositions, so far from appeasing the fury of the orthodox, only augmented the more their pride, and that his states continued to be troubled by religious quarrels, which the obstinacy of the pope excited, wrote to Leontius, governor of Rome, to take Liberius by artifice, and send him to his court; or to employ force, if necessary, to tear from his flock this priest of discord.

Leontius arrested the pope during the night, and conducted him to the emperor, at Milan, who interrogated the holy father on the disputes of the church; but Liberius was intractable on all his propositions. The prince, in a transport of rage, exclaimed: "Are you then, the fourth part of the Christian world, being willing alone to protect an impious man, and

trouble the peace of the universe." The pope replied, "When I shall be alone, the cause of the faith will not be less good, and I will oppose your orders. Besides, three generous persons were found to resist the unjust commands of Nebuchadnezzar, and I will imitate those bold Israelites." Two days after this conference, on a formal refusal to subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius, he was exiled to Berea, in Thrace; and Constantius, whom the ultra Montanes regard as a persecutor, sent him five hundred crowns of gold for his expenses.

The Arians then elevated Felix to the papal see; but two years afterwards, Constantius, having come to Rome, many ladies, of illustrious birth, engaged their husbands to beseech the emperor to restore the shepherd to his flock, threatening to go themselves to seek for their bishop. The senators, fearing to excite the wrath of the emperor, did not dare to take so bold a step, and permitted their wives themselves to demand the pardon of Liberius. The Roman ladies presented themselves before the emperor, clothed in their richest garments, and covered with precious stones, in order that the prince, judging of their quality by their appearance, might have the more regard for them.

Arrived at the foot of the throne, they prostrated themselves before Constantius, and besought him to have pity on this great city, deprived of its shepherd, and exposed to the incursions of the wolves. He permitted himself to bend. After having consulted with the bishops who accompanied him, he gave orders, that if Liberius entered into their views, he should be recalled, and should govern the church.

Fortunatian, bishop of Aquileia, went after Liberius, to engage him to subscribe to the wishes of the emperor. The pontiff, wearied by exile, and desirous of returning to Rome, hastened to yield a full and entire adhesion to the third council of Sirmium, which had published a profession of faith, favourable to Arianism. The letter, in which he expresses his acceptance of the entire heretical formula of the Arians, has been preserved. He then excommunicated St. Athanasius, the greatest defender of the church; and this example of cowardice drew into the heresy a great number of bishops.

After this shameful apostacy, Liberius wrote to the bishops of the East in these terms:

"I defend neither Athanasius nor his doctrine. I received him to my communion in imitation of Julius, my predecessor, of happy memory; and in order not to deserve to be called a prevaricator. But, it has pleased God to cause me to know that you have justly condemned him, and I have given my consent to his excommunication. Our brother Fortunatian is charged with the letters of submission which I have written to the emperor. I declare my intention to repel Athanasius from our communion; nor do I even wish to receive letters from him; desiring to have peace and union with you, and with the bishops of all the Eastern provinces.

“To the end that you may know clearly the sincerity with which I speak to you, our brother Demophilus, having desired to propose to my acceptance the true and catholic faith which many of our brethren, the bishops, have examined at Sirmium, I have received it entire, without curtailing a single article. I beseech you then, since you see me agreed with you in all things, to address your prayers to the emperor, that I may be recalled from my exile, and be restored to the see which God has confided to me.” That was the aim of the pontiff’s desires.

As soon as St. Hilarius was apprised that the pope was become an Arian, he launched against him three terrible anathemas, calling him apostate, and prevaricator from the faith. Indeed, it was difficult, after a fault so disgraceful, to apologize for the holy father. The priests even avow that Liberius was an heretical pope; that he had abjured the Catholic faith in openly proclaiming himself an Arian; and that the infallibility of the Holy See is gravely compromised by his apostacy, and his adhesion to the heretical council of Sirmium.

The abjuration of the pontiff having been accepted, Liberius returned to Rome, where he was received with great honours. His friends pushed on the people to new seditions, and drove Felix from the city. The holy father then sustained the new doctrines which he had embraced, and caused the Arians to triumph. But he soon perceived that he could not long maintain himself on the see of Rome if he did not change his policy. Then the Arian council of Rimini, having demanded his approval, he refused to sign the formulary, and concealed himself until the death of the emperor Constantius.

Three years afterwards, the demi-Arians, persecuted by Eudoxius and the pure Arians, held a synod, and agreed to submit their doctrines to the judgment of the bishop of Rome. The pope made a difficulty about receiving them, regarding them as Arians who had abolished the faith of Nice; but when they consented to recognize the consubstantiality of the word, he gave them a letter of communion, in which he bears witness, that he receives with great joy, the proofs of the purity of their faith, and of their union with all the Western churches.

The pope did not long survive this re-union of the demi-Arians; he died on the 24th of September, 366, after having governed the church of Rome for fourteen years and some months. His apostacy has not prevented the very illustrious bishops St. Epiphanius, St. Basil, and St. Ambrose from eulogizing him highly. The Roman Martyrology has even inscribed his name among the saints whom the church honours. But through an excess of prudence, on the part of cardinal Baronius, it has of late years been suppressed.

During the reign of pope Liberius, died, aged one hundred and five years, the great St. Anthony, who is regarded as the founder of the religious orders of the East. The visions of this monk, rather than his piety, rendered him celebrated among the anchorites of his age, and gave him an immense reputation for holiness, which extended even to the extremity of Gaul. Although he could neither read nor write, St. Anthony has left many works, which he dictated, in the Egyptian language, to his disciples; among others, seven letters, filled with the true apostolic spirit, which were translated first into Greek, and then into Latin. In the midst of the extravagant and incoherent recitals of his ecstasies, and his temptations, we have been struck with the singular revelation which he had a few days before his death, and which has been transmitted to us by one of his disciples. “The holy man was seated,” thus speaks the legendary, “when the divine Spirit descended upon him. Then he entered into an ecstasy; his eyes raised to heaven, and his attention fixed. He remained for five hours in complete immobility, groaning from time to time; at length he fell upon his knees. We all, seized with dread, besought him to tell us the subject of his tears. ‘Oh, my children, replied he, the wrath of God will fall upon the church; we will be delivered over to men like to unclean beasts; for I have seen the holy table surrounded by mules and asses which overturned the altars of Christ by rude kicks, and which defiled the sacred body of the Saviour! I heard a voice cry out, Thus my altar shall be profaned, by abominable ministers, who shall call themselves the successors of the apostles.’”

## FELIX THE SECOND, THIRTY-EIGHTH POPE—OR ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 366.]

*Election of Felix—He is ordained pontiff, in the presence of the eunuchs of the emperor—Two popes at Rome—Felix is exiled—His death—He is regarded as a saint—Trickery of the priests.*

OPINIONS are divided on the subject of Felix, as to whether he merits the name of pope, or that of anti-pope and schismatic. Authors, respectable for their knowledge, speak of him with contempt. The church maintains, on

the contrary, that he was legitimately chosen bishop of Rome, and has decreed to him the honours of martyrdom. This authority, without convincing us of the holiness of Felix, compels us, at least, not to neglect his history.

A Roman by birth, and the son of Anastasius, he was still a deacon when the pope Liberius was sent into exile. The Arians wished to place another bishop over the see of Rome; but the clergy having sworn that they would not receive any other whilst Liberius was living, it was necessary to use address to render this oath useless. The emperor Constantius employed Epictetus, a young neophyte, bold and violent, whom he had created bishop of Centumcella, now Civita Vecchia, situated upon the Tuscan gulf. It was from the hands of this prelate that Felix received episcopal ordination. If we can believe St. Athanasius, the sacred ceremony took place in the imperial palace, although it should have happened in the church. Three eunuchs represented the faithful people of Rome, and three bishops laid their hands on Felix.

Authors have different opinions as to his conduct, and his orthodoxy. Some say he was an Arian; others maintain that he preserved the Nicæan creed, and that he did not hold intercourse with heretics, except upon matters foreign to religion; but all agree that his elevation displeased the friends of Liberius, who were very numerous; and when the Roman ladies had obtained the recall of this latter, the emperor ordered that he should govern the church in connection with Felix.

Then the prelates, assembled in council at Sirmium, wrote to the clergy of Rome to receive Liberius, who had sworn to forget the past, and live in peace with Felix. But one had tasted the joys of episcopal grandeur, the other was ambitious; both had partizans, who excited in Rome violent quarrels and bloody combats. At length, the legitimate chief triumphed over his competitor, drove him from the city, and reduced him to the state of a bishop, without a church.

Felix, whose faction was not destroyed, returned soon after to the city, daring to call the people together, in a church beyond the Tiber; but the nobility forced him to quit Rome a second time. The prince, who was always desirous of maintaining a good standing with Liberius, was then obliged to give him up; and Felix, having lost his protector, retired to

a small estate which he owned, where he lived nearly eight years.

The faithful now honour him as a holy martyr, driven from his see by the Arian, Constantius, in consequence of his defence of the Catholic faith. The pontificate of Damasus adds, that he was massacred at Ceri, in Tuscany, by the orders of the emperor, whom he had excommunicated. Nevertheless, it has been proved, that the title of saint was given him by Gregory the Great, and that he was on the point of losing it under Gregory the Thirteenth, by an incident, of which the cardinal Baronius has transmitted to us the relation. He relates, that in the year 1382, whilst they were labouring, by order of the pope, on the reformation of the Roman Martyrology, they were deliberating if they should give to Felix the title of martyr, or strike him from the catalogue of saints. Baronius composed a long dissertation, in order to show that Felix was neither saint nor martyr. He was applauded by all judicious men, and the fathers affirmed that he had been inserted by accident, into the sacred catalogue. The cardinal Santorius, undertook the defence of Felix, but met with no success. This religious discussion led several priests to dig secretly under the altar of the church of St. Comus, and St. Damian, where they discovered a great marble sepulchre, in which were enclosed, on one side, the relics of the holy martyrs, Mark, Marcellinus, and Tranquillin; and on the other, a coffin, with this inscription: "The body of St. Felix, pope and martyr, who condemned Constantius."

This discovery, having been made on the evening of his fete, when he was on the point of losing his cause, and falling from heaven, they attributed to a miracle, that, which can safely be called, a monkish trick. Baronius regarded himself as blessed in finding himself defeated by a saint, and retracted at once, all that he had written. The name of Felix was then re-established in the Martyrology, where his worship was confirmed. It is difficult to reconcile this judgment with that of Athanasius, who regarded the new pontiff as a monster, whom the malice of anti-Christ had placed in the Holy See.

## DAMASUS, THE THIRTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 366.—VALENTINIAN, VALENS, GRATIAN and THEODOSIUS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Damasus—He embraces the party of the anti-pope—Violent sedition excited by the two popes, Damasus and Urban—Damasus victorious—He sets fire to a church—Luxury of the bishops of Rome—Debaucheries of the priests—Hypocrisy of the pope—Impostors make a saint of him—Frightful scandal, caused by the pope—He is accused of adultery—Law against the insatiable avarice of the clergy—The Arians persecute the orthodox—Death of St. Athanasius—The Luciferians—The Donatists—Ambition of the popes—Heresy of the Priscillianists—Women embrace this new sect with enthusiasm—Debaucheries in their assemblies—Another accusation of adultery against pope Damasus—His death.*

DAMASUS was a Spaniard by birth, and the son of a writer, named Anthony, who estab-

lished himself at Rome as a scribe. The young Damasus, having been educated with great

care, in the study of polite literature, entered into orders, and followed pope Liberius, when exiled to Berea, a city of Thrace. He returned afterwards to Rome, and abandoned his protector, to join the party of Felix.

After the death of Liberius, the factions which divided the clergy, excited a violent sedition, in giving him a successor. Each party assembled separately. Damasus, who was sixty years old, was chosen and ordained in the church of Lucina, whilst the deacon Ursin was proclaimed in another church. When it came to mounting the papal see, the two competitors sharply disputed the throne, and the people, taking part in the schism, a serious revolt ensued. Juventius, prefect of Rome, and Julian, prefect of provisions, exiled Ursin, as well as the deacons Amantius and Loup, the principal leaders. They then arrested seven seditious priests, whom they wished to banish from the city. But the party of Ursin rescued them from the hands of the officers, and conducted them in triumph to the church of Julius. The partizans of Damasus, armed with swords, and clubs, with the pontiff at their head, re-assembled, in order to drive them off. They besieged the church, and the gates being forced, they murdered women, children, old men, and the massacre was terminated by incendiarism. The next day there were found, under the ruins, the dead bodies of one hundred and thirty-seven persons, who had been killed by arms or strangled in the flames. The prefect Juventius, not being able to quell the sedition, was forced to retire.

The author who relates these facts, blames equally the fury of the two factions; he adds: "When I consider the splendour of Rome, I comprehend that those who desire the office of bishop of that city, would use all their efforts to obtain it; it procures for them great dignity, rich presents, and the favours of the ladies: it gives them splendid equipages, magnificent garments, and a table so choice, that it surpasses that of kings."

Damasus was yet more sensual than his predecessors. He loved to enjoy the pleasures of a soft and voluptuous life. Pretextatus, who was then prefect of Rome, said to him in pleasantry: "If you desire me to become a Christian, make me bishop in your place." And truly, so rich a lord would not have been ambitious of the chair of St. Peter, if the conduct of Damasus had been more apostolical.

The luxury of the Latin church was odious to St. Jerome and St. Gregory, of Nazianzus, who indignantly complained of it. They called the Roman clergy, a senate of Pharisees, a troop of ignorant, seditious fellows, a band of conspirators; they blamed, without concealment, the prodigalities, the debaucheries, the rascalities of the priests, and condemned the elevation of Damasus to the Holy See, as having been brought about by force and violence.

As to the anti-pope Ursin, his consecration was still more irregular, having been done by a single prelate, Paul, bishop of Tibur, a gross and ignorant man. Nevertheless, the schis-

matics continued to assemble in the cemeteries of the martyrs, and preserved a church, where they held their assemblies, though they had neither priests nor clerks in the city.

Damasus not being able to force them to submission, had recourse to the authority of the prince, to obtain an order to drive them from Rome. Joining then hypocrisy to fanaticism, he made a solemn procession, to beseech from God, the conversion of these obstinate schismatics. But, when he had received from the emperor authority to destroy his enemies, the pontiff, suddenly changing his tactics, assembled his partizans, and with his tiara on his head, and arms in his hands, he penetrated into the church, and fell upon the heretics, giving the signal for combat. The carnage was long and bloody; the temple of the God of clemency and peace was soiled by violence and assassination.

This terrible execution could not yet break down the faction of the followers of Ursin. Then the holy father, taking advantage of the anniversary of his birth, assembled several bishops, from whom he desired to force the condemnation of his competitor. These bishops, firm and just, replied, that they had assembled to rejoice with him, and not to condemn a man unheard.

Such was this pope, whom impostors dare to call "a very pious, and a very holy person."

The accusation of adultery, which was afterwards brought against the holy father, by Calixtus and Concordius, appears to be established upon the strongest proof. The synod which freed him from this accusation, did not change the convictions in relation to this frightful scandal; for if the calumny of the charge had been established, the accusers would have been handed over to the secular arm, to be punished in accordance with the rigour of the Roman law; and we know, on the contrary, that they were sustained by the principal magistrates.

In order to understand the morals of the clergy, of this period, it is important that we should make mention of a law which was passed by the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, towards the end of the year 370. It prohibited ecclesiastics and monks from entering the houses of widows, or of single women living alone, or who had lost their parents. In case of a breach of it, it permitted relatives or connections to summon the culpable priest before the tribunals. It also prohibited ecclesiastics, under penalty of confiscation, from receiving, by donation or testament, the property of their penitents, unless they were the legitimate heirs. This law was read every Sunday in all the churches of Rome. It is supposed that the pope himself had asked for its passage, in order to repress, by aid of the secular arm, the avarice of many priests, who seduced the Roman dames in order to enrich themselves with their spoils. The avarice of the ecclesiastics had led them to frightful corruptions; they surpassed the most skilful in the art of extorting property, and their prudence was so marvellous, that no

one dared bring them before the tribunals. St. Jerome openly condemned this law against the avarice of the priests, which fixed a mark of infamy on the clergy. Still it appeared to him just and necessary. "What a disgrace," he exclaimed, "to see pagan ministers, jugglers, play actors, hackney coachmen, depraved females, inherit, without obstacles, whilst the clergy and monks are alone prohibited from acquiring inheritances. This prohibition is made, not by pagan princes, nor by the persecutors of Christianity, but by Christian emperors! I dare not complain of the law, for my soul is deeply afflicted in being obliged to confess that we have merited it, and that religion, lost through the insatiable avarice of our priests, has forced our princes to apply a remedy so violent."

The disorders of the clergy were not, however, arrested by this law. The emperors were constrained to make a new one, by which widows were prohibited from parting with their jewels or rich furniture, under pretence of religion. They ordered that they should leave them to their children, and that no one, when dying, should name as his heir, the priests, the poor, or the churches.

At Constantinople, the Arian sect, by turns persecuting or persecuted, still ruled, under the protection of the emperor Valens. It pursued the orthodox with bitterness, and using reprisals, inflicted on them all the evils it had undergone. St. Athanasius, Eusebins of Samosata, Meleceus, and St. Basil, wrote to Damasus touching letters, in regard to the wretched state of affairs in the East. The pope made them no reply, being too much occupied at Rome to give any attention to the Christians of the East; or, rather, his great age began to weaken his ambition. Perchance, he also feared that the emperor Valens might sustain the interests of Ursin, his enemy, if he declared himself with too much warmth against the Arians; besides, he did not love St. Basil, who had opposed Paulinus, the favourite of the pope, and sustained Meleceus, his competitor for a bishop's see.

Damasus sent back the letters by the same bearer, charging him to say to the bishops, that he ordered them to follow, word for word, the formulary which he prescribed. Basil, despising these airs of hauteur, broke off all intercourse with the pontiff, and exhibited, in several letters, his indignation against the Holy See.

Egypt remained peaceful during the life of St. Athanasius, who exercised, for forty-six years, episcopal functions in the city of Alexandria. As the bishop had entered on a very advanced age, the faithful besought him to designate his successor. He named Peter, a venerable man, esteemed by all for his great piety. On this occasion, the Roman pontiff wrote to the new prelate, letters of communion and consolation, which he sent by a deacon. The prefect of Alexandria, fearing that Damasus only sought the alliance of the bishop to excite anew the old religious quarrels, arrested his envoy, and caused them to bind

his hands behind his back, ordering that he should be beaten by the executioners with stones, and thongs of leather, loaded with lead. After the punishment, the unhappy deacon, still covered with blood, was immediately put on shipboard, and sent to the copper mines of Phœnicia. Peter, fearing for himself, escaped during this execution, and avoiding his persecutors, took refuge in a vessel, which carried him to Rome, where he remained for five years in the tranquillity of a safe and honourable retreat.

At Rome, the party of Ursin was reduced to the last extremities; but the Luciferians, other schismatics, held still criminal assemblies, and the vigilance of Damasus could not hinder them from having a prelate. They had chosen Aurelius; after his death Ephesus succeeded him, and maintained himself in the city, in defiance of the pursuit of the pope.

The faction of the Donatists had also its bishop. They assembled beyond the walls of the city, in the caves of a mountain. These heretics received from their brethren in Africa, a pretended Roman patriarch, who, faithful, in spite of himself, to the precepts of the evangelists, had nothing but humility and poverty for his lot.

After several years of expectation, Peter of Alexandria, who had been driven from his see, by the violence of the Arians, was called to assist at a council, convened by Damasus, at which he had the satisfaction to see Appolinairus, and his disciple Timothy, who laid claims to the metropolitan see of Alexandria, condemned. Up to this time, the heresy of Appolinairus had not been anathematized, and his errors had been tolerated by the holiest patriarchs of the East, who evidenced a profound respect for his personal character.

The anti-pope Ursin, had been engaged in constant intrigues, since the death of Valentinian the First, to sustain his party, and remount the Holy See. Three years had elapsed in these vain efforts, when Damasus resolved to destroy entirely the remains of this faction, and profiting by the interregnum which took place after the death of Valens, he held a council at Rome, at which a large number of Italian bishops were present. The fathers addressed a letter to Gratian and Valentinian, to beseech the emperors to suppress the schism of Ursin. They announced at the same time, that they had resolved, that the Roman pontiff should judge the other chiefs of the clergy; that mere priests should remain responsible to the ordinary tribunals, but that they should not be liable to be put to the torture.

The princes replied favourably to the request of the council, in a letter addressed to the prefect Aquilainus. They ordered the vicars of Rome to execute the orders they received from the popes, to drive heretics from the holy city, and to expel them from the provinces. Thus the emperors, by yielding to the council of Rome all that it had asked, despoiled themselves of a part of their authority, with which they invested the pontiff

Damasus. In succeeding ages we shall find the pride of the successors of the bishop of Rome elevated even to audacity—to madness; and the slothfulness of princes descend even to degradation.

At this period, the frequent irruptions of the Germans into Gaul, obliged Gratian to return to the West, where he had established the seat of his empire, abandoning to Theodosius Illyrium, and the East. The two emperors were equally favoured by fortune; Gratian, in his contests with the Germans, and Theodosius, in his with the dwellers on the borders of the Danube. This prince, having defeated their armies, constrained them to sue for peace. The sacred historians affirm, that he then returned to Thessalonica, where he fell dangerously ill. The priests hastened to instruct him in the Christian religion, and Ascolius, bishop of that city, administered to him the sacrament of baptism, which procured for him a miraculous cure.

But, if religion was strengthened in the East, by the conversion of an illustrious prince, it was menaced in the West, by greater perils, through the heresy of the Priscillianists. Mark, an Egyptian of Memphis, chief of this new sect, had come into Spain to preach his impious doctrines, and his eloquence had drawn into the schism the rhetorician Elpidius, and a woman of high birth, named Agapa. The new convert, by the influence of her rank, her wealth, and her beauty, attracted a great number of sectarians, and among them, the noble and celebrated Priscillian, from whom the sect took its name. Born of one of the first families in the state, well made in his person, eloquent, well educated, zealous, sober, disinterested, Priscillian had all the qualities of a reformer, and his energy rendered him capable of sustaining the persecutions which in all states are the recompense of the apostles of the people.

His doctrine was embraced by great numbers of the nobility, and the army. Above all, the women, desirous of novelty, and shining in faith, ran in crowds after him. He taught the errors of the Manicheans and the Gnostics; he affirmed, that souls were a part of the essence of God; that they descended voluntarily upon earth, traversing the immensity of the heavens, and all the degrees of principalities; and that the great architect of the universe placed them in different bodies, in order to combat the evil principle. According to his doctrine, men were connected with different fatal stars, and their bodies were dependant on the twelve signs of the zodiac. The ram governed the head; the bull the neck; the twins the shoulders; in fine, he re-

called all the reveries of the astrologers. Not recognizing the Trinity, he maintained, with Sabellius, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, were the same God, without any real distinction of persons. His dogmas differed from those of the Manicheans, in his not rejecting openly the Old Testament, and in which he explained the most licentious passages by chaste allegories. He admitted, with the canonical books, many apochryphal works. He prohibited his disciples from eating that which had had life, as being unclean food; and in hatred of generation, he anathematized marriage, maintaining that the flesh was not the work of God, but of evil angels.

In this sect, men and women assembled by night, and prayed entirely naked, in order to mortify their bodies. The maxim of Priscillian was, “swear, perjure yourselves, but do not discover the mysteries.” Thus, their enemies not being able to convict them of real crimes, made use of this formula of initiation against them, and accused them of committing the most horrid impurities—of making use of men and children for their debaucheries, and of outraging nature, even with their women. The Catholics affirmed, that their priests, in their hatred of marriage, drew from the wombs of pregnant women the fœtus, half formed, and piled them up in the midst of the church, in iron mortars.

The Priscillianists, fasted on Sundays, and at Easter and Christmas, and concealed themselves in order not to attend church. This heresy had already infected Spain, and drawn off a large number of bishops, amongst others Justantius and Salvian, who formed a party to sustain it; but after many years of struggle, the orthodox, sustained by the prince, convoked a council at Saragossa, where it was condemned in the absence of its followers.

At the same time took place, by the orders of Gratian, the famous synod of Aquileia. St. Ambrose presided over this assembly, and condemned Arianism. It then examined into the charges against the bishop of Rome, and especially the accusation of adultery, which two deacons devoted to Ursin, had before brought against him, and which was founded on the attachment of the Roman ladies to the holy father. The council examined juridically, all the accusations against Damasus, and bore an authentic testimony to the innocence of the pope.

Damasus died at length, on the 11th of December, 384, after having governed the See of Rome about eighteen years. He enriched the church of St. Lawrence with many splendid presents, which were the gifts or inheritances to him from the Roman ladies.

## SIRICUS, THE FORTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 384.—THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS and HONORIUS, Emperors.]

*Election of Siricus—Celibacy of the priests—Corruption of the clergy of Rome—Avarice of the Ecclesiastics—St. Jerome calls the pope, the scarlet woman—Debased morals of the clergy—Doctrine of Jovinian—Death of Siricus.*

AFTER the death of Damasus, Siricus, a Roman by birth, and the son of Tiburcius, was chosen pope, notwithstanding the opposition of the old schismatic, Ursin. The new pontiff, was no sooner seated on the holy seat, than he displayed his ambition, and in order to try his power, he made new laws on a subject which the great Council of Nice, had left undecided, the celibacy of the clergy. He made a decree to exclude from the clerical ranks, those who preserved intimate connection with their wives, applying unjustly to the married clergy the words of St. Paul: "Those who are in the flesh, cannot please God."

Siricus wished to imitate the Pagans, who regarded, with great veneration, virginal purity; but these latter had recognized it as an axiom, that no man could preserve it without resorting to extraordinary means; and the hierophants, who were the first ministers of religion among the Athenians, drank hemlock, for the purpose of rendering themselves impotent; and as soon as they were elected to the pontificate, they ceased to bear about them marks of virility.

St. Jerome, in one of his writings, puts the following words into the mouth of a Stoic, named Cheremon, who is describing the life of the ancient priests of Egypt: "Their priests have no commerce with women from the time they attach themselves to the service of the divinities; in order to quench the flames of unlawful desire, they abstain entirely from flesh and wine, and the ministers of Cybele were all eunuchs." Jerome appears to insinuate, that priests and monks, who rashly take upon themselves vows of chastity, and engage to guard a virginal purity, should use the infallible process of the pagan ministers, when they discovered that the spirit was too weak to arrest the desires of the flesh.

Soon after the death of Damasus, Jerome was obliged to quit Rome, in order to return to Palestine. His reputation for sanctity had excited the jealousy of many of the clergy; and the freedom with which he exposed their vices had excited against him the sacerdotal hatred. In a little treatise which he wrote on the mode of preserving virginity, he advises the virgin Eustochia, daughter of St. Paul, "to avoid the hypocrites who seek the priesthood, or the deaconate, for the purpose of freer commerce with women, or to clothe themselves in rich habits, and perfume their locks.

"These bad priests," he adds, "wear brilliant rings on their fingers, and walk on their

toes; their whole occupation is to learn the names and residence of handsome women, and to inform themselves of their inclinations.

"In order that you may not be deceived by the appearance of a false piety, I will trace the portrait of one of these priests, master of his trade. He rises with the sun; the order of his visits is arranged; he frequents the greatest thoroughfares; he enters even into the chamber where the females sleep; if he sees a pillow-case, or a napkin, or some small piece of furniture to his taste, he examines them attentively, and admires their beauty; he feels them, mourns that he has none like them, and steals them rather than not get them."

"Bishops even, under a pretext of bestowing their benediction, put out their hands to receive money, become the slaves of the females who pay them, and render them, with assiduity, services the most base and unworthy, in order to obtain their inheritance."

Several prelates, furious at seeing themselves unmasked by the criticisms of St. Jerome, revenged themselves by scandalizing him. They censured his gait and visage; his simplicity even was suspected, and at length the calumny extended so far as to blacken his character in regard to some women and virgins, to whom he explained assiduously the Holy Scriptures.

The exemplary conduct of Jerome, and his lofty piety, should have served to have placed him above such suspicions; but the people of Rome were prejudiced against monks who came from the East; regarding them, and with reason, as impostors, who sought to seduce girls of quality. The holy doctor obliged to yield to the storm, quitted Italy in order to get away from the chagrin it excited in him, and complained bitterly in his letter to Marcella, of the outrages he had endured in the holy city. "Read," said he, "read the apocalypse; you will see what is there said of that woman clothed in scarlet, who bears upon her forehead the name of blasphemy. Behold the end of that proud city; of a truth it contains a holy church, where may be seen the trophies of the apostles and martyrs, where the name of Christ and his apostolic doctrine are professed; but ambition, pride, and grandeur divert the faithful from true piety."

About the same time, a council at Rome condemned the heresy of Jovinian. This monk had passed the first years of his life in the austerities of a convent, fasting, living on bread and water, walking with naked feet, wearing a coarse garment, and labouring with

his own hands. But afterwards, he left his convent near Milan to come to Rome, where he taught his doctrines. He maintained, that those who had been regenerated by baptism, could not again be overcome by the devil; he affirmed, that virgins had less merit in the eyes of God than widows or married women; he taught that men should eat all kinds of food, and enjoy the good which the divinity has granted to them.

Jovinian lived in conformity with his principles; he dressed with great refinement, wore white and fine clothes of linen and silk, curled his hair, frequented the public baths, loved the games, splendid repasts, rich cookery and exquisite wines, as was apparent from his fresh and ruddy complexion, and his *en bon point*. Nevertheless, he vaunted himself on being a monk, and he preserved his celibacy in order to shun the vexatious consequences of marriage. His heresy found many partizans at Rome. Several persons, after having lived for a long time in continence and mortification, adopted his opinions and quitted the austerities of the cloister to return to the ordinary life of a citizen.

After his condemnation, Jovinian returned to the city of Milan; but pope Siricus sent three priests to the bishop to advise him of the excommunication of this heretic, and to beseech him to drive him from his church.

History teaches us nothing of consequence in the life and actions of Siricus. It is supposed that he died in the year 308.

During his reign, the reputation of St. Augustine began to spread through all Christian countries; and the numerous works which he wrote against the Manicheans and the Donatists, caused him to be regarded as one of the pillars of the church. He was then very different from the young Augustin of the school of Tagasta, his country, whom his school-fel-

low regarded as the most debauched of the students; for we must avow, that the first part of the life of the saint was passed in the midst of the greatest disorder, and that his irregularities were such, that his mother was obliged to drive him from her house. He had besides embraced the opinion of Manes, in relation to nature worship, and had publicly professed this heresy. At length, tired of his unsettled life, he married, and left Africa to settle at Milan. In this city he contracted an intimacy with the venerable Ambrose, who converted him to the Christian religion, and baptized him and his young son Adeodatus. Some years after, on returning to Africa, he was made a priest at Hippo, and afterwards became bishop of that city. From that time he showed himself to be intolerant and a persecutor, and pursued with the utmost rigour all Christians who held doctrines differing from his own.

Among the numerous works of St. Augustine, his treatise on labour occupies the first place; in it he takes for his motto these words of the apostle Paul: "Whosoever is unwilling to labour, let him not eat." They cite also his work on baptism; his work on the City of God, or the defence of the church against the children of the age; his treatise upon the Trinity, in which he establishes the equality of the three divine persons; and finally, his various tracts upon original sin, the soul, grace, free-will, predestination of saints, perseverance, &c. It would be difficult to enumerate the works of this father of the church; for according to the catalogue which Possidius has left of them, their number amounts to more than one thousand and thirty. All these writings were composed in the interval of forty years, which took place between the conversion and the death of St. Augustine.

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## POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

*Abdication of Diocletian—His opinions in regard to the ministers of princes—Exploits of Constantine Chlorus—Galerius Maximin—Morals of the tyrant Maxentius—He violates Christian virgins—Sophronia stabs herself to escape him—Victory of Constantine—Maxentius is drowned in the Tiber—Constantine unites with Licinius—Massacres him—Portrait of Constantine—His good qualities—His cruelties—He causes his son Crispus to be assassinated—He condemns Fausta, his wife, to be strangled in a bath—The sons of Constantine divide the empire—Cruel war between the brothers—Frightful disorders in the empire—Magnentius kills himself—Decentius strangles himself—Exploits of Constantine—Julian the apostate—Jovian emperor—He gives permission to espouse two wives—Vallus is burned alive in his tent—Gratian is assassinated—Valentinian re-established on the throne, is strangled by his eunuchs—History of the reign of Theodosius.*

THE cruel Diocletian, elated with glory after the defeat of his enemies, pushed his impudence so far as to cause those who came before him to kiss his feet, and was impious enough to cause himself to be adored as a God. At length, however, he perceived that this excess had rendered him an object of public hatred, and he resolved to abdicate his

power, fearing that the apparent submission of Constantine and Galerius might be powerless to preserve him from the violent death with which he was threatened by the people. This remorse of conscience compelled him to quit the empire, and to seek in retreat a repose of which he was deprived by the cares of government. In spite of his tyrannical

conduct, this prince frequently gave utterance to beautiful sentiments, and said truly, "That nothing is more difficult than to govern well; for the ministers who serve princes are only united to betray them,—they conceal or disguise the truth from them, the first thing which they ought to know; and by their flatteries, deceive and sell their sovereigns, who pay them, in order to receive from them wise counsels."

Valerius Maximian, the successor of Diocletian, following his example, abdicated the empire after a reign of eighteen years; but he soon repented of this step, on discovering that a philosopher in solitude has less power than an emperor. He abandoned his retreat and returned to Rome, under the pretext of assisting the counsels of Maxentius, his son. Times were changed. The old emperor, perceiving that his design of seizing again the power, was penetrated, passed over into Gaul, to Constantine, his son-in-law. He formed a conspiracy, which was discovered by his own daughter, Flavia Maxima—and fled, in order to escape the chastisement of his perfidy. Constantine sent emissaries in pursuit of him, who took him at Marseilles, and strangled him in a dungeon.

After the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, Constantine Chlorus and Valerius Maximian divided the empire between them. Constantine Chlorus made his reign renowned by his great exploits. He recovered Britain, defeated sixty thousand Germans, and built the city of Spire, on the Rhine. His dominion extended over England, which he had conquered, Illyria, Asia, and all the provinces of the East. This prince loved men of letters, was liberal, and so great an enemy of ostentation that his table was served on earthen dishes. On great festivals of ceremony, he besought his friends to lend him services of plate.

During his reign the Christians enjoyed a profound peace. It is even related of him, that having made a decree, in which he ordered the faithful, who held places in the state, to sacrifice to idols, or to quit them, some preferring exile to place, retired; but the prince recalled them, naming them before the court, "his true friends," and sent away those who had had the weakness to sacrifice to idols, reproaching their apostasy with bitterness, and adding, "No,—those who are not faithful to God, cannot be devoted servants to the emperor." Constantine Chlorus died at York, in England, after having crowned Constantine, his son.

Galerius Maximian, before coming to the empire, had gained two great battles over the Persians, and had lost a third by his imprudence when he was yet but Cæsar. His first act of power was a declaration of war against this people; he conquered them, pillaged their camp, seized the person of king Nors, with his family, and by his conquests extended the frontiers of the empire to the Tigris.

He chose as his successors his two nephews. C. Valerius Maximian, called Daza

before he was made Cæsar, had for his share the East; and Flavius Valerius Severus obtained Italy and Africa. Soon after he made these dispositions, Galerius died of an ulcer, in which were engendered a prodigious quantity of worms, which almost devoured him alive.

Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius, son of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximian, called the elder, having learned that Constantine had been proclaimed emperor, caused the same title to be given to him at Rome, by the soldiers and the Prætorian guards, whom he permitted to violate females and murder citizens. This prince, entirely addicted to magic, dared not commence any enterprise without consulting oracles and divinations. He overbore the provinces with extraordinary tributes, and despoiled the richest inhabitants of their patrimony. Wine, that perfidious liquor which destroys the reason, maddened him; in his fits of drunkenness he gave cruel orders, and made them mutilate his fellows at the table. His avarice was insatiable; his debaucheries and cruelties equalled those of Nero. Not being able to conquer the resistance of a Christian lady, named Sophronia, whom he wished to dishonour, he sent soldiers to bring her from her house—when this courageous female, feigning compliance with his desires, demanded only time to clothe herself richly, to appear before him, and entered her dressing chamber; as she did not return, the impatient soldiers forced the door, and found her dead body with a poignard in her bosom.

A Christian virgin, of Antioch, named Pelagia, with her mother and sisters, also slew themselves, to avoid the danger to which they were exposed from the pursuit of Maximian, the colleague of Maxentius.

War was then declared between Maxentius and Constantine. The latter approached Rome, and issued a proclamation, in which he declared that he came not to make war upon the Romans, but to deliver the capital from a monster, who caused the people to be massacred by his Prætorian soldiers.

Maxentius, on his side, sought to procure victory by magical operations. He immolated lions in impious sacrifices, and caused pregnant women to be opened, in order to examine the children in their wombs, and consulted auguries. The oracles being unfavourable, the affrighted prince quitted the palace, with his wife and son, to retire to a private house. Nevertheless, he caused his troops to sally forth from Rome. They consisted of an hundred and sixty thousand infantry, and eighteen thousand cavalry. His army having passed the Tiber, encountered that of Constantine, which numbered eighty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, and the battle commenced.

At the same moment, a violent sedition broke out in Rome. The people, indignant at the conduct of Maxentius, whom superstition and cowardice had retained in the city, precipitated themselves towards the Circus, where the prince was giving public games, in

honour of his advent to the empire, and made him hear this terrible shout, "Death to the traitor! Death to the coward and the traitor! Glory to the invincible Constantine!" Maxentius, alarmed by these shouts of admiration for his rival, fled from the circus, and ordered the senators to consult the Sybilline books. They replied, that they announced that on that very day the enemy of the Romans would perish miserably; then the prince, regarding the victory assured, rejoined his army. On his leaving Rome, however, screech owls reposed themselves on the walls of the city, and followed him even to the field of battle. This sinister presage, seen by all the army, abated the courage of his soldiers. Their ranks give way before the legions of Constantine, and the route commences. Maxentius himself, drawn along by the crowd, regains the bridge of boats which he had built; by chance or treason, the boats separate, and he falls into the river, where he is drowned. Maxentius thus became the victim of the snare which he had laid for Constantine, for the bridge was built in such a way, that in case of route, his enemies traversing it, it would break in the middle, and submerge them in the Tiber. The next day his body was found, and his head was cut off and carried through the streets of Rome on the point of a pike.

Constantine, master of the empire, associated with him Licinius, who had espoused his sister, Constantia. These two princes destroyed the army of Jovius Maximin, who affected the title of emperor.

Licinius was the son of a peasant of Dacia; by his courage he had advanced, step by step, in the army, to its highest dignities, and had been made Cæsar by the emperor Galerius. Become prince, he showed himself avaricious, transported, intemperate, shameless; as if the supreme rank must bestow all vices, at the same time it does the power of gratifying them. In his extreme ignorance, he called literary men "a poison, a public pest," and caused them to be put to death, though guiltless of any crime.

He soon became suspected by his colleague, because he renewed the persecution against the Church, and sought to rally to his side the pagan priests. He was conquered by the troops of his brother-in-law, and beheaded.

After the defeat and death of this brutal man, Constantine enjoyed in peace the sovereign authority. This prince had a majestic port and a great soul; he was brave, hardy, provident in his enterprises; but he joined great vices to these good qualities. Our design is not to enter into the details of a life so illustrious, and we will only comment on the partiality of the friends or enemies of the first Christian monarch. The one has been prodigal of extreme eulogiums on him; the others have charged his memory with every crime. Envy and hatred furnished to Julian, the apostate, the colours which he has employed in painting the portrait of his predecessor, and the fathers of the church have

frequently given excessive praise to this emperor, the first who declared himself the protector of the Christian religion.

Constantine truly merited the surname of great, if we take this epithet in its entire acceptance. What prudence did he not display in avoiding the perils which he encountered on his route towards the empire! What intrepidity in confronting the most frightful perils! What valour in attacking and conquering enemies, equally redoubtable for their bravery and their numbers! What courage and wisdom in holding, during thirty years, the reins of an empire which was offered at auction! What consummate skill, to govern, in peace, so many different people, and to assure their happiness by causing them to submit to equitable laws!

The portrait of Constantine, seen on its handsome side, presents so many brilliant qualities, that it serves to exhibit his defects in greater contrast.

Little scrupulous as a Christian, he did not receive the sacrament of baptism until a few minutes before his death.

An unnatural father, he put to death his son, Crispus, on the mere accusation of a step-mother, interested in procuring it.

An inflexible husband, he commanded Fausta to be strangled in a bath. Lastly, a cruel politician, he shed the blood of the young Licinius, an amiable prince, who had not participated in the crimes of his father, Licinius, and who was the only consolation of the unfortunate Constantia. This last act of cruelty furnishes an evident proof that the Christianity of Constantine was but the reflection of his policy. He had need of partisans to resist his enemies, and as the Christians were disposed to sustain the interest of a prince who afforded them tranquillity, he took them under his protection.

After his death, his children divided the empire between them. Flavius Claudius Constantine the Second, had Spain, Gaul, a part of the Alps, England, Ireland and the Orades; Flavius Julius Constantius obtained Italy, Africa and its islands, Dalmatia, Macedonia, the Peloponnesus, or Morea and Greece. Flavius Julius Constantius had Asia and Thrace, and Flavius Delmatius, Armenia and the neighbouring provinces.

Delmatus was slain by his soldiers, after a reign of a few years.

Constantine the Second wished to despoil his brother, Constantius, of the provinces which he possessed, declared war against him, and sent troops to combat him; but having been himself surprised in an ambuscade, near Aquileia, he was thrown from his horse and pierced with several mortal wounds.

Upon the news of this victory, Constantius crossed the Alps, entered Gaul, and in two years rendered himself master of all the provinces of his brother. He soon forgot the cares of empire in pleasures and debauchery. Then the officers of his army of Rhetia gave the title of emperor to Magnentius. This ungrateful and rebellious subject, forgetting that

Constantius had generously covered him with his own shield, in order to defend him against the soldiers, who were desirous to kill him, sent assassins against his sovereign and benefactor, who massacred the prince in his tent.

Flavius Nepotianus, in his turn, usurped the empire for some days, but the senator, Heraclidus, who was devoted to the interests of Maxentius, demanded of him a private interview, at which he stabbed him, and having cut off his head, caused it to be carried through the streets of Rome.

Flavius Veteranion, on his side, took the title of emperor in Pannonia. He then submitted to Constans, voluntarily despoiled himself of the purple, and received in return the government of Bithynia, in which he was treated with the greatest honours to the time of his death.

Flavius Silvanus, after having repulsed the Germans, who made irruptions on the frontiers of Gaul, wished also to be named emperor by the army, but Constans corrupted his principal officers, who massacred him at Cologne, after a reign of about a month.

Magnentius made each day fresh progress, and advanced towards Rome by forced marches. This usurper, a monster of ingratitude, whom St. Ambrose calls "a sorcerer, a Judas, a second Cain, a fury, a devil," was at last defeated in a great battle. Constans pursued him to Lyons, and constrained him to kill himself. Decentius, who had been named Cæsar by Magnentius, also put an end to his days, and strangled himself in despair.

Constantius Gallus, whom Constans had made Cæsar, wishing to abandon himself to acts of cruelty and insolence towards the conquered, was beheaded, by order of the emperor, who put Julian, his brother, in his place. He then declared war against the Quadi and the Sarmatians, whom he overcame; but he was in turn conquered by Sapor, the second son of Homeidas, who retook Mesopotamia and Armenia. As he was marching against Julian, to whom the army had given the title of Augustus, he was attacked by a violent flux, and died, near Mount Taurus, in Mesopotamia.

Flavius Claudius Julian, surnamed the apostate, was chosen emperor. This prince, after having abjured Christianity, which he professed in his early years, bestowed upon pagans the cares of the magistracy, closed the schools of the Christians, and prohibited them from teaching their children rhetoric, poetry and philosophy. The Catholics relate that this prince, having determined to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, in order to falsify the prophecies, was compelled to abandon his rash enterprize, by the bursting forth of subterranean fires, which miraculously destroyed the new foundations.

Some historians have elevated Julian above Constantine, and affirm that this prince had a more brilliant and better cultivated understanding than his predecessor. His reign was of short duration, and was terminated by his unfortunate expedition against the Persians.

In a battle with these people he was wounded with a poisoned javelin, and died on the field of battle. The priests affirm that it fell from heaven, as a sign of the wrath of God, and that Julian exclaimed, whilst plucking out the slaughtering steel, "Thou hast conquered, O Gallilean."

With this emperor ended the dynasty of Constantine, a dynasty which had given to Christianity a great protector and a redoubtable enemy. Julian, from the different versions of authors, offers one of the most embarrassing problems to be solved by history. By turns humane and sanguinary, rash and wise, avaricious and prodigal, severe towards himself and blameably indulgent towards his favourites, he appears to unite in his own person all contrasts. Nevertheless, the priests, in heaping upon his memory the gravest accusations, convince us that he was endowed with good qualities, and that his faults were consequent upon his admiration for rhetoricians. Among his principal works, which have come down to us, may be cited as remarkable, an allegorical fable, a writing entitled *Misopogon*, a discourse in honour of Cybele, another in honour of Diogenes, and a collection of sixty letters, among which is a long epistle to Themistius, which is regarded as one of the most complete treatises extant of the duties of a sovereign towards his people. This last composition is, beyond doubt, the best conceived and most elevated, as regards style. His *Book of the Cæsars* forms a necessary addition to the critical history of the Roman empire. Julian condemns, with finesse, the mysteries of Christianity, and blames Constantine and his descendants for the intolerance they had shown, in order to assure the triumph of the new religion. At the last, in his indignation, the philosophic emperor does not hesitate to add, that the greatest misfortune for a people is to confide their destiny in the hands of priests and kings.

Julian, when dying, designated Procopius, his cousin, as his successor, but the soldiers offered the crown to Flavius Jovian, of Pannonia, who refused the honour, declaring that, being a Christian, he could only command men of his own religion. The legions exclaimed that they would consent to be baptized, if he would accept the empire. His first care was to conclude a peace, for thirty years, with Sapor the Second, to whom he restored five provinces, which Galerius had taken, and engaged not to succour Arsaces, the Armenian. He then occupied himself with the interests of religion, made terrible decrees against the Jews, and prohibited them from worshipping in public. This prince reversed the edicts of his predecessors, re-established St. Athanasius and the bishops, banished by Constans and Julian, restored to the faithful and to the churches the property, honours, revenues and privileges which had been taken from them.

All these beautiful actions certainly merited the honours of saintship, if, in the first ages of Christianity, they had been accustomed to

this sort of apotheosis. The prince died suddenly, after a reign of seven months, and the church has forgotten to canonize him.

Flavius Valentinian, the son of Gratian, the rope maker, who sold ropes, near Belgrade, was chosen emperor by the soldiers, after the death of Jovian. His strength was so extraordinary that he overthrew, at once, five of the strongest men of his army. During his reign a law was enacted, giving permission to espouse two wives. This prince died of apoplexy.

Valens, who was associated with him in the government, conquered the tyrant Procopus, a relative of Julian the apostate, and gained a great victory over Athanaric, king of the Goths; but his wife having drawn him off to Arianism, he persecuted the faithful, which caused the soldiers to burn him alive in his tent.

After him the crown fell to Flavius Gratian, the son of Valentinian the First and of Severa. This prince, brought up by the poet Ausonius, of Bordeaux, divided the empire with the young Valentinian. He was generous, sober and laborious. He made war successfully on the Alani, the Huns and the Goths. Then he gave himself up to sloth, abandoning to his courtiers the affairs of government, to devote himself entirely to pleasure, the chase and debauchery—Magnus Maximus, who was desirous of seizing on the sovereignty of the British Isles, availed himself of the providence of Gratian to assassinate him.

Valentinian the Second, or the young, had

to sustain a terrible war against the tyrant Maximus, who passed the Alps, and obliged him to take refuge in Thessalonica, and even in the East.

Theodosius arrested the progress of this dangerous enemy, gave him battle under the walls of Milan, in which Maximus was slain, and re-established Valentinian upon his throne. This unfortunate prince did not long enjoy his power. He terminated his days wretchedly, at Vienne, in Dauphiny, where he was strangled by his eunuchs, who announced that he had committed suicide from despair.

Valentinian and Theodosius, in order to attach the clergy to them, and to strengthen their authority, made laws which prohibited the offering of sacrifices to false gods, from opening the pagan temples, from preserving idols, or even burning incense to the household gods.

During his whole reign Theodosius had no other desire than that of rendering his subjects happy, and of honouring the Deity by the worship of the true religion. This prince, elevated to the throne on account of his merit, had the good fortune to raise up the empire when near its fall, and not only had the valour to conquer his own empire; but, what is still more glorious, fortune having given him another empire, he had sufficient grandeur of soul to restore it to the young Valentinian. In fine, his life was filled with generous actions, and his acts of weakness, taking their source in goodness of his heart, rendered his virtues still more brilliant.

## THE FIFTH CENTURY.

### ANASTASIUS THE FIRST, FORTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 398.—ARCADIUS and HONORIUS THE FIRST, Emperors.]

*Ordination of Anastasius—Two women, celebrated for their beauty, Melania and Marcella, excite a schism in the church—History of Rufinus of Aquileia, and of Melania—Rufinus is pursued by Marcella, who causes the pontiff to excommunicate him—Death of Anastasius.*

A FEW days after the death of pope Siricus, Anastasius the First, a Roman by birth, was chosen pope.

At the time of his advent to the Holy See, the church was troubled by the errors of Origen, and two ladies of illustrious birth, Melania and Marcella, divided the faithful into two hostile factions.

Rufinus, a priest of Aquileia, who had lived at Jerusalem about twenty-five years, with Melania, came to Rome, to publish a Latin version of the Apology of Origen, attributed to the martyr St. Pamphilus. He then produced a letter to show that the works of Origen had been falsified, and that the new translation, called Periarchon, was the only true one. After having propagated his doctrines, Rufinus retired to the city of Aquileia, his country, with a letter of communion,

which pope Siricus had granted him without difficulty. But, during the reign of Anastasius, a Roman lady, named Marcella, who was furious against Rufinus for having despised her favours, pointed out to the pontiff the doctrines of the philosophical priest.

He was accused of having propagated the errors of Origen; his translation of the Principia was produced, and as he had not put his name to the work, his enemies pointed out copies corrected by his own hand. He, warned of what was plotting against his writings, refused even to reply to the pontiff, and remained in Aquileia.

Anastasius, St. Jerome, and the other opponents of Rufinus, in spite of the protests of his disciples and the orthodoxy of his confession of faith, condemned him, in order to satisfy the demands of a courtesan.

The whole reign of Anastasius was passed in the midst of theological quarrels between the Donatists and the Catholics of the church of Carthage. The holy father died on the 4th of April, 402, after four years of pontificate.

## INNOCENT THE FIRST, FORTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 402.—ARCADIUS, HONORIUS, and THEODOSIUS THE YOUNGER, Emperors.]

*Election of Innocent—Victory of Stilico—Schism in the Eastern church—The pope defends St. John Chrysostom—Celibacy of the priests—Incontinence of monks—Violence towards monks and virgins—The pope writes to the emperor Honorius—Vigilantius declares against the celibacy of the priests—He blames the avarice of the popes—Monks the scourge of nations—Death of St. Chrysostom—First siege of Rome by Alaric—The pope permits the senators to sacrifice to false gods—Second siege of Rome—Victory of Honorius—The emperor refuses a just satisfaction to the Gothic king—Capture and sack of Rome—New pillage of Rome—The pope cowardly abandons his flock—He returns to Rome—Birth of Pelagianism—Satire on the monks—Celestius and Pelagius in Palestine—Trickery of St. Augustin—Violent character of St. Augustin—The council of Diospolis approves the doctrines of Pelagius—Virgins violated—Ambition of popes—Council of Carthage—Reply of the pontiff—He is accused of favouring the heresy—Decretals of Innocent—Not true that he excommunicated the emperor Arcadius, and the empress Eudoxia—Death of the pope—His character.*

INNOCENT the First was from the city of Albano, near to Rome. After his elevation to the Holy See, the Goths, who threatened Italy with a frightful desolation, were repulsed by Stilico, who gained over them a brilliant victory.

Delivered from fear of the barbarians, the priests recommenced their religious quarrels, and new schisms soon broke out in the Eastern church. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, sustained by the emperor, had deposed St. Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople, and in advising the pope of his judgment had refused to explain the motives of the excommunication. Innocent received also a letter from Chrysostom, informing him of all that had passed in the first synod, which had pronounced his deposition, and in the second assembly, which had condemned him to banishment. The pope received, with great honours, the deputies from the patriarch, and those from Theophilus; but in order not to compromit the dignity of his see, on a question so important, he referred its examination to an approaching council of the bishops of the East and the West.

Many decisions on the celibacy of priests are attributed to this holy father, prohibiting ecclesiastics from living in carnal intercourse with their wives, and ordering monks to live in continence. But nature is stronger than the laws of men; and the bulls of the pontiff, like the decrees of his successors, will be always impotent in arresting the disorders of ministers, and the debaucheries of convents.

In his rules, Innocent prohibits ecclesiastical orders from being conferred on the officers of the emperor, or on persons filling public charges. He orders priests to refuse penitence to virgins solemnly consecrated to God, when they should be desirous of engaging in the bonds of matrimony. "If a woman," says the holy father, "during the life of her

husband, espouses another man, she is an adulteress, and is repulsed by the church. Observe the same rigour with respect to her who, after having been united to an immortal spouse, shall pass to human marriage." It is to a decision so ridiculous, that we owe the slavery of the convents.

Nevertheless, the pontiffs admit of reclamations from vows extracted by violence. But the unfortunate victims, in order to be unbound from their oath, must offer to the holy father presents and money. Complaints the most legitimate were then admitted or rejected, in accordance with the amount of the sums sent to Rome. Now, nations more enlightened have learned that the vows of celibacy could be broken, even without the authority of the pope; and the example of our priests proves that no one can dispense with obedience to the laws of nature.

Innocent appeared to have forgotten the quarrels of the Orientals, when he received a letter from twenty-five bishops, who sustained the cause of Chrysostom. At the same time, Domitian and Vallagus arrived at Rome, charged to submit to the holy father the complaints of the churches of Mesopotamia. The two priests rendered to him an account of the violence used by Optatus, prefect of Constantinople, against Olympia and Pentadias, women of high birth, and of consular families. They brought with them, also, monks and virgins, who exhibited their backs black and blue, and the marks of the scourge upon their shoulders.

The pontiff, touched with their misfortunes, wrote to the emperor Honorius, beseeching him to assemble a council, which should put an end to the cruel discussions which distracted the church.

The deputies of the pope, and of the bishops of Italy, directed their steps towards Constantinople, in order to place their de-

patches in the hands of the prince; but the enemies of the patriarch rendered the deputation odious, accused Innocent of wishing to calumniate them, and drove away his ambassadors in disgrace.

During the year 406 appeared the first book of Vigilant, a learned priest, versed in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, nourished by wholesome reading of profane authors, and joining to profound knowledge an eloquence which enchanted the masses. He declared boldly against the abuses introduced into religion, blamed the celibacy of ecclesiastics, condemned the worship of relics, called those who honoured them cineraries and idolaters, and treated as a pagan superstition the custom of lighting wax tapers in honour of saints.

In his writings, Vigilant maintained that the faithful should not pray for the dead. He besought them not to send alms to the pope, nor to sell their goods to give them to the poor, maintaining that it was better to preserve and distribute the revenues themselves. He condemned the licentious life of the cloisters, and opposed the celebration of nocturnal masses in the churches, where sacrilegious impurities were committed.

This admirable man, who dared to speak a language so firm, in ages of slavery and fanaticism, could not abolish any of the ridiculous practices introduced by the avarice and ambition of the monks, who multiplied among all nations, of which they became the most terrible scourge.

St. Chrysostom died at Comana, on the 14th of September, in the year 407; but this event did not terminate the discussions of the Eastern and Western churches.

At the commencement of the year 408, the redoubtable Alaric proposed a treaty of alliance with the emperor Honorius. His advances having been repulsed, the Goths approached Rome and besieged it, blockading it entirely, by land and sea, so as to prevent provisions from entering it.

The inhabitants, decimated by famine and pestilence, made lamentable complaints, and wished to open the gates to the conqueror. In this extremity, the senators thought it necessary to sacrifice in the capitol and other temples, in order to rouse the courage of the people. They consulted Innocent, who gave an example of noble disinterestedness, preferring the safety of the city to the rigorous observance of the Christian faith, and permitted them to make public sacrifices, in honour of the ancient gods.

The pagan sacrifices were as useless as the religious processions, and they were obliged to devise means to appease Alaric. They treated with him, and agreed to purchase peace from him, paying a ransom of five thousand pounds of gold, thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand tunics of silk, three thousand skins of scarlet colour, and three thousand pounds of pepper. This contribution was levied on the fortunes of the citizens, because there was no public treasury. They were still obliged, in order to complete the

sum demanded by the barbarians, to despoil the temples of their idols, and to melt down the statues of gold and silver. The Romans promised, beside, to cause the emperor to conclude an alliance with him.

The king of the Goths having raised the siege, came to Rimini to meet Honorius, and propose to him peace on advantageous terms. Jovius, prefect of the Prætorians of Italy, who was charged to confer with Alaric, broke off the negotiation, by refusing him the general command of the armies of the emperor.

The senate, fearing the consequences of this rupture, sent a solemn embassy to the Gothic king; but Innocent, chief of the deputation, not being able to obtain any thing from the irritated monarch, and fearing the effects of his vengeance, hastened to take refuge at Ravenna, near Honorius, and abandoned his flock to the rage of the conqueror.

Alaric a second time besieged the holy city, and having rendered himself master of the port, forced the Romans to declare as emperor, Attala, prefect of the city. The new Cæsar, elated by his good fortune, no longer consulted the sage Alaric. He sent to Africa a general named Constant, charged to cause his authority to be made known, without giving him the forces necessary to sustain his pretensions. He himself, deceived by vain hopes, marched towards Ravenna. Honorius, frightened, sent to him his highest officers, offering to receive him as his colleague; but Attala repulsed the ambassadors, ordering the emperor to choose an island, or designate a province, to which to retire.

Honorius, having then disposed of his vessels, did but wait a favourable wind to fly to his nephew Theodosius, when he received from the East unexpected succours. At the same time Attala learned that Constant had been defeated by Heraclian, governor of Africa, and that the fleet of his enemy guarded so well the ports of Rome, that provisions could no more be brought into the city. He then retraced his steps to defend his capitol. But the Gothic king, irritated by the ingratitude with which he had repaid his benefits, reconciled himself to Honorius, and despoiled his protégé of the imperial purple, after a reign of a year.

Alaric then directed his steps towards the Alps, and came to within three leagues of Ravenna, to show that he really desired peace. He announced that he no more demanded great provinces, nor the command of the armies of the emperor, but only a small sum of money, a certain quantity of wheat for the support of his troops, and two small provinces at the extremity of Germany, which paid no tribute to the empire, and were exposed to the incursions of the barbarians.

Honorius, yielding to bad advice, refused to grant him these. The king, furious at this new insult, laid siege a third time to Rome, took the city by treason, on the 24th of August, 410, and gave it up to his soldiers to be pillaged. The church of St. Peter was alone spared, by order of the conqueror. But the

pontiff, who had foreseen the misfortune of the holy city, for the second time cowardly abandoned his see, and took refuge at Ravenna with the emperor.

The pillage lasted three days. Then Alaric sallied from Rome, and passed into Campania, where his troops sacked Nola. After having ravaged all that part of Italy, the king of the Goths died at Cosenza, in returning from Reggio. His step-brother Ataulf having succeeded him, passed again through Rome, which he pillaged anew. The greater part of the inhabitants were reduced to a deplorable indigence; almost all the Christians were dispersed, and constrained to seek refuge in the neighbouring cities of Tuscany, in Sicily, Africa, Egypt, the East, and Palestine.

Innocent returned to his see when the danger was passed, and availed himself of the general desolation to crush the remains of idol worship, and strengthen his spiritual authority. He drove the Novatians from the city, and pursued with extreme rigour all unfortunate heretics.

The noise of the conference at Carthage, in 411, between the orthodox and Donatists, had attracted into Africa Pelagius and Celestius, two divines of great Britain, who had dwelt for a long time in Italy. Celestius was of an open character; Pelagius, on the contrary, was tricky, politic, and fond of good cheer, like all other monks, whom Jerome thus criticises: "They treat their bodies with great regard; but the Christian should war against the flesh, which is the enemy of the soul. But perhaps they do this in order to obey the precept of the evangelist, which orders us to love our enemies."

Celestius rejoined his friend Pelagius in Palestine, where their works were favourably received. Count Marcellinus, the governor of the province, wished to examine into their doctrine, and addressed himself to St. Augustin. The bishop of Hippo replied by this captious proposition: "Yes, man can be without sin, by aid of the grace of God, but it never happens." The English monk taught the same doctrine, affirming that God could grant this grace to his elect. Thus the difference in the two sentiments consisted in a dispute on words; but fearing to draw on himself this redoubtable adversary, he wrote to St. Augustin a letter, full of protests on the orthodoxy of his faith, and was prodigal of excessive praise towards him. The holy bishop being flattered in his vanity, received him to the communion.

Pelagius had as yet published nothing but a small commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, and a letter, addressed to a beautiful woman named Demetria, who made a profession of virginity. This piece has been attributed to St. Jerome or St. Augustin, so subtle was the venom of his errors.

But when his treatise appeared, entitled "The natural power of man to build up again the right of free will," a general reprobation greeted the daring innovator. St. Jerome refuted it by dialogues, and St. Augustin accu-

mulated mountains of volumes against this new heresy.

Pelagius having demanded permission to justify his doctrines before a council, forty bishops assembled at Diospolis in Palestine. After having taken cognizance of all the contested articles, the fathers rendered the following decree: "We are satisfied with the declarations of the monk Pelagius here present, who agrees in holy doctrine, and condemns that which is contrary to the faith of the church. We declare that he is in ecclesiastic and Catholic communion."

Theodore of Mopsuesta, celebrated for his profound learning and great wisdom, was one of the most powerful supporters of Pelagius in the East. John, bishop of Jerusalem, also favoured the new doctrine. In order to render the Pelagians odious, St. Jerome brought an atrocious accusation against them. He wrote to the pope, that their furious band had attacked him in a monastery, which they had delivered to the flames, after having pillaged it; that he himself had been constrained to save himself in a fortified tower.

The pontiff addressed a long letter to John of Jerusalem, in order to point out to him the author of these violences, and to engage him to put a stop to them by his authority. He also wrote to St. Jerome a letter of consolation, undertaking to bring his accusation before his see, in order that judgment might be rendered upon it. This letter is a convincing proof of the ambition of the popes, who allowed no opportunity of usurping new rights in the church to escape them.

The bishops of the province of Africa assembled as usual at Carthage, in their annual council. The fathers, yielding to the solicitations of the bishop of Hippo, decided that Pelagius and Celestius should be anathematized, in order that the fear of excommunication might bring back all whom they had deceived, even if it should not have that effect upon themselves. The council then wished to inform the pope of the judgment which it had decreed, in order to give it more solemnity, through the aid of the authority of the see of Rome, and sent to the holy father the proceedings of the synod, as well as the writings of the bishops Heros and Lazarus.

The synod, governed by St. Augustin, referred, summarily, the principles attributed to Pelagius, and finished its bulls of excommunication as follows: "We ordain that Pelagius and Celestius disavow this doctrine, and the writings produced in its defence, although we have not been able to convince them of falsehood; for we anathematize in general those who teach that human nature can of itself avoid sin; and those who show themselves to be the enemies of grace." This anathema could not reach Pelagius, who maintained, on the contrary, the necessity of grace, in order to live without sin.

The pope replied to the synodical letters of the council. He bestowed great eulogiums on the bishops, for the vigour with which they had condemned error, and for the respect they

had evinced for the Holy See, in consulting it in regard to their decisions. He added, with intolerable pride, that they had conformed to the laws of the church, which commanded that all ecclesiastical causes, before being definitely decided in the provinces, should be submitted to the judgment of the successor of St. Peter.

"The Africans repulsed this pretension of the bishop of Rome. They declared they had not written to him to ask his confirmation of that which they had decided, but only to pray him to approve of what they had done, which he could not refuse to do, without being suspected of heresy."

In effect, they accused Innocent of favouring Celestius; and he, in order to set aside their suspicions, replied in a second letter, that he detested the opinions of that heretic. He declared that he approved of his condemnation by the bishops of Africa, and joined his suffrages to theirs. Then the holy father produced several decretals on the necessity of grace from Jesus Christ, who was not born of the person, because the contrary opinion was deduced from the writings of Pelagius and Celestius, a consequence which the two monks disavowed. He launched his anathemas upon heretics who maintained that they had no need of the grace of God to make them good, declaring them unworthy of the communion of the faithful, and separate from the church as rotten members. He adds, however, that if they wish to acknowledge their errors, and to admit the grace of Jesus Christ in sincere conversion, it is the duty of the church to aid them, and not refuse its communion to those who have fallen into sin.

A great number of the decretals of this pontiff, addressed to divers bishops of Italy, but

without any date, have been preserved. One of them, addressed to Felix, bishop of Nocera, is in relation to ordinations. The holy father declares that the mutilation of a finger, or other part of the body, does not render it irregular, unless it is voluntary. The second is addressed to Florentius, bishop of Tibur, accused of having encroached upon his neighbour. The pope summoned him to Rome after the festival of Easter, to decide upon his claims. In another decretal, Innocent decided that a second marriage, contracted during the captivity of a first wife, should be declared null, on her return to her husband.

As to the apocryphal letter, addressed to the emperor Arcadius, it has evidently been fabricated by the monks, to sustain the fable of the excommunication of the emperor and empress. The author of this letter supposes that Eudoxia lived after the death of St. Chrysostom; but it has been proved that she died shortly after the exile of that bishop. Besides, the popes at this period would not have dared to excommunicate princes, from fear of the chastisement which would have followed.

St. Innocent had governed the church of Rome, and given laws to all the other churches, during nearly fifteen years, when he died on the 12th of March, 417.

This pope, skilled in ecclesiastical laws, knew how to invoke traditions into use, in order to make new rules from them. He exhibited a jealous desire to increase the grandeur of the church of Rome, and aggrandize the prerogatives of his see. His works were written with elegance, though at times he employed expressions slightly inelegant. He knew how to give an adroit turn to his thoughts and reasoning, which were frequently wanting in soundness.

## ZOZIMUS, THE FORTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 417.—HONORIUS and THEODOSIUS THE YOUNGER, Emperors.]

*Election of Zoimus—He condemns the accusers of Celestius—Receives Pelagius to his communion—His inconsistency—He condemns those whom he had absolved, and absolves those whom he had condemned—He persecutes the Pelagians—Wishes to exterminate them—Is convicted of a criminal imposture—His death.*

ZOZIMUS, the successor of St. Innocent, was a Greek by birth, and the son of a priest named Abraham. Though very aged, he knew how to profit skilfully by the occasions which offered of augmenting his authority, and extending the rights of his church, in discussions with the bishops of Gaul.

Celestius, after his condemnation by the bishops of Carthage, had appealed to pope Innocent. The Africans were not disquieted by this irregular step; and Celestius himself, not attaching any great importance to his appeal, passed over into Palestine. But Pelagius, more crafty, did not despair of bringing

Rome into his interests, by flattering the ambition of the pontiff.

Innocent was dead, and Zoimus had succeeded him. Informed by Pelagius of this change, Celestius, driven from Constantinople, hastened to the West with the design of gaining the good graces of the new pope, by accepting him as a judge of his cause. Zoimus, finding it an opportunity to increase his influence, and to draw before his tribunal cases of appeal, listened favourably to Celestius, and consented to hear his justification. He hoped besides, that this monk, who was of a bold spirit, would minister to his hatred against the

Africans, whom he wished to humble. He declared Celestius to be a good Catholic, condemned Heros and Lazarus, who were the accusers of the Pelagian doctrine, and deposed them from the pontificate.

Emboldened by this success, the heretics sent to Zozimus letters of communion. Praylus, bishop of Jerusalem, recommended him to examine the doctrines of Pelagius; and Pelagius himself addressed the holy father, in order to justify his principles. These writings having been publicly read at Rome, all the assistants and the pontiff declared that they contained nothing but the doctrine of the church. The fathers, filled with joy and admiration, could scarcely restrain their tears, and blamed themselves for having calumniated men of a faith so pure. But Zozimus was not long in contradicting himself, and proving by his conduct that the Holy See is not infallible.

After having received Pelagius into his communion, and overwhelmed him with eulogiums; after having launched anathemas against his enemies, the holy father, shaken by the firmness of the bishops of Africa, condemned authentically the Pelagians, under the pretext that Celestius had absented himself from Rome without his permission. He wrote to the bishops of Africa and all the churches, to advise them of this new decision. In his bulls he explained the errors of which Celestius had been accused by Paulinus, and did not omit any of the calumnies with which the two authors of Pelagianism had been overwhelmed, declaring them excommunicated, and reduced to the rank of penitents. Following the custom of courts, the will of the master changed the opinion of the synod, and all the clergy of Rome confirmed the judgment of the pope.

Zozimus wished to make his zeal, against the heresy which he had protected, brilliant, in order to stifle the complaints of the victims of his inconsistency. He sent to the emperor Honorius a copy of the judgment which he had pronounced against Pelagius and Celestius, and demanding that the heretics should be immediately driven from Rome. The emperor dared not resist the wishes of the pontiff, and gave a rescript against the Pelagians, ordering that their followers should be denounced to the magistrates, and those guilty of the heresy should be sent into perpetual banishment, and their property be confiscated.

The pope, become more powerful by the weakness of Honorius, pursued with bitterness the design which he had formed of exterminating the friends of Pelagius. He deposed all the bishops who refused to subscribe to the condemnation of the new heresy; gave orders to drive them from Italy, and to tear them from their dwellings by a rude soldiery. This persecution caused the conversion of a large number of priests, who consented to submit to the Holy See, to re-enter their churches. But eighteen bishops firmly maintained their opinions, and among them is found the famous Julian, bishop of Eclana.

The pope having signified to them that they must condemn Pelagius and Celestius, they boldly replied, that they refused to subscribe to the last letter of Zozimus, and did not recognize the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Zozimus, whose adventurous spirit delighted in difficulties, had to maintain a violent quarrel with the bishops of Africa, in which he was convicted of imposture. The fact presents some curious incidents, which deserve to be related. A priest named Apiarius, refusing to submit to a punishment which had been inflicted on him by Urban, bishop of Sicca, in Eastern Mauritania, appealed from his excommunication to the bishop of Rome. This step appeared irregular in Africa, because the council of Miletus had prohibited this kind of appeal; but the pope, without much examination, as to whether the means which offered themselves to subserve his ambition were legitimate, availed himself of the opportunity, and sent three legates into Africa.

The deputies, on arriving at Carthage, found the bishops assembled in a synod, presided over by Aurelius. They presented the instructions with which they were charged, and demanded permission to read them in the council. The letters of the holy father contained four articles: the first authorized appeals from bishops to the pope; the second prohibited the journeys of bishops to court; the third permitted priests and deacons to appeal from the excommunication of their bishop to neighbouring prelates; the fourth commanded the bishops to excommunicate or cite bishop Urban to appear before the pontiff, if he did not receive Apianus into his communion.

The fathers adopted the second article without any difficulty, for the bishops of Africa had already made a canon in the council of Carthage, to prevent bishops and priests from resorting to the court of Rome. But on the first article, which permitted bishops to appeal to the pope from the judgments which condemned them, and on the third, which sent back the causes of the clergy to neighbouring bishops, the prelates repulsed the pretensions of the pope.

To put an end to opposition, Zozimus had the impudence to assert that the canons of the council of Nice declared that all Christian kingdoms were, in the last resort, under the jurisdiction of the tribunal of Rome. The Africans, surprised at hearing canons quoted of which they had no knowledge, ordered researches to be made into the copies of the decrees of the council of Nice, which were in the archives of the church at Carthage; and having discovered that Zozimus relied upon decisions which were not in existence, they declared, in full synod, that the pontiff was an infamous usurper.

The act of the pope was a piece of knavery of the most criminal character, and which we cannot too much condemn. But he had not the grief to survive his shame. He died on the 26th of December, 418, before the return of his ambassadors, and was interred on the

road to Tibur, near the body of St. Lawrence.

Zozimus is accused of having trampled under foot all laws, human and divine, to satisfy his unbridled ambition. Skilful in divining the weak point of his adversaries, he forgot nothing which could injure them. Of an excessive pride, he pushed his audacity to its extreme limits, and when he perceived that the bow was about to break from the force of its tension, he suddenly relaxed it. His conduct was artificial; and he always

showed himself the enemy of repose and tranquillity. The zeal which he bore for religion was the effect of his ambition, which seconded marvellously a great skill in public affairs, and a tortuous policy, which Machiavel would not have disowned.

The church has, nevertheless, conferred upon the pontiff the title of saint; but if God has received Zozimus into his royal kingdom, and pardoned his execrable ambition, his revolting injustice, and his bold impostures, no one need fear eternal damnation!

## BONIFACE THE FIRST, FORTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 418.—HONORIUS and THEODOSIUS THE SECOND, Emperors.]

*Schism in the church—Eulalius and Boniface—The two popes excite revolts in the holy city—The emperor declares against Boniface—The partizans of Boniface write to the emperor against Eulalius—Council of Ravenna—Eulalius enters Rome in opposition to the decree of Honorius—He is driven from the city, and Boniface re-established as pope—Rescript of the emperor—Elections of popes in the fifth century—Sixth council of Carthage—The ambition of the pontiffs repressed by Theodosius—Death of Boniface.*

AFTER the death of pope Zozimus, Symmachus, prefect of Rome, harangued the people, to warn them that they should leave to the clergy the freedom of election. He threatened, at the same time, the trades-people and chiefs of the quarters with terrible punishments, if they troubled the peace of the city.

Some priests then assembled, according to custom, to proceed to an election; but before the funeral of Zozimus took place, the arch-deacon Eulalius resolved to usurp the pontifical chair; and at the head of his faction he took possession of the church of the Lateran, closing all the entrances to it. His party was composed of deacons, some priests, and a very large number of citizens, who remained two entire days in the church, waiting for the solemn moment of ordination, that is, the next Sunday. The other faction of the clergy and the people assembled in the church of Theodore, resolved to elect Boniface, and sent to Eulalius three priests, to order him not to undertake any thing without the participation of the majority of the clergy; but the ambassadors were maltreated and detained as prisoners.

Eulalius, supported by the aid of Symmachus, was ordained by the bishop of Ostia, and Boniface received the imposition of hands in the church of St. Marcel.

The prefect Symmachus wrote to the emperor Honorius, who was at Ravenna, to advise him of what was passing in Rome. He condemned the election of Boniface, and demanded his orders, in order to execute his judgment, addressing him at the same time favourably to the cause of Eulalius.

The emperor, prejudiced by the story of Symmachus, declared for Eulalius, and by his rescript, ordered Boniface to leave Rome, commanding the prefect to drive him out, if

he resisted, and to punish the rebellious as they deserved.

Symmachus sent his secretary to inform Boniface that he was coming to find him, to advise him of the will of the emperor; but the latter, who held his meeting in the church of St. Paul, despised his orders, and caused his people to beat the officer whom Symmachus had sent, and entered the city in defiance of the prefect and his people. The troops then came to disperse the people who accompanied the pope, and to disengage their officer, who had been almost killed in the tumult. An account was rendered to the emperor of all these disorders, and the pontiff Boniface was accused of having excited them.

Eulalius always exercised the functions of the episcopate in the part of the city which had recognized him as pontiff; but the priests, the partizans of Boniface, wrote to the prince to set him against Eulalius, affirming that he had been misadvised. They besought him to revoke his first orders, and to order to his court the anti-pope and those who sustained him, promising that Boniface would render himself there with his clergy. They besought him, besides, to drive from Rome the faithful who refused to conform to his decision.

Honorius consented to suspend his first decree, and signified to Boniface and Eulalius that they should come to Ravenna, under pain of deposition, accompanied by the prelates who had ordained them both.

The bishops, convoked to Ravenna, assembled in council, and put off the decision of this affair to the first day of May, after the celebration of the festival of Easter. The emperor prohibited Boniface and Eulalius from entering Rome under any pretext, before judgment was pronounced, and ordered that the

holy mysteries should be celebrated by Achilles, bishop of Spoletta, who had not declared for either party.

Eulalius, yielding to bad advice, re-entered the city without the knowledge of Symmachus, and lost by his imprudence the place which he might have advantageously contended for. Honorius, who was favourable to him, irritated by this disobedience, made a decree in these terms: "Since Eulalius has returned to Rome in defiance of the orders which prohibited the two pretenders from approaching the city, he must instantly leave his church, to remove all pretence for sedition; otherwise we shall declare him deprived of his dignity. It will not be received as an excuse, that the people retain him by force; for if any one of the clergy communicates with him, he shall be punished himself, and the laity be banished from our states. We charge the bishop of Spoletta to celebrate divine service during the holy days of Easter, and for this purpose the church of the Lateran shall be open to him alone."

Symmachus, having received this decree, informed Eulalius of it on the same day; the latter replied that he would think of it, and did not wish to leave Rome in spite of the urgency of his friends. The next day he assembled the people, and seized upon the church of the Lateran, where he baptized and celebrated Easter. The prefect was then compelled to drive him away by his troops, and placed officers to guard the church, that Achilles of Spoletta might celebrate the solemnity in tranquillity. Eulalius was arrested and sent into exile, with several clergy of his party, which excited new seditions.

The emperor Honorius, informed of all these disorders, declared Eulalius excluded from the Holy See, and Boniface at liberty to return to Rome to take the government of the church. The senate and people evidenced great joy in finding an end put to these bloody quarrels, and two days afterwards Boniface, amid general acclamations, entered the city in triumph. Peace was then restored to the church, and Eulalius, having promised to renounce all his pretensions, received in recompense the bishopric of Nepi.

Boniface then wrote a letter to the emperor, beseeching him to make an edict which should prevent, in future, the intrigues and cabals which had taken place on the death of a pope, in order to seize upon the bishopric of Rome.

Honorius replied to the wishes of the holy father by the following decree: "If, contrary to our desires, your holiness should quit the earth, let all the world know they must abstain from intrigues to be elevated to the papacy; thus, when two ecclesiastics shall be ordained contrary to the rules, neither of them shall be considered as bishop; but only he whose election shall be confirmed anew by the consent of all;" which shows us that the bishop of Rome was elected by the clergy and the people, and consecrated by a bishop, with the consent of the emperor.

The legates whom Zozimus had sent into Africa on the affair of Apianus, had assisted at the general council held in Carthage, in the hall of the church of Fausta, and in which new debates were entered upon, on the subject of the canons falsified by the pope. After the conclusion of the synod, the legates returned to Rome, and rendered an account of the outrage which had been committed on the Holy See. Boniface, furious, resolved to exterminate the Pelagians, and solicited from the emperor a precept, of which mention is made in a letter which Honorius wrote from Ravenna to the bishop of Carthage. It says, "That in order to restrain the obstinacy of the bishops, who maintain still the doctrine of Pelagius, it is enjoined on Aurelius to warn them that if they do not subscribe to the condemnation, they shall be deposed from the episcopate, driven from their cities, and excommunicated." Aurelius, a submissive slave of the court of Rome, hastened to execute these orders, threatening the bishops with all the wrath of the prince.

But Theodosius, shortly after his marriage, issued a precept against the authority of the pope, in which he declared the sees of Illyria were not subjected to the judgments of the bishops of Rome, and that the prelates of Constantinople enjoyed the same privileges as the Roman pontiffs. The prince also ordered a council to be held at Corinth, to examine into several disputes which had occurred between the churches. Boniface complained of this to the patriarch of Constantinople, and wrote to him: "If you read the canons you will see that yours is the second or third see after the Roman church. The great churches of Alexandria and Antioch guard their authority by canons, and yet they have recourse to our see in important affairs, as in those of Athanasius and Flavian of Antioch. I prohibit you then from assembling to discuss the ordination of Perigen. If, since his ordination, he has committed crimes, our brother Rufus will take cognizance of them, and report to us, for we alone have the right of judging him." He then recommends them to obey Rufus, and threatens with excommunication those who shall go to the council.

Boniface then sent a deputation to the emperor, to beseech him to sustain the ancient privileges of the Roman church. Honorius wrote to Theodosius, who replied, that "the ancient privileges of the Roman church should be observed according to the canons, and that he had charged the prefects of the Prætorians to cause them to be executed."

In the course of the same year, the holy father repressed in Gaul the pretensions of Patroclus of Arles, who had ordained out of his province a bishop, who was asked for neither by the clergy nor the people of his residence. At length the pope Boniface died in the month of October, in the year 423, and was interred in the cemetery of St. Felicitas.

St. Simon the Stylite, who lived during the pontificate of Boniface the First, had taken up his dwelling on the summit of a column forty

cubits high, on which he lived thirty years. This fanatic was born at Sisan, a city situated on the confines of Cilicia and Syria. He had entered into a Greek monastery, by the advice of a priest, and had been expelled from it by the abbot, who believed him insane, from the cruel macerations and injurious abstinences to which he condemned himself. On leaving the monastery he retired into a grotto, at the foot of Mount Telenissus, where he resolved to imitate Jesus Christ, by passing lent without taking any nourishment. A pious Cenobite of the neighbourhood, whom he had apprized of his intentions, wished to dissuade him from them. Simon fell into a passion with him, and prohibited him from coming to visit him during that period. The poor monk, thinking that he had lost his reason, left for him ten loaves of bread and a jug full of water, and did not go again to the grotto until the forty days had expired. His astonishment was great on finding the provisions untouched, and the fanatical Simon extended on the earth and giving no signs of life. He immediately caused him to take some drops of water, and administered to him the eucharist. At the same moment, says the legend, Simon

rose with his full strength, and appeared as satiated, as if he had passed lent in the midst of feasting. Since that period he had preserved the same abstinence, and had preached for thirty years from the top of his column, exhorting the faithful to follow his example. His preachings, and the singularity of his sacrifice, had unfortunately too much influence in stimulating the imagination of devotees and exciting imitators of him. The most distinguished of these was Simon the Second, who mounted on a column at the age of fifty years, and who remained there sixty-eight years without ever descending.

The exaltation of the faithful was then carried to such an extreme for macerations, that fanatics entered into ditches, only keeping their heads above them, and waited for death in this position; others made a vow not to wear clothing; they remained entirely naked, exposed to the heat of summer and the cold of winter; men and women lived in herds like beasts, and slept at night, pell-mell in grottoes, in form of a stable, in order to exercise themselves in conquering all kinds of temptations.

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## CELESTIN THE FIRST, FORTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 423.—THEODOSIUS THE SECOND, and VALENTINIAN THE THIRD, Emperors.]

*Eulalius refuses the pontifical see—Election of Celestin—Accusations against Anthony, bishop of Fusela—The bishops of Africa depose him on account of his crimes—The pope reinstates him—Nestorius—He is calumniated by St. Cyril and Evagars—Council of Rome—Council of Ephesus—Nestorius unjustly condemned—Eulogium on Nestorius—New condemnation of the Pelagians—Celestin defends the doctrine of St. Augustine—Death of the pope—his character—He persecutes the Novatians—Extortions of the priests.*

AFTER the death of Boniface the First, many members of the clergy wished to recall Eulalius, who had before disputed with him the pontifical see. But this priest, having become a philosopher, refused the tiara, and remained in his retreat, in Campania, where he lived another year. The chair of St. Peter remained vacant for nine days, when Celestin, who was a Roman by birth, and the son of Priscus, was chosen without opposition.

Scarcely elevated to the pontifical see, the sad affair of appeals from beyond the sea, the rock on which the humility of the popes was wrecked, was renewed by the appeals of the priest Aparius, and of Anthony, bishop of Fusela. This last was a young man whom St. Augustine had brought up in his monastery. He had only attained to the degree of a reader, when his protector imposed his hands upon him, and made him bishop of Fusela, a small city at the extremity of the diocese of Hippo. Anthony was received by the faithful with entire submission, but soon the disorders and scandal of his conduct became so great that the people revolted against his authority.

A council of bishops assembled to judge

him. The Fuselians accused him of pillage, exactions and debauchery, and furnished proof of their accusations. The fathers, not being able to refuse a condemnation, yet desiring to exhibit indulgence for a protégé of St. Augustine's, left him the title of bishop, though depriving him of the government of his bishopric.

Anthony, emboldened by the weakness of the synod, presented a request to the pope, in which he demanded to be re-established in his church, maintaining that he could not be rightly deprived of it, or that he should have been deposed from the pontificate. Celestin wrote to the prelates of Africa in favour of the young bishop, but demanding his re-establishment only in case a true recital of facts had been made to him. Anthony, strong in the judgment of the bishop of Rome, threatened them that he would cause it to be executed by the secular power, or by an armed hand. Then Augustine, to shun the effects of general indignation, determined to send to Celestin all the proceedings, beseeching him to interpose his authority, to hinder manifestations of violence.

The letter of St. Augustine was written at a time when the bishops of Africa still showed a deference for appeals to Rome; but when they had acquired an entire knowledge of the Canons of Nice, they declared, that they were unwilling to suffer appeals beyond the sea, and the affair of Anthony of Fusela terminated to the disgrace of the pope.

Celestin wished also to re-instate Apiarius, and sent him back into Africa with bishop Faustin. On his arrival, the African prelates assembled a new council, over which Aurelius of Carthage presided. They examined into the affair of Apiarius, and he was convicted of so great crimes, that Faustin himself, not daring to defend him, wrapped himself in his cloak of office, as the advocate of the Holy See, and opposed the council, under the pretext that it was trespassing on the privileges of the bishop of Rome. At last he declared to the fathers that they ought to receive Apiarius to their communion without examination, and solely because the pope had re-instated him.

After three days of contest, the guilty man, pressed by remorse of conscience, confessed all the crimes of which he had been accused, infamous crimes, which excited the general indignation and aggravated the excommunication. Then the fathers, in council, demanded, ironically, from Faustin, where the Holy Spirit which inspired the popes came from, since Celestin had granted his communion to so great a culprit; and they ordered him to write to the pontiff that they prohibited him from receiving those whom they had excommunicated.

Celestin, seeing his authority rejected in Africa, turned his attention towards the West. He sent several decretal letters to the prelates of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne, for the purpose of correcting abuses. In a very remarkable letter, he condemns the bishops who wore a distinctive dress, and were known from the other faithful by a mantle and a girdle. "You ought to distinguish yourselves from the people, wrote he, not by dress, but by your doctrine and the purity of your morals; the priests should not seek to impose on the eyes of the faithful, but to enlighten their minds."

What would have been his indignation if he could have foreseen that the earth would one day be covered with monks, which chequered it black and white; with friars ridiculously clad, shod or unshod; with dominicans, their heads shaved, or wearing long hair, and all distinguished by the particular marks of their order.

The second abuse condemned by the pope was the custom of refusing repentance to the dying; the third, the habit of ordaining bishops from simple laymen, who had not filled the different degrees of the clerical order. "You are not content with ordaining the laity, he writes, but it happens that you ordain as bishops persons accused of crimes; thus, we learn that the monk Daniel, after having been superior of a nunnery in the

East, has retired into Gaul; we have also learned that he has been accused by the inmates of his nunnery of infamous crimes and odious debaucheries. We have sent all this information to the bishop of Arles, to cite Daniel before his council, and yet at the very same time you ordained him a bishop."

Towards the end of the same year, the celebrated Nestorius commenced spreading his doctrines. Evager speaks of him with the bitterness and bad faith which fanaticism never fails to inspire in the slaves of the Roman Court. "This tongue, the enemy of God, writes he, forges blasphemies, sells Jesus Christ a second time, divides the body of the Saviour, and rends it. Nestorius refuses to the Holy Virgin the name of Mother of God, although the Holy Spirit has consecrated to her this title, through the councils and the holy fathers. He calls her only Mother of Christ, and this outrage fills with consternation the hearts of all the faithful. Anastasius, his disciple, that heretical priest, become the obstinate defender of the opinions of his master, wishes to lead us back again to Judaism. He does not fear to profane the temple of the Lord, and in the church, at Constantinople, in the presence of all the people, he dared to teach this impious doctrine, 'that no one could call Mary the mother of God, for Mary was a woman, and God could not be born of a woman.'"

"On hearing these abominable words, the scandalized faithful murmured against the sacrilegious priest; but the patriarch Nestorius, the original author of the blasphemy, sanctioned, in place of condemning it, and undoing the impiety of his disciple, was abandoned enough to say, 'I will carefully guard myself from calling God an infant of two or three months old.'"

The pope, advised by St. Cyril of the rapid progress which the new heresy was making, assembled a council at Rome to examine the writings of Nestorius. The Patriarch of Constantinople was condemned, and Cyril was charged with the execution of the sentence.

Celestin then sent into Great Britain St. Germain, bishop of Auxerre, to resist Agricola, the son of a Pelagian bishop, who was spreading false doctrines on the subject of grace; St. Louis, bishop of Treves, was also nominated ambassador by a numerous council, which assembled in Gaul. During their journey, the two prelates performed, by the aid of the Spirit of God, a great number of miracles. We will be content with relating the most remarkable.

When they had entered upon the conference with the heretics, a philosopher of the time proposed a singular expedient in order to put an end to the discussion; he presented to them a blind girl to cure. The proposal appeared insidious, and the two parties declined the proof,—but St. Germain, recollecting that he was fortified by precious relics, accepted the offer, applied his talisman to the eyes of the blind girl, and restored her to sight. At the same moment, the Pelagians,

enlightened by an heavenly inspiration, abjured the errors which they had maintained!!!

Whilst the Pelagians were being converted in Great Britain, St. Cyril, in execution of the orders of the pontiff, assembled a general council in the East. As soon as they had celebrated the festival of Easter, the bishops of the different provinces of the empire assembled at Ephesus. The parties were warm in their discussions—the holy fathers villified each other, and in the midst of disorder and confusion, Nestorius was deposed by the bishops, who adhered to St. Cyril. The latter, in his turn, was excommunicated by the bishops who adhered to John of Antioch. Never was a judgment more precipitous nor suspicious than that rendered by the council of Ephesus against Nestorius; a single sitting only was consumed in the examination of his writings and those of his adversary, and the president of the council, St. Cyril, the avowed enemy of the patriarch, had opened it, without even waiting for the legates of the pope.

But posterity has freed Nestorius from the accusations brought against him by St. Cyril and his calumniator, Evager,—for it has been shown that the meaning which he attributed to the epithet, Mother of God, was reasonable and orthodox. Thus, the pretended heretic underwent an unjust condemnation.

Cyril, who had been the persecutor, was re-instated in his see by the emperor, and ensuing ages have honoured him as a great saint. Nestorius, on the contrary, a victim to the hatred of his enemies, remained all his life exposed to their persecutions, and his memory is still held in execration in the writings of ignorant priests.

Nevertheless, the doctrines of Nestorius have victoriously traversed fourteen centuries, and his followers, under the name of Chaldeans, inhabit still Syria, Chaldea, Persia, and the coast of Malabar, and have preserved their symbol, which differs in nothing from that of the great Grecian church, but in the belief in two natures, distinct and separate, in Jesus Christ. The Nestorians of Malabar are better known as the Christians of Mark Thomas, a title which they acquire from the name of the apostle who converted their ancestors. The Catholics, not willing to attribute to him the merit of these conversions, have changed the name of their missionary into that of St. Thomas, who, according to them, had travelled as far as India to preach their faith; but it has been historically proved that Thomas fled from Constantinople to escape the persecutions of the emperor Theodosius, the enemy of Nestorianism, and that he settled in that country.

During the sixth century, the Christian colony which he had settled became of so much importance that frequent mention is made of it in the chronicles of Malabar. These Chaldeans reject a belief in the divine nature of Christ; consequently, they do not call Mary the Mother of God, and deduce the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. They have but three sacraments, baptism, the eucharist and

ordination, and place in their churches no image but that of the cross. Their priests can marry, and in their ceremonies they still preserve the Chaldean or Syriac language.

After the condemnation of Nestorius, the ambassadors of Celestin arrived at Ephesus, and subscribed, without examination, to the decrees of the council. The Pelagians were excommunicated in the same assembly. These unfortunates, whose heresy on the subject of grace was no more real than the impious sentiments on the incarnation attributed to Nestorius, became the objects of public hatred. Prosper made an epitaph on Pelagianism and Nestorianism, comparing them to two idolatrous females, mother and daughter, who should be buried in the same tomb. This triumph was but an illusion of pride, for the two sects which the council of Ephesus believed to be crushed by the same blow, have infinitely multiplied, traversed centuries, and exist even in our own day.

Towards the end of this unfortunate year, 431, the pope wrote to the bishops of Gaul in defence of St. Augustine, whose doctrines had been attacked by the priests of their dioceses. He addressed to them severe reproaches on their negligence, in not repressing this scandal. In what terms, then, would he have expressed his indignation, if, by a prophetic spirit, he could have foreseen that one of his successors would one day reject, as impious and sacrilegious, the doctrine of St. Augustine.

The letter of the pontiff, on the subject of grace, contains nine articles, in which jansenism exhibits itself in all its purity, and without equivocation, so that if the Bull *unigenitus* could have a retrospective effect, pope Celestin would find himself in heaven, excommunicated by Clement the Eleventh.

The year 432 was marked by the death of St. Pallas, whom the pope had sent into Scotland and Ireland to the apostolic mission of St. Patrick, and to preach the faith of Jesus Christ. This apostle introduced the use of letters among the Irish, who had not before any other literature than rythmical verses, composed by their bards and containing their history.

Celestin died on the 6th of April, 432, after having governed the church of Rome for eight years. He was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla.

This pope wrote in an earnest and succinct manner, but his style is sententious and confused. He is reproached with having been ambitious and fanatical, common defects with those who have occupied the pretended seat of St. Peter. He persecuted the Novatians, took from them several churches, and compelled Rusticulus, their bishop, to hold his meetings in a private house. This sect, established for a long period in Rome, had attracted the respect of the people by a holy morality and regular morals. They possessed magnificent churches, where an immense multitude of the faithful assembled.—Unfortunately for the Novatians, their prosperity excited the jealous hatred of the popes, who

were beginning to usurp an authority too absolute; they no longer permitted their public assemblies, and whilst praising the purity of their faith, they deprived them of their wealth. The patriarchs of Constantinople did not imitate the bishops of Rome in their persecution of the Novatians; on the contrary,

they evidenced a great respect for their doctrines, and permitted their assemblies in the capital of the empire.

The dedication of the famous church of Julius is attributed to Celestin, who enriched it with superb vases of silver and gold, bought with the gifts of the faithful.

## SIXTUS THE THIRD, FORTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 432.—VALENTINIAN THE THIRD, and THEODOSIUS THE SECOND, Emperors.]

*Fanaticism of Sixtus before his pontificate—He persecutes the heretics—The emperor puts an end to the quarrels of Cyril and John of Antioch—The pope is accused of having violated a sacred virgin, and of having committed an incest—Sixtus poisons his accuser—Ambition of the popes—Death of Sixtus—He gives the church great riches, torn from the unfortunate people.*

SIXTUS, the third pope of that name, was an Italian by birth, and a priest of the church of Rome. During the pontificate of Zozimus he had pursued the unfortunate Pelagians with inveteracy, and by his fanaticism had merited the title of maintainer of the faith.

After his advent to the Holy See, Sixtus the Third, who united hypocrisy to intolerance, wrote to St. Cyril to treat with John of Antioch, whose powerful party was vigorously opposed to the decrees of the council of Ephesus. This prelate had assembled at Tarsus a new synod, in which the fathers had deposed St. Cyril, Arcadius, the legate of the pope, and the other prelates, who had gone to Constantinople to ordain Maximian. The bishop of Alexandria, in conformity with the wishes of the pope, took steps towards a reconciliation, but they could not calm John of Antioch, who, immediately on his arrival at his metropolis, held a second synod, in which all the depositions of the first were confirmed. The Orientals then wrote to Theodosius, to inform him that they detested the doctrines of Cyril, and to beseech him not to suffer them to be taught in the churches of the empire.

The prince, worn out with the complaints of both parties, and fearing that the schism with which the church was menaced would trouble the public tranquillity, wished to reconcile John of Antioch and St. Cyril. He flattered the ambition and pride of these two prelates, and terminated their disputes to the satisfaction of all of the enemies of the unfortunate Nestorians. The illustrious old man preserved, however, some friends, who boldly condemned the treason of John of Antioch.

This triumph of Sixtus the Third was not of long duration. He was soon after accused by Bassus, a commendable priest, and of distinguished birth, of having committed an incest, and introduced himself into a convent, to violate a religious woman, named Chrysoгонía. The accusation becoming public, appeared atrocious, and caused so great a scandal that Valentinian, emperor of the West, was obliged

to convoke a council, at which assembled fifty-six bishops, to examine into the conduct of the pope. The gold of the holy father corrupted the judges, and the assembly declared that the crimes not having been established by material proof, the accuser should be condemned. In consequence of this judgment, the emperor and empress Placidia, his mother, proscribed Bassus and confiscated all his goods to the church.

Three months after the sentence the priest died of poison! Historians add, that the pontiff, covering himself with the hypocritical veil of religion, assisted himself during his sickness, administered to him the holy sacrament, and wished, after his death, to place him in his shroud with his own hands, in order to conceal the dead body disfigured by poison. The priests, on the other hand, affirm that Sixtus came forth from this accusation pure as gold from the furnace, and that it served to augment the favourable opinion entertained by the people of the holiness of the pontiff.

Church history leaves a void of some years in its recital of the actions of Sixtus, and we cannot undertake to draw them from the profound oblivion in which they are buried. We only know that he maintained the jurisdiction of his See over Illyria, and that he confirmed the sentence of Iddius, condemned by Proclus. At this period the bishops of Asia refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, or rather the double dealing priests, well knowing the ambition of the popes, disobeyed the judgment of their legitimate superiors, in order to carry their causes to Rome; where their complaints, no matter how unjust, would be favourably received, provided they favoured the policy of usurpation pursued by the Holy See.

Julian of Eclana, the famous defender of Pelagius, worn out by the persecution which the hatred of the priests of the East constantly excited against him, came to make his submission to the pontiff, and demanded permission to retake possession of his see; but

Sixtus, after having consulted with the archdeacon Leo, the most important person in the church, and whom we shall soon see succeed him, sharply repulsed the proposals of Julian, and commenced a new persecution against the unfortunate Pelagians.

Pope Sixtus died soon after, on the 28th of March, 420, having held the Holy See about eight years. He was buried on the road to Tibur, near to St. Lawrence.

During his pontificate he rebuilt the church of St. Mary, placed in the interior an altar of silver, weighing three hundred pounds, gave to it many vases of silver, weighing eleven hundred and sixty-five pounds, a vase of gold, of fifty pounds, and twenty-four chandeliers of copper, and he appropriated for the support of this church, in houses and lands, a revenue of seven hundred and twenty-nine soss of gold. He gave to the baptistery of St. Mary vases of silver, and a stag, from whence flowed the water, of thirty pounds weight.

He adorned the confessional of St. Peter with ornaments of silver, weighing four hundred pounds, and that of St. Lawrence with balustrades of porphyry. He placed upon the altar columns of massive silver, weighing four hundred pounds, sustaining a silver arch, surmounted by a statue of St. Lawrence in massive gold, weighing two hundred pounds. The church of the saint was encumbered with vases of silver and gold, adorned with pearls and precious stones. St. Sixtus had equally ornamented the baptistery of the Lateran with columns of porphyry, and upon the marble architecture he caused verses to be sculptured, which pointed out the virtues of baptism and the faith of original sin. In fine, this pontiff gave to the churches, during his life more than two thousand six hundred and eleven pounds weight of gold and silver, which he had extracted from the faithful by means of alms and testaments.

## LEO THE FIRST, FORTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 440.—VALENTINIAN THE THIRD, and THEODOSIUS THE SECOND, Emperors.]

*Birth of Leo—He excommunicates bigamist bishops—Laws in favour of celibacy—Ravages of Genseric in Italy—Persecutions of the Manicheans—The pope accuses them falsely—Leo attacks the Pelagians—He wishes to extend his rule over Illyria—Death of St. Cyril—Cruel punishment of Priscillian in Spain—St. Martin, bishop of Tours, condemns the intolerance of the pope—Leo encourages the fanaticism of the emperor against the heretics—Eutyches—his doctrine—his condemnation—The pope sustains the heresy—General council of Ephesus—Eutyches is absolved—The pope excommunicated—He demands from the emperor a general council—Exploits of Attila—Leo arrests his career—Miracle of the holy father—Quarrel between the patriarch of Constantinople and Leo—Rome sacked by Genseric—The pope prohibits any one from taking the veil under forty—Fasts established by St. Leo—History of the bloody hand—Death of the pope.*

LEO was born at Rome towards the end of the reign of Theodosius the Great; his father's name was Quintian. Authors are silent in regard to his birth, and Leo first appears in history on the occasion of a violent quarrel which had broken out between Aetius and Albin, the leaders of the Roman armies sent into Gaul to repulse the barbarians, who threatened the frontiers. The misunderstanding between these generals might have brought about the greatest disasters, and perhaps the ruin of the empire. Leo, sent by the pontiff to negotiate an agreement between the two armies, happily terminated this difficult negotiation, and reconciled Aetius and Albin, who reunited their forces against the barbarians.

The ambassador was still at the camp when Sixtus died, and though absent, he was unanimously elected chief of the church, and a deputation brought to him the announcement of this good news.

Arrived at the sovereign pontificate, he at once applied himself with great assiduity to the instruction of his flock. He then sent an envoy to bishop Potentius, in Africa, to make to him an exact report of the situation of the

churches, which were said to be governed by persons unworthy of the episcopate, and who had been elevated to this dignity by means of bloody seditions. The legate discovered that discipline was entirely abandoned, and that the sacred orders were bestowed on the laity—bigamists and heretics.

The pope immediately wrote to the bishops of Eastern Mauritania, to recommend to them to follow the ecclesiastical discipline in accordance with the intent of the councils. In this letter he calls those bigamists who had married widows, or who had two wives at a time, or who had espoused a second after having repudiated a first.

He permitted the mere laity, who had been elevated to bishoprics, to hold their sees; he also confirmed in their dignities Donatus of Salicina, who had abjured with his people the heresy of the Novatians, and Maximus, a Donatist convert, who had been ordained bishop without having received orders; but he surrendered to the judgment of the prelates of the provinces Aggar and Tiberien, who had been consecrated in consequence of revolts, reserving, nevertheless, to himself the re-  
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sion of the process and the right of final decision.

St. Leo judged the nuns innocent who had been violated when their convents were pillaged by the Arabs, counselling them, nevertheless, not to compare themselves with those who still had their virginity, and advising them to mourn for the residue of their lives over the irreparable loss they had sustained.

He then wrote to Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne, to prohibit him from exposing to public penitence a priest who had been found guilty of enormous crimes, adding that it was his duty to conceal the faults of the clergy, in order to shun a scandal which might bring dishonour on the church.

In a decree which he made at the beginning of the year 442, the holy father ordered mere priests to follow the same law as the bishops, in regard to continence; that is, he enjoined them to keep their wives, without having any intimate connection with them. The deacons refused to submit to the observance of this strange decree; and it was later, and by employing the greatest circumspection, that the pontiffs were able to make the laws of celibacy acceptable in the West. In the East they were equally disappointed.

In another bull the pope established this invidious proposition, that a clergyman could give his daughter to a man living in concubinage, without incurring the ecclesiastical censure, as if he gave her to a married man; because, adds the holy father, concubines are not legitimate wives, and the daughters do not sin in yielding themselves to their husbands. The last article of this bull concerns the faithful who had been prisoners among the pagans, and who had lived like them. He permitted the bishops to purify them by fasting and the imposition of hands, in case they had only eaten of the sacrificial food; but he ordered that, like homicides and adulterers, they should submit to public penance, if they had adored the idols.

During the year 443, Genseric, after having ravaged the provinces of the empire, and established his dominion in Africa, made a descent on Sicily, where, at the instigation of Maximian, chief of the Arians, he cruelly persecuted the orthodox. In the peril in which the church was placed, St. Augustine thought it was his duty to abandon his diocese, to go to Rome to combat the Arians. He, by chance, took up his residence in the house of a Manichean, which sect was then making great progress, and had increased very considerably from the Africans, who had taken refuge in Italy after the destruction of Carthage by the king of the Vandals.

St. Augustine, betraying the duties of hospitality, discovered to Leo the places of meeting of this new sect, and pretended that the Manicheans were the authors of the corruptions which were gliding into his flock. Then the holy father warned the faithful in his sermons that they ought not only to guard against these dangerous heretics, but to denounce them, and he pointed out the means of recog-

nizing them. He accused them of fasting on Sunday, in honor of the sun, and on Monday in that of the moon; he affirmed that they received the communion in only one kind, that of bread, regarding wine as the production of an evil principle.

After having rendered them execrable in the eyes of the people, the pope Leo ordered the strictest search to be made for them in the city; he prohibited their secret assemblies, ordered the books which contained their doctrine to be seized, and burned them publicly in the square in front of the church of St. Peter. Then, in order to increase the horror he was desirous of inspiring against these unfortunates, he held a synod, composed of the neighbouring bishops, to whom he added the principal members of the clergy, the senate, the nobility and the people, and in the presence of this assembly several Manicheans and one of their bishops, seduced by the money of the pontiff, made a public confession of the abominable acts of lewdness of which they had been guilty. But the testimony of these cowardly apostates will appear always suspicious to conscientious minds, who desire to judge with impartiality; and we know by recent examples in religion, as well as in politics, that zeal, or the fear of tortures, induce new converts to calumniate their brethren, frequently to persecute them.

The pope, not being yet satisfied, excited the magistrates to exterminate the Manicheans, and was constrained in his cruel pursuits by the imperial laws. Valentinian the Third published an edict, in which he confirmed and renewed all the ordinances of his predecessors against these sectaries, declaring them to be infamous, incapable of exercising any charge, of carrying arms, of bearing testimony, of contracting or doing any lawful act in civil society, prohibiting all the subjects of the empire from affording them an asylum, and ordaining that, when denounced, they should be punished according to the rigour of the laws.

Thirteen centuries later will produce another execrable example, in the person of Louis the Fourteenth, authorising persecutions against the Protestants.

Many bishops of the East and West, at the instigation of the pontiff, proceeded with equal zeal against the Manicheans in their dioceses. Thanks to these violent remedies, Rome was soon purged of this heresy, and Leo could turn his arms against Pelagianism, which Julian of Eclana, his implacable foe, favoured in Campania and Italy; but not wishing to engage in theological discussions in which he feared a failure, it appeared to him more certain to excite the bishops against the Pelagians, and put in force the cruel ordinances of the emperors.

During the course of the same year, Leo gave a new proof of his excessive ambition. The emperors, in the division of Illyria, had taken away from the popes the jurisdiction of primacy, which they claimed over that province. In spite of the prohibition of the

sovereign, the holy father established in Illyria, as vicar for his see, Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica. It is true, that in this transaction, he had to display all his political skill, and that he was obliged to write to the prefects of the East letters of condescension to excuse his conduct. Experience had taught the pontiffs that they could more easily bend to their will the bishops of the West than those of the East, who knew how to maintain themselves in possession of their privileges; and prudence advised them to show, in their intercourse with them, great address.

Leo showed no regard for the decisions of the prelates of Gaul, and imperiously ordered them to submit to the will of the court of Rome.

St. Hilarius, and St. Germain of Auxerre, having been charged by the prince to reform the abuses which had been introduced into some provinces of Gaul, went to Vienne to receive the complaints of the people and the nobles, who accused Celidonius, their bishop, of rape and murder, and of having finally married a woman whose husband he had caused to be assassinated.

These two prelates ordered the witnesses to assemble, and convened several ecclesiastics, of great merit, to examine into this affair. The accusation having been proved, they decided, according to the rules of scripture, that Celidonius himself should renounce the episcopate. The condemned bishop appealed to Rome from this sentence, and was listened to with favour by the pontiff. St. Hilarius, in order to avoid scandal, went himself to Italy, to beseech Leo to maintain the discipline of the churches. He represented to him, with great wisdom, that it was necessary for the Holy See to renounce its pretensions of elevating to ecclesiastical functions bishops deposed in Gaul by the orders of the magistrates. "I am come, holy father," added he, "to render you my duty, and not to plead my cause; I advise you of that which has passed, not in form of accusation, but in simple recital; if your opinion differs from mine, I shall urge it no more, and will follow up before the prince the deposition of the guilty."

The pope, through ambition for the prerogative of his see, not only repulsed the demand of St. Hilarius, but gave orders to his guards to retain him as a prisoner, being desirous of constraining him to justify himself before the council which he had convoked. Fortunately, the prelate was enabled to deceive the spies of the holy father, sallied secretly from Rome, and returned to his church. Leo, furious at seeing his prisoner escape him, caused him to be excommunicated by his council, and reinstated Celidonius in all his rights. The synod, it is true, was composed of his slaves; that is to say, of bishops contiguous to Rome. With such people, add historians, the pontiff would have been enabled to condemn the apostles, and Jesus Christ himself. The emperor, Valentinian the Third, lending himself to the vengeance

of Leo, had the weakness to give an order, addressed to the patrician Actius, who commanded the troops in Gaul, ordering him to imprison, as a traitor and seditious person, the holy shepherd of the city of Arles.

This act of despotism was a mortal blow to the liberty of the French churches, and its ecclesiastical affairs, which had before been judged by national synods, were, from that time, carried before the bishop of Rome.

St. Cyril, one of the most violent persecutors of the Novatians, died on the 9th of June, in this same year, after having governed the church of Alexandria for thirty-two years. He had designated as his successor the bishop Dioscorus.

In spite of the vigilance of the pope, the heresy of the Priscillianists continued to make the most surprising progress in Spain and Gaul.

These sectarians were but a continuation of the Gnostics, and by the accounts of their enemies, were subdivided into many fractions, distinct from each other, and having each their particular belief. Thus, the Massalians did not believe that the sacraments were at all efficacious in driving away demons, and maintained that the only mode of exorcising the faithful possessed with evil spirits, was to sneeze, in order that the demons might be expelled with the discharge. The Sethians, or Ophites, placed the serpent before Christ, and adored him for having taught man the knowledge of good and evil. The Adamites taught a community of women, because, according to them, promiscuity was the true mystical community of the Christian. The Cainites honoured Cain, as the one who had taught men to labour, and regarded the murder of Abel as an allegory, signifying that people could destroy the idle, who were a charge on society. They venerated the memory of Judas, because this apostle, by betraying Christ, had saved the world from universal damnation. They believed that every sin had a guardian angel, who presided over its accomplishment, and they detested chaste men, as beings without force or energy; finally, they invoked, in their prayers, the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all the Hebrews of the Old Testament, who had been signalized for their impiety.

How great soever may be the trust reposed by priests in the assertions of the fathers of the church, those among the ecclesiastics who have written upon this heresy, have not been able to avoid doubting the exactitude of the statements of St. Epiphanius on the different sects of the Priscillianists or Gnostics; and if they do not accuse him of having wished to calumniate them, in order to increase the number of their enemies, at least they reproach him for having shown himself too credulous in adopting the popular fables invented against them by ignorance or hatred. St. Ireneus and St. Clement of Alexandria, themselves, refused to believe in their alleged turpitude, and accused them only of an affectation of too great purity and chastity.

The monks, the docile instruments of the fanaticism of Leo, after having brought before the prefect Evodus, atrocious accusations against the venerable Priscillian, demanded that he should be incarcerated in one of their prisons, and submitted to the most terrible proofs.

The unfortunate heretic was bound with cords and chains: then the priest commenced the interrogatory:—

“Abjure thy errors, Priscillian; submit thyself to the sovereign pontiff of Rome.”

The sufferer refusing to reply, the executioners made his limbs to crack under the pressure of his chains, and plunged both his feet into a heated brazier.

“Abjure thy errors, Priscillian, and glorify Leo, the father of the faithful.”

Priscillian, during this horrible suffering, addressed his prayers to God, and refused still to glorify the pope.

Then the monk charged with the execution gave the orders to the executioners to commence the punishment. They tore from him his hair and the skin of his skull, they burned with hot iron all parts of his body, and poured upon his wounds boiling oil and melted lead, and at last plunged into his entrails a rod heated in the fire; and this martyr expired, after two hours of frightful suffering.

Leo still pursued the residue of the sect, and abandoned them to the implacable hatred of the priests. Their vengeance not being satisfied by the condemnation of Priscillian, they soon abused their credit and the favour of the court, by persecuting people of wealth. It was enough to be suspected of fasting and loving a quiet retreat, and the greatest crimes then were to be wise and honoured. Citizens who had displeased the clergy were accused of Priscillianism, especially when their death might be agreeable to the prince, or their riches could fill the treasury of the holy father.

St. Martin, bishop of Tours, loudly condemned the intolerance of the pontiff, who, under the cloak of religion, sought to gratify his ambition and avarice by sacrificing the quiet of the people. At first, he refused to communicate with the bishops of Spain, who had executed the orders of Leo; but in the end, fatigued by their protestations, he permitted them to extort an act of communion from him. He was much afflicted, in consequence of it, during the rest of his life, and was persuaded that this act had hindered the grace of miracles from shining forth in his person.

The pope not only dared to glorify himself for having ordered the punishment of Priscillian, but he even wrote to Maximus, to demand from him his assistance to extend the massacres through all the provinces of the empire; he expressed himself in these terms, “My lord, the rigor and severity of your justice against this heretic and his disciples have been of great aid to the clemency of the church. We have heretofore been content with the mildness of the judgments which the

bishops delivered in accordance with the canons, and we did not desire bloody executions; now, however, we have learned that it is necessary to be aided and sustained by the severe constitutions of the emperors—for the fear of religious punishment frequently makes heretics recur to a spiritual remedy, which can cure their souls from a mortal malady by a true conversion.”

This impious pope, thus separating himself from the tolerant precepts of Christianity, endeavored to extirpate heresies by the most violent means.

Soon the affair of Eutyches gave the world a new proof of the cruelty of Leo, and showed the ridiculous spectacle of a pretended heresy, against which the East and the West were up, without knowing the dogmas which would encounter the anathemas of the Holy See.

Eutyches, a priest and abbot of a great convent of three hundred monks, near Constantinople, had written to the pope to inform him that Nestorianism was recovering new strength, under the protection which the patrician, Flavian, granted to it. Leo approved of his zeal, and encouraged him to pursue the heretics. Dommus of Antioch wrote, in his turn, to the emperor Theodosius, and accused him of renewing the heresy of Appolinarius, by maintaining that the divinity of the Son of God, and his humanity, were but one nature, and attributed his sufferings to his divinity. This heresy was founded on the consequences drawn from the terms of Eutyches, which did not differ from the orthodox opinions but in the mode of interpreting them. He recognized, in fact, two natures in Jesus Christ, but he maintained that it was better to explain the mystery of the incarnation by saying that there existed but a single nature; because Jesus Christ was at once God and man. Those who declared against this sentiment spoke of those two natures as if they had been separate, and the pretended heretic was condemned, because he was not understood, or because they refused to understand him.

The Eastern prelates assembled in council at Constantinople, to judge Eutyches, and pronounced a sentence of excommunication, which does not inspire a great respect for the abilities of the fathers who composed the synod. He, believing himself unjustly condemned, wrote to the pope, “I beseech you, holy father, to decide upon the faith, and not permit the decree which has been ordained against me by a cabal to be executed. Have pity on an old man, who has lived sixty-five years in continence, in the exercise of piety, and whom they drive from his retreat.” The emperor Theodosius, who favoured Eutyches, wrote at the same time to the pontiff on the troubles which were agitating the church at Constantinople.

These letters, which flattered the ambition of Leo, already at variance with Flavian of Constantinople, sufficed to engage him to undertake the defence of Eutyches. He thus

wrote to Flavian, "I am astonished, my brother, that you have sent me no information of the scandal which troubles the church, and of which you should have been the first to advise me. We have read the expose of the doctrine of Eutyches, and we do not see for what motive you have separated him from the communion of the faithful. Nevertheless, as we desire to be impartial in our judgments, we will make no decision without understanding, perfectly, the reasons alleged by both parties. Send us, then, a relation of all that has passed, and teach us what new error has sprung up against the faith, that we may be able, in accordance with the will of the emperor, to put an end to the division—and this we shall be easily enabled to do, since the priest Eutyches has declared that if we should find any thing reprehensible in his doctrine, he was ready to correct it."

Some days after the receipt of the letters of the pope, a new council was held at Constantinople, to revise the first judgment. The emperor wished the patrician Florentin to represent him in this assembly, in order to prevent the hatred of theologians from oppressing innocence; as he learned that his precautions were powerless, he transferred the council to Ephesus.

The pope, and Flavian of Constantinople, who had been reconciled, fearing to lose their influence over the fathers, used their efforts to engage the emperor to countermand his last orders. But all their endeavours were useless. Leo, unwilling to go to Ephesus, contented himself with sending, as his legates, Julius, bishop of Pouzzola; René, a priest of the order of St. Clement; Hilarius, a deacon; and Dulcitus, a notary.

When all the fathers convoked by the emperor were assembled at Ephesus, the opening of the council was fixed for the 8th of August. Dioscorus, the successor of St. Cyril in the government of the church of Alexandria, was named president of the assembly. The sentence of deposition pronounced against Eutyches in the council of Constantinople, was declared null by the fathers; they re-established the venerable abbot at the head of his monastery, and rendered him entire justice, as to the purity of his faith and the sanetity of his morals. His accusers, Flavian, and Eusebius, bishop of Dorylea, were condemned and deposed, despite of the opposition of Hilarius, the deacon of the Roman church, who spoke in the name of the pope; and despite of the efforts of several bishops, who evinced a strong attachment to the interests of Flavian.

After the council, Dioscorus even pronounced a sentence of condemnation against pope Leo, as a punishment for his pride and despotism. The emperor Theodosius confirmed, by an edict, the second council of Ephesus, and prohibited new sees being given to bishops who should sustain the heresy of Nestorius and Flavian.

In the interval, Leo received a letter from the bishops of the province of Viemie, which

advised him of the election of Ravennius to the archbishopric of Arles, which shows that they did not wait for the consent of the holy father to consecrate a bishop, and that they advised him of their elections for the sole purpose of maintaining the bonds of fraternal union.

The pope was still ignorant of what was passing in the East, from whence he had received no news. He wrote then to Flavian, to testify his inquietude. Some time after, the deacon Hilarius, having returned to Rome, advised the holy father of the great outrages which had been committed against his see by the council of Ephesus. Leo, transported with rage, immediately convoked the bishops of Italy to a synod, and, in his turn, excommunicated the fathers of Ephesus; then he wrote several synodical letters against Eutyches, and demanded at once from the emperor authority to preside over a general council.

After the death of Theodosius, the empress Pulcheria, seconding the pontiff in his desire to draw down vengeance on Eutyches and his friends, ordered the patriarch Anatolius, who had been placed in the see of Constantinople in the stead of Flavian, to embrace the party of Rome, and to merit the affection of the pope, if he wished to preserve his bishopric. Anatolius, intimidated by this threat, assembled a council, to which he invited the legates of the pontiff, to take cognizance of the famous letter of Leo to Flavian. The fathers of the new council declared that they entirely approved of its contents. Then Anatolius pronounced an anathema against Nestorius and Eutyches, condemned their doctrine, and by this unjust sentence, merited to be received as the legitimate bishop of Constantinople.

Political affairs were in as deplorable a state as ecclesiastical. The redoubtable Attila, the king of the Huns, after having reduced to ashes the city of Aquileia, and ravaged all the country over which he passed, caused all Italy to tremble. Pavia even, and Milan, those two great cities, could not resist the efforts of his victorious arms, and had become the frightful theatre of all the disorders of war.

This new distress caused the greatest consternation at Rome. The Senate assembled to deliberate whether the emperor should quit Italy, since it appeared to be impossible to defend the capital against the deluge of barbarians who seemed to have inundated the empire. In this extremity, they resolved to try the effect of negotiations, and sent to Attila a pompous embassy, with pope Leo, whose persuasive eloquence they well knew, at its head. The pontiff sallied from the city with an imposing cortège to meet this redoubtable enemy, and when he was near the tent of Attila, he astonished him with the solemn chants of the church, and humbly prostrated himself before the majesty of the barbarian chief; then the conferences commenced. The chronicles relate that the king of the Huns was so struck by this strange spectacle, that he submitted to every thing

Leo demanded, as to orders from Heaven; that he consented to peace, and retired with his armies beyond the Danube. Some historians even add, that the Hunnish chieftains having openly expressed their contempt for their prince, who had honoured the pope by obeying him even as a slave, he, to justify himself affirmed, that he had seen in a dream a venerable old man, holding in his hand a drawn sword, who menaced him with death if he did not conform to the orders of Leo.

This story was formerly found in the Breviary of Paris. During the seventeenth century, one of our most learned archbishops has suppressed it, as well as other grosser fables which it contained. The true motive for the retreat of Attila was the desire of possessing the gold which the pope made to glitter before his eyes; an unpardonable fault for a conqueror at the head of victorious troops, and especially for an Attila, the scourge of God, the enemy of the human race, whose look filled the bravest with fear, and at whose name nations trembled.

Leo, who had disarmed the invincible king of the Huns, could not, nevertheless, conquer Anatolius, the patriarch of Constantinople, who, not having need to preserve any address with him, wished to extend his sway over the Eastern churches, and imitated the pope, who had already made his authority felt in the churches of the West.

In order to humiliate the bishops of Rome, Anatolius favoured the partizans of Eutyches and Dioscorus, and repulsed the friends of the holy father; the latter complained to the emperor Marcian and the empress Pulcheria; but the emperor, who desired to maintain peace in the church, refused to give any satisfaction to either of the two parties, and forced them to feign an official reconciliation.

The pope was charged, during the following year, with an important embassy, which resulted deplorably, and in which his eloquence did not produce a second miracle.

The empress Eudoxia, after the death of Valentinian the Third, had been forced to espouse Maximus, the usurper of the throne and the assassin of her husband. As the princess refused to yield to the desires of this monster, he had the barbarity to order his soldiers to bind her with cords, and to strip from her her garments, that he might be enabled to glut his brutal passion. Eudoxia, outraged by this horrid violence, secretly demanded assistance from the king of the Vandals. Genseric seized upon the pretext, disembarked in Italy, and marched towards Rome, whose gates were opened to him by treason.

St. Leo, seeing his flock exposed to the vengeance of the Arians, cast himself at the feet of the king of the Vandals, and entreated him to spare the holy city. All his endeavours failed before the obstinacy of Genseric; Rome was delivered up to pillage during fourteen days, and the inhabitants had only the liberty of retiring with their families into

three churches, which served for an asylum, and where there was no bloodshed.

The king then returned to his vessels, which were filled with booty, taking with him the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, whom he treated with distinction. This prince was not as cruel as ecclesiastical historians maintain; and the faults with which they reproach him were the inevitable consequences of supreme power. We shall find actions much more condemnable in the lives of monarchs whose memory is venerated in the church.

After the death of the emperor Marcien, the party of Eutyches made great efforts in the East to obtain the protection of his successor, surnamed Macellus; but the pontiff, who had aided by his cabals and intrigues in placing him on the throne, so preserved his credit at court as to repress the enemies of the church, and maintain the authority of the Holy See.

Leo then occupied himself with ruling several points of discipline on the subject of the inhabitants of the city of Aquileia, who had been carried away prisoners by Attila. During their captivity, the faithful had eaten impure food and consented to receive new baptism; others, on their return, had found their wives married. Nicetas, bishop of Aquileia, having consulted St. Leo in cases of conscience, the pope replied in the following decretal:—He orders women who have contracted new unions, in the uncertainty as to the existence of their husbands, to return to them, under pain of excommunication, and excuses the second husbands. He condemns to public penitence those whom fear or hunger had induced to eat unclean food, and orders those who had been re-baptised, to reconcile themselves with the church by the imposition of the hands of the bishop. In another decretal, Leo prohibits virgins from receiving the solemn benediction and the veil until they had been tried to the age of forty. It is believed that it was at his solicitation that the emperor Magorian passed a law against parents forcing their daughters to consecrate themselves to God; the same law blames, severely, widows who, not having children, renounce a second marriage, through libertinage, and not virtue.

The church owes to this holy father the establishment of four solemn fasts during the year, to wit: Lent, Pentecost—the fasts of the seventh and the tenth months. Legends fix at this period the origin of "Rogations," which were first celebrated in Dauphiny, and in the end adopted by the churches of all countries. Mamers, bishop of Vienne, was the inventor of this superstitious practice, which, according to the priests, has the power of bending Divine Justice, arresting earthquakes, fires, and other scourges which desolate nations.

Authors relate a singular anecdote in regard to the custom of kissing the foot of the pope. A woman of remarkable beauty had been admitted, they say, on Easter day

to kiss the hand of the pontiff; when she was near to Leo, his holiness felt the flesh revolting against the spirit, and he desired to possess the beautiful penitent. But, almost immediately after the commission of the crime, repentance took possession of his soul, and he cut off the hand which had caused this mark of weakness. This mutilation preventing the holy father from celebrating mass, the people began to murmur; then Leo addressed fervent prayers to God for the res-

toration of his hand, which was granted him on condition he would change the custom of giving the hand to kiss, and that he would introduce the practice of presenting the feet of the pontiff for the adoration of the faithful. Thus does the legend relate the miracle of the bloody hand!!

St. Leo held his see twenty-one years, and died on the 11th of April, in the year 461, the day fixed in honour of his memory in the church.

## HILARIUS, THE FORTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 461.—LEO THE FIRST, SEVERUS, and ANTHEMIUS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Hilarius—The affair of Hermes, bishop of Beziers—He persecutes St. Mamers—Violence of the pontiff—He extends his sway over Gaul and Spain—Intolerance of the pope—His death—Character of his pontificate.*

HILARIUS was a Sardinian, and the son of Crispinus. Nothing is known of his education, nor of the private acts of his life, before his arrival at the pontificate. History truly speaks of his embassy to the council of Ephesus, where he had been sent by Leo, to sustain the rights of the bishop of Rome.

The old scandal of appeals to Rome was renewed in the first year of his reign. A man named Hermes had, by means of intrigue, been ordained bishop of Beziers, in opposition to the wishes of its inhabitants, who did not want him, on account of the crimes of his past life, which rendered him unworthy of the episcopate; but the new prelate having addressed himself to the court of Rome, the pontiff wrote to Leo of Arles, to obtain from him a report on the morals and conduct of Hermes, in order to interpose his judgment in the affair. Then, without even waiting for the reply of Leo, he assembled a council, and confirmed Hermes in his bishopric, prohibiting him, however, from ordaining priests.

St. Mamers, bishop of Vienne, celebrated through all Gaul for his piety, acquired new glory from a persecution he endured from the pontiff on the following account. An ambitious priest had carried complaints to Rome against Mamers, who, having repelled his pretensions to the bishopric of Dia, had given the see to a venerable old man. In it, he was sustained by Leo of Arles and the synod of the province, who hastened to inform the pope that the act of Mamers was just and equitable; but Hilarius, desirous of augmenting the power which his predecessor had arrogated to himself in Gaul, on this occasion broke through the bounds of equity. He called the act of Mamers an unpardonable outrage; he accused him of pride, presumption, and prevarication; he threatened even to take from him his privileges if he should persevere in the just exercise of his rights; and he even charged bishop Veranus to execute his orders, as the delegate of the Holy See.

Mamers repelled these attacks of the pontiff with dignity and moderation; he refuted the accusations of his enemies, and declared that he would maintain the rights of his church. The cardinal Baronius himself, when speaking of this scandalous dispute, says, "Do not be astonished if the pope acted with too much vehemence against Mamers, a prelate of exemplary piety; for, in contested affairs, every one may be deceived, even although he is the successor of St. Peter; and a like difficulty had before taken place during the reign of St. Leo."

Two important affairs occurred in the same year, (462,) which increased the influence of the Holy See. Sylvanus, bishop of Calahorra, had selected a priest of the church of Tarragona, and had ordained him a bishop, notwithstanding the opposition of his metropolitan. The chiefs of the clergy of the province having assembled in council to decide upon the dispute, could not agree, and they had the weakness to write to the holy father, to ask from him what should be their decision.

The other regarded Nundinarius, bishop of Barcelona, who, when dying, had designated as his successor, Ireneus, who was already the shepherd of another city, and had bequeathed to him all his property. The prelates of the province, in conformity with the will of the deceased, and with the consent of the clergy, the people, and the nobles, consented to the transfer of Ireneus, and bound themselves only to demand for it the confirmation of the pontiff. The ecclesiastics thus committed two great faults, which rendered them dependent on the Holy See, and by their imprudence, furnished the popes with the means of increasing their authority daily.

The new emperor, Anthemius, having come to Rome in the beginning of the year 467, to take possession of the empire, Hilarius feared lest the heresies of the East should be introduced into the church of the West, through the protection of Philotheus, an heretical

Macedonian, and favourite of the prince, who had already permitted all sects to hold assemblies. The pope declared himself opposed to liberty of conscience, and dared even to reproach the emperor before the assembly of the people in the church of St. Peter; he threatened the monarch to excite the provinces against him, unless he engaged, by a solemn oath, to drive all heretics from his states.

Some time after having thus manifested his spirit of intolerance, Hilarius died, in the month of September, 467, and was interred in the grotto of the monastery of St. Lawrence.

Historians affirm, that the pontiff had partaken with the barbarians of the riches obtained from the pillage of Rome by Genseric, and that these treasures enabled him to purchase the Tiara. When he became pope he conformed to the customs of the age, and built magnificent churches, which he enriched with precious vases. His pontificate affords nothing remarkable, if we except the same perseverance in the uniform plan pursued by the bishops of Rome, to weaken the imperial power, and trample down the liberties of the people.

## SIMPLICIUS, THE FORTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 467.—LEO THE FIRST and ZENO, Emperors.]

*Birth of Simplicius—He opposes the wishes of Leo—Troubles in the East—Zeno is driven from the throne—He regains the crown—The pope persecutes the Eutychians—Serious quarrel between Simplicius and the patriarch of Constantinople—Audacity of the pope—His death.*

TIBUR, a city situated in ancient Latium, and now called Tivoli, was the birth place of Simplicius, the son of Castinus.

As soon as the emperor Leo was informed of the election of Simplicius, he wrote to him to congratulate him, and pressed him at the same time to confirm the decree of the council of Chalcedon, which elevated the see of Constantinople to the second rank in the episcopal dignity. Simplicius obstinately opposed the wishes of the prince.

After the death of Leo, Zeno, his successor, mounted the throne. But soon the usurper Basilicus, having produced a revolt among the troops, drove off the new monarch and seized upon the empire of the East. His first act was to re-establish the Eutychian prelates, whom Leo, at the instigation of the pope, had persecuted with great rigour.

Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, alone, among the bishops, refused to obey the orders of the tyrant, and was sustained in his resistance by the priests and people. The holy father at first approved of the conduct of the generous Acacius, but the monks having advised him of the return of Timotheus Eleurus, who endeavoured to excite troubles, in order to re-establish himself in the see of Alexandria, Simplicius was weak enough to write that he advised him to imitate the example of his legate, and rally around the throne of Basilicus, if that prince would exclude Timotheus from the see of Alexandria.

His holiness accused this prelate of partaking of the heresy of an African monk, who, after profound and minute researches as to the authenticity of the coming of the Son of God on the earth, had arrived at this remarkable conclusion: "Jesus has not existed!" In support of his opinion he invoked the silence of Philo, a celebrated Jewish doctor, who wrote at the time at which the mission of

Christ is placed. He proved that in the works of Flavius Josephus, who flourished in the middle of the first century of our era, the passage in which mention is made of Jesus, contains gross interpolations, which did not exist in the time of Origen, that is, in 253, since that father in his book expresses great surprise at the absolute forgetfulness of Jesus by Josephus. He draws also the improbability of the condemnation of the Son of God, whom the evangelist says was judged by Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate, then by Herod, who had no judicial authority in Judea, and was finally condemned and punished by Caiaphas, all in the space of six hours. The learned monk maintained, that even admitting the authenticity of the passage of Josephus, the divinity of Jesus cannot be deduced as a consequence from it; "For," says he, "this historian speaks of the revolt of the Jewish people against Pilate, of the courageous resistance of the chiefs of the insurgents; of their constancy in the midst of punishment. He enumerates at length the names and qualities of Simon and Judas, proclaimed kings during the revolt; of Judas of Galilee, and of Zadoc the Pharisee, founders and chiefs of the patriotic zealots; of James; of Manasses; of Jonathan Thaumaturgus; of Simon the magician, and of Simon Barjona; whilst on the other hand he devotes but a few lines to relating that a person of low order, called Jesus, had announced the destruction of the temple, and the sack of the city of Jerusalem, and says nothing of his doctrine, disciples, miracles, death nor resurrection." The African monk, besides, objected that Justus Tiberius, a contemporary of Flavius, and of the pretended disciples of Christ, had made no mention of the Saviour, nor of his apostles, in his history of the Jews.

The letter of the holy father against Timotheus Eleurus and his protégé, acted power-

fully on the spirit of Acacius, who immediately began to pursue the heretics.

Zeno, profiting by the disorders which the orthodox and the Eutychians fomented in the provinces of the empire, returned to Constantinople at the head of an army, drove away in his turn the usurper, and remounted the throne. Acacius hastened to send to the holy father an account of this counter-revolution, and of all the efforts of the heretics to again seize upon their influence. He asked from him, at the same time, a plan of conduct. Simplicius, changing his opinion with an astonishing versatility, replied that it was no longer from Basilicus, but from Zeno, from whom, under God, they must expect aid to the church; and he urged him to beseech the prince to publish an ordinance, exiling the bishops whom Timotheus Eleurus had ordained. The emperor, fearing to excite the wrath of the bishops of Rome, of whose assistance he had need, to maintain himself upon the throne, yielded to his wishes, and persecuted the Eutychians with the greatest violence.

The see of Alexandria having become vacant by the death of Timotheus, the priests nominated as his successor, John Talaia, with-

out even waiting for the permission of the emperor. Zeno, irritated by their boldness, drove away the new prelate who, in order to avenge himself, appealed to the pope. But the formidable influence of Rome was already beginning to diminish in the East, and the holy father wishing to reprimand the patriarch of Constantinople on this subject, received simply for answer, that the Orientals did not recognize John Talaia as bishop of Alexandria, because it was not agreeable to them to do so.

The affairs of the East occupied much of the pontiff's attention, nevertheless, he did not neglect those of the West, as appears from the reprimand which he addressed to John, metropolitan of Ravenna, who had ordained Gregory, bishop of a church without his consent. Of his own authority he transferred the new prelate into the diocese of Modena, and freed him from dependence on the archbishop.

This apostolic boldness gave great disquietude to John of Ravenna and the patriarch Acacius, who were fearful of creating new disorders in the church. Soon, however, all their fears ceased, from the death of the pontiff, which took place in the beginning of the year 483.

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## FELIX THE THIRD, FIFTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 483.—ZENO, Emperor.]

*Birth and marriage of the priest Felix—His election—He pursues the policy of his predecessor—Maintains the pretensions of John Talaia—His legates are arrested—Condemnation of the legates—The patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated—Insolence of the monks—State of the church in Africa—Death of Acacius—Deceit of Flavita—Euphemius, patriarch of Constantinople—Death of the emperor Zeno—Rashness of Euphemius—Death of Felix.*

CELIUS FELIX was a Roman of senatorial family. His father, a venerable priest of the order of Fasciola, had caused him to embrace the ecclesiastical state, though he was married and had children. After the death of Simplicius, the clergy assembled with the magistrates in the church of St. Peter; they proceeded to the election of a pope, and Felix received all the votes.

The new pontiff embraced the views of his predecessor on the affairs of the East, and profited by the sojourn of John Talaia in Rome to learn the secret plots of the patriarch. John, who desired vengeance on his enemies, exaggerated his wrongs and the bad faith of Acacius. He accused him of secretly protecting Peter Mongus, and irritated the pride of the pontiff, by representing to him that the letters of Simplicius had produced no effect in Constantinople. He added, that it would be a great disgrace to the Holy See, if they thus continued to brave, in the East, the authority of Rome.

The pontiff, following his councils, sent ambassadors to Zeno, to beseech him to drive away Peter Mongus as a heretic, and to send

Acacius to Rome, to reply to the accusations preferred against him by John in his memorial to the Holy See. But the legates Vitalus and Misenus, on arriving at the city of Abydos, were arrested by the orders of the emperor. Their papers were taken from them, and they were thrown into prison. Zeno even threatened them with death if they persisted in their refusal to communicate with Acacius and Peter Mongus. They remained unshaken; for violence increases courage and intrepidity, and it is the nature of man to resist obstacles.

Nevertheless, the legates, who had resisted threats, were seduced by caresses and presents, and declared their willingness to communicate with the patriarch if they were set at liberty. They were then taken from prison and embarked for Constantinople, where they performed their promise, by recognizing Peter Mongus as the legitimate bishop of Alexandria.

The ambassadors then returned to Rome, charged with letters from the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople. Felix, irritated against them on account of their cowardly submission to his enemies, refused to receive

them, and convoked a council to judge them. They were convicted of having communicated with the heretics of the East, and for having done so, were condemned to deposition, and excommunicated.

In the same synod Peter Mongus was a second time declared an heretic and prevaricator. It was, however, judged prudent to deal cautiously with the patriarch, and Felix contented himself with writing to him in the name of the council, to persuade him to ask pardon for his past conduct. Acacius replied with spirit, that he would not humble himself before the Holy See, and that he would perform no act of submission. The pontiff then pronounced against him a terrible sentence, which deprived him of the honour of the priesthood, and declared him excommunicated, and beyond human power to be absolved from the anathema.

The bull of excommunication was carried to Constantinople by an old clergyman of the Roman church, named Tutus, by whom the pope sent at the same time two letters, one for the emperor, the other addressed to the clergy and people of Constantinople. Felix complained of the violence shown his legates, in contempt of the rights of nations, which were respected by the most barbarous people. He then declared that the Holy See could never communicate with Peter of Alexandria, who had been ordained by heretics; he finished by threatening the emperor, and invited him to choose between the communion of the apostle St. Peter, and that of Peter of Alexandria.

The lofty pretensions of the pontiff were treated with scorn at Constantinople; Acacius even refused to receive the letters addressed to him. Some mischief-making monks, alone, had the boldness to attach the anathema of the holy father to their cloaks during divine service; but the justice of the prince repressed their insolence, and their heads fell under the axe of the executioner. The ambassador, after having acquitted himself of his mission, imitated the first legates. He allowed himself to be seduced by offers of money, and communicated with the enemies of Rome. The holy pontiff, on the news of this defection, transported with fury, launched forth three anathemas: one against Tutus, the other two against Acacius and the emperor. All his thunders did not, however, hinder the patriarch of Constantinople from continuing to exercise his ministry, and from suppressing the name of Felix in the sacred registers.

The church in Africa was also agitated by violent religious quarrels. Huneric, who ruled its provinces, professed Arianism, and persecuted the orthodox by way of reprisal. After the death of that prince, Gonthamond, his successor, treated with more lenity the faithful who adhered to the Nicean faith. The pope then convoked a council of thirty-eight bishops, to regulate the discipline which the African prelates should pursue in regard to apostate priests, and to the faithful who had been baptized anew. The fathers declared

that there was a great difference between those who had been baptized of their own accord by heretics, and those who had suffered it through constraint. They condemned the first to perform penance, and to submit to religious practices, in order to show the sincerity of their repentance; they ordered the second to make a public profession. They exhibited more severity towards the bishops, priests, and deacons who had accepted Arian baptism. They condemned them to remain in penitence during the rest of their lives, separate from ecclesiastical assemblies, and excluded from the prayers of the church, granting them, as the only grace, laical communion when at the point of death.

The council inflicted twelve years of penitence on the clerks, monks, and virgins dedicated to God, who had ranged themselves on the side of the heretics; three years in the ranks of hearers, seven in that of penitents, and two years of consistence, permitting their pastors, nevertheless, to aid them if in danger of death. The last article concerns the young, whose age might excuse their apostacy. The fathers ordered the bishops to lay their hands on them, without subjecting them to penitence, and prohibited priests from receiving to their communion clerks or laymen from another diocese, unless they presented testimonial letters from their bishop or pastor.

Acacius died during the year 849, and the emperor elevated to the see of Constantinople a priest named Flavita, who, desirous of being on good terms with the pope, and Peter of Alexandria, wrote at the same time to both the bishops, that he would accept no communion but theirs. His knavery was soon discovered, and Felix drove away his deputies in disgrace. A few days after, Flavita drew his last breath, in the midst of sufferings, caused, according to some, by poison, and according to others, produced by an unknown malady. He had held the patriarchal see but four months.

Euphemius, his successor, desirous of re-establishing peace in the church, consented to erase the name of Peter of Alexandria from the sacred registers, and replaced that of the bishops of Rome; after which he sent deputies to the pontiff to request his communion. Felix repelled his advances, because the patriarch wished to preserve in the registers the names of Acacius and Flavita; and his obstinacy retarded still longer the reunion of the churches of the East and the West.

After the death of Zeno, a prince named Anastasius, devout even to superstition, mounted the throne. At Constantinople, as well as at Rome, the boldness of the clergy had so augmented by the weakness of the emperors, that the patriarch dared accuse Anastasius, before an assembly of the people, of being an heretic unworthy to command Christians, and refused to crown him, until the prince had given his profession of faith in writing, and had engaged himself by a solemn oath to change nothing in religion.

Pope Felix wrote to the emperor to felicitate him on his elevation to the throne, and to assure him of his respect and obedience. But he had not the satisfaction of seeing in the affairs of the church the change which he desired. He died on the 25th of February,

492, after a pontificate of nine years. An insupportable pride, and a spirit constantly in revolt against the authority of the emperors were the principal traits in the character of Felix, now honoured by the church as among its saints.

## GELASIUS, THE FIFTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 492.—ANASTASIUS, Emperor.]

*Birth and election of Gelasius—His reply to Euphemius—The rigour of the pope causes a schism—Letter from Gelasius to Honorius, against the Pelagians—He elevates the sacerdotal above the princely power—Decretals of the pope—Festivals in honour of Pan, at Rome—Persecution of the Manicheans—Death of the pope.*

GELASIUS was an African by birth; the Roman clergy and people elevated him to the Holy See, some days after the death of Felix.

As soon as the patriarch Euphemius heard of this election, he wrote to Gelasius to complain that he had not been advised of his ordination, according to established usage. He sent him at the same time his profession of faith.

The pope replied to Euphemius: "It is true that ancient usage ordered our fathers who were united in communion, to advise their colleagues of their ordination; but why have you preferred the society of strangers to that of St. Peter? You say that I ought to use condescendence towards you. But if we should raise up the fallen, we are not commanded to precipitate ourselves with them into eternal fire. You condemn Eutyches and you defend Acacius. You demand in what council Acacius was condemned, as if a particular condemnation were needed to reject from the church a Catholic who communes with people soiled with heresy." At last Gelasius terminates his letter by declaring to Euphemius that his reply is not a mark of communion, and that he writes to him as to a stranger.

The intolerance of the holy father produced the effect which must always attend extreme measures; it augmented the evil. The patriarch, persuaded that there would be injustice, and even harshness, in the condemnation of Acacius, refused to submit to the orders of the pope; and the first two sees of Christianity remained separated in communion some years longer.

Gelasius persisted in an invincible obstinacy on the subject of Acacius. The smallest concession could easily have restored peace to the church; but he preferred seeing trouble and disunion among the faithful, rather than abandon his unjust pretensions.

The pope then learning that Pelagianism was reappearing in Dalmatia, wrote to a bishop of that country named Honorius, that he should caution his brethren to separate themselves from those who were infected with the heresy. The prelate fiercely replied, that he was astonished at the excess of his zeal for the churches of Dalmatia, and that there

was no need of recalling them to their duty to watch over the progress of the schism.

Gelasius, recalled to sentiments of humility by the vigour of Honorius, replied that the Holy See had a care over all the churches of the world, to preserve the purity of the faith, and that he had no intention of imposing his will on the bishops of Dalmatia.

Thus the ambition of the pope exposed him a second time to severe reproaches from strange prelates. Soon, however, the heretics whom he sought out to combat with in distant countries, rose up under his very eyes in Picenum. An old man named Seneca taught Pelagianism, and drew to his side a great number of priests, and even some bishops. The pope then wrote to the prelates of Picenum, to arrest the progress of the heresy, and sent them a treatise against the Pelagians, with the view of combatting the doctrine which they preached, and of demonstrating to the faithful that man could not live sinless.

Some months after, the ambassadors whom king Theoderic had sent to the East, came to Rome on their return from their mission: they engaged the pontiff to write to the emperor Anastasius, who complained that he had not been yet apprised of his ordination.

Gelasius, not daring to disobey the deputies of Theoderic, wrote a long letter to the emperor of the East, in which he showed to what a degree of audacity the Roman pontiff had already arrived: "There are two powers," said he, "who have sovereign rule over the world; the spiritual and the temporal authority; the sacred authority of the bishops is so much the greater, as on the day of judgment they must render an account of the actions of kings. You know, magnanimous emperor, that your dignity surpasses that of other princes of the earth; nevertheless you are obliged to submit to the power of the ministers in sacred things, for it is to them you address yourself to know what are the sources of your safety, and the rules which you ought to follow in receiving the sacraments, and in disposing of religious things.

"The bishops persuade the people that God has given you a sovereign power over

temporal things, and they cause them to submit to your laws. In return you should obey, with entire submission, those who are destined to distribute to you the holy sacraments. If the faithful ought blindly to follow the orders of bishops who acquit themselves worthily in their functions, so much the more ought they to receive the decree of the pontiff of Rome, whom God has established as the first of his bishops, and whom the church has always recognized as its supreme chief."

This letter, a master-piece of pride, hypocrisy, and impudence, is a lesson for those who shall meditate on the causes of the tyranny of priests and kings.

Gelasius, always pushed on by his ambition, wished to extend his authority over all Christian countries, and convoked at Rome a council of seventy bishops, to establish, as is alleged, the distinction between the authentic books and the apocryphal books. The Protestants deny the existence of the pretended decree, which was rendered in this council: "At least," says one of their famous authors, "it was not known until the middle of the ninth century, and we are surprised to see that in this decree of Gelasius, there is no mention made of but one book of Esdras, and one book of the Maccabees. In many manuscripts, the book of Job even, has been omitted; and in others, the two books of the Maccabees have been entirely suppressed." Fleury, who has written at length upon this decree, has been compelled to speak of these contradictions, to afford a proof of his fidelity and correctness.

John, bishop of Ravenna, having advised the pope of the deplorable state in which many churches of Italy were, who were destitute of pastors, Gelasius wrote to the prelates of Lucania, to the bishops of the Bruttians, and to those of Sicily, authorizing them to confer the sacred orders on monks who had not committed crimes, or who had not been twice married.

The holy father recommends not to admit laymen into the ranks of the clergy, until after they have been examined with the greatest care, in order that they should not bestow the sacred orders on vicious men. He prohibits bishops from dedicating newly built churches, without permission from the Holy See, and forbids them from exacting from the faithful, pay, for conferring baptism or confirmation, and especially from not demanding money from heretics newly converted.

Gelasius also recommends to priests not to exalt themselves above their rank; not to bless the holy oil; not to confirm, and not to discharge any sacred function in the presence of a bishop. He reminds them that they should not sit down, or celebrate mass in the presence of a bishop, without his permission; and that priests could not ordain sub-deacons. He proscribed, also, to the deacons, to keep themselves within the bounds of their ministry, prohibiting them from discharging the functions appertaining to priests, or even from baptizing, but in cases of necessity. He adds,

that deacons, not being of the rank of priests, ought not to distribute to the faithful the consecrated bread and wine.

The holy father prohibited from baptizing, except during the festival of Easter, and at Pentecost, unless he on whom the baptism was to be conferred should be in danger of dying. He wished virgins to take the veil on the day of the Epiphany, at Easter, or at the festival of the apostles. He regards widows as unworthy of being consecrated to Jesus Christ, and refuses them admission into monasteries.

He condemns ecclesiastics ordained for money to be driven from the ranks of the clergy, and submits to public penitence, for the rest of their lives, those who had been convicted of entertaining criminal connection with the virgins consecrated to God.

The pontiff does not impose any penance on widows who had married after having made a profession of celibacy; but desires that they should be publicly reproached with the fault they had committed. In conclusion, he blames severely the custom which existed in the churches, of having the mass served by females.

The pontiff also treats of the question of the property of the church. He orders it to be divided into four parts: one for the bishop, one for the priests, one for the poor, and one for the building; prohibiting the bishop from diminishing at all the part reserved for the clergy, or the clergy from taking any of that of the bishops. "The prelate," says he, "ought faithfully to employ the part destined for the building of the church, without turning any of it to his own profit. In regard to the portion of the poor, he will one day render an account to God, if he has not faithfully performed his duties upon earth."

This decretal appears to have been the result of the last council of which we have spoken. The pope then wrote to the bishops of Dardania, to convince them that the judgment of the Holy See against the famous patriarch of Constantinople, was a confirmation of the council of Chalcedon; and the fathers having condemned the Eutychians, had consequently excommunicated, through future ages, those who favoured these heretics.

We would relate among the honourable actions of the pontiff, his courageous opposition to the senators of Rome, who wished to re-establish the infamous fete of the Lupercals, during which the priests of the god Pan ran naked through the city, striking with thongs of goat skin, women who pressed forward to meet them, believing that these blows would render them fruitful. Gelasius prohibited a superstition so criminal from being renewed in the midst of Christianity; and as the Romans attributed the public misfortunes and the maladies which desolated the city, to the suppression of the fete, he wrote a work, to show them the ridiculous nature of the fanaticism. This writing still exists, under the title of "A discourse against Andromache."





*Lith. of Wagner & M<sup>o</sup> Szigany, Philad<sup>a</sup>*

Clotaire I<sup>st</sup>. King of the Franks.

But the people still murmured for the re-establishment of this old pagan custom: then Gelasius determined to replace it by the fete of the Purification of the Holy Virgin. This opinion has prevailed in the church, though it does not appear to be founded on very authentic chronicles.

It is however certain, that Gelasius introduced new fetes into the church, and regulated the liturgy, divine service, and all that relates to exterior worship. He included all these rules in a book, known to us as the *Old Sacramentarium*. This work was published at Rome, in 1680, from a copy of more than nine hundred years old, which had been saved from the monastery of St. Benedict, on the Loire, after its pillage, which took place in 1562, during the religious wars. This manuscript afterwards belonged to Paul Petan, counsellor of the parliament of Paris, before it passed into the possession of the celebrated Christina, queen of Sweden.

The pontiff discovered Manicheans still in Rome. Guided by a pernicious policy, he

burned their books before the church of St. Mary; and to prevent these dangerous heretics from avoiding the penalties inflicted upon them by the imperial laws, he published a decree, in which he ordered all the faithful to commune in the two kinds, anathematizing as sacrilegious those who had the temerity to wish to reform the symbol of the death of Jesus Christ. At this period, the communion in both kinds was regarded as rightfully (Roman), though cardinals Baronius and Bossa have wished to establish a contrary opinion.

Gelasius at length died, in the midst of his apostolical labours, on the 8th of September, 496, after having occupied the see four years and eight months. This pontiff, gifted with a subtle mind, knew how to strengthen his authority. The style of his works is obscure, but they show that he understood perfectly the customs and usages of the church of Rome. He loved order and discipline, and joined prudence to firmness; but his excessive ambition is liable to reproach.

## ANASTASIUS THE SECOND, FIFTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 496.—ANASTASIUS, Emperor.]

*Election of Anastasius—He writes to the emperor on the reunion of the churches—Receives to his communion a partizan of Acacius—Bad faith of cardinal Baronius—Political conversion of Clovis, king of France—Singular death of Anastasius—His moderation—Eulogium on his character.*

AFTER the death of Gelasius, the clergy and people of Rome chose Anastasius the Second, a Roman by birth, and the son of Peter, to govern the church. The new pontiff, animated by laudable intentions, endeavoured to put an end to the schism which separated the East from the West. He wrote to the emperor Anastasius, beseeching him to procure peace for the churches, and declaring that he recognized the validity of the ordinations performed by Acacius, and of the baptisms which he had administered. This letter was sent by two bishops, who accompanied the patrician Faustus, a deputy from Rome, going to Constantinople on public business. The pope then received to his communion Photius, deacon of Thessalonica, a zealous partizan of Acacius. This act of toleration excited murmurs among the false devotees of the clergy, and a great number of priests and bishops separated themselves from the communion of Anastasius.

Cardinal Baronius and several ecclesiastical historians, have endeavoured to place this fact in doubt, by altering the truth. These adorers of the Roman purple regard an act of toleration as a blemish on the Holy See, and prefer that the memory of a pontiff should descend to posterity laden with an accusation of cruelty, rather than avow his serious intention of putting an end to difficulties which fomented an interminable schism.

During the sojourn of the legates at Constantinople, two monks came from the bishop of Alexandria to present a memorial to obtain the communion of the pope. They maintained that the division between the two churches had been caused by a faulty translation of a letter from St. Leo to Flavian, and in order to show their orthodoxy, they inserted a profession of faith, in which they declared that they received the decrees of the first three councils, and condemned Eutyches as well as Nestorius. But they made no mention of the council of Chalcedon, and maintained that Dioscorus, Timothy, and Peter had no other creed than their's. They refused steadily to erase the names of those bishops who were odious to the clergy of Rome. This refusal prevented the reunion of the churches, and afforded a new proof that the hatred of priests is implacable, and that the ministers of a God of peace never forgive those who oppose their ambitious projects.

An important event soon fixed the attention of the pope and of the Western church. Clovis, king of the Franks, became a convert to Christianity. The ceremony of his baptism was performed at Rheims, with all the pomp and magnificence which the wary St. Remi knew how to display before the astonished eyes of the hordes who accompanied his Neoplyte. The streets were tapestried with rich hang-

ings; the church was lit by the brilliant glare of several thousand perfumed tapers, and the baptistery filled with aromatic perfumes, exhaled the most delicious odours. Young virgins and beautiful youths, crowned with flowers, carried the Sacred Writings, the cross, and the banners, whilst the prelate, holding Clovis by the hand, entered the sanctuary, followed by queen Clotilda and the leaders of the Frank army. At the moment when St. Remi poured the consecrated water on the head of the new Christian, he pronounced these words, "Bow thy head proud Sicamber; henceforth thou shalt adore that which thou deliverest to the flames, and shall burn that which thou adorest." In imitation of the Jews, the bishop anointed the forehead of Clovis with an odoriferous oil, which he said was brought to him by a white dove. This pious knavery of the holy oil is due to the celebrated Hincmar of Rheims. He first exhibited the holy phial for the adoration of the faithful, which was nothing more or less than a lachrymatory, which is frequently found among the Roman tombs, and which appears to have contained the balm which they used in their expiatory ceremonies to sprinkle the ashes of the dead. Three thousand of his warriors were baptized with Clovis and his sisters Albofede and Laudechilda.

After the ceremony, the chief of the Franks gave to the bishop of Rheims many domains, situated in the provinces of Gaul, which he came to conquer. Many Armorican cities, in consequence of the agreement between the Frank king and the prelate, consented to submit to the authority of the new Christian, and so augmented his forces, that he found himself in a situation to combat the Burgundians and the Visigoths.

This conversion resembled, in its circumstances and political reasons, that of Constantine. The holy father hastened to write to Clovis, to felicitate him on the grace which God had granted to him, in allowing the light of the faith to shine on him.

The negotiations of the patrician Faustus were terminated at Constantinople, the legates engaging, in the name of the pope, to subscribe to the Henoticon of Zeno, and received from the emperor of the East a promise of the reunion of the two sees. But on their return to Rome they learned that Anastasius had died during the month of March, 498, after having filled the Holy See a year and some months.

Some sacred historians affirm, that God had caused him to die suddenly, as a punishment for having received Photius to his communion. Others maintain that his death was shocking, and that his entrails came out, whilst he was obeying a law of nature. In all points of view, we reject the sentiments of the ultra-montanes, who regard the death of this pontiff as a chastisement from Divine Justice; for it is most probable he was poisoned by the priests, whose intolerant passions he repressed. If Anastasius had lived some years longer, he would have repaired the evils which his predecessors, through their excessive rigour, had inflicted on the church. The pontiff loved peace, administered his affairs with an enlightened zeal, and his letters are full of moral thoughts and judicious applications of passages from the Scriptures. He was interred in the church of St. Peter's.

After his death discords broke out in the see of Rome, and disturbances recommenced among the faithful.

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## SYMMACHUS, THE FIFTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 498.—ANASTASIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Ambition of the clergy—Symmachus and Lawrence are chosen popes—Violent seditions in Rome—Judgment of king Theodoric—Holy virgins violated and murdered—Council at Rome to hear the accusations against Symmachus—His pretensions—He presents himself to the council—Is acquitted without examination—The senators Festus and Probinus appeal to the people against the judgment—Quarrel between Symmachus and the emperor Anastasius—State of the Eastern church—The Orientals implore the aid of the pope—They are repelled—Death of Symmachus—His character.*

THE frightful confusion of political affairs and public calamities, did not arrest the ambition of the clergy, so ardent is this passion among them.

Priests already could not arrive at the sovereign pontificate but by intrigue, audacity, or bribery. To obtain the tiara, they put in peril the reigning pontiffs, or poisoned them themselves, when they were employed about their persons. They did not fear to employ deceit, murder, treason, and perjury to obtain their wishes.

A schism, whose author was the patrician

Festus, broke out after the death of Anastasius. That generous citizen, animated by a love for the public good, wished to re-establish peace between the churches of the East and the West, and caused Lawrence, who had agreed to subscribe to the Henoticon of Zeno, to be elected bishop of Rome. Unfortunately, the greater part of the clergy declared against his protégé, and chose the deacon Symmachus, the son of Fortunatus, born in Sardinia.

Both were ordained popes on the same day: Symmachus in the church of Constantinople; Lawrence in that of St. Mary. The senate

and the people took part according to their caprice or their interest, and the result was a violent sedition, during which all the horrors of civil and religious war were displayed in Rome.

To put an end to the schism, the chief citizens compelled the two rivals to go to Ravenna, to submit to the judgment of king Theodoric.

The prince decided that the Holy See should appertain to him who was first ordained, and from the information given him, he elevated Symmachus to the pontificate, and excluded Lawrence. The first care of the new pope was to remedy the evils in the church. He assembled a council of seventy-two bishops, who held their first session on the first day of March, in the year 499, and he proposed to them to take steps to prevent the intrigues of the bishops and the popular tumults which took place on the ordination of pontiffs.

After acclamation several times repeated, he caused the decrees rendered by the fathers, to be read by the notary Emilianus. The first was as follows: "If any priest, deacon or clerk, during the life of a pope, and without his participation, dares to give his signature, to promise his suffrage in writing or by oath, or to deliberate on this subject in an assembly, he shall be deposed or excommunicated." The second was: "If any pope dies suddenly, without having provided for the election of his successor, he who shall have the suffrages of all the clergy, or of the greater number, shall be the only legitimately consecrated bishop." The third: "If any one discovers the intrigues which we condemn, and proves them, not only shall he be absolved as an accomplice, but he shall be magnificently recompensed."

The council evidenced its consent by new acclamations; the pope and seventy-two bishops subscribed them, as well as sixty-seven priests, of whom the first was Celius Lawrence, arch-priest of the order of St. Praxedes, the same who had been elected anti-pope, and who, in the end, obtained the bishopric of Nocera.

The disorders, however, continued in Rome: houses were pillaged, citizens murdered under a pretext of religion, and for the glory of the church; the holy virgins themselves were even violated and murdered.

Lawrence was recalled to the city, under favour of this confusion, and his presence augmenting the fury of the two parties, they were compelled again to have recourse to king Theodoric. Festus and Probinus besought the prince to send to them a visiting bishop, as if the Holy See were vacant.

Theodoric charged Peter, bishop of Altinum, with this important mission, with orders, that on his arrival at Rome, he should go at once to the church of St. Peter, to salute pope Symmachus, and demand that his accusers should be produced, that they might be interrogated by the prelate, but without being put to the torture. The bishop of Altinum did not obey his orders; he refused to see the pontiff, and joined himself to the schismatics. The Ca-

tholics, indignant at the conduct of the visiting bishop, wished to drive him from the city, regarding his nomination as a violation of the canons of the church.

The prince, then obliged himself to come to Rome to re-establish tranquillity, ordered the convocation of a council to examine the accusations against Symmachus.

In obedience to his orders, the bishops of various provinces of the empire, came to the capital of Italy; but some, incited by Symmachus, dared to address remonstrances to the monarch. They accused him of having troubled the order of ecclesiastical discipline, by assembling the bishops. They represented to him that the pope alone had power to convoke councils by his primacy of jurisdiction, transmitted from St. Peter and recognized by the authority of the fathers of the church, and that it was unexampled, that a pontiff should be submitted to the judgment of his inferiors!

Already did the tyranny of the clergy weigh heavily upon people and kings; and Theodoric by his weakness, rendered still more formidable the power of the bishops of Rome.

The bishops of Italy, assembled in council in the church of Julius, abstained from openly visiting Symmachus, in order not to render themselves suspected; but they always made mention of him in their public prayers, to show that they were in his communion. The pope demanded from the fathers, that they should cause the visiting bishop to withdraw, called in contrary to the rules by a part of the clergy and principal citizens, and that all the treasures which he had lost should be restored to him. Theodoric refused his demands, ordering that Symmachus should first reply to his accusers, and transferred the sittings of the council to the church of the palace of Sessorius.

Several bishops, from a desire to do justice, proposed receiving the declaration of his accusers; but their opinion was rejected as derogatory to the dignity of the Holy See, and under the pretext that two essential defects had been discovered in it. Symmachus, reassured of the dispositions of the prelates whom he had gained to his side by promises or money, went to the council, followed by a numerous crowd of partizans. Then the enemies of the pope, despairing of obtaining an equitable judgment, and rendered furious by his bold attitude, hurled a shower of stones at the priests who accompanied him, and would have massacred them, if the tumult had not been arrested by the troops of the king, who charged upon the rebels. The partizans of Symmachus, using reprisals in their turn, spread themselves through the city, forced the gates of convents, massacred priests and monks, drew from their retreats the sacred virgins, and caused them to pass through the streets, despoiled of their clothing, entirely naked, and striking them with rods.

The holy father was then cited four times to appear before the council; but he excused himself by alleging the dangers to which he would be exposed, should he quit the church

of St. Peter, where he had taken refuge; and the fathers declared they could not condemn an absent man, nor judge as contumacious one who was willing to appear before their tribunal.

Thus was declared innocent of the accusation of adultery, this pope, who had dared to present himself in the council chamber with a strong retinue, composed of ruffians, who had already committed so many acts of violence and murders. This execrable judgment, rendered by priests proud of their power, was conceived in these terms: "We declare Symmachus freed from the accusations brought against him, leaving all to the judgment of God.

"We ordain that he shall administer the holy mysteries in all the churches dependant on his see; and we restore to him, in virtue of orders from the prince, all that belongs to the church, within or without Rome. We exhort all the faithful to receive from him the holy communion, under the penalty of rendering an account to God.

"The clergy who have brought about the schism, by giving satisfaction to the pope, will obtain pardon, and will be reinstated in their functions; but, after this sentence, those who shall dare to celebrate mass in any of the Roman churches, without the consent of Symmachus, shall be punished as schismatics."

This decree was subscribed by seventy-two bishops; but many others, persuaded that the pope, not having justified himself, could not be absolved from the crimes imputed to him, refused to sign it. The first preferred to shun a scandal by rendering a judgment contrary to their consciences, in order that the Arians and other adversaries of the church should not have such powerful motives for condemning the Catholics. The cardinal Baronius himself says, that the fathers of the council "desired to bury in profound silence the marks of infamy with which the enemies of the pontiff desired to tarnish him."

This edict, however, proves that at this period the bishops of Rome still recognized the authority of kings; that they addressed themselves to them to obtain permission to assemble national councils; that they presented themselves before other bishops to justify themselves from crimes of which they were accused, and that they submitted to their judgment.

The people having refused to submit to the decision of the council, the friends of Lawrence attacked the validity of the decree. Symmachus despairing then of being enabled to appease the troubles which were becoming still more violent, assembled a new synod. Eighty bishops, thirty-seven priests, and four deacons composed this assembly; the deacon Ennodius, one of the most pitiful flatterers of the see of Rome, charged with refuting the accusations of the followers of Lawrence, acquitted himself of this duty as a true slave of the pope, and concluded his harangue by pronouncing him the most virtuous, the purest, and the holiest of men. This writing, which

has been preserved, is a tissue of the most outrageous flatteries, and of false or ridiculous principles. It resembles the apologetic verses of famished poets, who exalt the virtues of the princes who sustain them.

Won by the subtle dialectics of the deacon Ennodius, and by motives of interest still more powerful than eloquence, the synod of Rome gave a second decree in favour of Symmachus. This assembly was composed of prelates entirely devoted to the Holy See, from which they received, alternately, injuries or benefits, according to their conduct towards its pontiffs.

The emperor Anastasius protested against the judgment of the council, and accused the holy father of many crimes, in a libel which he circulated throughout Italy.

Symmachus refuted these accusations in an apostolical letter, in which he declares to the emperor, that the interest of his dignity obliging him to put an end to the scandal, he will reply in a brief essay to the injuries they have heaped upon him. He takes all the city of Rome to witness, that he is not infected with Manicheism, and that he has never departed from the faith of the Holy See; he accuses the prince of being himself an Eutychian, or at least of favouring the partisans of Eutyches, and of communing with them. He treats as an audacious revolt the contempt which Anastasius evidenced for a successor of St. Peter, and pushed his insolence so far as to maintain that his chair was more elevated than all the thrones of the universe. "Compare," said he, "the dignity of a bishop with that of an emperor. There exists between them the same difference as between the riches of the earth which a sovereign administers, and the treasure of heaven, of which we are the dispensers. You receive baptism from a bishop; he administers to you the sacraments; you ask for his prayers, you wait for his benediction, and you address yourself to him to submit yourself to penitence. In fine, princes govern the affairs of men, and we dispose of the goods of heaven. You see, my lord, that our dignity is superior to all the grandeur of earth."

He finishes his letter by these threats against the emperor: "If you shall be able to prove the accusations against me, you will be enabled to obtain my deposition. But do you not equally fear you will lose your crown, if you cannot convict me? Recollect that you are but a man, and that this cause will be discussed before God. It is true that a priest should respect the powerful of the earth, but not those who demand things contrary to the law of the church. Respect God in us, and we will respect him in you. If you have no regard for our person, how can you strengthen your will over the people, and avail yourself of the privileges of a religion whose laws you despise? You accuse me of having conspired with the senate to excommunicate you. Have I not then, in that, followed the example of my predecessors? It is not you, my lord, we anathematize; it is Acacius. Separate your-

self from him, and you will also separate yourself from his excommunication; otherwise it is not we who will condemn you—but yourself.”

Symmachus then complained of the persecution which the emperor caused the Catholics to suffer, prohibiting them from the free exercise of their religion, and tolerating all heresies. “Although we should be in error, our worship should be tolerated as well as that of all others; or if you attack us, you should attack all the heresies.” Finally he exhorts the prince to reunite himself to the Holy See, and to separate himself from the enemies of truth and the church.

The exploits of Clovis, in Gaul, had so increased the reputation of the warriors of the Franks, that the emperor Anastasius wished to make a treaty of alliance with this new conqueror, and had sent him, for this purpose, ambassadors, charged with rich presents, among which was a magnificent crown of gold, enriched with precious stones, which the king of the Franks sent to the pontiff to be deposited in the church of St. Peter, at Rome.

This kind of liberality has been in the end the source of intolerable abuse, and Philip Commines, who was wanting in neither piety nor religion, but who had great experience in political affairs, strongly condemns the munificence of kings towards priests. He thus expresses himself when speaking of Louis the Eleventh: “The gracious monarch gave much to priests during his life; and in this he had better have done less; for he took from the poor to give to those who had no need of it.” Princes should drink in these words of sage advice, and not enrich an insatiable clergy by ruining the people.

The church of the East was always in trouble and confusion. The Catholics exercised against the heretics all the cruelties which vengeance inspires. These, in their turn, sustained by the emperor Anastasius, pursued their adversaries with fury. The monasteries became the theatres of the most cruel wars, of which zeal for religion served as a pretext, and of which ambition, or the vengeance of the priests was the true motive.

The following passage from Juvenal describes perfectly the situation of affairs in the East: “The citizens of the city of Omba, and those of Teutyris, have been for a great number of years irreconcilable enemies. They have never been willing to form alliances; their hatred is inveterate, immortal;

and this incurable wound is yet more bloody to-day. These people are animated by an extreme fury, the one against the other, because the Ombians adore a God, whom the Tentyrians execrate. Each maintains, that the divinity they respect is the true and only one.” The hatred of the Orientals, as ridiculous in its motives, and as ill founded as that of Omba and Teutyris, drew a deluge of calamities upon the church of Constantinople.

At length the Orientals implored the aid of Symmachus, in an epistle, which, according to ancient usage, they addressed to Rome and the bishops of the West. They demanded to be reunited in communion with the Holy See, and not to be punished for the faults of Aecius, since they accepted the letter of St. Leo and the council of Chalcedon: “Do not reject us,” they wrote, “under the pretext that we commune with your adversaries, for our prelates are less attached to life, than tormented by the fear of leaving their flocks a prey to heretics. Those who have approved of the conduct of our patriarch, and those who are separate from his communion, wait for your succour next to that of God, and beseech you to render to the East the light which you yourselves originally received from it. The evil is so great that we cannot go to seek the remedy, and you must come to us.”

Then, in order to show that they are Catholics, they finish by an exposition of their doctrine, and condemn Nestorius and Eutyches. The orthodoxy of the Orientals, and the compassion which their misfortunes inspired, were powerful motives to determine the pontiff to relax in his rigour, and to engage to procure them peace, of which they had so great need. But Symmachus repelled all their advances, and by his harshness showed that the popes know not how to pardon any one who resists their ambitious designs. Should religion inspire such implacable hatred, and shall it be always the cause of the misfortunes of the people? Let us hope that reason and philosophy will replace, in future, religious fanaticism, which, during almost two thousand years, has served as a veil to conceal from men, the baneful passions of the princes of the church.

Symmachus died, according to the opinion of modern chronologists, on the 19th of July, 514, toward the end of the sixteenth year of his pontificate, without having been able to disprove the accusations of adultery, which had been brought against him. His ashes were deposited in the church of St. Peter.

## HORMSIDAS, THE FIFTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 514.—ANASTASIUS and JUSTIN, Emperors of the East.]

*Picture of the misfortunes of the church—The priests excite seditions—Martyrdom of St. Proteus by the people of his diocese—Disorders at Antioch—Revolt of Sabas—Excesses at Constantinople—The emperor writes to the pope to convoke a council—Reply of the pope—Pretensions of Hormsidas—His legates received with great honours—He refuses the condemnation of Acacius—Second embassy to Constantinople—The pope exacts from the bishops an anathema against Acacius—The emperor sends back the fathers without assembling the council—Reign of Justin, an ignorant and Catholic prince—Reunion of the churches of Rome and Constantinople—Dorotheus, bishop of Thessalonica, opposes the reunion—The legates of the pope ill treated—Famous controversy—The monks driven from Rome—Death of Hormsidas—His character.*

BEFORE speaking of the successor of Symmachus, it is necessary to trace the picture of the deplorable state of the church in the beginning of the sixth century. Father Louis Doucin has left us a description so touching, and so conformed to the truth, that no one can study it without being penetrated with the most lively compassion for the unfortunate people who are submitted to the despotism of emperors, or the domination of priests. Wise men had failed in all their efforts to pacify the church, and their counsels had only irritated the passions of the clergy. Cities were constantly troubled by bloody seditions, and the prelates, far from appeasing them, frequently even excited them; every where murders and sacrileges were committed in holy places were the themes of discourse and the capitals of the provinces had become the theatres of the most horrible cruelties.

The massacres commenced in the city of Alexandria. The holy martyr Proteus, bishop of that city, was murdered in his very church, and only from hatred to the council of Chalcedon.

This venerable old man, besieged in his house by a troop of furious wretches, was obliged to take refuge in a chapel adjoining the metropolitan church; but neither the majesty of the place, nor the sanctity of the day (Holy Thursday) could protect him against the rage of his enemies. He was assassinated by the baptismal font, and his blood coloured the steps of the sanctuary.

These cannibals then mutilated his body in an infamous manner—tore out his entrails, ate his heart, and dragged through the streets his mutilated remains, striking them with sticks. As fanaticism, excited by the vindictiveness of priests, places no bounds to its vengeance, the remains of the flesh of the martyr were hung to a gibbet, and his horrid funeral rites celebrated upon a scaffold.

Antioch was disgraced by like executions, and four orthodox patriarchs were massacred during the seditions. The heretics were not the sole authors of these atrocities; the Catholics exercised like violence, and on their side preserved no measure in their vengeance. Under the pretext of assembling a synod to discuss religious affairs, they drew into the city a great number of Eutychian monks,

“and there, as on a field of battle, they maintained religion by massacring all the heretics. The blood which was shed on this fatal day caused the Orontes to overflow, and dead bodies arrested the course of the river for some days.”

At Jerusalem the famous Sabas, a Catholic bishop, carried away by religious zeal, had assembled in the desert more than four thousand Arabs, and at their head attacked the troops of the emperor, routed them, and caused religion to flourish, not by force of anathemas or miracles, but by the terror which his bandits inspired.

The clergy rendered themselves still more terrible at Constantinople. The majesty of the throne was not even spared; the priests overwhelmed with outrages the unfortunate emperor Anastasius; they stabbed his best friends almost under his very eyes, massacred a religious female whom they accused of advising him; drew from his retreat a poor Eremite, and after having killed him, paraded his head through the city on the point of a lance, crying out, “Behold the confidant of him who has declared war on the adorable Trinity! Thus perish all the blasphemers of the three divine persons.”

Then they secured the gates of Constantinople, and forming a camp in the midst of the city, organized troops of assassins to murder those who were suspected of heresy; to burn their houses and destroy the statues of the emperor. The senators sent by the prince to calm this irritated multitude were driven off by blows from stones, and Anastasius himself was besieged in his palace by a species of army, composed of monks, priests, and devotees, marching in order of procession, with the cross and scriptures. The affrighted monarch only saved his life from the fury of these inexorable wretches, by disgraceful submission.

The priests would desire, beyond doubt, to weaken the recollection of those horrible cruelties, but God has permitted the sad remembrance of them to come down to our times, to teach nations that they ought to suppress with severity the ambition of the clergy.

The authority of the popes was strengthened daily by these disorders, and by the complaisance of the emperors, who, far re-

moved from the ancient capital, showed an extreme submission to the pontiffs, in order to retain the people under their despotism.

The barbarians who had invaded the provinces of the empire, equally sought the friendship of the bishop of Rome. Then the holy father flattered the ambition of rival princes, and sold his alliance to the two parties. On their side, the heretics, like bad herbs or foul plants, banished and driven away, now from Africa and now from the East, had still resource to the Holy See, and addressed to it their appeals; and all complaints, as all alliances, were favourably received, provided they favoured the proud project of universal monarchy, entertained by the pontiffs of Rome.

Finally, at this period, the policy of the popes had rendered them the dispensers of all grace; there was not a single bishop who did not seek the friendship of the holy father for the interests of his diocese or his personal glory. The pontiffs availed themselves skillfully of all these circumstances. If they were consulted—if very humble requests were addressed to them, or if they themselves even gave advice, they made it pass for a command. Finally, if prelates named them as arbiters in their differences, their arbitration was immediately changed into a judgment.

Such was the position of the church at the beginning of the sixth century! We ought to add that the faithful were divided on the subject of a council, which was principally accused of having approved of the epistle of Ibas, the faith of Theodore, and the writings of Theodoret.

It was in the midst of these disorders, so fatal to the church, and so advantageous to the Holy See, that Celius Hormisdas, the son of Justus, a native of the small town of Frusilona, in Campania, was chosen at Rome, to replace Symmachus. His election was as peaceful as that of his predecessor had been tumultuous; all voices were reunited in his favour, and no more was heard of the schism of the followers of Lawrence. The political skill of Hormisdas contributed much to this happy event.

Cassidorus, who was then consul, felicitated king Theodoric on this reunion of the clergy, and the people of Rome congratulated themselves on it, as the greatest happiness which could render his consulate illustrious, and as an incontestable proof of the mildness of the government of his prince.

But through the whole East fanaticism was changed into religious phrensy. Religion, which is frequently a pretext for ambition, concealed from the eyes of the Catholics, the criminality of the revolt of Vitalian, the general of the cavalry of the emperor. This rebellious subject advanced even to the gates of Constantinople, and constrained Anastasius to sue for peace from him, imposing as its condition that all the property of heretics should be surrendered to the orthodox, and that a council should be assembled to excommunicate them.

The prince, in order to accomplish his promises, wrote to Hormisdas, beseeching him to labour with him to pacify the troubles, and reunite the churches of the East and West, laying upon the harshness of the popes, his predecessors, all the disorders which desolated his states. The holy father replied to the emperor with empty congratulations: "I am delighted, my lord, to see in you opinions so favourable, and thank God that he has inspired you to break silence. I rejoice in the hope of seeing the church of Jesus Christ in peace and union; but I shall not be able to write to you more at length until I shall have been informed of the motive for the convocation of the council."

The bishop of Thessalonica also addressed a long epistle to the pope, exhorting him to labour for the glory of religion, and testifying that he would consent, on this condition, to condemn the heretics, and to recognize in the Holy See a right of sovereignty over the other prelates. The pontiff approved his zeal, and promised to contribute, on his side, to the reunion of the churches, without at all replying in a positive manner to the observations of the bishop.

At length the emperor, tired of the tardiness shown by Hormisdas, sent him another letter, apprizing him that the council would assemble in the city of Heraclea, and inviting him to go there by the 1st of July, in the same year, (515). Vitalian had sent him ambassadors for the same purpose, and king Theodoric solicited him to yield to the desires of the Orientals. The pontiff, pressed on all sides, found himself obliged to assemble a synod to name legates. His choice fell upon bishop Fortunatus and Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, the same who, whilst deacon, had declared himself the defender of Symmachus, and had been provided with a bishopric as a recompense therefor.

The instructions of the legates obliged them to obtain from the council a promise that the bishops accused of heresy should be sent to Rome, to demand the re-installation of those who were in communion with the Holy See, and the condemnation of those who had persecuted the Catholics. Hormisdas thus appeared to evince mildness, whilst in reality his policy had no other end but to augment the rights of his see.

Anastasius penetrated the secret intentions of the pontiff, and discovered that he had not consented to be represented at the council of Heraclea, but on condition of guiding it at his pleasure. Nevertheless, he hoped that by temporising, the holy father would return to ideas more equitable, and more in conformity with the wretched state of the established churches, he received the legates most favourably, rendering to them every honour, in order to convince the Holy See of the honesty of his purposes. The single point of the anathema of Acacius was rejected by the prince. He wrote to the pope that he condemned Nestorius and Eutyches, and that he acknowledged the council of Chalcedon; but in

reference to Acacius, said, he "found it wholly unjust to chase the living from the church on account of the dead;" adding, that the fathers would decide all questions in the council, and that he would advise the Holy See of the result of its deliberations.

In the following year (516) the emperor sent to Rome, Theopompus, captain of his guards, and Severianus, a counsellor of state, hoping that persons so eminent might conduct the affair with more wisdom than ecclesiastics, always urgent for the interest of their caste.

The ambassadors were charged with a letter for the holy father, and another for the senate of Rome, whose assistance it claimed in soliciting king Theodoric and the pontiff to labour seriously for the peace of the church. The senate, under the influence of Hornsidas, replied to the emperor that the Roman clergy would never consent to a reunion of the churches, if the name of Acacius was preserved in the sacred books. On his part, the pontiff added, that "far from having need of being exhorted by the senate, he cast himself at the feet of the emperor, to beseech him to have pity on religion."

This hypocrisy rendering the advances of the emperor fruitless, a second legation went from Rome to Constantinople. The pope then chose for his legates Ennodius of Pavia, and Peregrinus of Mycenum. He gave them six letters, with a formula of reunion for schismatics, and nineteen copies of a protest, to be scattered through the cities, if the letters were not received.

In these different writings the holy father showed himself always the same; always inflexible, always resolved to follow up the condemnation of Acacius, whose memory was held in veneration through a great part of the East. This second legation insisting on the same principles, could not achieve any result. Anastasius refused the reunion on the conditions imposed on him, declaring that he was unwilling to charge his conscience with an infamous action, in blackening the reputation of many holy bishops, and in condemning as heretics men whose crimes existed in the chimerical ideas of their adversaries.

Then the mischief-making monks were charged by the legates to spread through all the cities, the protests of the Holy See; but the bishops arrested their distribution, and informed the emperor of it, who, justly provoked by the obstinacy of Hornsidas, sent back the prelates who had come to the council of Heraclia, broke off all negotiations with the inflexible pontiff, and recommenced the war.

The Archimandrites and monks of Second Syria, then addressed a request to the holy father, complaining of a persecution by Severus, patriarch of Antioch and chief of the Eutyrians. They expressed themselves thus: "As we were on our way to rejoin our brethren, of the monastery of St. Simeon, to defend with them the cause of the church, the heretics placed an ambuscade on our route, and falling on us unprepared, slew three hundred

and fifty of our people, wounded even a greater number, and massacred, even at the very foot of the altar, those who had hoped to find a place of refuge in the churches. Besides, during the night, our caves were pillaged, sanctuaries violated, and buildings given to the flames.

"You will be advised of all these circumstances by the memorials which our venerable brothers, John and Sergius will place in your hands. We sent envoys to Constantinople to obtain justice from our enemies; but the emperor, without deigning to reply to them, drove them in disgrace from the city. His officers, even, were unwilling to listen to our complaints, maintaining that we were justly punished for our rebellion. Then we turn to you, most holy father, to beseech you to sympathize with the wounds of the body of the church of which you are the chief, by revenging the contempt which has been shown for religion and yourself, who are the successor of Peter, and who have power to bind on earth and in heaven."

Then they finished their letter by anathematizing Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Peter of Alexandria, Peter the fuller, and Acacius. The pope replied by a letter, addressed not only to the Archimandrites of Greater Syria, but to the Catholics of the whole East, exhorting them to remain firm in the Roman faith, whose purity, he said, had been attested by many miracles.

During the same year (519) the emperor Anastasius died, struck by lightning. The priests, availing themselves of this circumstance, frightened the superstitious multitude, and threatened the heretics with the vengeance of God. Their intrigues were so well conducted, that they placed on the throne Justin, a very ignorant man, and from that very cause, a good Catholic. The prince, on his elevation, gave a direction to affairs entirely opposite to that of his predecessor. The pretended heretics were punished, and the populace by reiterated acclamations made the Catholic faith triumphant. The will of a fanatical mob having been confirmed by a council held at Constantinople, the Catholics could exercise their vengeance against the Eutyrians.

But the church of Constantinople was not yet reunited to that of Rome; and this affair appearing to be of the highest importance in the eyes of the orthodox, the emperor Justin wrote to the pontiff, to advise him of his elevation, and to pray him to concur in the wish of John of Constantinople, who recognized the sovereign authority of the Holy See. Hornsidas went to Ravenna, to confer with Theodoric on this subject. The Gothic king ordered him to send to Constantinople a third legation of five persons, who were chosen from among the prelates of whose zeal and fidelity the holy father was well assured. In the different provinces through which they passed, the legates assured themselves of the aid of all the bishops whom they had occasion to see, and on the Monday of the holy week, which

was the day of their arrival at Constantinople, they gave information of the nature of the formulary of which they were the bearers, and delivered a speech in full senate, in the presence of four bishops who represented the patriarch. Their propositions were accepted without discussion, and some days after, the reunion of the two churches was solemnly declared. The names of Acacius, of the patriarchs Flavita, Euphemius, Macedonius, and Timothy, as well as those of the emperors Zeno and Anastasius, were effaced from the sacred records.

Dorotheus, bishop of Thessalonica, alone refused to sign the formula of faith brought from the West, and also to approve of the condemnation of Acacius. Following his example, the people rose against the legates whom the pope had sent into his diocese, and they were obliged to escape by night to avoid the dangers which threatened them. The deacon John was wounded by many blows of a dagger in his head and veins; and a Catholic also, called John, was slain and torn to pieces for having received the legates into his house.

The peace restored to the church after so many years of bloody quarrels, was again on the point of being troubled by the famous proposition, "One of the Trinity has been crucified." The monks of Scythia sustained this dogma, despite of the decisions of the orthodox prelates: as they refused to yield to the judgment of their bishops, they came to

Rome to demand the opinion of the holy father; but the count Justinian and Dioscorus, one of the legates who had already judged the affair, wrote to Hormisdas against these mischief-making monks, who were driven in disgrace from the city.

Thus the Catholics triumphed every where. Dorotheus, bishop of Thessalonica, even had been arrested and conducted to Heraclea by order of the emperor, that his affair might be investigated; but the legates wishing to exact that he should be re-conducted to Rome with the priest Aristides, that both should be excommunicated and deposed, Justin refused to give them such satisfaction, and contented himself with obliging Dorotheus to send envoys to the pontiff to make his submission. He then re-installed him in his see.

The holy father died in the month of September, 523, having governed the church for nine years.

Hormisdas, in the exercise of his functions, showed an excessive ambition and an implacable fanaticism. We do not find, however, that the church has granted him the honours of canonization; at least she has been unwilling to glorify the generosity of the pontiff in building convents and churches, and to recompense him for having persecuted the unfortunate heretics, Nestorians, Eutychians, Arians, Pelagians, and Manicheans, whom he caused to be publicly scourged, both men and women, before sending them into exile.

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## JOHN THE FIRST, FIFTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 523.—JUSTIN THE FIRST, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of John—The emperor Justin persecutes the Arians—Theodoric sends the pontiff to the East—Miracle of the pope's horse—Another miracle of John's—He receives great honours at Constantinople—His pride—His Knavery—The pope is arrested by Theodoric—He dies in prison.*

THE Holy See remained vacant for six or seven days, when John, surnamed Catelinus the Tuscan, son of Constantine, was chosen to fill it. He reigned two years and nine months, according to the learned Holstein. Other writers maintain that this chronology is not exact, and that it is impossible to fix the duration of the pontificate of John.

The peace which the church began to enjoy after the reunion with the Orientals, was soon troubled by the fanaticism of the emperor Justin, who had sworn to exterminate the heretics and Arians; a foolish enterprize, worthy of a stupid prince, who understood neither his own interests nor those of his subjects. He published edicts to compel the Arians to be converted, and threatened them with the most cruel punishment.

In their despair, the unfortunate persecuted had recourse to Theodoric, who wrote to the emperor Justin in their favour, but his letters not being able to change the disposition of the

emperor, he, irritated by the contempt they evinced in the East from his mediation, and suspecting that Roman politics were not ignorant of the blows aimed at Arianism, obliged John to come to his court, and ordered him to go as ambassador to Constantinople, to cause Justin to revoke his decree. He even threatened the pontiff to treat with rigor the Catholics of Italy, if they still persecuted the ministers of his creed, and if the emperor did not consent to restore to the Arians the churches taken from them.

This prince was the more disposed to use reprisals, from seeing with what ingratitude the important services which he had rendered to the Roman church were regarded, and from the extreme tolerance which he had always shown to the orthodox in his dominions.

Theodoric, in removing the pontiff, under the pretext of a pompous embassy, not only desired to restore the exercise of their religion to the unfortunate victims of the fanaticism

of Justin, but also wished to put an end to the plots against his life, and of which the holy father was the most ardent favourer.

John dared not resist the orders of the king, and went with the other ambassadors.

The legends relate several miracles performed by the holy father during his journey: "When John had arrived at the city of Corinth," says the pious chronicler, "he had need of a saddle-horse to continue his journey. They brought him one belonging to one of the principal ladies of the country, and the next day, after having used him, he sent him back to his mistress. But, oh, wonderful to relate! the lady who before had been accustomed to mount the horse, could no longer rule him, and was obliged to send him to the pontiff."

Gregory the Great piously explains this fable, and adds, besides, one still more extraordinary. He says, "that when the holy father was entering Constantinople, a blind man besought him to restore his sight, which he did by placing his hands on his eyes, in the presence of all the people."

Anastasius the librarian does not speak of these miracles; he tells us only that great honours were rendered to John, and that the populace went out twelve miles to meet him, with banners and ensigns displayed. The emperor, overjoyed at being enabled to see the successor of St. Peter, prostrated himself at his feet, and demanded to be crowned by his hand.

The patriarch Epiphanius then invited pope John to officiate; he, through a sentiment of inconceivable pride, was unwilling to accept the honour until he had received the assurance that he should not only be seated in the

highest place, but even on a throne. The patriarch of Constantinople yielded to the wishes of the holy father, not because he regarded him as his superior in dignity, but because he viewed him in the light of an ambassador from a powerful king.

Crazed by his fanaticism, the emperor rejected all remonstrances on the subject of the Arians. Then John, having recourse to tears, represented to him that his conduct towards the heretics would produce terrible consequences to the Catholics of Italy, and drew from him a promise to yield to the Arians freedom to worship. Other historians, on the contrary, maintain that the pontiff, so far from acquitting himself of the mission with which he was charged by king Theodoric, encouraged the emperor in the extravagant design he had formed of exterminating the Arians.

All, however, agree, that on his return from his embassy, John was arrested at Ravenna, with the senators who accompanied him. Theodoric, whose moderation had never failed during a very long reign, would never have committed this act of violence, if he had not had certain proof of the treason of his ambassadors.

The pontiff was condemned to finish his days in prison, in which he died on the 27th of March, 526. His body was transported to Rome, and interred at St. Peter's.

The church honours his memory as that of a holy martyr; nevertheless we must avow, that it is difficult to account for the motives which have decreed the honours of canonization to a pope who was justly punished for his ill-directed ambition, and who, besides, did not suffer a violent death.

## FELIX THE FOURTH, FIFTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 526.—JUSTIN THE FIRST and JUSTINIAN, Emperors.]

*Election of Felix by king Theodoric—Bad faith of Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History—The election of bishop of Rome appertained to the people—Corruption of the clergy—Condemnation of the Semi-Pelagians—Rigor of the pope against a monk—Death of Felix.*

FELIX, fourth of the name, was elevated to the Holy See by the authority of king Theodoric. He was a Samnite by birth, and the son of Castorius. Ancient and modern authors, who have spoken of this election, lead us to suppose that the ambition of the priests had excited intrigues and disorders among the clergy, in order to give a successor to John, and that Theodoric interposed his authority to maintain the peace in Rome. This is confirmed by a letter from king Athalaric, in which he exhorts the senate to place themselves under the government of the pope whom his predecessor had selected, and to put an end to their quarrels.

Fleury has cited this letter of Athalaric, concealing the facts which it contains, and in

his love for the Holy See prefers to blacken his own reputation as a historian, and incur that of a forger, rather than avow the truth.

It is proved by the most authentic testimony, that at this period the election of the popes was still a right of the people, and that in order to enjoy their dignity, the pontiffs must be confirmed by the prince. The judicious Fra-Paolo makes this same remark in his excellent treatise on beneficial affairs, which critics attribute to father Fulgentius, his companion.

History teaches us nothing of the actions of Felix the Fourth; only Cassidorus says, that the emperor Valentinian the Second had formerly enacted a law, by which the pope was submitted, in certain cases, to the judg-

ment of the secular magistrates, and that this law, degrading to the Holy See, was revoked by king Athalaric, at the prayer of Felix the Fourth. This prince then published an edict exhorting ecclesiastics to reform their morals, and to place bounds to the frightful corruption which prevailed among the clergy of Rome.

The sect of semi-Pelagians continued to make progress, and spread even into Gaul. The bishops of the country then assembled a council at Orange to condemn the heresy, and sent their decree to be submitted to the approbation of the holy father; but the synodical letter of the council of Orange did not arrive in Italy until after the death of Felix; and Boniface, his successor, subscribed it without any observation on the sentence pronounced against the Pelagians.

In the same year (528) a monk named Equitus, pretending that he had received power from heaven to exercise pastoral functions, travelled through the cities and country, solemnly dedicating churches, consecrating priests, administering confirmation, and causing himself to be adored by the faithful. His boldness excited the indignation of the clergy of the Roman church, who wrote to Felix, "Most holy father, a monk has taken upon himself authority to preach, and ascribes to himself your functions, all ignorant as he is! . . . We beseech you to cause him to be arrested, that he may be taught the force of discipline! . . ." The pope ordered Julian, then the defender of the Roman faith, and afterwards bishop of Sabinum, to seize him and put him to the most cruel torture. During the night the orders were changed, and Julian having demanded the cause of it, was answered that the pontiff had been terrified by a vision, and that an angel had prohibited him from persecuting the servant of God.

It is not wonderful that pope Gregory the Great, whose writings are filled with prodigies, has adopted this fable; but we are astonished that Fleury has related it as a true history. These kind of miracles should find no place but in legends; or at least the faithful should be warned that such pious tales, so far from elevating the majesty of the Ca-

tholic religion, and affording a proof of its divinity, only serve to spread ridicule over it.

Felix died on the 12th of October, 520, after a pontificate of three years. Among the most remarkable monuments built during his reign, were the churches of St. Cosmus and St. Damian and that of St. Saturninus, which had been entirely consumed by fire, and was now rebuilt.

During this pontificate, St. Benedict, the celebrated founder of a great number of religious orders in the West, published his monastic rule, which reposes upon this principle: "Those are true Christians who live from the fruits of their labour." All the articles of these admirable rules tend to form congregations of laborious men, on whom the pious abbot imposes the obligation of employing their activity or intelligence in useful productive labours.

Benedict was descended from an illustrious family of Nosca, a city of the duchy of Spoleto. He studied at Rome, and was distinguished for his rapid progress in science and letters. In spite of the brilliant career which his name and fortune could have opened to him in the world, he abandoned, at the age of seventeen, parents, friends and country, to retire to a cavern in the midst of the desert of Subiaco, forty miles from the holy city. After having passed three years in prayer and meditation, he associated with him some pilgrims, who, attracted by his reputation for sanctity had come to visit him, and constructed cells for them to sleep in. His little flock increasing day by day, the pagan population of the neighbourhood took umbrage, and obliged them to retire to Mount Cassino, where they encountered other idolaters. St. Benedict converted them by his eloquent preaching, and transformed their temple, which had been consecrated to Apollo, into a Christian church, dedicated to the true God. He then built an immense monastery adjoining the new church, which he governed for forty years. Following his example, his companions, heirs of his thoughts continued to clear up the land, to drain the marshes, and to copy ancient manuscripts, those treasures which antiquity has left to future ages.

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## BONIFACE THE SECOND, FIFTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 529.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Ambition of the clergy—Election of Boniface—Schism of Dioscorus—Anathema against him—The other popes accused of simony—Boniface violates the canons—Stephen of Larissa—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Felix, the intrigues for a successor were renewed. At this period the ambition of the priests had grown to be very great; liberty began to be banished from the elections, and those who had riches or pow-

erful friends could alone hope to aspire to the episcopate.

Boniface the Second, a Roman by birth, son of Sigisvult, of the race of the Goths, was chosen to succeed Felix the Fourth, and

was ordained in the church of Julius. But another party chose the deacon Dioscorus, whom we believe to be the same who was sent on the embassy to Constantinople by Hormisdas. Boniface, the tranquil possessor of the Holy See, pursued his vengeance against his competitor, and anathematized him even after his death. The bull of excommunication was signed by the clergy, and deposited in the archives of the church, as an eternal monument of his apostolic vigour. The pontiff accused Dioscorus of simony, and it appears by a rescript of king Athalaric, that the accusation was well founded; but Boniface, according to the report of Anastasius the librarian, was guilty of the same crime.

Then the pope assembled a council in the church of St. Peter, and made a decree which gave him the power of designating his successor; and he compelled the bishops, by oath and in writing, to recognize the deacon Vigilius in this capacity. Shortly after another

council was held, and the decree was erased as contrary to the canons and dignity of the Holy See. The pontiff acknowledged himself guilty of lese-majesty, an usurper of the sovereign authority, and cast his bull into the flames, in the presence of the bishops and clergy.

The same year (531) during the consulate of Lampadus and Orestes, Stephen, bishop of Larissa, addressed a complaint to the pope on the subject of a new heresy, the name of which has not descended to us. On this occasion a third council was held, to which Theodosius, bishop of Echnicum, in Thessaly, preferred the complaint of Stephen. The decision of the fathers is not known.

Boniface died towards the end of the year 531. This pope showed himself during his reign to be a very religious observer of the worship of angels, and built a magnificent church in honour of the archangel St. Michael.

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## JOHN THE SECOND, SURNAMED MERCURY, FIFTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 530.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Avarice of the priests—Election of John—Complaints against simoniacal elections—State of the Eastern church—Justinian sends rich presents to the pope—John condemns the Acemetæ and approves of the doctrine anathematized by Hormisdas—He declares "that one of the three persons of the Trinity was crucified"—Contradictory judgments of the Holy See—Contumeliosus—Death of John.*

THERE existed so little good faith and true religion among the clergy of Rome, that in order to obtain the pontificate, some priests distributed all their money; others mortgaged their palaces; whilst some, less scrupulous, promised the property of the church. At length the Holy See being put up at auction, John the Second, surnamed from his eloquence, Mercury, paid enormous sums to his competitors, and obtained the pontifical tiara.

Corruption had then so increased, that the senators sold their votes openly; and in order not to profane the Divinity, we will say, that the Holy Spirit did not govern the election of the popes of this period; for God could not preside over a council where the chair of St. Peter was adjudged to the highest and last bidder.

John the Second was ordained on the 22d of January, 532; he was born at Rome, and his father was named Projectus. Shortly after his enthroning, a supporter of the church wrote to king Athalaric, that during the vacancy of the Holy See the partizans of the pontiff had sold their votes for the election, and had extorted from him promises of the property of the church, and that in order to satisfy these engagements, John had publicly exposed for sale the sacred vessels.

To remedy this abuse, the king wrote to the pope, the patriarchs, and the metropolitan

churches, to observe a decree of the senate, made during the pontificate of Boniface, and conceived in these terms: "Those who have promised houses, land or money to obtain a bishopric, shall be regarded as simoniacal and sacrilegious; their engagements shall be annulled, and all that they have taken from the church shall be restored. Officers of the palace are nevertheless permitted to take three thousand pennies of gold to expedite despatches when there shall be a dispute in the election of a pope; but rich officers shall not accept any thing, because these largesses are taken from the patrimony of the poor."

"In the elections of patriarchs (a name given to bishops of great cities) they shall take as much as two thousand pennies of gold, and in that of mere bishops, five hundred pennies of gold shall be distributed to the people."

The king then ordered the prefect of Rome to cause this decree to be engraven on a slab of marble, and to be placed at the entrance of the court of St. Peter's.

Platinus affirms that John the Second condemned Anthimus, patriarch of Constantinople, who had become an Arian. On his part, the emperor Justinian pursued with great rigor the heretics of the East, whose conversion he had sworn to effect.

The prince sent to Rome Hypacus, arch-

bishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius, bishop of Philippi, to consult the pope on the propositions laid down by Cyrus and Eutogus, deputies from the monastery of the Acemetæ. In a letter he wrote to the holy father, he testifies for him great respect, and informs him that the monks rejected the dogma, "That Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, born of Mary, is one of the persons of the Trinity." Justinian besought the pontiff to address him a bull, declaring that he received to his communion all those who partook of his sentiments, and that he condemned those who did not conform thereto. To give more weight to his demand, the emperor sent rich presents, destined for the church of St. Peter: a vase of gold, weighing five pounds, garnished with precious stones; two chalices of silver of six pounds each; two others of five pounds, and four veils in tissue of gold. This liberality disposed the clergy of Rome favourably towards Justinian, and the pope condemned the Acemetæ without being even willing to listen to their complaints.

According to father Louis Doucin, the bad faith of the monks was the only cause of their condemnation. John, indignant at seeing the monks take advantage of the judgment rendered by Hormisdas, approved, without examination, the dogmas which the emperor maintained against them, and declared as most orthodox the same proposition which his predecessor had excommunicated.

Nevertheless, the holy father deliberated more than a year, and even wrote to Africa to enlighten himself by the opinions of the learned. Ferrand, a disciple of St. Fulgentius, a skilful theologian, replied to the consultation with all the subtlety of the priests of our days. He concluded in conformity with the doctrine of his master, and very favourably to the emperor, in saying, "that it is not one of the Trinity who suffered and died, but one of the three persons of the Trinity."

The pope launched anathemas against the heretical Greeks who had come to Rome to defend their doctrine, and particularly against Cyrus, the deputy of the Acemetæ monks. In humiliating, also the Nestorians, John sustained the Accephali, who were protected by the empress, and caused the two parties to comprehend that, of which in the end they were not forgetful, that the Holy See was not inflexible, and that for money the retraction of a former judgment could be obtained.

About the same period, John received letters from St. Cœsar of Arles, and other prelates of Gaul, in relation to Contumeliosus, bishop of Riez, convicted, on his own confession, of enormous crimes. He ordered that this bishop should be interdicted from all his functions, and be confined in a monastery, in order to repent for the rest of his life.

Pope John died on the 26th of April, 535, after having held the see three years and four months.

## AGAPETUS, THE FIFTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 535.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Education of Agapetus—His election—Letter from the emperor to the pope—Sentiment of Agapetus on the alienation of the goods of the church—He recognizes the superiority of councils—He is sent by Theodatus as ambassador to Constantinople—Poverty of the pope—He is received with great honours—Refuses his communion to the patriarch Anthimus—Reflections on the authority of the popes—He persuades the emperor that Anthimus is an heretic, and makes him drive him from his see—He neglects the affairs of Theodatus and troubles the quiet of the Eastern churches—Death of the pope.*

THE priest Gordian, the father of Rusticus Agapetus, had educated his son with much care. He placed him when very young among the clergy of Rome, where he exercised the first duties of the clerical order in the church of the martyrs St. John and St. Paul; then he was made a deacon; afterwards rector of the same church, and, finally, his great virtues caused him to be judged worthy to fill the chair of St. Peter on the death of John the Second. The clergy and the people having united their suffrages in his favour, he received the episcopal ordination, and was recognized as sovereign pontiff.

He commenced his administration by an act of justice. He publicly burned, in the midst of the church, the anathema which Boniface had extorted by knavery from the

bishops and priests against Dioscorus, his competitor. He blackened, by this circumstance, the memory of his predecessor, and by an admirable generosity, preferred an equitable justice to the vain glory of the Holy See, to which he did not attribute the divine privilege of infallibility.

As soon as the emperor was apprised of the election of Agapetus, he sent the priest Heraclius as his ambassador to congratulate him. In his letter he explained to the holy father, that in order to facilitate the conversion of the Arians, it was necessary to offer them the same rank in the church that they held in their own sect. The pontiff, in replying to the compliments of the emperor, approved of his zeal for the reunion of the Arians, but represented to him that the popes themselves had

no power to change the canons, which prohibited reconciled heretics from preserving holy orders.

The affair of Contumeliosus, bishop of Riez, was not terminated by the judgment of John the Second, and that prelate appealed to the Holy See from the sentence of his colleagues and the decision of John the Second. Agapetus then wrote to St. Cæsar, that in accordance with the demand of Contumeliosus, he had appointed judges to examine into the decision of the bishops of Gaul, and that whilst waiting the result of their inquiries, that prelate should have permission to return to his church, but not to exercise any episcopal functions. He ordered the council of the province to restore to him his own private property, in order that he might have the means of living; without, however, placing in his control the disposition of the property of the church, which should be managed by a visiting archdeacon.

St. Cæsar of Arles then consulted the holy father on a point of discipline, which divided the bishops of Gaul, and demanded of him, if pastors had the right of alienating the church funds in difficult circumstances. Agapetus replied, that the constitutions prohibited this sort of alienation, and that he did not dare authorize an infringement of them: "Do not think, adds the pope, that my councils are dictated by avarice or temporal interest; but considering the terrible account which I must render to God of the flock which he has confided to my care, I seek to direct it into the way of eternal life, and cause it to observe the decisions of the last council."

The assembly of which he spoke was but a national synod, held in Italy, under the pontiff Symmachus. Agapetus, by declaring that he is obliged to submit to the judgment of councils, condemns the ambition of the bishops of Rome, his successors, who have endeavoured to elevate themselves even above universal councils.

Animated by the most laudable intentions, the holy father established public schools, for the instruction of youth, and was occupied in exterminating the ignorance which had reached even to the highest ranks of society. Very different from his predecessors, he maintained that the best dispositions, if not nourished by study, would insensibly alter, and frequently change into gross vices. The celebrated Casiodorus joined with him to facilitate this noble enterprise; but war soon drew off their attention to other objects. Justinian had confided the command of his armies to Belisarius, a great captain and consummate tactician. The Grecian general pursued his conquests with surprising rapidity; wrested Africa from the Vandals, and was about to carry his victorious arms into Italy, where he spread terror among the Goths.

Theodatus, affrighted at the march of the conqueror, thought of flying from his states, but yielding to the councils of his ambassadors, who knew the stupid devotion of the emperor, he resolved to make religion sub-

serve as the means of arresting the victorious progress of Belisarius. He ordered Agapetus to go to Constantinople to negotiate a peace or a truce, threatening to put the Romans to the sword if he failed in his mission.

The holy father excused himself on account of his great age and extreme poverty, refusing to undertake so long a journey; but new orders from the prince were accompanied with menaces so frightful, that the pope was obliged to obey. Agapetus, to defray the expenses of his suite, pawned the beautiful chalices, the sacred vessels of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, with which the piety of the faithful had ornamented the churches; and upon these precious pledges, the money necessary for the journey was obtained. We should add, to the praise of Theodatus, that on being informed of it, he reimbursed the necessary funds, and restored to the churches all their ornaments.

On his arrival in Greece, the pontiff, according to St. Gregory, performed an astonishing miracle, by curing a man who could neither walk nor stand up. We leave the particulars of this prodigy to the credulity of the legendaries.

Epiphanius, the Catholic patriarch of Constantinople, had been dead about a year, and Anthimus, bishop of Trebizond, had been elevated to his place, through the influence of the empress Theodora. He was believed to be as orthodox as his predecessor; and this belief had procured for him the honour of being named commissary in the conferences with the Severite heretics. But Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch, who suspected him of secret concert with the Acephali, wrote to unmask him, and to publish manifestoes, which were scattered through the churches. He even addressed a petition to the emperor, to compel the new chief of the clergy of the capital to make a profession of the orthodox faith, in his synodical letters. Anthimus, in obedience to the prince, made a declaration in conformity with the doctrines of the church, and sent it to the bishops of the East and West, who immediately admitted him to their communion. Nevertheless, his spirit of tolerance, well known to the Acephali, determined the chiefs of that sect, Severus of Antioch, a prelate named Peter of Apamea, and a Syrian monk called Zora, to re-enter Constantinople. These heretics, at first, held their assemblies in private houses, whither the empress and Comita her sister, frequently went with their lovers, and a crowd of young lords of the court of Justinian. Their boldness increased with their success: they built temples, administered the sacraments, received offerings, and made numerous proselytes. The Catholic priests, who saw their importance and their revenues daily diminishing, complained to the emperor against Anthimus, and sent several deputies to meet the holy father, then on his route to that city, to prejudice him against the patriarch.

Agapetus was received in Constantinople with great demonstrations of respect, which

led him, on the very day of his entrance into the city, to abuse the deference shown him, by refusing to receive the patriarch Anthimus, whom the orthodox accused of favouring the Eutychians; and even without knowing his profession of faith, to reject him as an intruder.

This condemnable action is cited by the priests of the West, as an example of the supreme authority which the old popes exercised: "Thus the pontiff alone," say they, "and without assembling any council, deposed the bishop of New Rome." Father Doucin, although a Jesuit, admits that this example is badly chosen; for the deposition was of no effect. "He could not depose," adds he, "until after a legitimate election; and as the elevation of Anthimus to the patriarchate had not been recognized by the clergy of Rome, Agapetus had no need of a council to refuse him his communion. The pope and each patriarch had a right to act of himself, when the election of their colleagues appeared to be vicious, or even suspicious. In a like circumstance no one could be ignorant of the causes which rendered Anthimus unworthy of the patriarchal see. . . .!"

Severus, and all the Acephali, outraged at the pride of the pontiff, went immediately to the empress, to concert with her the method of destroying the bishop of Rome. They endeavoured to inspire Justinian with suspicion as to the belief of the pope, and to cause him to pass for a partisan of Nestorianism, as his predecessors had been accused of it.

Notwithstanding his extreme devotion, the emperor listened to these accusations against Agapetus with the more attention, inasmuch as he was dissatisfied with the hauteur with which he had treated the patriarch, and the correction he had bestowed on himself. In the preceding year, when he had sent to Rome an edict with his profession of faith, the holy father replied to him, "that every one should remain in his place, and that he could not approve of the authority which a layman arrogated to himself of publicly teaching the faithful."

In this frame of mind the emperor pressed the pontiff with questions in relation to his doctrines; not to satisfy his passion for religious controversy, but to obtain proofs of his heresy.

On the other hand, the bishops of the faction of Severus, sent by the empress, did not cease to represent to Justinian, that the bishop of Rome was come to trouble the peace of the East: "Since the election of Anthimus, have you not seen, my lord," they said to him, "the Acephali perfectly well disposed, and ready to do all that you demand of them? Severus himself promised freer clemency, to submit his doctrine to the judgment of the Roman church; but he did not expect to find on the throne of that church an old man as hard and inflexible as this one. Consider, my lord, on what all this scandal is founded; upon a mere formality, which reduces itself to this,

whether it is for the greatest good of the universal church, that the city of Constantinople can dispense with Anthimus, or whether it prefers to give him the title of patriarch, rather than that of bishop."

Justinian, convinced by the reasoning of the prelates, abandoned himself to his resentment against Agapetus, and at the first conference he had with the pontiff, said to him with emotion: "I am determined to reject your unjust pretensions, holy father, and no longer to weigh them. Receive us to your communion, or prepare to go into exile." This threat did not alarm Agapetus, who replied boldly: "It is true, I deceived myself, my lord, when I was received by you with so much earnestness. I hoped to find a Christian emperor, and I have met with a new Diocletian. Well! let Diocletian learn that the bishop of Rome does not fear his threats, and refuses to submit to his orders."

The emperor, naturally good and devout, in place of punishing this temerity, changed the discourse; and when the conversation had become more peaceful, the pope said to him: "To convince you that your pretended bishop is a very dangerous man to the cause of religion, I beseech you to permit me to interrogate him on the two natures of Jesus Christ. Be persuaded," added the wary priest, "that it is neither to shun exile, nor to seek an accommodation, that I propose to put him to this test, but that you may know the patriarch Anthimus."

Justinian gave orders to the two adversaries to come before him, and the conference commenced. The pontiff broached the religious questions on the mysteries of the incarnation. He developed, at length, the points of theology which had reference to the question; and when he had exhausted all the resources of controversy, he summoned the patriarch to recognize the orthodoxy of his doctrine. Anthimus replied to the arguments of the pontiff, and concluded by declaring that Jesus Christ did not possess two natures. Agapetus, in a fury, hurled anathemas against Anthimus, Severus, Peter of Apama, Zora, and several other prelates, whose names would have rested in oblivion but for the excommunication. Then he obtained from the monarch an order for the deposition of Anthimus, and consecrated the new patriarch of Constantinople.

After having troubled the East for four months, the holy father was struck with an unknown malady, which carried him off in a few days. His funeral was celebrated with songs of gladness; and when his body was transported to the cathedral, the porticoes, the public places, the windows and roofs of houses were encumbered with the multitude, who wished to look at him. Historians place the period of his death on the 25th of November, 536. They assure us that no patriarch, bishop, nor emperor, had been buried with so great pomp, and with so extraordinary a solemnity of fêtes. The corpse was embalmed, placed in a leaden coffin, and transported to Rome.

The priests exalt the virtues of this pope. Liberatus, deacon of Carthage, represents him as a holy personage, endowed with profound wisdom and great skill, especially in ecclesiastical matters. He however admits, that it was at his instigation that the bishop of Syria and the abbots of Constantinople rose against the emperor Justinian, and compelled him to proscribe Severus and his friends. He avows that the rebellious prelates dared to threaten the emperor to extend the revolt to the provinces; and that the emperor, always at the solicitation of the pope, had the cowardice to make a decree, which prohibited the Acephali from entering into large cities; enjoined on the magistrates to burn heretical books, and condemned those who transcribed them to have their hands cut off by the executioner. These avowals show into what deplorable excesses Justinian fell, by yielding to the counsel of the holy father.

It results, from the narrative of the deacon, that Agapetus, who went as ambassador from king Theodatus, only occupied himself with ecclesiastical affairs. How did he fulfil his political mission to the emperor? How did he open the negotiations? With what address did he conduct them? What was his success? There is no reply. The pope did nothing. He only submitted to Justinian the subject of his embassy, without insisting on a favourable conclusion, foreseeing that the Roman clergy would be happier under the dominion of a Catholic prince, than under that of an Arian monarch. Not only was Agapetus perjured to his prince, but even to his religion, by troubling the repose of the Eastern churches, and by showing a base jealousy against a prelate, whose only crime consisted in having dared to compare his see with that of the bishop of Rome.

## SILVERUS, THE SIXTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 536.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Intrigues at Rome to obtain dignities—Silverus buys the pontificate from king Theodatus—Treason of the pope—He delivers Rome to Belisarius—He is deposed and shut up in a monastery.*

THE intrigues by which the sovereign pontificate was obtained, recall the transactions in pagan Rome, when those who aspired to office in the republic bought the suffrages of the people: "Instead of a wise discretion, a disinterested equity, and a true elevation in sentiment, the chair of St. Peter was become the price of boldness, corruption and avarice." The pretenders marched openly to their end, offering gold to some, dignities to others—pledging the property of the church to those who had no confidence in their promises, and setting to work all the seductions which could augment the number of their creatures.

Priests sold their suffrages; cabals struggled, raised upon their competitors, and carried off the partisans of their adversaries; and at length victory remained with the richest, the most skilful, or the most corrupt.

In the midst of these scandalous intrigues and criminal practices, Silverus, son of the former pope Hormisdas, led away by the ambition of occupying the chair of St. Peter, offered a considerable sum to king Theodatus, and was chosen pontiff of Rome.

Anastasius, the librarian, furnishes the most authentic documents in relation to this disgraceful proceeding, on which Baillet and Dupin have endeavoured to throw doubts. But father Doucin himself is convinced of the infamy of Silverus, and deplores the conduct of the holy father.

The election of this pope was a masterpiece of policy. The king, fearing to be driven from Italy by the victorious army of Belisarius, wished to assure himself of the fidelity

of the Romans, by giving them a bishop devoted to his interest, and who had need of his aid to maintain himself on the Holy See. Neither the clergy nor the people were permitted to deliberate on this election. Theodatus merely announced to the Romans, that those who should dare to nominate another bishop, must prepare to die. Then Silverus took upon himself the government of the church, and fear of punishment constrained the people to recognize him. Some ecclesiastics alone refused to sign the decree of the election; time passed on, however, and they soon ranged themselves under the orders of the new pope.

But Theodatus was deceived in his hopes. The traitor Silverus, practising on this maxim of the priests, "it is permitted to break faith with heretics," betrayed his benefactor, and opened the gates of Rome to Belisarius.

Justinian, become master of the ancient capital of the world, revived the religious quarrels which had taken place during the pontificate of Agapetus. The empress Theodora, who was favourable to the Acephali in the East, wrote to the pope, to prevail on him to re-establish the patriarch Anthimus, and to drive Mennas from the see of Constantinople. At the same time Belisarius received orders to engage Silverus to subscribe to his projects; and in case of refusal he was enjoined to accuse the pontiff of having maintained secret intelligence with the Goths, and of having desired, by a new treason, to deliver up the city to them. The holy father was sent for to the palace. Belisarius, and his wife Anto-

nina, the confidant of the empress, informed him of the orders they had received, and endeavoured to induce him to obey, by denouncing the council of Chalcedon, and approving, in writing, the belief of the Acephali.

Silverus, placed between two perils, having on the one side to fear the anger of the prince, and on the other the vengeance of the clergy, demanded permission to assemble his council. The priests decided unanimously against the proposition, and threatened him with deposition as a traitor and prevaricator, if he should obey the orders of their enemies. Then, ruled by fear, he refused to yield to the demand of Belisarius; and to shun the vengeance of the Greeks, sought refuge in the church of St. Maria Sabina.

Belisarius publicly accused him of perfidy toward the emperor, and produced as witnesses an advocate named Mark, and a soldier of the Prætorian guard, who affirmed that they had remitted letters for him, addressed to Vitiges, king of the Goths. They summoned the pontiff to appear a second time at the imperial palace, promising him, under oath, not to deprive him of his liberty. Silverus yielded to the invitation of the Grecian general, and after a conference was reconducted to the church in which he had established his retreat.

Having been commanded to appear a third time before Belisarius, he learned that his enemies wished to surprise him, and that it would be impossible for him to resist much longer.

His conjectures were correct; for the empress had written to hold him as a pledge.

She besought him instantly to re-establish Anthimus, or to come to examine the cause of this patriarch, unjustly condemned. Silverus, after reading this letter, heaved a deep sigh. "Behold," says he, "that which informs me that I have not a long time to live." He then went to the Grecian general. Those who accompanied him were arrested; some at the entrance of the saloon, others at the door of the antechamber; and Silverus was introduced into the apartment of Antonina, who was still in bed. "Truly, my lord bishop," she said to him, "I know not what we have done to you, and you Romans, to cause you to deliver us, as you have essayed to do, into the hands of the barbarians. Please advise us of your motives." The pontiff had no long time given him to reply. A sub-deacon entered quickly, and tore from him his mantle; then having taken him into an adjoining apartment, they despoiled him of his marks of dignity, and clothed him in the garb of a monk.

After this ceremony, another sub-deacon entered the antechamber, where the clergy remained, and said to them, "My brethren, we have no longer a pope; he has been deposed, and condemned to do penance in a monastery." Alarmed at this news, they all fled precipitately, leaving the holy father in the hands of his enemies.

Belisarius then occupied himself in having the priest Vigilius, who had been long ambitious of the honours of the episcopate, chosen.

We pass on to the following reign, before speaking of the death of the unfortunate Silverus.

## VIGILIUS, THE SIXTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 537.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East.]

*Character of Vigilius—His vices—He swears to obey the orders of Theodora—The empress compels him to give seven hundred pieces of gold to buy the votes of the clergy—Election of Vigilius—Silverus exiled to Patara, obtains from the emperor permission to return to Rome—The pope seizes him and condemns him to be starved to death on a desert island—Roguary of Vigilius—He becomes suspected by the emperor—King Theodebert consults the pope on the validity of his marriage with a sister-in-law—Fanaticism of the emperor Justinian—His discussions with the pontiff—He orders Vigilius to go to Constantinople to assist at a council—The pope insulted by the people of Rome—Anathemas against the Acephali—The pope condemns the three chapters—Bad faith of Fleury in his ecclesiastical history—Contradictions of Vigilius—He is excommunicated by a council—Excites disorders at Constantinople—Constrained to take refuge in a church—His hypocrisy—Returns to his palace—Is dragged through the streets of Constantinople with a cord about his neck—Escapes to the palace of Placidius—Is sent into exile—His recantation—Knavery of the Jesuits—Death of the pope—This monster, soiled with crimes, has found apologists who have made a martyr of him.*

VIGILIUS was a Roman by birth, and the son of a consul named John. During the pontificate of Boniface the Second, he had obtained a decree which assured to him the chair of St. Peter; but the clergy opposed this scandalous step, and his hopes were blasted. This check did not discourage Vigilius; obstacles excited his enterprising spirit, and he pur-

sued his intrigues with more vigour than before.

History represents him as a man of unmeasured ambition, capable of committing all crimes, to elevate himself to power. "His character," writes an author of that day, "was violent and passionate; in a burst of rage he killed with blows, with a club, a young child

who refused his infamous caresses. He was so avaricious that he dared to avow, that if he had broken off his relations with the empress, it was less through zeal for religion, than not to be obliged to restore the money she had lent him to aid him in his election as pope." Besides, the course of his life was a long train of perfidy, debauchery and crime; and yet the priests have placed this monster among the saints of the church!

Vigilius had accompanied pope Agapetus on his journey to Constantinople. After the death of the pontiff the empress demanded from the young priest, if he would consent to reverse all the decrees of Agapetus, to condemn the council of Constantinople which was about closing; to depose Mennas, and reinstate in their sees Anthimus, Severus, and Timothy; and finally excommunicate the three chapters, the council of Chalcedon, and the famous letter of St. Leo.

None of these propositions frightened the ambitious Vigilius; and he swore to obey the orders of the empress, if he was elected pope. She counted out to him immediately seven hundred pieces of gold, on the security of his note, by which he promised\* to restore this sum when he should be master of the treasures of the church. Then letters were sent forward to Belisarius, to whom the empress recommended the deacon Vigilius as the successor of Agapetus.

All these precautions assured him success; but on his arrival at Naples he learned that the Romans had already received a pontiff whom king Theodatus had imposed upon them. This new check did not stop Vigilius in his projects. He first studied calmly the obstacles which opposed themselves to his elevation, and calculated the chances which remained of overthrowing a man rejected by the clergy, as being the creature of the Goths, the enemies of the empire. Then he informed the empress of his hopes, and besought her to second his efforts. The princess wrote to Belisarius, ordering him to examine all the plans of Vigilius, and to excite complaints against Silverus, that he might be deposed. "If you cannot succeed," added she, "arrest him, and send him to Constantinople without any delay, for we send you a priest, of whose devotion we are assured, and who is bound to reinstall Anthimus, and cause the Acephali to triumph."

Belisarius feared that the execution of this enterprise might produce confusion in Rome, and bring about a dangerous schism. Not being entirely confirmed in his conquest, he did not wish to expose himself to the danger of losing, in a moment, the glory which he had acquired by the defeat of the Vandals and Goths. But his wife, who had a great ascendancy over him, determined to execute the orders of the princess, and the result was the deposition of Silverus, and the shameful election of Vigilius.

In obedience to the command of the Grecian general, the clergy assembled to choose a successor to the deposed pontiff. They first

agitated the question, whether the Holy See was to be regarded as vacant. Their suffrages having been paid for in advance, it was decided in the affirmative. Some then wished to exclude Vigilius, and protested against his pretensions. Their small number caused them to be treated with contempt; and those who had been bought proceeded without delay to the consecration of the new pope.

Vigilius also exacted that the unfortunate Silverus should be placed in his charge, under the pretext that he was bound to answer for the tranquillity of the city. He banished him from Rome, and sent him under safe custody to Patera in Lycia. Contrary to his expectation, the bishop of the country received his prisoner as a confessor; and not only did he render him the honours due to the pontiff, but even undertook to reinstall him in his see. For this purpose he made a journey to Constantinople, represented loudly to the emperor the injustice of the condemnation of Silverus, and obtained from the prince the promise that the accused should return to Rome to undergo a new trial. Justinian pledged himself, that if he was innocent of the treason of which he had been accused, he would replace him on the pontifical chair; and that if he were guilty, he would only banish him from Rome, without degrading him.

But the empress Theodora had too much interest in maintaining Vigilius in his usurpation, to permit that the will of the emperor should be executed; and on his side, Vigilius was too active to sleep in the midst of the dangers that threatened him. He then wrote to Belisarius, that he could not pay the sum agreed upon, unless his adversary were placed in his hands as a hostage. Silverus was then taken from his retreat, and placed in the hands of the infamous Vigilius, who caused him to be conducted by his ferocious satellites to a desert island, called Palmaria, where those were exiled whom it was desirable to put to death promptly and quietly.

The executioners, whom Vigilius called the defenders of the holy church, executed the orders which they had received, which enjoined them to put an end to their prisoner promptly. The unfortunate Silverus was deprived of food during nine entire days, and as his death did not happen as fast as the impatience of the priests who guarded him required, they strangled him and returned to Rome. Such was the punishment of the crime of which Silverus had been guilty, that of usurping the first see of the church.

The clergy remained uncertain for five days as to the choice of a pope. The distribution of money at last united their suffrages upon Vigilius; and after some days of intrigue he was recognized as the most worthy to occupy the chair of St. Peter. The priests proceeded to his exaltation notwithstanding the anathema of him by Silverus, and notwithstanding the frightful complication of crimes and roguery which he had put in execution to reach the pontificate.

Even after the death of his predecessor

Vigilius found himself placed in a very difficult position. On the one side the Roman clergy pressed him to condemn the Acephali; and on the other, the empress imperiously demanded the execution of his promises. In order to avoid the most imminent peril, his holiness remitted to Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, and who was regarded as the favourite of the empress, several letters destined for Theodosius of Alexandria, Anthimus of Constantinople, and Severus of Antioch, in which he declared that he professed the same faith as they. At the same time he besought them to keep his letters secret until he was confirmed in his authority; and he recommended to them to avoid suspicion, by saying openly, that the bishop of Rome was suspected by them.

In the confession of faith which he sent to them he rejected the two natures in Jesus Christ, refuted the letter of St. Leo, and declared those excommunicated who did not believe in one person and one essence. It is thence incontestable that Vigilius was an apostate priest, and a hypocritical pontiff; for at the same time that he approved of the opinions of the Acephali in a letter secretly written to them, he made a public profession of the faith of the orthodox.

Justinian, irritated because Vigilius had not written to him on his entrance to the pontificate, interpreted unfavourably his silence, and sent into Italy the patrician Dominicus, with letters expressing suspicions of the pope. The ambassador was besides charged to summon him to explain the relations he was accused of entertaining with the heretics. In his reply, Vigilius passed a high eulogium to the prince on the purity of his sentiments: he declared to him that his belief was that of his predecessors, Celestin, Leo, Hormisdas, John, and Agapetus; that he acknowledged the four councils, and the letter of Leo; and that he anathematized all who held contrary opinions; lastly, he besought the emperor to preserve the privileges of the Holy See, and to send him as ambassadors irreproachable Catholics. His holiness also wrote to the patriarch Menas, to congratulate him on having performed the promises he made to pope Agapetus, before his ordination, in acknowledging the four councils, and in excommunicating schismatics.

Profuturus, bishop of Braga, in Lusitania, consulted Vigilius upon several points of discipline. The holy father, in his reply, condemned the Priscillians, who abstained from flesh. Since that period the church herself has introduced this superstition among the faithful. He expresses himself at length on the mode of converting the Arians, and on the consecration of churches; he recommends them to celebrate the mass in the new temples, and prohibits the use of holy water in the ceremonies.

Theodobert, king of Austrasia, who had sent troops into Italy during the war between the Romans and the Goths, also consulted Vigilius on the penance which should be imposed

on a man who had espoused the wife of his brother. The pope replied to the king, and at the same time wrote to St. Cœsar of Arles, that he should inform himself of the fact, and of the disposition of the penitent, in order to advise king Theodobert of the time necessary for such repentance, and to beseech him to prevent like disorders in future. The motives which induced him to send back this affair to St. Cœsar, are remarkable: "We ought," said he, "to commit to bishops of provinces the measure of repentance, that they may be enabled to grant indulgence according to the compunction of the penitent."

Justinian, as he advanced in age, abandoned himself more and more to religious fanaticism, and to his passion for controversy. He composed a crowd of works on theology. But in wishing to fathom the mysteries of religion, he finished by insensibly departing from the orthodox principles which he had professed. He published edicts condemning the three chapters of Theodorus of Mopsuesta, the letter of Ibas, the writings of Theodoret, and finally the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril.

The edicts of the emperor were received by all the bishops in the East; and Vigilius alone, ruled by the Roman clergy, opposed the propagation of his principles in the West.

Irritated by the obstinacy of the pontiff, the prince resolved to submit the questions to a general council. He wrote to Vigilius to inform him of the convocation of a synod, and to order him to come without delay to Constantinople.

The popes have always dreaded general councils, especially when they were held beyond their jurisdiction. Thus the holy father made every effort to change the determination of the emperor, or at least to avoid appearing at the council. Justinian was inflexible; and new orders compelled the pontiff to obey.

Before his departure the clergy excited seditions among the people, and gave him a foretaste of the fate which would attend him at Rome, if he should abandon the interests of religion. On the very day on which he quitted the city, the monks stoned him, and heaped maledictions and insults on him. Notwithstanding, Vigilius, desiring to conciliate them against his return, landed in Sicily and purchased grain, which he sent to Rome, to be distributed to the people in his name; after which he continued his route to Constantinople.

The emperor and the bishops who were at his court, received the holy father with great honours, and after the usual ceremonies, the council opened. At the very first conference, Vigilius, having declared that Menas and Theodorus were excluded from his communion in consequence of their support of the principles of Justinian, the prince let loose his anger, and ordered the guards to tear from his throne the unworthy priest whose presence dishonoured the assembly. It was done at once, notwithstanding the entreaties of the empress, who besought her husband to suspend his vengeance.

This princess, who was constantly studying over her project of driving away Menas, to reinstall Anthimus on the see of Constantinople, hoped that the pope would resolve to fulfil the promises he had before made to her on this important affair. Vigilius, who had the threats of the clergy of Rome always before him, refused to ratify his old engagements, and preferred reconciling himself with Menas; on the condition, however, that the patriarch should subscribe to all that the Latin bishops should determine in the matter of the three chapters.

Theodorus of Cesarea, also made his peace by accepting the same conditions. Still, in order to show that his reconciliation with these two prelates should not be taken as a declaration in favour of the Eutychians and Acephali, Vigilius solemnly excommunicated the followers of the heresy.

This first mark of deference did not entirely satisfy Justinian, who was willing that Vigilius should condemn the three articles. The pontiff then protested against the violence which had been used towards him, and refused to make any determination without the consent of the Latin bishops. On his side, the emperor preserved no restraint towards the holy father; and matters were carried so far, that the pope one day said, in a full assembly, "I perceive that I am regarded here as a slave, whom you think you have a right to eat. It is true that I am in chains; but recollect that Peter, whose place I occupy, has lost none of his liberty."

On another occasion he recalled to the prince the words of Agapetus: "I thought I was coming to the court of a Christian emperor, and I find myself in that of Diocletian, the most cruel of tyrants." The firmness of the pontiff bent the emperor, and he permitted the bishops to assemble to deliberate on the affair of the three articles.

Seventy prelates then assembled, when the pope declared the council dissolved, before they had arrived at any decision. The fathers received orders to give their opinions in writing, and he sent the bulletins to the palace of the emperor. After some days, Vigilius himself gave his own opinion, which was in condemnation of the three chapters, without prejudice to the council of Chalcedon. Fleury has maintained that this last clause was a question of fact, in which the church was not interested. Such an insinuation can only show prodigious ignorance or wonderful bad faith; for the affair of the three chapters was so important for religion, that a large number of bishops separated themselves from the communion of Vigilius because he had condemned them.

Nevertheless, the judgment of the pontiff contented neither the Acephali nor the orthodox, who regarded it as a mark of the apostacy of the pope. Dacius, bishop of Milan, who was the last who remained attached to his fortunes, abandoned him, and refused to take part in the new constitution. Two of his deacons, Rusticus and Sebastian, followed the same example, and published through the

provinces, that the pope had abandoned the council of Chalcedon.

Vigilius, always contradicting himself in his measures, gave utterance to the sentiments of the orthodox, and favoured the heretics, as the interests of his grandeur demanded. On the other hand, the defenders of the three chapters remained firm in their belief. They held a synod in Illyria, at which they condemned Benenanus, bishop of the first Justinianea. The following year, the prelates of Africa assembled in council, showed still more rigour. They excommunicated the holy father as a traitor and apostate, undertook the defence of the doctrine of the three chapters, and sent their letters to the emperor by Olympius Magistriani.

At length Vigilius, comprehending that his tortuous policy had not succeeded in deceiving either party, consented to receive the three chapters, and proposed a general council to terminate the difficulty.

Theodore Ascidas, bishop of Cæsarea, profoundly afflicted by the disorders and seditions which all these disputes excited in the empire, cast himself at the feet of Justinian, and in the name of the clergy addressed to him this discourse: "Is it not a shameful thing, my lord, that the master of the universe, after having reduced so many different nations, should be so reduced as to bend before the caprice of a priest who knows not his own mind? Vigilius said yesterday: 'I anathematize all who do not condemn the three articles!' To day, he says, 'I anathematize whomsoever condemns them!' And, under pretext of reserving them for the judgment of a council, he dares, on his own authority, to reverse the edicts of the emperor, and impose his belief even on Constantinople. The whole world knows your great piety; your edicts have been received by all the churches! And now, what will people think, when they see a stranger reverse, by a single word, acts so solemn in your own presence, in contempt of four patriarchs and a great number of bishops, who have come together at your bidding, to cause the edicts to be executed? What has become of your authority, great prince, if you cannot command your subjects until they have received the permission of Vigilius? What would the empress, that virtuous princess, whose recent loss we mourn, say, if she saw Justinian so far abase his royal dignity, as publicly to be contradicted by a proud priest?"

This harangue changed the disposition of the emperor. The edict against the three chapters was put in force, and sustained by the writings of Theodore, who had conducted the affair with so much address. On this occasion Vigilius wished to address his complaints to Justinian; but the prince refused to hear him. He threatened with excommunication those who should dare to break his orders. They replied to his menaces, by affixing the edict in all the churches. Then the rage of the pontiff vented itself in imprecations. They despised his outrages as they had his threats. Pushed to an extreme, he

convoked, in the palace of Placidius, all the bishops who were in Constantinople, the deacons, and even the inferior clergy. He protested, in their presence, against the measures of the emperor, and launched terrible anathemas against those who followed the doctrine of the three chapters, and did not submit to the decision of the Western bishops.

They no longer preserved any circumspection, and both parties delivered themselves up to all the fury of fanaticism. The pope, not thinking himself in safety in the palace of Placidius, took refuge in the church of St. Peter, where he composed the famous decree of excommunication against Theodore, Mennas, and their adherents. Still he kept it secret, to manage still some means of safety, and confided it to a monk to publish it, in case they menaced his life or liberty.

The emperor refused to consider the church of St. Peter an inviolable asylum for a criminal and audacious priest, who dared to brave him even on his throne. He ordered the prætor, charged with arresting robbers and murderers, to draw Vigilius from his retreat, and sent the ordinary officer of justice, with a detachment of soldiers, as his guard.

The troop having penetrated into the church with drawn swords and bended bows, advanced to seize the pope, who was concealed under the high altar, the pillars of which he embraced. Then the prætor, on the refusal of the pontiff to obey the orders of the prince, was obliged to employ violence. He ordered the soldiers to drive out the deacons and clerks with blows of their halberds, and to bring forth the holy father from his sanctuary; drawing him by the feet, the hair and the beard. As Vigilius was large and vigorous, he broke two pillars of the altar in the struggle; so that, unless the clerks had upheld the holy table, it would have fallen upon him and crushed him. But, during the arrest, the people, excited to revolt by the priests, assembled in array, attacked the prætor with fury, drove the troops from the church, and maintained Vigilius in his asylum.

Justinian, in his turn, was obliged to propose terms of accommodation. Three persons of the court came, in his name, to represent to the pontiff that, in taking refuge in a church, he had committed an outrage on the emperor, whom he appeared to regard as a tyrant. They engaged him to repress the fanaticism of his priests, who incited revolts, and designated the prince to the vengeance of the people. They warned him that if he should do otherwise, Justinian, to put an end to the disorders, would be compelled to employ more violent means, and to besiege the church of St. Peter. Finally, they promised the pontiff, if he would consent to go to the palace of Placidius, to give all the guaranties and sureties he should require. Vigilius replied, that he would yield to their wishes, on condition that they should force neither him nor his to approve of articles of faith which their conscience rejected. Justinian consented to take this solemn engagement, but the proud pontiff

demanded to prescribe the terms, and the clauses of the oath. It was then signified to him, that if he were unwilling to accept the conditions offered him, he would be taken from the church by soldiers, and condemned to finish his days in a dungeon. This threat determined him to return to the palace of Placidius.

Scarcely was he installed in his old residence, when, in contempt of the pledged word, the holy father was overwhelmed with outrages, and exposed to the most infamous treatment. The officers of the emperor tore him from the palace, and led him through the streets of the city, and striking him on the cheek, said to the people, "Behold the chastisement with which our most illustrious emperor punishes this rebellious and obstinate priest; this odious pontiff, who strangled the unfortunate Silverus; this infamous sodomite, who killed with a club a poor child who resisted him." After this ceremony he was reconducted to the palace, and guarded as a prisoner by the soldiers of the prince.

Two days before Christmas he managed to deceive the vigilance of those who guarded him. He climbed, during the night, a small wall which had been constructed around his prison, fled from Constantinople, and took refuge in the church of St. Euphemia of Chalcedon. To escape the wrath of the emperor, he feigned to have fallen dangerously sick.

As soon as Justinian was apprised of the flight of Vigilius, he sent several persons of distinction to induce him to leave St. Euphemia, and return to Constantinople, where he should receive all the satisfaction he desired. This time the pope rejected the advances of the prince, and threatened him with deciding, on his own authority, the religious question of the three chapters, if he should refuse to submit to the judgment of a council of bishops of the West. In fact, he made a decree, which he called a constitution, to distinguish it from the former judgment; and in this bull, addressed to the emperor, he revoked the anathemas he had before launched against those who adopted the three chapters. Another proof that the Holy See is not infallible.

Notwithstanding the absence of Vigilius, and his declared opposition, the fifth council of Constantinople continued its deliberations, condemned the three chapters, and rejected the pretensions of the pope as outraging the liberty of the church. It results from these debates between the bishops of the East and the holy father, that the councils of the first ages examined, frequently even rejected and condemned, the decisions of the sovereign pontiff. An evident proof that they did not regard his decisions as clothed with the character of infallibility.

Cardinal Baronius has wished to contest the authority of the council of Constantinople; but cardinal Novis has apologized for it in a beautiful and learned historical dissertation, in which he notices several errors of father Mallois. It is true that an impartial author would have deduced from it consequences

still more unfavourable to the Holy See; nevertheless, it is curious to see an adorer of the Roman purple, a cardinal, avow that the decision of a pope had been condemned by an œcumenical council.

The three chapters having been anathematized, Vigilius was pressed to subscribe to the judgment of the fathers; and on his refusal, the emperor condemned him to exile. His domestics were taken from him; the bishops, priests, and deacons of his party were dispersed in the desert, and the pope was abandoned, during six entire months, without any assistance, to the pains of the gravel, a disease from which he had suffered constantly during his seven years sojourn in Constantinople.

Theodore of Cæsarea, guided by honourable sentiments, and desirous of elevating to the Holy See a venerable man, announced that Vigilius was declared a heretic, and urged upon the Romans to choose another pope; but by one of those eccentricities of the human mind which we see, without the power of explaining, he found the contempt they had so long borne for the pope was changed into respect and veneration. The Roman clergy and people regarded him as a confessor of the faith of Jesus Christ, banished and persecuted for the defence of his church; and they refused to nominate a new pontiff, notwithstanding the order of Narses, who commanded for the emperor in Italy.

At length the holy father was tired of exile. The evils which he suffered, surmounted the terror with which the Latin bishops inspired him, and he declared that he gave his approval to the council. We should add, that this tardy resolution was inspired through fear of seeing elevated to the see of St. Peter the famous deacon Pelagius, who, after having defended the three chapters, had made his submission, and had engaged to execute the will of the prince.

Vigilius wrote a letter to the patriarch Eutychius, in which he admitted himself to have been wanting in charity in separating from his brethren. He adds, that we should never be ashamed of retracting when we have fallen into error. He cites the example of St. Augustin, and thus terminates his letter: "We advise the whole Catholic church, that we condemn and anathematize Theodore of Mopsuesta, and his impious writings, as well as all other heretics; the works of Theodoret against St. Cyril, against the council Ephesus, and those who have written in favour of Theodore and Nestorius, as well as the letter to Maris the Persian, which is attributed to Ibas. We submit to the same excommunication, those who maintain and defend the chapters, or who shall undertake to do so. We recognize as our brethren and colleagues those who condemn them, and we reverse, by this new bull, all that has been done by ourselves or others, in defence of the three chapters."

The letter of Vigilius is still found in Grecian works; but the sacred historians have judged it prudent to leave it in oblivion. There

remains only in Latin a constitution, much more in detail, in which the holy father condemns the three chapters. He confesses that the letter of St. Leo was not approved by the council of Chalcedon, until after it had been examined and found conformable with the faith of preceding councils; a very important avowal, which the priests now deny.

Thus the pontiff accomplished this great iniquity, and solemnly condemned the memory of prelates who had died in the peace of the church.

The testimony of nine Grecian, Latin, and Arabian authors, several of whom wrote during the reign of Justinian, guarantees the authenticity of these facts. We will refer those who doubt the accuracy of history, to convince them of the infamy of the holy father, to the very terms of the sixth general council, of which we relate the substance.

"The emperor Marcian approved of the letter of St. Leo; Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, also approved of it; and it was generally received by all the council of Chalcedon, which condemned the sentiments of Eutyches. Vigilius so understood it also, with the emperor Justinian, and the fifth council was convoked to anathematize the abominable libels which were secretly spread abroad."

All this testimony shows that Vigilius formally condemned the three chapters, and approved of the council of Constantinople, that he might obtain permission to return to Rome, and remount the Holy See. Before his departure he obtained from Justinian a decree in favour of Italy, in which the prince confirms all the donations made to the Romans by Athalaric, Almasontus and Theodatus, and revoked those of Totila. He also declared that the marriages of ecclesiastics with virgins consecrated to God, were null in the eye of the law. At this period they were unused to celibacy, and the priests even married nuns.

Vigilius was returning to Rome to weigh down the people under a yoke of despotism and terror. Happily he did not realize the reveries of his ambition. During his journey, a poisoned beverage was given to him, and he died at Syracuse in the beginning of the year 555, after having held the Holy See for eighteen years and a half, carrying with him to his tomb the hatred of the Latins and the execration of the Greeks. His body was carried to Rome, and interred in the church of St. Marcellus.

The ancient martyrologists ranked him among the saints, with the title of martyr; but the church has not confirmed this canonization.

The holy father, elevated to his greatness by an odious murder, underwent in the course of his pontificate incredible sufferings, without even exciting compassion. His history is a long catalogue of horrors and abominations. A knave, a miser, a suborner, and an assassin, Vigilius died, abusing religion and deceiving men.

## PELAGIUS THE FIRST, SIXTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 557.—JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East; and CHILDEBERT, King of France.]

*Birth of Pelagius—Sec of Rome—Politics of Pelagius—Pillage of Rome by Totila, king of the Goths—Pelagius goes to Constantinople—His fanaticism against the Origenistes—Violent disputes between Pelagius and Theodore of Alexandria—Pelagius usurps the sovereign pontificate—The priests accuse him of poisoning Vigilus—The bishops refuse to consecrate him—Pelagius purges himself, by oath, of the crimes imputed to him—He distributes great largesses among the people with the money brought from Constantinople by his predecessor—The holy father excites Narses to persecute the heretics—Reflections upon the genius of persecution, which has always distinguished Catholicism—Pelagius sends relics to king Childebert—Council of Paris—Death of the sovereign pontiff.*

PELAGIUS was by birth a Roman, and the son of John, an ancient vicar of the prefecture. When Vigilus was compelled to leave Rome to go to Constantinople by command of Justinian, he sent from Sicily several vessels laden with grain, to lighten the sufferings of the people; but as the Goths were then besieging the city, the vessels were captured at Porto, and Rome continued in a state of famine. Pelagius, who had already made his preparations to become the sovereign pontiff, seized upon this occasion to increase his popularity. He bought from the Goths the grain they had captured, and distributed it to the poor and sick. The Romans, in gratitude, named him chief of an embassy charged with demanding from the king of the Goths a truce of some days, at the end of which they would surrender at discretion, unless relieved from Constantinople.

Totila refused to listen to the offers of the Roman deputies—their embassy having put him in possession of their desperate situation—pushed the siege with vigour, and three days after stormed the city. Above all things, the barbarian wished to enter the church of St. Peter, “to render,” as he said, “solemn thanks to God for the success of his army.” Pelagius received him at the head of the clergy, holding the Bible in his hands. He prostrated himself at the feet of the king, whilst the priests exclaimed, in mournful tones, “My Lord, spare your own! The God of armies has submitted us to your authority. Spare your subjects.” Totila listened to their entreaties. He prohibited the Goths from continuing their massacres or violating females, and only permitted them to plunder. He broke down the walls of the city, and destroyed many fine buildings. The sack of Rome continued forty days, and the Goths retired from this expedition on the receipt of the intelligence that Belisarius was coming, with a powerful army, to the succour of Italy.

Pelagius was then sent by the clergy to Constantinople, to have a surveillance over Vigilus. He obtained at the court of Justinian the title of the nuncio of the church of Rome, and was honoured with the confidence of that prince. Soon after the emperor sent him to Gaza with Ephraim of Antioch, Peter of Jerusalem, and Hippacius of Ephesus, to carry the pallium to Paul of Alexandria, and to consecrate there Zoilus patriarch of that city.

He acquitted himself faithfully in his mission, and returned to Constantinople the following month. During his sojourn in that city, several monks presented to him extracts from the writings of Origen, whence they wished to obtain from the emperor the condemnation of the monks of New Lama, who had adopted the singular opinions of this father of the Greek church, and who excited trouble in the convents of Palestine. Pelagius, who was the avowed enemy of Theodore of Cappadocia, the partisan of Origen, and who had constantly opposed his intrigues for the pontificate, hastened to seize this opportunity of avenging himself. He joined himself to Mennas, the patriarch of Constantinople, to obtain from the emperor an assent to the request of the monks of Palestine, to condemn the heretics. But his attempts were frustrated by Justinian, who published the famous edict on the three chapters, composed by Theodore of Cappadocia. Pelagius, foiled in his revenge, excited against this decree all the Catholics whom he could find ready to second him. Thanks to the nuncio, the scandals and disorders were so great, that the bishop Theodore said, “that Pelagius and himself deserved to be burned alive, for having excited in the church so violent disputes, and for having made use of religion, that mantle which covers all sins, to gratify their feelings of hatred and jealousy.”

Pelagius was condemned to exile, and did not obtain his pardon from the emperor until after he had subscribed to the edict, and made his submission to the council. Justinian then restored him to his favour, and promised to cause him to be consecrated bishop of Rome after the death of Vigilus.

At length, the sovereign pontiff, having obtained permission to return to Italy, Pelagius demanded permission to accompany him on his journey, and we know that Vigilus died at Syracuse from the effects of a poisoned beverage! Pelagius immediately clothed himself with the pontifical mantle, and without waiting the result of a regular election, declared himself bishop of Rome, by the authority of the emperor Justinian. Nevertheless, on his arrival in the holy city, the bishops refused to ratify his usurpation, and publicly accused him of the death of his predecessor. The Roman clergy, the religious orders, and the people refused the communion of the pontiff,

and he found but three priests who consented to proceed with his ordination.

In this general abandonment, Pelagius addressed himself to the patrician Narses, and demanded his protection. The latter, in order to obey the orders of his prince, consented to sustain the new pope. He ordained a solemn procession, in which he displayed all the luxury and all the pomp of great ceremonies, in order to attract a crowd.

The procession, starting from the church of St. Pancras, directed its route towards that of St. Peter. When it had arrived in the interior of this church, the holy father took the Gospels in one hand, the cross in the other, placed them above his head, and in this position he mounted the pulpit, in order to be seen by the whole assembly. Then he protested his innocence, took God as his witness, and swore by the holy mysteries and the body of Jesus Christ, that he was not culpable of the death of Vigilius, and that he had not aided at all in the sufferings he had undergone at Constantinople. He besought the faithful to unite with him to put an end to the disorders which existed in the church, and demanded from them their children, in order to increase the number of the clergy.

Pelagius then created new officers, and made great largesses to the people, with the money which Vigilius had brought with him from Constantinople. Nevertheless, the schism was not healed. The supporters of the three chapters were numerous, especially in Tuscany, Lombardy, and the other provinces. They did not pardon the holy father for having subscribed to the acts of the fifth council, and for having committed an abominable parricide, in order to elevate himself to the pontificate.

In despite of the clamors of the Romans, Pelagius, sustained by the imperial authority, maintained himself on the chair of St. Peter. He gave the superintendence of the property of the church to Valentine, his secretary, and presented to all the churches vessels of gold and silver, as well as the veils which had been carried off by the priests during the troubles. He applied himself to repress the heresies in Italy, and incited Narses to persecute the unfortunate schismatics.

"Do not listen," said he, "to the idle talk of timid men, who blame the church when it commands a persecution for the purpose of repressing error, in order to save souls. Schisms are violent evils, which must be cured by strong and terrible remedies; and Scripture and the canons authorize us to call in the aid of magistrates to compel schismatics to re-enter into the bosom of the church. Do, then, that which we have frequently asked from you; send to the emperor, well guarded, those who have separated themselves from the apostolic see. Have no fears for your eternal safety; the examples of the great saints will teach you that princes ought to punish heretics, not only by exile, but also by the confiscation of property, by severe imprisonment, and even by torture."

The eunuch Narses, an excellent soldier, and personally brave, constantly opposed the violent measures which the holy father proposed. He sought, on the other hand, by his mildness and tolerance, to induce a disposition more conformable to the precepts of the Bible. In fact, it was said that the man-of-war acted as the shepherd; and the shepherd as the man-of-war. We are about to discover that the clergy have always found great pleasure in swimming in blood and contemplating carnage; and that they have even surpassed kings in their cruelty when they have possessed the sovereign power. It is a truth, unfortunately established by history, that religious intolerance, during more than two thousand years, has depopulated the most flourishing states, lighted among all nations the torches of fanaticism, excited in all countries butcheries, murders, and incendiarism; and has, above all, led to violations and massacres. What is the most deplorable is, that the ministers of all these cruelties have veiled them from the eyes of the people, under the specious pretext of maintaining the orthodoxy of the church, and have caused a religion sublime in its morality to be execrated. The misfortunes under which humanity has groaned, have had no other origin than the ambition of priests, or the pride of sovereigns. Nevertheless, the partizans of theocracy affirm, that the priests are not persecutors when they force men to enter upon the true path; and they rely upon the famous words of the evangelist, "Constrain them to enter."

But from this odious principle the orthodox furnish arms against themselves; for, according to their own maxims, heretics should cause torrents of blood to flow in those countries in which their power is supreme.

People! repulse these impious men, whose avarice and ambition are concealed under the mask of hypocrisy. Return to sentiments more elevated, and believe, whatever may be your creed, that love and charity for your brethren are the only acts agreeable to God.

Pelagius, who was entirely opposed to sentiments of tolerance, renewed his entreaties to Narses to second his projects of vengeance. The heretics, on their side, excommunicated the Grecian general, because he seemed to protect the infamous Pelagius. The holy father hastened to congratulate Narses that Providence had permitted him to be anathematized, in order to cause the purity of his faith to shine forth; at the same time he induced him to take a brilliant vengeance for the act, by sending the guilty, and particularly Paulinus, bishop of Aquilea, whom he called an usurper, bound, hand and foot, to Constantinople. He also pointed out to the wrath of the patrician another schismatic bishop named Euphrasius, who was accused of homicide and incestuous adultery.

To show the effects of the vengeance of the pontiff, the prelates of Tuscany wrote to him in justification of their separation. Pelagius replied to them: "How is it that you do not believe yourselves separate from the

communion of the faithful, when you do not recite my name in your prayers, according to the established usage of the church? For all unworthy as I am, it is in my person that are lodged the powers granted by God to the successors of St. Peter. But, to put an end to the evil thoughts which must exist in your minds, and among your people, as to the purity of my faith, I declare to you, that I conform to the decisions of the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; that I anathematize all who doubt the orthodoxy of these four œcumenical assemblies, as well as the letter of pope Leo, confirmed by the synod of Chalcedon."

A large number of the bishops of Gaul also expressed their discontent with the holy father, and complained to king Childebert of the scandal which his condemnation of the three chapters caused in the church. The prince charged Rufinus, his ambassador at Rome, to demand an explanation of this judgment, in order to submit it to the clergy of France. Pelagius hastened to reply to the king, and at the same time sent him relics of the apostles and martyrs, which he commended to his piety. His profession of faith explained the mysteries of the Trinity, and of the incarnation, as well as the dogma of the resurrection of the dead. In his private letter, addressed to the sovereign, he praised the greatness of Childebert, and said to him, "that, according to the words of the Holy Scripture, "the Levites of the Lord should be in submission to the powers of the earth."

In the third council of Paris, which was held the same year, the fathers made several canons to prevent the usurpation of church property. At this period of barbarity and ignorance, some lords despoiled their families, through devotion, to enrich the monasteries, whilst others pillaged monasteries to seize on their wealth. Among their benefactors the monks cite duke Crodin. According to their legends, it appears that this lord employed his immense treasures in building, every year, three palaces; that he called in the neighbouring prelates to inaugurate them; and after having bestowed on them sumptuous repasts, he distributed among them, not only vessels of silver, rich hangings, costly furniture, and domestics, but also the palaces, farms, lands, cultivated ground, vineyards, and the serfs who cultivated them.

Still, the greater part of the nobles, far from imitating the example of the pious Crodin, seized upon the convents with armed hands, pillaged the churches, and drove the priests or the monks from their residences. The synod pronounced the penalties of excommu-

nication against those who should retain the property of the clergy, regular or secular; and declared them anathematized, and murderers of the poor, until they should have restored the domains of which they had robbed them. The laity were prohibited from taking possession of bishoprics, under the pretext of supervising the administration during a vacancy; and if the usurper resided in another diocese, the council commanded the priests to address their reclamations to the prelates of the province, to constrain the ravisher to restore the patrimony of the ecclesiastics.

The fathers declared that the bishops were the guardians of the charters of the churches, and the protectors of the property of the clergy. They prohibited the espousal of a widow or young girl against her consent, even with the authority of the prince. They condemned marriages between kinsfolk, and persons consecrated to God. They also prohibited the ordination of bishops without the approbation of the citizens; and in case a priest should seize upon the see by order of the sovereign, they commanded the prelates of the province to reject the usurper, under penalty of being themselves excluded from the communion of the faithful. Finally, the last canon sent back to the metropolitan, judgment on ordinations already made, and which were tainted with irregularity. Such were the important decisions of the synod of Paris.

Among the prelates who assisted at that synod, one of the most illustrious was St. Germain of Paris, bishop of that city. He was born in Autun, of very religious parents, who placed him, when very young, in a cloister in the little city of Avalon, where he obtained his early education. In the course of time he was elevated by his merit to the dignity of abbot of St. Symphorien, a monastery situated in one of the faubourgs of Autun. Then his community sent him to the fifth council of Orleans, where his learning and great piety acquired for him the esteem of his colleagues, and procured for him the episcopal see of Paris, which was vacant through the death of Eusebius. Greatness did not change the habits of the pious abbot: he was as simple, as detached from the world, as before; and it appeared that he had not accepted the high distinction of bishop, but to show to other prelates that it was possible to practise at once, the duties of the episcopate and the austerities of the convent.

Pelagius died in 559, after having reigned three years and ten months, in the midst of schisms, which separated from his see the church of the East, and a part of that of the West.

## JOHN THE THIRD, SIXTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 560.—JUSTINIAN and JUSTIN THE SECOND, Emperors of the East.]

*The obscurity of the history of John the Third—Election of the pontiff—Two bishops of Gaul condemned and deposed for their crimes, appeal to the pope, and are reinstalled in their sees—They are a second time condemned by the council of Chalons—Death of John.*

THE chronicles of the church towards the end of the sixth century are barren of events, and the history of the pontificates, the most important in their duration, is developed in a few pages.

After the death of Pelagius, John, surnamed Cateline, was chosen to succeed him. The new pontiff finished the churches of St. Philip and St. James, commenced by his predecessor, and enriched them with mosaics and paintings, whose subjects were drawn from the Holy Scriptures. He dedicated those temples; and it is believed that he instituted the fête of the apostles Philip and James. The cemetery of the martyrs was also increased by his care; and he ordained that on Sundays the church of the Lateran should furnish this oratory with bread, wine, and lights.

Six years after the election of the pontiff, two bishops of the kingdom of Gontran, scandalized the community by their abominable lives. The prince assembled a council at Lyons, which declared the two prelates deposed for the crimes of adultery, rape, and murder.

Instead of submitting to this decision, these

unworthy prelates accused the synod of having exceeded its powers, and appealed from it to the pope, who had the boldness to reinstate them in their sees. Thus the court of Rome justified the most condemnable actions, when those who committed them aided in augmenting the pontifical power!

The guilty prelates, finding themselves sustained by the Holy See, persevered in their excesses, and their debaucheries were such, that the clergy of Burgundy anathematized them anew, in an assembly held at Chalons, where they were declared prevaricating bishops, traitors to their country, and guilty of lèse-majesty.

Some authors affirm, that John the Third did not approve of the fifth œcumenical council. Cardinal Norris has demonstrated that this is untrue; and father Francis Pagi agrees with him. Both found their opinions on the testimony of esteemed authors, but who have not made it as authentic as history demands.

The pope died in 572, after a reign of thirteen years, and was interred in the church of St. Peter's at Rome.

## BENEDICT THE FIRST, SIXTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 573.—JUSTIN THE SECOND, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Benedict the First—Famine at Rome—Death of the pontiff.*

AFTER the death of the pontiff John, the Holy See remained vacant for ten months. Fleury, in his Church History, attributes this long interregnum to the baneful effects of the ravages which the Lombards then exercised in Italy. It is, however, nearer the truth to refer the cause to the intrigues which always preceded the election of the popes.

Benedict the First, surnamed Bonosus, a Roman by birth, and the son of Boniface, having triumphed over his competitors, mounted

upon the see of St. Peter. During his pontificate the misery of the people was extreme, and Rome would have succumbed to the horrors of famine, if the emperor Justin the Second had not sent from Egypt vessels laden with wheat, to succour the holy city.

The actions of the holy father remain enveloped in oblivion. We only know that he died in 577, after having occupied the apostolic throne for four years. He was interred in the church of St. Peter at Rome.

## PELAGIUS THE SECOND, SIXTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 577.—TIBERIUS THE SECOND and MAURICE, Emperors of the East.]

*Considerations on the elections of popes during the sixth century—The emperors reserve the right of confirming the nominations of prelates—Election of Pelagius the Second—He receives the monks of Mount Cassino—The pontiff endeavours to reunite the church—Obstinacy of the bishops of Istria—They are persecuted by order of the pope—The emperor prohibits violence against schismatics—Gregory of Antioch accused of incest—He justifies himself by oath—John the Faster, archbishop of Constantinople, takes the title of Universal Bishop—Death of Pelagius.*

THE pontiffs of Rome had considerably augmented their wealth since the commencement of the sixth century, by declaring themselves the dispensers of a fourth part of the property of the church; and they were soon able to form a powerful party in the holy city. The elections then lost their religious character; the ambitious, who desired to elevate themselves upon the throne of St. Peter, were prodigal of their gold to the factious, and intrigues degenerated into seditions.

Up to this period, the princes had not occupied themselves in the choice of the pontiffs; but, seeing the authority of the Holy See increase, they became alarmed at the power of the popes, and resolved no longer to permit the clergy and people to be independent in the election of their bishops.

Under the specious pretext that this liberty drew in its train seditions, massacres, and that it sometimes even drove the rivals to form secret alliances with the enemies of the state to sustain their pretensions, the emperors ordered that the prelates chosen by the suffrages of the laity and clergy, could not be consecrated, nor exercise their sacerdotal functions without their approval. They reserved chiefly the right of confirming the elections of the bishops of Rome, Ravenna, and Milan, and left to their ministers the care of the other sees.

Nevertheless, when an eminent ecclesiastic, known to be agreeable to the prince, had been chosen by the people as chief of their diocese, he was solemnly consecrated, without waiting for the reply of the emperor. It was the same when war or pestilence interrupted the communication between the East and the West. Thus the ordination of Pelagius, the successor of Benedict the First, was accomplished. Rome, besieged by its enemies, was so closely surrounded that no one could leave the city. The deplorable state of the church compelled the clergy to consecrate their chief, without waiting for the authority of Tiberius. After the siege was raised, however, they sent the deacon Gregory to Constantinople to obtain the approval of the emperor for the enthroning of the new pontiff—the Greek emperors preserving the right of confirming the elections of the prelates of Italy until the middle of the eighth century.

Pelagius was a Roman by birth, and the son of Vinigildus. In the beginning of his reign, the Lombards ravaged Italy, massacred the ministers of religion, and ruined the mo-

nastery of Mount Cassino. The monks of this convent, who escaped the swords of the barbarians, found an asylum in Rome, where the pope permitted them to build a new retreat, near the palace of the Lateran.

To arrest the incursions of the hordes who sacked the Latin cities, Pelagius demanded troops from Tiberius. Unfortunately the war, which this prince was maintaining against the Persians, rendered this negotiation useless. Fearing that if he should weaken his army by dividing his forces, he would not be able to defend the empire against his formidable adversaries, he refused to send soldiers to the succour of Italy. The pontiff then turning to another side, sought the aid of the Frank kings, and besought them to declare war on the Lombards. His projects failed in Gaul, as they had done in Constantinople; and his letters addressed to the bishop of Arles and the prelates of Auxerre, to obtain the protection of Gontran, did not produce any effect.

After the death of Tiberius the Second, the new emperor, Maurice, was more favourable to Pelagius than his predecessor. At the solicitation of the deacon Gregory, he sent troops to the pontiff, and even made a treaty with Childebert the Second, king of Austrasia, by which he paid him fifty thousand pennies of gold to drive the Lombards from Italy. The Frank king advanced immediately against them, but they arrested him on his march, and bought his alliance for a sum double that which the Greek emperor had paid him. Childebert accepted the bribe, and suspended hostilities, under the pretence of waiting for reinforcements. He then returned into Gaul, and the Roman peninsula was delivered up to the mercy of its conquerors.

The bishops who had separated themselves from the communion of the Holy See on account of the fifth council, persevered in the schism, notwithstanding the efforts which John the Third and Benedict the First had made to bring them back into unity. Pelagius the Second, solicited by his deacon Gregory, undertook a new contest with them, and wished to constrain them to return to the bosom of the church. He wrote to the prelates of Istria, obstinate heretics, and besought them to send deputies to Rome, to settle a schism which scandalized Christianity. They replied that they would not reunite with the apostolical see, which was dishonoured by popes who persisted in culpable errors, and wished to impose them on the faithful. The metropo-

litan of Aquileia accused the holy father of having betrayed the faith of Christ, and of anathematizing the doctrine of the councils. This primate, imitating the examples which his predecessors, Paulinus and Macedonius, had left him, vigorously opposed the pretensions of Pelagius; and in the end his successor, Severus, was as resolute as he in the defence of the three chapters.

The pontiff having vainly displayed against them the resources of his eloquence, and the menace of ecclesiastical thunder, then had recourse to the temporal power, and Smaragdus, governor of Italy, seconded the criminal intolerance of the pope in persecuting the clergy of Istria. He drove Severus from the see of Aquileia; tore him from his cathedral, and led him a prisoner to Ravenna, with three other prelates and an old man named Anthony, a zealous defender of the church. These unfortunate victims of the violence of Smaragdus were delivered to the hands of the executioners, and by force of torments were obliged to commune with one of the slaves of the Holy See, John the apostate, bishop of Ravenna, who had himself, in former times, approved of the three chapters, and had been separated from the court of Rome for that crime. After their abjuration, Severus and the other prisoners obtained permission to return to Grada; but the schismatical people and clergy, regarding them as apostates, did not wish to receive them into the city, nor to hold communion with them.

The heretics, convinced of the excellence of their doctrines, resisted with firmness the persecution of Pelagius, and animated by religious enthusiasm, they openly proclaimed themselves the defenders of the three chapters, in order to obtain the palm of martyrdom. The courage they exhibited in their punishments, determined the usurper to suspend the executions. He ordered Smaragdus to put an end to the violence exercised against them, and to repress the fanaticism of the holy father, until Italy should be delivered from the Lombards, and should have recovered its liberty. He promised then to convoke the bishops of the West in council, to judge the guilty and to continue the persecutions.

Three years after, in 589, Gregory of Antioch, accused of incest with his sister, by a layman, exculpated himself by oath before a synod, held at Constantinople. The accuser of the prelate was declared a calumniator, condemned to banishment, dragged ignominiously through the streets of the city, and beaten by the executioner with a thong of ox hide stuck with sharp points. The assembly before which Gregory had justified himself was presided over by John the Faster, patriarch of the imperial city, who took the title of universal bishop, to show that the chiefs of the Eastern clergy had submitted to his authority. As soon as Pelagius was advised of the ambitious pretensions of John, he sent letters to Byzantium, declaring that, by virtue of the powers granted him by St. Peter, he annulled the acts of the synod of Constantinople, and prohibited the deacons

of the emperor from assisting at divine service celebrated by a proud priest, who would destroy the equality of the church, and who took a title so contrary to episcopal humility.

During that same year, Recaredus, king of the Visigoths, after having publicly adopted, in concert with the grandees of his kingdom, the Catholic religion, assembled a council at Toledo, to which were convoked the lords and prelates of all the countries of his sway, to condemn the Arian heresy with which the people were infected. Seventy-four bishops and six representatives of prelates assisted at this synod, over which the king presided in person. The session was opened by reading a profession of faith, subscribed by the king, and queen Baddo, his wife, in which were formularies of violent accusations against the doctrine of Arius and his accomplices, and which terminated by a defence of the four great oecumenical councils recognized by the church. The king then invited the fathers to deliberate upon reforms capable of remedying the disorders. The council decreed that priests and bishops, instead of living publicly with their wives, as they had before done, should maintain more mystery in their carnal intercourse, and should not sleep in the same chamber with them. They also prohibited children who were the fruit of illicit unions from being put to death. He compelled the clergy, under pain of the most severe censures, not to prosecute their brethren nor the laity, before the secular judges; but to call them before the ecclesiastical tribunals—a usage which soon spread throughout all Christendom.

The session of the council had scarcely terminated, when a new assembly was convoked at Narbonne, in the part of Gaul belonging to the Goths, to judge the Arian doctrines. Different decisions were made against the heretics; amongst others they were prohibited from regarding Thursday as fête day, because among the pagans it was sacred to Jupiter. They were interdicted from working on Fridays, under penalty, if freemen, of a fine of six cents of gold; and if slaves, of receiving a hundred lashes. The different encroachments of the clergy on the secular power, show with what readiness the priests hastened to use the privileges granted them by the council of Toledo.

At this period the priests already maintained that kings should learn from them how to govern their people. At length, the fathers of the council terminated their ridiculous session by a decree which ordered the faithful to sing the Gloria Patria, after the last verse of the psalms, to show that they condemned Arianism. Such were the great acts which illustrated the reign of Recaredus the Catholic.

Europe was then ravaged by a contagious malady hitherto unknown, to which they gave the name of the part of the body which was affected by it. Pelagius was attacked, and died in 590, after having held the Holy See for twelve years and three months.

Yves, of Chartres, and Gratian, mention several decrees as attributed to Pelagius,

which Dupin assures us are authentic. In the first of these decretals the holy father prohibits the election of monks to govern churches, regarding the functions of the secular clergy as distinct from those of the regular. According to the opinion of the pontiff, prelates living with the laity should be well advised of the actions and interests of the world. Whilst the religious orders, following the rules of a monastic life in the midst of cloisters, have not acquired the necessary experience, and are incapable of directing the faithful. In the second decretal he permits, in consideration of the small number who dedicate themselves

to clerical life, to bestow orders on those who shall have had children by their servants after the death of their legitimate wives, recommending that the culpable female shall always be shut up in a convent, to perform penance for the fault of the priest.

Historians affirm that this pontiff has merited the title of saint, in consequence of his possessing the greatest virtues, which have been shown by those whom the church has canonized; and they place him among the most commendable bishops who have filled the chair of St. Peter.

## SAINT GREGORY THE FIRST, SIXTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 590.—MAURICE and PHOCAS, Emperors.]

*Birth of Gregory—His character—He retires into a monastery—Knavery of the Benedictines—Zeal of Gregory for the conversion of the English—He is ordained deacon, and sent ambassador to Constantinople—Returns to Rome—Governs his monastery with great severity—Charity to the people—Is elected pope—Refuses the pontificate—Mounts the Holy See—Accused of hypocrisy—His intolerance—His quarrel with the patriarch of Constantinople—War with the Lombards—Rome is besieged—Gregory proposes peace to the Lombards—The pope flatters queen Brunehant—Conversion of the English—Gregory accused of having poisoned a bishop—Pomp of religious ceremonies—Discovery of purgatory—Incontinence of the clergy—Faults of Gregory—The heads of six thousand newly born children found in the fish-ponds of the pope—Death of Gregory—His character—He persecutes enchanters and sorcerers—He destroys through fanaticism the pagan monuments—He burns the works of profane authors—The policy of the priests covers the world with the shades of ignorance.*

THE father of Gregory, named Gordian, was a member of the senate, and was possessed of immense wealth; his mother, Silvia, since canonized by the church, was of a patrician family, and descended in a direct line from pope Felix the Fourth.

Our first historian, Gregory of Tours, the cotemporary of St. Gregory, assures us that Rome contained no man better instructed than this bishop in literature and eloquence. "From his infancy," says the historian, "he attached himself to the grave and profound maxims of the ancient authors. He was pleased with the conversation of the old, and evinced in his studies a mind and judgment very matured. Destined by his birth to the most important dignities of the empire, he was instructed in rhetoric and jurisprudence; and when he arrived at manhood his talent procured for him the title of senator. The skill which he exhibited in this charge, attracted the attention of the emperor Justin the Second, who named him prætor of Rome, the principal magistrate of that city.

"But Gregory, wishing to unite the love of letters with that of virtue, cultivated science and piety in the midst of greatness, hoping that his soul would resist the vanities of luxury. But he soon learned that it is difficult to serve God in the midst of the pomps of earth, and his thoughts turned towards the holy retreat of the cloisters. The death of his father having rendered him the possessor

of the great wealth which his ancestors had for a long time accumulated, he found himself in that situation of mind in which the world places itself between God and man.

"Nevertheless, though able to make the most illustrious alliance in Rome and the empire, and to elevate himself to the very steps of the throne, he did not hesitate in his resolution; he laid aside his dress, glittering with gold and precious stones, renounced his great dignities, employed his immense wealth in founding convents in Sicily, and gave to the inhabitants of these holy dwellings the revenues, which they dispensed in alms.

"Charmed by the excellence of the Christian faith, he distributed to the poor his vessels of gold and silver, his precious furniture, his rich hangings; he put on the coarse habit of a monk, and quitted the world—an action more admirable than the abdication of kings, who lay aside their crowns when they can no longer sustain the weight of them."

The different religious orders have disputed the honour of having had this pontiff in their rule, and the Benedictines have shown themselves the most ardent in the strife. Baronius and Anthony Gallon, a learned priest of the oratory at Rome, have opposed the pretensions of these monks, and the polemical controversy which sprung up on this subject has exposed the knavery of the order of St. Benedict. Father Gallon exhumed from the libraries of these monks a great number of false

deeds, fabricated at the monastery of Mount Cassino, and printed at Venice. These titles bear the apocryphal signatures of popes and princes, and assign numerous domains, and even entire villages, to the monks of that convent.

St. Gregory remained several years under the direction of Valentius, whom he had called to him to govern the cloister of St. Andrew, where he had retired; and his intention was to pass his whole life in humility and obedience. Nevertheless, after the death of Valentius, the brothers having chosen him superior of the monastery, he yielded to their entreaties, and accepted the charge of the abbey. In the fervour of his zeal for religion, he condemned himself to the rigours of the most absolute fasting, and he so applied himself to the study of the sacred books, that he weakened his body, and fell into a languor. His mother, retired to a place called the Cella-Neuva, where an oratory and the celebrated convent of Labas have since been built, sent to him to nourish him raw vegetables, soaked in water, which were carried in a cup of silver. It is related that Gregory, having nothing else to give, offered them to a poor man who asked alms of him.

His abstinence soon caused him horrible corporal suffering, which, however, did not hinder him from writing or dictating the sentiments with which the reading of the sacred books inspired him.

One day, whilst traversing the slave market, his attention was arrested by the appearance of some youths of remarkable beauty and extraordinary fairness, who were exposed for sale. The saint demanded from what country they came; the merchant replied, that he had bought them in Great Britain, and that they were still enveloped in the darkness of paganism. This reply excited a profound sigh in Gregory. "What a cause for the tears of a Christian," he exclaimed, "to think that the prince of the abyss still enchains in his empire people of form so beautiful! Why must it be, that they have a soul deprived of the treasures of grace, which alone can give men true beauty."

Then he went to the palace of the Lateran, and besought the pope Benedict to send missionaries into England, to carry thither the word of God. No ecclesiastic being willing to embark on this dangerous mission, Gregory offered to the holy father to go alone to this remote country. The pope only yielded to his request after an earnest petition, fearing that the clergy and people would excite a sedition, when they should learn that Gregory had left the holy city.

The venerable abbot left Rome during the night, for the purpose of avoiding any obstacles which might oppose his journey. Notwithstanding his precautions, his absence became known to the Romans, who assembled tumultuously. After consultation, they formed themselves into three threatening companies, to block up the streets through which Benedict went to the cathedral, and cried out on

his passage, "Have a care, holy father, you have offended the blessed apostle Peter, and caused the ruin of our city, by permitting Gregory to quit our walls." Benedict, affrighted by these cries, and fearing a sedition still more violent, pledged himself to send couriers to recall the zealous missionary. Gregory, who was only thirty miles from Rome, was brought back in triumph. The following year he was named deacon of the church. He refused, however, to abandon his solitude, and remained within the monastery of St. Andrew. At length, on the arrival of Pelagius the Second to the pontifical throne, having been appointed ambassador from the Holy See to Constantinople, to obtain from the emperor succours against the Lombards, he quitted his retreat, and went on his journey followed by several monks of his community.

On his arrival he had to combat the doctrine of the patriarch Eutychius, who taught, that after the resurrection our bodies cease to be palpable, and become more subtle than the air—a sentiment then regarded by the Latin church as a remains of the heresy of Origen.

During his residence at the imperial court, the legate formed intimate friendships with the most commendable personages, and attracted their esteem by the profundity of his judgment, and the purity of his morals. He was then recalled to Rome by the pontiff, to whom he rendered an account of the prosperous issue of his negotiations.

Pelagius wished through gratitude to attach him to his person, in the capacity of his secretary; but Gregory besought the holy father to permit him to return to his retreat at St. Andrews. He then returned to his monks, and submitted them to a discipline so vigorous, that his severity degenerated into cruelty, and excited a rebellion amongst them. The abbot then returned to sentiments of humanity, and his charity found infinite resources in so-lacing the miseries of the people during the scourge which transformed the holy city into a frightful solitude. He pledged the property of the convent to sustain the citizens ruined by the overflow of the Tiber, and at the head of his monks he traversed the streets to carry off the dead bodies of the unfortunate, who had fallen victims to the pestilence.

Pelagius the Second having died of the contagion, the senate, clergy and people elevated to the sovereign pontificate the deacon Gregory, in acknowledgment of his ardent charity and the services he had rendered to Rome. But from humility he refused this glorious charge. He even wrote to the emperor not to confirm his election, but to cause them to ordain one more worthy in his place. The holy father, persuaded that his wishes would be complied with by the court of Constantinople, resolved to conceal himself from the eyes of all, until after the exaltation of the pope, that he might be able to return to his monastery of St. Andrew. The governor of Rome intercepted the letter of Gregory, and by his orders emissaries spread themselves through the country to discover the retreat of the pontiff.



*Lith of Wagner & Co. by John P. Jones*

Pope Gregory I<sup>st</sup>.



At length some shepherds found him in a cavern, and led him back to the city, where he was consecrated, notwithstanding his resistance.

The conduct of Gregory has not been able to preserve him from suspicions of dissimulation and hypocrisy; and respectable authors affirm that the proud deacon wished to add to the honour of the supreme dignity the glory of having refused it. Without admitting the truth of this accusation against Gregory, we will nevertheless say, that the most unbridled ambition sometimes conceals itself under the appearance of humility.

The ceremony of the consecration took place in the church of St. Peter, and the Romans placed on the throne of the church a pious and enlightened man, capable of affording instruction to the faithful, by his writings and his preaching; and whose skilful policy could favourably dispose the minds of the sovereigns towards the temporal interests of religion.

At this period bishops, after their ordination, sent their professions of faith and synodical letters to the chiefs of the great sees. Gregory, to conform to this usage, convoked a council and addressed letters to the most important prelates of the East and West.

From the commencement of his pontificate, his solicitude extended to the clergy of Sicily, whom he ordered to convoke a council every year, to regulate ecclesiastical affairs. He then wrote to Justin, governor of that province, complaining of his negligence, and threatening to accuse him before the emperor, notwithstanding the friendship which united them, of having been the cause of the ruin of an immense city, from not having furnished the grain destined for the people of Rome. In those ages of barbarity, the want of foresight in princes and governors frequently occasioned the pestilences and famines which desolated the unfortunate people.

St. Gregory wished to profit by the profound terror which the scourge had excited, to bring back the heretics; and in his declamations exhibited to them the gates of hell open to receive them. His projects failed, however, and his exhortations on the rigor of the judgments of God, did not hinder the bishops of Istria from persevering in their disorder and their schism. He also undertook to reform the scandalous conduct of the priests throughout all Christendom; but the clergy opposed invincible obstacles to him in Spain, Lombardy, Naples, and even in France.

The pontiff convoked a council in the holy city to judge Severus, patriarch of Aquileia, whom the emperor Maurice had ordered to submit to the decision of Gregory. Notwithstanding the dangers to which they were exposed, the bishops of the province urged Severus to resist the will of the sovereign. They wrote to Maurice that the Latin pontiff could not be their judge, being already their accuser. They complained of the violence used towards them, and of his desiring them to reject the three chapters, which the fifth œcumenical assembly had approved.

The emperor, fearing that the schismatics might place themselves under the protection of the Lombards, wrote to the pope that in consequence of the confusion into which Italy was plunged, he could not permit violence to be used towards the prelates; that they must wait a more fitting season to subdue them, and he charged Romain, exarch of Ravenna, to prevent all persecution against them, with an express injunction to obey his orders. Gregory thus seeing the projects which he had conceived for the reunion of the chiefs of the clergy of Istria fail, exclaimed, "the arms of the barbarians are less injurious to religion than the culpable weakness of the exarch and the emperor." Thus Gregory, who had condemned the persecution of the Jews, wished, nevertheless, to constrain the heretics to re-enter the bosom of the church; so much contradiction does the spirit of intolerance produce among priests!

The paths of force being closed to him, he had recourse to caresses, seductions, and presents. He addressed letters to a large number of schismatics, and finished by obtaining their reunion with his see. Still, as it is difficult for men to be consistent on subjects opposed to reason, he wished to surcharge imposts upon those who refused to adhere to his sentiments, and ordered Colomb, bishop of Numidia, and the governor of Africa, to repress the pride and insolence of the Donatists. He then sought an alliance with the Lombards, to obtain their protection for the provinces of the West and the chair of St. Peter. Finally, king Antuaris being dead, he wrote to queen Theodelinda, to beseech her, in the name of Christ, to consent to an union with the prince of Turin, for the purpose of augmenting the glory of religion by converting the monarch to the Catholic faith.

Seduced by the charms of his new spouse, the young duke consented to embrace Christianity, and by his example drew to his belief those of his subjects who were still idolaters or Arians.

Gregory evinced an extreme joy on the success of his policy, and in a letter addressed to Theolinda, he exalts her virtues, bestows high eulogiums on the ardor of her zeal, and thanks her for having destroyed Arianism, by reattaching the Lombards to the Roman church.

At this time the emperor made a decree by which he prohibited public functionaries, as well as citizens marked on the right hand as enrolled soldiers, from entering the ranks of the clergy, secular or regular. The pope, always alive to the interest of the Holy See, wrote to Maurice, "I, who am less than the worm which buries itself in the sand, can not avoid raising my voice when I hear a law proclaimed which is opposed to the precepts of God. You should know that power has only been granted to sovereigns to direct the kingdoms of the earth, and not the kingdom of heaven; nevertheless, the orders which you have given touch upon sacred things. Your decree, my lord, has caused me profound

grief; still, submitting to the imperial decision, I have sent your edicts, which I condemn, through all parts of the East and West. Thus I fulfill the double duty of a Christian, by obeying the monarch and boldly declaring to him my sentiments on the injustice of his actions."

In the same year, 593, the holy father made the first use of the authority which he wished to arrogate over the other churches, by re-establishing in his sacerdotal functions, a priest whom the metropolitan of Milan had excommunicated, and by affirming that the Holy See had the surveillance of all elections before they could be regular or canonical. The archbishop of Milan submitted; but the bishop of Ravenna was less obedient; he refused to yield to the warning of Gregory, and adopted for himself the custom of carrying the pallium, to show that his dignity was in no wise inferior to that of the bishop of Rome. St. Gregory resisted this new pretension, and addressed two vehement letters to the proud pastor; which did not, however, induce in him sentiments more in conformity with ecclesiastical humility.

The publication of his dialogues is placed at the end of the year 593. It is a work unworthy of sacerdotal severity, full of gross miracles and ridiculous fables, which was received with enthusiasm in the empire, and especially in Italy. The Benedictines aver that they were written at the request of queen Theolinda, to convert the Lombards, then plunged in profound ignorance, and whose savage intelligence could not be excited but by strange prodigies and most extraordinary miracles. We should blame Gregory for having had recourse to superstition to convert idolaters, and especially for having wished to constrain even the faithful to put faith in his superstitious fables. The empress Constantina, having demanded from him the relics of St. Paul, he replied to the ambassador, that he dared not satisfy her orders; because it was impossible to touch or behold the body of the blessed apostle, without being instantly punished for the sacrilegious temerity. In support of his deceit, the holy father related many miracles, to which he appeared to accord full credit.

Some time after, John the Faster, chief of the clergy of Constantinople, sent to the pontiff the record of a judgment rendered against a Greek priest, accused of heresy. As in the recital, he took the title of Universal Bishop, the pope wished to repress his ambition, and prohibited him, in the name of the church, from elevating his see above those of other bishops. Maurice wrote to the holy father in favour of the patriarch, and endeavoured to induce him to retract; but he regarding this question of pre-eminence as an article of faith, denounced the title of universal bishop as a crime of usurpation, and replied to the prince: "John the Faster will find in me an intractable adversary, until he shall renounce his pride." He addressed letters on the same subject to Eulogius of Alexandria and St. Anas-

tasius of Antioch, prohibiting them from giving to any prelate the title of "universal." He also wrote to the empress, to complain of Maximus of Salma, who treated with contempt his prohibitions and his excommunications.

At the beginning of the year 595, an affair of more importance than a struggle for the title of universal, gave lively disquiet to the pontiff. The exarch of Ravenna had broken the treaty with the Lombards, and had wrested from them several important cities, which so irritated Agilulfus, their king, that he left Pavia, his usual residence, marched with a powerful army against Perousa, sacked it, and notwithstanding the respect which he entertained for the holy father, laid siege to Rome. The pope, fearful of the effect of the vengeance of the emperor, if he should consent to an alliance with the barbarians, dared not open the gates of the city, and resolved to support the horrors of a siege. He encouraged the Romans to a vigorous defence, to gain time to wait for the succours which the emperor should send from Greece. At length, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, he made to king Agilulfus proposals for peace, which were accepted, and the Lombards retired, laden with spoil, carrying away all the gold which the holy city contained.

Maurice severely blamed Gregory for having treated with his enemies, in which he calls the confidence of the holy father in his veneration for his sacred person, simplicity. The pope, wounded in his vanity, reproached the monarch with vivacity, for having accused him of ignorance and simplicity.

His holiness then sent letters to king Childbert and queen Brunehaut, under the apparent pretext of recommending a priest whom he sent to the bishops of Gaul, but in reality to solicit their aid.

John the Faster, the irreconcilable enemy of the pontiff, being dead, Maurice elevated to the see of Constantinople a priest named Cyriacus, a man of peaceful character. The new patriarch having, as usual, assembled a council, sent his synodical letter and profession of faith to the holy father. The deputies were received with honour by the pontiff, and notwithstanding the title of universal, which the patriarch still bore, he replied mildly to the letter, warning Cyriacus to renounce the proud and profane name of universal bishop. At the same time, he recalled from the imperial court his legate, the deacon Sabinianus, and sent to replace him in this difficult post the priest Anatolius, whom he prohibited, however, from communing with the patriarch until that prelate should renounce the title of universal.

The epistles of Gregory written to the emperor and the chiefs of the clergy of Alexandria and Antioch, for the purpose of justifying the orders which he had given to his envoy, prove that he rejected as false, the history of Sozomenes, and that he did not approve of the praises which that author has bestowed on Theodore of Mopsuesta. These letters leave

us to suppose that he did not believe in the existence of Eudoxus, the ancient chief of the pure, whose sect dated back to the reign of Constantine, preferring, through an inconceivable caprice, to incur the reproach of a gross ignorance of the sacred writers and the fathers, to the shame of recognizing as a heretic one of the greatest luminaries of the church. The actions of Gregory, however, establish in so incontestable a manner the extent of his knowledge, that they force us to cast back on his policy the ramblings of his mind, and oblige us to believe that he was capable of daring every thing to preserve to religion the aureole of majesty with which he wished to surround it.

When he was only abbot of the monastery of St. Andrew, Gregory had already employed all his efforts to establish missions in the British isles. When he became chief of the church, he resolved to put his projects into execution. England was then troubled by bloody wars, excited by Ethelbert, who reigned in that country, and who had demanded in marriage Aldeberge, daughter of Caribert, king of France. This monarch had replied that he would consent to an alliance with him when he had overthrown the power of king Ceolin, whose vassal he was. Soon after Ethelbert, having declared his kingdom of Kent independent, was united to the daughter of the French monarch. The young princess was a Christian; and as it is in the nature of man to yield to the influence of woman, the king soon showed a favourable disposition for the new religion. Aldeberge advised the court of Rome of it, and missionaries received orders to go into Great Britain to the queen.

After a perilous journey, Augustine, abbot of St. Andrews, the chief of the mission, disembarked on the shores of Kent, and advised Ethelbert that he came from a region very remote from his kingdom, to instruct him in sublime truths which would assure him eternal happiness. The king, accompanied by his wife and the officers of his court, went to meet the missionary, whom he did not wish to listen to but in the open country, through fear of yielding to his sorcery, which he believed he could prevent by this singular precaution.

Augustine spoke to the sovereign at length on the sacred dogmas of the Scriptures. The prince having had the words of the holy man explained to him, replied: "What I hear is glad, and your promises attract me to you; still I have not yet determined to abandon the belief I have received from my ancestors, especially for a religion founded on the testimony of men who are unknown to me. But as you have undertaken this long and painful journey to bring to my people the good you believe to be true, I will not send you away without again listening to you, and I will take care that you shall be treated with honour in my dominions. If my subjects, convinced by your discourse, desire to partake of your belief, I will not oppose their being baptized."

The missionaries established themselves at

Canterbury, and made a great many converts. Aldeberge, on her part, pressed her husband to inform himself in the dogmas of the Christian religion, and threatened to break off her conjugal relations with him if he persevered in his idolatry. The prince, worn out by the entreaties of the queen, then consented to be baptized. The example of a chief has always a great influence over a barbarous people, and the English came in crowds to receive the holy water, which was to regenerate them.

Augustine was made the bishop of the church which he had founded. In a few years the success of his conversions had recruited a numerous clergy, whom he desired to submit to the authority of the pontiff. He then assembled all the prelates of England to advise them of the orders he had received from Rome. In his quality of legate he opened the sitting without rising from his seat. The assembly, offended at the impudence of Augustine, offered invincible obstacles to his wishes, and the celebrated Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, thus addressed him:

"You propose to us, proud prelate, to submit to the throne of the apostle. Are you then ignorant that we have submitted to Christ, to your pope, and to all Christians, by the liens of love and charity? We seek after evangelical humility with ardor; we employ all our care in succouring men, and causing them to become the children of God, and we know of no other duty we have to fulfil toward him whom you call holy father.

"What need have we to seek for a superior at Rome, since we are governed under the power of Jesus Christ, by the bishop of Caerleon, whom we have chosen to direct our churches and our consciences? Insist no more upon it. We refuse your supreme chief."

Augustine, despairing of overcoming their resistance, after a long discussion, exclaimed, "Since you refuse the peace which I propose with your friends, abbot Dinoth, you shall have war with your enemies, and their swords shall put you to death." These words have been interpreted as a prediction, which was accomplished in the massacre of the monks of Bangor. Still, in supposing the reality of this prophecy, it is very probable that Italian vengeance, or that which is called the hatred of the priests, had concurred in accomplishing the prediction of the prelate.

Gregory wrote to queen Brunehaut, to thank him for the charity which she had exercised towards Augustine. In all the letters which the pontiff addressed to that execrable female, he overwhelmed her with emphatic praises, affirming that France was the happiest of nations, in possessing a queen endowed with the rarest virtues and the most brilliant qualities. . . . It is the truth to say, that Brunehaut, allying superstition to cruelty, expended immense sums on the clergy, for the purpose of appeasing divine vengeance. Churches and monasteries multiplied by her orders, and she bent her forehead to the dust whenever she entered into church to ask from God pardon for her poisonings and her infanticides!!!

About the same time Romain, the exarch, died at Ravenna. The pope, having no longer to fear the scrutiny of a man who had opposed all his projects of aggrandizement, established friendly relations with the Lombards, and concluded a treaty with king Agilulfus, which assured the Holy See of his powerful protection.

Gregory then received deputies from the faithful of Capri. The bishop of that island, situated at the bottom of the gulf of Venice, complained that he had been drawn into the schism of the prelates of Istria in the defence of the three chapters, and testified his desire to reunite himself with the see of Rome; but before even receiving the reply of the holy father, he changed his mind. Then his people, who were favourably disposed towards unity, sent to demand from the pontiff another director. The pope wrote to Marinianus, the metropolitan of Ravenna, charging him to ordain another bishop for Capri, if the titular one refused his communion, and enjoining on him solemnly to depose the heretic, without disquieting himself about the orders of the emperor Maurice, who had prohibited violence against schismatics.

Gregory employed all the resources of his policy to bring about the reunion of the heretics with the throne of St. Peter. Anatolius, his legate at the court of Maurice, had orders to listen favourably to the Christians who went to Constantinople to abjure the schism of Istria; and he was also recommended to solicit for them the protection of the emperor, and to obtain pensions for new converts. Thus interest on the one hand, and the fear of torture on the other, seconded the views of the pontiff and produced numerous conversions.

The bishop Maximus alone, despising the gold and the thunder of the Holy See, persisted in his heresy, continued the exercise of his episcopal functions in the city of Salona, and even accused Gregory of having poisoned bishop Malchus, who also opposed his designs. The pope replied, that the prelate had suddenly died on the day of his excommunication, in the house of the notary Boniface, to which he had been conducted after his condemnation. Then Maximus called the holy father a traitor and a hypocrite, a poisoner and a murderer. He renewed his accusation, offering to furnish proof that Malchus had been sacrificed to the hatred of the holy father.

Gregory, pushed on by insatiable ambition, wished to extend the pontifical authority over all Christendom. He sent Cyriacus, abbot of the monastery of St. Andrew, into Gaul to assemble the clergy of that province, and to dispose them to recognise his authority. The prelate being about to stop at Marseilles, the pope wrote to Serenus, the bishop, "We send to you our ambassador, beseeching you to receive him with all the honours due to our see."

"We praise you in Jesus Christ, my very dear brother, for the zeal which you have shown in breaking the images which your

people adored; and we applaud you for having cast forth from the holy place the idols made by the hands of men, since they usurp the adoration due only to the Divinity.

"Still your ardor has carried you too far; you should have transformed them by some mutilations into holy representations of our martyrs, and preserved them in the temples. For it is permitted to place pictures in the churches, that the common people may learn the divine mysteries of our religion, which they are unable to study in the holy books."

Serenus, on the reading of this letter, expressed his surprise at the singular doctrine which the bishop of Rome expounded in it. "It was not thus, thought the fathers," he said to the envoy of Gregory. "Moses has formally prohibited us from making modelled or painted images; nor to attach any consequence to the material, so as not to occupy the minds of men but by subjects which are conceived by intelligence, without the aid of our corporeal senses. St. Clement of Alexandria affirms that we are expressly prohibited from exercising a proper art in deceiving men, or in making any representation of that which is in heaven, on the earth, or in the water; 'because,' said he, 'he who adores visible gods, and the numerous generations of those gods, is more contemptible than the objects of his worship.' Did not St. Epiphanius break in pieces the statues of silver and gold which represented Christ and the Virgin? Has not Origen proscribed the worship of images from the mere consideration that they are the works of men of bad morals? What would all those great saints say, if they saw as we do, exposed in our churches, to the insensate adoration of the crowd, statues of our Saviour, which are the exact portraits of the thieves who have served as models to the painters; or paintings of the Virgin, which represent the features of infamous prostitutes? Finally," added the pious bishop, "has not the holy council of Eluria decreed, that objects of worship should not be seen on the walls? This categorical decision is the law which I must follow; it is the doctrine of the fathers and of the primitive church." The abbot Cyriacus replied to him, "that Evaginus, in his ecclesiastical history, relates, that Jesus himself had sent to king Abgarus his portrait, painted in heaven; and that this image had saved the city of Edessa from the fury of the Persians, during the reign of Justinian." This authority did not appear unanswerable to the prelate, who persisted in his opinion, and proscribed images in his church.

But the people of Marseilles, then plunged in profound ignorance, opposed the reforms of the bishop, and even abandoned the communion of Serenus.

The abbot Cyriacus then went to Autun, to place in the hands of Stagnus, bishop of that city, the letter of the pope, which granted to him the pallium, and gave to his see the first rank in the province after the metropolitan see of Lyons. The holy father recommended to the prelates of Gaul to assemble the clergy

frequently for the purpose of regulating ecclesiastical affairs. He prohibited priests from keeping in their houses other women than those authorized by the canons, and condemned simoniacal ordinations, as well as the elevation of the laity to episcopal functions.

After having fulfilled divers missions in Gaul, Cyriacus went to Spain, to which country he carried several letters. One was addressed to St. Leander, another to Claudius, a person of great piety, and a skilful soldier, and the third was destined for the sovereign of the country, named Recareus. Gregory passed great eulogiums on the prince for the zeal which he had manifested for religion in the conversion of the Goths, his subjects, and especially because he had refused the gold which the Jews offered him in exchange for the revocation of the cruel laws enforced against them. The pontiff terminated his letter by advising him the most odious policy. "Be careful, prince," said he, "not to allow yourself to be surprised by anger, and not to execute too promptly that which your power permits. In chastising the guilty, anger should walk after reflection, and obey it as a slave. When reason governs the actions of a king, it knows how to make the most implacable cruelty pass for justice, and keeps the people in subjection."

To thank Recareus for the rich presents which he had made to the pontifical church, the pope sent him a small key made out of the iron of the chains of St. Peter, a crucifix inclosing some wood of the true cross, and some hairs of St. John the Baptist!!!

About the same time Gregory wrote to John of Syracuse, on the subject of the religious ceremonies practised at Rome, and which he wished him to adopt in his church. This remarkable epistle witnesses, that they had already reformed the celebration of divine worship, and had introduced very many abuses into the Christian religion. The worship founded by the apostles on the simplicity of the primitive ages, has been encompassed, since the sixth century, with the pomp of the ceremonies of paganism; and St. Gregory, whose policy consisted in dazzling the senses of men to bind them to the church in the bonds of superstition, materialized the worship even more than his predecessors had yet done. He ordered new religious practices, whose splendor imposed on the common people; he filled the churches with tableaux and precious ornaments, and even temporized with the belief of idolatrous nations, by introducing their rites and their dogmas into the religion of Christ.

Educated in the knowledge of the Latin authors, he had learned from Virgil, "that human souls are enclosed in the obscure prison of the body, where they acquire a carnal defilement, and that they preserve some corruption even after they have left the life of the world." The poet had said, "To purify them, they must suffer different kinds of punishment; some, suspended in the air, are the sport of the tempests; others expiate their

crimes in the abyss of waters; flames devour the most guilty; none are exempt from chastisement.

There are some shades placed in the delicious plains of Elysium, where they wait, until a long revolution of years has purified them from the defilements of their terrestrial existence, and has re-established them in their first purity. Supreme essence, emanation from divinity. After a thousand springs spent in this profound sojourn, they quit it, and God recalls them to the borders of Lethe."

In the dialogues, and in the psalms of penitence, Gregory thus expresses himself: "When they are delivered from their terrestrial prison by death, the guilty souls are condemned to punishment, whose duration is infinite. Those who have committed, during their passage through the world, but light faults, arrive at life eternal after having been regenerated by purifying flames. . . ." In recalling these two passages, one evidently sees that the holy father took from paganism his doctrine of purgatory, which was unknown to the apostles and the early Christians, and of which we find no trace in the works of the doctors of the church, not even in the prayers for the dead, which were in use in the time of Tertullian.

St. Gregory, always faithful to his policy of encroachment, skilfully profited by the habits of the pagans to lead them to Christianity, as he himself testifies in a letter addressed to Augustine, the apostle of England. After different considerations of the manner in which prelates ought to consecrate profane temples for divine service, he says to him: "Do not overthrow these edifices; it suffices to break in pieces the idols which they contain, and to purify the enclosure with holy water. You can then rear Christian altars, and deposit the relics under the consecrated roof. Recollect, also, that we should tear from the devil the monuments of his worship, and not destroy them. Besides, by preserving them, you will do an useful act to the cause of God; for the pagans, whose steps frequently crowd the thresholds of these houses, will become converts for the purpose of praying still in places accustomed to their voices; and those who are accustomed to immolate victims to the infernal deity, will be turned from their impious sacrilege by the splendor of your religious ceremonies.

"On the day of the dedication, or of the death of the holy martyrs, whose sacred remains shall be deposited in the new church, you will make tabernacles of branches of trees about the church, and the festival will be celebrated by pious banquets. In these solemnities you will permit the people to immolate animals according to ancient use, that they may return thanks to God, and not to evil spirits. You will preserve some of their ancient customs, and thus they will more readily consent to practise the new worship which we wish to impose on them."

The pontiff also applied himself to reform the psalmody of the church. He composed

the famous Gregorian chant, on which ecclesiastical writers have passed the highest eulogium. Some authors even affirm that there is nothing more admirable than the conception of his Antiphonal. Notwithstanding the sufferings he endured, and the occupations of government, he himself regulated the music of the psalms, orisons, verses, canticles, epistles, the Scriptures, and the Lord's prayer. He instituted an academy for singing; where the clergy studied religious music, up to the period of their entry on the diaconate. The holy father was the principal professor in it, and there was preserved, in the palace of the Lateran, for a long time, the bed on which, being sick, he taught the chant of the sacred hymns, and the whip with which he threatened the young clergy and the children of the choir who did not keep time.

Gregory having learned that a council had been convoked at Constantinople by the enemies of the Holy See, hastened to warn the principal bishops of the ambitious projects of Cyriacus. He exhorted them to maintain the authority of Rome over Byzantium, and to refuse to the patriarch the proud title of universal bishop.

At the same time he wrote to the emperor Maurice, to thank him for the thirty pounds of gold he had sent to the poor of Rome: "We have," said his holiness, "faithfully divided your alms among the unfortunate families, the necessitous ecclesiastics, and the religious females, whom we have received into our city, and who fly persecution. Also, to put an end to the murmurs of the soldiery, and to draw upon you their thanks, we have paid them the money which has been due to them for several months."

In the following year (600) the pontiff assembled a synod to condemn the sect of the Agoneta. These heretics maintained that Jesus Christ, by his incarnation, had taken human nature, enjoyed the same faculties as other men, and that during the course of his mortal life he could not obtain the gift of languages, nor the revelation of the last judgment. Eulogius of Alexandria, equally declared himself against the new heresy, and Gregory wrote to him on this subject: "I have admired your doctrine, whose conformity to that of the fathers has made me understand that the Holy Spirit is revealed in the same manner in all idioms. Thus it is manifest, that a man who is not a Nestorian cannot be an Agoneta. Do not allow your zeal for orthodoxy to languish; you, to whom health of body gives power to accomplish the desires of the will, courageously proscribe heretics. As for me, I feel that I am succumbing under the sufferings which bear me down; for two years my feet have not touched the earth; on the day of solemn feasts, I can scarcely remain standing for a few minutes to celebrate divine service. My life is a burthen to me. I wait for, and call on death as the only remedy for my ills."

In fact, the sufferings of the holy father, which were the consequences of the austeri-

ties he had imposed upon himself, augmented daily, and he wrote to a Roman lady named Justinicerna, tormented by the illness which rent him: "You know how powerful was my stature, and how vigorous my health; nevertheless, the frightful evil of the gout has consumed me like the worm of the sepulchre. If these incessant pains have been thus able to impoverish my body, what would become of your's, already so frail, before this cruel malady?"

Still Gregory, notwithstanding his constant sufferings, did not cease to watch over the interests of the Roman church; he prohibited bishops from diminishing the domains or the revenues, or from altering the title deeds of monasteries; and he took from them jurisdiction over the convents of their dioceses. He ordered the monks to submit themselves to all the severities of their rules, and made a decree, commanding priests to separate from the women with whom they lived. The severity of the pontiff produced terrible consequences, and a prodigious number of infanticides.

An historian relates, that a year after the publication of this edict, Gregory, having given orders to fish in the ponds which he had constructed to preserve the fish, six thousand heads of new-born children were drawn from the water. The holy father thus learned that his decree was contrary to the laws of nature. He immediately revoked it, and imposed a severe penance to obtain from God pardon for the abominable cruelties of which the priests of his church were guilty, and of which he was the first cause.

At this period Gregory sent back into England the ecclesiastic Lawrence, whom bishop Augustine had deputed to Rome three years before. He charged him with replies to the questions which had been addressed to him by the prelate of Canterbury, and sent by him letters for the king of Kent and his wife Bertha, who is called Aldeberge. He thanks this princess for the protection she accorded to Augustine; he compares her to St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, whom God had employed as a means to convert the Romans to Christianity; he exhorts her to strengthen the king her spouse, in religion, and urges her to occupy herself above all things in converting her subjects to Christianity. "Your good works," he said to her, "are known not only in our apostolic city, where they pray with ardor for the duration of your reign, but even at Constantinople, where their renown has carried them even to the throne of the emperor.

He recommends to king Ethelbert to preserve faithfully the grace which he had received in baptism; to abolish the worship of idols, to which his people yet showed themselves attached; to establish good morals at his court, by employing menaces and caresses, and principally by his example. Finally, he beseeches him to give his entire confidence to bishop Augustine, and to follow faithfully the instructions of the church.

In the following year (603) he wrote in

these terms to the prelates of the province of Byzantium: "It is commendable, my brethren, to respect superiors; still the fear of God does not authorize us to hide their faults. I have known for a long time of accusations against Clement, your primate, and I have not been able to test the truth of them. The care of my people, and the vigilance I have found necessary to employ against the enemies who environ us, have not left me any time to examine into complaints so weighty. We exhort you zealously to inquire into the conduct of your brother. If he is guilty, he must be punished according to the canons; if innocent, it is your duty to acquit him. He among you who shall show in this trial cowardice or weakness, how does he know but that God will condemn him for the same crimes which he shall have wished to conceal from our justice."

In France, queen Brunehaut and king Theodoric, her grandson, sought the mediation of Gregory to conclude a peace with the empire. They also consulted the holy father upon a point of discipline in relation to a bishop of France, who suffered such violent pains in his head as to render him insensate, and prevented him from filling his episcopal functions. The pontiff gave instructions to the metropolitan of Lyons as to the course which he should pursue towards his suffragan in this particular circumstance. In his reply to Brunehaut he followed his habitual policy towards the powers of the day, addressing high eulogiums to this princess on her piety, and gross flatteries upon the munificence which she displayed towards the clergy. He informed her at the end of his letter, that he granted the privileges asked for the two monasteries which she had founded at Autun. The deeds of these convents contain clauses so singular, that they have been declared apocryphal by a great number of historians.

In the East, Phocas had seized upon the imperial throne, after having murdered Maurice and his children. The usurper sent his portrait to Gregory, who placed it, with that of the empress Leontia, in the oratory of St. Cæsar, in the palace of the Lateran. His holiness then wrote to the monarch to congratulate him on his happy advent to the throne. Maimbourg, after having traced a frightful picture of the crimes of Phocas, thus expresses himself on the policy of Gregory: "I avow that all who shall read these three epistles, addressed to this prince and to Leontia his wife, will feel an indignation equal to that which I entertain towards the Roman pontiff. The shameful cause of these flatteries was the declaration made by the emperor Maurice in favour of the patriarch of Constantinople, in the contest raised by the holy father for the title of universal bishop. The death of the legitimate sovereign affording the pope a hope of gaining the new sovereign, he employed all the resources of his mind and his policy to gain from Phocas a decree elevating his see above that of Byzantium."

At the beginning of the year 604, queen

Theodelinda advised the court of Rome of the birth and baptism of her son Adoaldus; at the same time she submitted to the holy father some observations of the abbot Secondinus, upon the fifth council, and besought him to resolve the questions which the prelate addressed to him. Gregory congratulated the queen on having baptized in a Catholic church, a prince destined to reign over the Lombards; and he thus terminated his reply: "I am so worn down by suffering from the gout, that I can no longer walk, as your deputies will affirm to you. If God shall grant me a few days less painful, I will reply more at length to the requests of the abbot Secondinus. I send to him, however, the decisions of the council held during the reign of Justinian; in reading them he will recognise the falsity of the assertions made against the Holy See. God preserves us from falling into the error of any heretic, and from separating ourselves from the sentiments of St. Leo, and the four councils.

"I send to prince Adoaldus, your son, a crucifix made of the wood of the true cross, and to the princess, your daughter, a bible enclosed in Persian wood, and three consecrated rings. Return thanks to the king, your husband, for us for the peace which he has given us, and beseech him to preserve it."

This is the last letter which Gregory wrote. He died on the 12th of March 604, after a reign of thirteen years and some months. His body was deposited without pomp, near to the ancient sacristy of the church of St. Peter, at the extremity of the great portico, where were already placed the sepulchres of several pontiffs. His remains have been preserved, with his pall, the reliquary which he wore around his neck, and the girdle which he wore in the ceremonies of the church.

The deacon John has left us a portrait of Gregory, which was traced from the ancient paintings in the monastery of St. Andrew, where the pope was represented with his father and mother. "His height was well proportioned and elegant; his face united the length of his father's to the roundness of his mother's; his beard was light-colored and thin. He was bald; nevertheless there remained on the very top of his forehead two locks of hair, which curled naturally, and which he suffered to fall on his temples. He had a vast forehead; his eyebrows were long, elevated, and straight; his eyes were well opened, though not large; the pupil of his eye was red; his nose strongly aquiline, and his nostrils large; his mouth, vermilion; his lips, strong; his chin raised, and his complexion livid; his aspect was mild; his hands beautiful, and his fingers rounded and well placed for writing. The painter has represented him clothed in a brown chasuble over his dalmatic. He holds in his left hand the sacred books of the Evangelists, and his modesty prevented him from allowing to be placed above his head the luminous aureole given to the saints to distinguish them from the other faithful!"

As to the qualities of his mind, all historians agree in saying, that Gregory was ingenious in setting forth Christian morality, and in causing heretics and idolaters to adopt it. He possessed an inexhaustible fund of ascetic thoughts, and expressed them in a noble manner, by periods, rather than by sentences. What he said was always true, solid; but common places and vulgar maxims abound in them. He is frequently diffuse in his long dissertations, and assuming in his allegories: finally, we constantly find the style of the rhetorician in the writings of the pontiff.

Some authors affirm, that he was gifted with an extreme modesty, and that he was sincerely grieved at the literary renown which he acquired. Having learned that his uncle Maurice, bishop of Ravenna, publicly recited at the night services his commentaries on the book of Job, he complained of it to that prelate, and prohibited the priests from reading any of his works in the churches. It is also recounted, as a proof of his modesty, that he wrote to Enolgius, patriarch of Alexandria: "Your beatitude tells me, you will execute that which I have commanded. I beseech you retract the word command, for I know who you are and who I am. You are my brother in dignity and my father in merit. I have not given orders; I have simply apprised you of that which seemed to me useful for religion. I never shall glorify myself in that which shall strike a blow at the grandeur of my brethren, and my glory is that of the church."

Other reliable authors assure us, on the contrary, that he exhibited jealousy of his reputation as a writer. They relate that a Grecian monk, named Andrew, who was confined in a cell, near to the church of St. Paul, composed several discourses in the name of the pontiff, in order to give them greater importance; and that his knavery having been discovered, Gregory, irritated that he had attributed to him such language, punished the forgery with the greatest rigor.

According to the rule established in the orthodox churches of the East, the pontiff divided the revenues of the Holy See into four parts: the first pertained to himself; the second was given to the priests; the third to the poor; and the last to the church-building. In replying to several questions addressed to him by Augustine, bishop of the English, he confirms the division before approved by several popes, and adds that the part of the revenue set aside for the prelate did not belong to himself alone, but to all his servants; and that it should serve for the expenses of hospitality, then in use in episcopal dwellings.

St. Gregory recommended to the people submission to their superiors; nevertheless, he added, that obedience did not draw after it a blind approbation of the orders of princes. "We should warn the people," he wrote, "not to push too far the deference which they owe to their chiefs, from the fear that they may be carried away to respect the crimes of their kings." This principle, in which he was fre-

quently wanting himself, has appeared of so great a necessity, that it has been placed as a rule in the canon law. Thus the church admits of resistance to unjust power; it calls indiscreet obedience that which is not authorised by the apostles, and decides that we should judge of the actions of kings, and refuse to obey measures contrary to the great interests of humanity.

Paul and John, two deacons, who wrote in the ninth century the history of Gregory the First, relate, devoutly, that this pontiff, struck with the exactness which the emperor Trajan had shown in rendering justice, prayed for the repose of the soul of this great prince; and that he obtained from Christ permission for him to leave the infernal regions to enter into the kingdom of heaven!

They also guarantee the reality of that other miracle, which took place in the church of St. Peter. A Roman woman having approached the holy table, the pontiff recited to her the ordinary formula in presenting to her the eucharist: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, may it give you remission from all your sins, and eternal life." These sacramental words having made the communicant smile, the holy father drew back the consecrated bread which he presented to her, and gave it to the deacon to replace upon the altar. After having celebrated divine service, he called to him this woman, who was the keeper of the pantry of the church, and demanded from her what guilty thought had entered into her mind at the very moment of receiving the sacrament of the altar. She replied, "I could not repress a smile, on hearing you give to a piece of bread, which I myself had made, the name of the body of Jesus Christ."

Gregory, seeing the incredulity of this woman prayed, and asked the people to pray with him. His prayer being finished, he rose up, uncovered the host placed under the communion cloth, and found it changed into flesh, with spots of blood. "Approach now," he said to the sinning woman, "and regard the consecrated bread which I give you, which is really the blood and the body of Christ." Then he ordered the assistants to prostrate themselves, and ask from God, that the bread of the eucharist might retake its ordinary form, that the woman, who had appeared moved by the prodigy, might commune: and a new miracle was accomplished at the bidding of the pontiff.

Dom Denis of St. Martha, who refuted the fable of the salvation of Trajan, cites this as an irrefutable proof of transubstantiation. The same monk combated the imputations of historians who accused Gregory of having been superstitious, resting his opinions on this command of the holy father. "I am apprised that there are spread among the faithful the errors of the Jews, relative to the prohibition of labouring on Saturday. If we must observe to the letter the precept of the Sabbath, we must also practise circumcision, notwithstanding the will of the apostle St. Paul. . ."

Not only was the pontiff superstitious and

trustful in magicians, but he also was intolerant, and persecuted enchanters and sorcerers. Maximus, bishop of Syracuse, as ignorant as were all the bishops of that period, had found in his diocese some Greeks infected with witchcraft; he attributed their imaginary power to the devil; caused them to be imprisoned, and commenced a process against them. He died before judging them. The pope wrote to the deacon Cyprian to continue the trial. "Send us those guilty ones," he said, "when you shall have convicted them of their crimes. If the resources of their infernal art conceal from you the truth, punish them severely; even although the secular judge shall oppose himself to your justice. We must strike without pity all those who are attainted by the spirit of darkness."

The intolerance of the pontiff equally revealed itself in acts of cruelty and Vandalism; he destroyed the monuments of Roman magnificence; he set fire to the Palatine library, founded by Augustus; and he burned in the public square the works of Titus Livy, because that author opposed in his writings superstitious worship. He destroyed the works of Afranius, Nævius, Ennius, and other Latin poets, of whom there only remain fragments. He constantly showed himself the declared

enemy of all the human sciences; proscribed at Rome pagan books, and pushed his hatred against the learned, even to the excommunication of Didier, archbishop of Vienne, because the holy prelate permitted grammar to be taught in his diocese.

Thus the historians of this period affirm, that the priests were more baneful to letters than the wars of the Goths and Vandals; and that we owe to their fanaticism that profound ignorance which spread itself for several centuries over all the provinces of the empire. Gregory not only destroyed the works of the philosophers of Alexandria and Rome, who showed the knavery of the leading Christian ministers, and who could enlighten the nations; but the church militant following the example of its chief, attacked with fury every thing which bore the name of science and art. The rarest manuscripts were burned; pictures of an inestimable price were destroyed; the master-pieces of sculpture were broken or mutilated, and splendid buildings fell before the axes of the priests. Finally, the new religion established its throne on the ruins of the noblest treasures of antiquity, to found its power upon the ignorance and brutality of the people!!

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## THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

### SABINIANUS, THE SIXTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 602.—PHOCAS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Sabinianus—His harshness to the poor—He accuses St. Gregory of having bought the title of saint—He endeavours to condemn as heretical the books of his predecessor—St. Gregory appears to the pontiff, and strikes him dead.*

DURING the seventh century, the bishops of Rome commenced extending their dominion, spiritual and temporal, employing by turns craft and audacity; they humbly bow the head before the masters of the empire when these latter are powerful, and revolt against their authority when they see them conquered by their enemies, or unable to punish them. It is true that the emperors drew upon themselves, by their faults, the hatred of the people and the contempt of the clergy; first, by abasing themselves to sustain theological theses, and then by espousing the most ridiculous quarrels on the dogmas of catholicism; and finally, by doing that which was most odious, by pushing the violence of their controversies even to the persecution of the unfortunate, who held adverse opinions to theirs. In the midst of those idle disputes, the material interests of the provinces were neglected, and the citizens who were separated from the creed of the monarch, naturally accustomed themselves to regard him as an enemy, and sought to free themselves from his yoke.

The popes profited by this infatuation of the emperors for religious questions, and rendered the disputes between them and their subjects more violent and bitter, now by ranging themselves on the side of the princes, now by adopting the opinion of the subjects. They thus acquired a real power, which they knew how to render more and more formidable, by leaning it for support on superstition and fanaticism.

The consequence of this state of things was, that the shades of ignorance covered the entire world. The popes even prohibited the faithful from learning to read, under penalty of excommunication. By their orders the monuments of antiquity fell under the axes of the priests; the most precious manuscripts were cast into the flames by Vandals, wearing the tiara, and humanity can only veil its face to deplore the rich treasures snatched from her.

Thus the sublime doctrines of Jesus Christ became trampled upon, despised, spit upon. Thus the intention of the Revealer was inter-

preted! The popes substituted their caprices for the laws of the Bible, and preserved the authority they had usurped by fraudulently employing the name of Christ to oppress men. At length their boldness became such, that they dared to say, "People, listen! We, who are the interpreters of Supreme Wisdom, declare to you, that truth flows from our mouth; that we have the right to impose on you our belief; and he who shall not preach and teach that which we preach and teach, shall be excommunicated, were he Jesus Christ himself!"

The pontiff who commences the series of Roman bishops of the seventh century, was the Tuscan, Sabinianus, the son of Bonus, who was of illustrious birth, and who had drawn upon himself the contempt of the Romans for his dissolute morals. Anastasius, the librarian, informs us that he was the nuncio of Gregory at the court of Maurice; and that he was chosen by the clergy, not as the most worthy to govern the church, but as the most capable of augmenting the power of the priests, and the splendour of the pontifical throne.

His conduct was very different from that of his predecessor; for in a famine which desolated the pontifical city, he sold the grain which Gregory had distributed as a gratuity. As the poor could not pay a penny of gold for thirty measures of grain, and were dying of hunger close by the abundant granaries of the Holy See, the principal people went in procession to the palace of Sabinianus, to beseech him, in the name of Christ, not to suffer those to perish miserably, whom he should nourish in the monasteries during the afflictions of the dearth. But without even listening to them, the pontiff drove them from his presence, exclaiming, "Turn from me, ye wretches. Do you suppose me willing to imitate the conduct of the last pope, and pur-

chase from you the title of saint by my prodigalities?"

Nero also blamed his ancestors for having drained the public treasury by excessive largesses to the citizens! Strange aberration of the human mind! A Sabinianus and a Nero dared to make themselves censors of the conduct of their predecessors, as if they had no cause to fear, in turn, the judgment of their posterity!

Sabinianus, the possessor of the treasures of St. Peter, not content with showing himself as hard to the poor as Gregory had been charitable, wished to destroy the witnesses which had procured for him so great a reputation, and pretended that they were full of heresy. The synod convoked by the holy father, had already given an order to deliver them to the flames, when a deacon, named Peter, rose from his seat, and affirmed with an oath, that during the life of Gregory he had seen the Holy Spirit, under the form of a dove, light upon the head of the saint, and dictate to him his works. This strange incident prevented Sabinianus from executing his desire!

At length, the harshness of the pontiff and his insatiable avarice, rendered him so odious to the Romans, that a plot was formed against his life. Several priests penetrated secretly into his apartments, and assassinated him.

An author of the time relates another version of his death. He affirms that at the moment when Sabinianus was occupied in counting his treasures in a secret chamber, St. Gregory appeared to him, reproached him with the misfortunes of Rome, and ordered him to change his conduct; and that on his refusal he struck him on the head with so much violence, that the holy father died of his wound, on the 15th of February, 605, after having reigned six months. It is believed that his body was cast without the walls of the holy city.

## BONIFACE THE THIRD, SIXTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 606.—PHOCAS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Boniface—His ambition—Phocas gives him the title of universal bishop—Council at Rome—Despotism of Boniface—His death.*

THE struggles and intrigues which followed the death of Sabinianus, prolonged for a whole year the vacancy of the see of Rome.

At length the faction of Boniface the Third prevailed. He received the episcopal ordination, and was elevated upon the apostolical chair. Born in the holy city, and deacon of this church, he had been sent, during the pontificate of Gregory, to the court of the emperor, in the quality of nuncio. This proud pope was the first who dared to bear the title of universal bishop, so long refused by the Roman pontiffs to the Greek patriarchs.

At this period Phocas governed the empire. This prince, irritated against Cyriacus, who had refused him admission into the church after the murder of the empress Constantina and her daughter, resolved, in order to avenge himself on that prelate, to elevate the see of Rome above that of Byzantium, and nominated Boniface as universal bishop of all the churches of Christendom.

The pontiff immediately convoked a synod, and caused it to confirm the title which the emperor had given him, by declaring the preponderance of his see over that of Constanti-

nople. This same council prohibited the renewal of the intrigues which took place for the election of the popes, and ordered that the clergy, the grandees, and the people, should assemble three days after the death of the bishops of Rome, to name their successors.

Boniface also decreed that the nomination of prelates, in all the kingdoms, should not be canonical until after confirmation by the court of Rome. His bull commences in these words: "We will and ordain that such an one be bishop; and that you shall obey him

without hesitation in all he shall command you. . . ."

Thus the authority of the successors of the fisherman Simon increased in a single day by the will of an execrable murderer, and the popes raised themselves from obedience to despotism.

But Boniface did not long enjoy his absolute power; he died in the very year of his election, on the 12th of November, 606. His remains were deposited in the church of St. Peter, at Rome.

## BONIFACE THE FOURTH, SIXTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 607.—PHOCAS and HERACLIUS, Emperors of the East.]

*Election of Boniface the Fourth—The Pantheon changed into a Christian temple—A council declares that monks can be promoted to the episcopacy—The pope changes his residence to a monastery—His death.*

THE disorders which were the precursors of the election of a pontiff recommenced on the death of Boniface the Third, notwithstanding the decrees of the last council, and retarded for six months the nomination of a new pope. At length intrigue and simony elevated to the pontifical throne a priest of the Roman church, who took the name of Boniface the Fourth. He was the son of a physician named John, and had been educated from his youth by the monks, who had instructed him in the knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures. Thus, to show his thanks to his old companions, he overwhelmed them with riches, and spread his favours over all the religious orders.

The tyrant Phocas, desirous of preserving the aid of the bishop of Rome, offered to Boniface the Pantheon, built by Marius Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus, thirty years before the Christian era, and consecrated, formerly, to all the divinities of paganism. The pontiff thankfully accepted the offer of the emperor, and transformed this splendid building into a Christian church, which he solemnly dedicated to the Virgin, under the name of our Lady of the Rotunda.

Mellitus, bishop of London, came at this period to Italy, and assisted at a council held by Boniface, in 610, to determine rules for, and the form of, government of the English churches.

Holstenius maintains, that the synod made a decree authorising monks to be named bishops, and to discharge the sacerdotal functions. The same authority cites a letter from Boniface the Fourth to king Ethelbert, in which he threatens with excommunication the successors of the prince who should oppose the ordination of monks. "The monastic profession," adds the pontiff, "is the most favourable to prepare men for the ministry of Christ. By the sanctity of a cloistered life, they deserve to be compared to angels; and as angels are the messengers of God in heaven, so should the monks be his ministers upon earth. Besides, do they not resemble the glorious cherubims in their external forms? The cowl, which covers their heads, resembles two brilliant wings; the long sleeves of their tunics form two others; and we may affirm that the extremities of the garment which envelopes their body, represent two more wings. They have thus six wings like the seraphims, and belong to the highest hierarchy of the angels!"

The holy father pushed his monastic fanaticism so far as to change his paternal mansion into a convent. At length he died, in 614, after a pontificate of seven years. Like his predecessor he was buried in the church of St. Peter.

## DEODATUS THE FIRST, SEVENTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 614.—HERACLIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—His origin—Letters attributed to him—Uncertainty of the duration of his pontificate—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Boniface the Fourth, Deodatus arrived at the papacy. He was the

son of a sub-deacon of the church of Rome, who had given him a pious education. From

his very youth he had acquired, by his humility and regular morals, a great reputation for sanctity.

Soon after his elevation to the throne of the church, an epidemical leprosy extended its ravages among the poor, who were always numerous in the holy city. This cruel malady communicated itself without touch, and merely by the breath of those who were infected with it. Notwithstanding the danger, the virtuous pontiff visited the sick, and showed an evangelical charity in solacing their sufferings.

A pious legend adds, that "One day, Deodatus, desirous of encouraging the clergy to imitate his example, kissed a leper on the forehead, and the sick man was immediately cured." We are entirely ignorant of the other actions of the pontiff.

A letter addressed to Gordianus, bishop of Seville, is attributed to him. But it is evidently apocryphal, as the see of that city was occupied by Isidore, from 600 to 636, an interval which includes the reign of Deodatus. The author of this piece declares that, according to the decree of the Holy See, the husband and wife who held their children at the sacred fount of baptism, should be separated, under pain of excommunication. He adds, however, that after having accomplished

the penance imposed by the church, they could be reunited by submitting anew to the sacrament of marriage.

We are ignorant of the exact period at which Deodatus came to the apostolical throne. The duration of his pontificate is not more certain, and it is believed that he died in the month of November, in the year 617. His body was placed in the church of St. Peter.

Deodatus has left the reputation of a wise and virtuous man; and the affection which he always exhibited for the poor has justly merited for him the name of saint. He was the first pontiff whose bulls were sealed with lead.

During his reign the Persians conquered Jerusalem and all Palestine. They immolated, by thousands priests, monks, and nuns. They burned all the churches, seized upon an innumerable quantity of the sacred vases and precious shrines, and led into slavery the patriarch Zachary, and very many people. But that which above all spread universal grief among the Christians, was the loss of the precious cross of gold, which enclosed a model of the true cross. This sacred relic was taken away from the adoration of the faithful. There remained of all the instruments of the passion of our Saviour, but the sponge and the lance, which had been sent to Constantinople.

## BONIFACE THE FIFTH, SEVENTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 617.—HERACLIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—His letters—Conversion of the princess Ethelberge and her brother Ethelbert, king of Kent—Boniface sends presents to the king and queen of Northumberland—He makes churches a place of asylum for the wicked—His death—Miracles published by John Moschus.*

BONIFACE the Fifth was originally from Naples, and a cardinal priest of the order of St. Sixtus. He was chosen to succeed Deodatus the First, in the month of December of the year 617. We are ignorant of the greater part of his actions.

Bede reports three letters which the pope wrote during his reign. One is addressed to Justus, metropolitan of Canterbury; he congratulates the prelate on the success of his apostolical labours, and exhorts him to persevere in his missions for the conversion of the people of England. He grants to him the power of ordaining bishops to facilitate the propagation of the gospel; and as a recompense for his zeal, he sends him the pallium.

At this time Edwin, the fifth sovereign of Northumberland, espoused the princess Ethelberge, sister of Ethelbert, king of Kent. The principal condition of the marriage was, that the young queen, who had already embraced the Christian religion, should be accompanied by monks, charged to explain to the monarch the new dogmas, for the purpose of converting him. But, if the prince persisted in the

belief of his ancestors, she was to enjoy entire liberty of conscience, and to be allowed to hold intercourse with the priests of her suite, and to practise her acts of devotion.

Boniface being apprised of the favourable disposition of Edwin, wrote to him, "King of Northumberland, I thank the true God for having enlightened your mind, by making you comprehend the vanity of idols. May your soul soon be stricken with the rays of his grace, so that your example may draw after it the other princes of England, and cause them to abandon the superstitions of paganism, to lay down at the feet of Christ their wisdom and power."

Another letter of the holy father was addressed to the queen. He congratulated her on having joined, as well as her brother Ethelbert, the ranks of the faithful. He exhorted her to apply herself by her example and persuasion, to convince the sovereign, her husband, of the truth of the holy Scriptures, and to render him more ardent for the propagation of the faith. He sent to them, as presents, in the name of the holy apostle Peter, the pro-

lector of the kingdom of Northumberland, a shirt embroidered with gold, and a rich mantle to king Edwin. Ethelberge received a silver mirror, and an ivory comb, enriched with carvings, and embossments in gold.

The pope wishing, as his predecessors, to make religion subservient in extending the temporal authority of the Holy See, published in all Christian states a bull, providing that malefactors, whatever might be their crimes, could not be dragged from the churches where they had taken refuge. The churches had already become a place of inviolable asylum for all the wicked; but Boniface the Fifth was the first who converted into a law this usage, established by the policy of the priests.

The holy father died on the 25th of October, 625, after having occupied the pontifical chair for seven years and six months. He was interred in the cathedral of St. Peter, at Rome.

During his pontificate appeared the famous book of John Moschus, called the *Spiritual Meadow*, in which the burlesque contends with the cynical. This John was an Egyptian anchorite, who, after having been saved, when his country was invaded by the Persians, had obtained the government of a convent at Rome. In his work he professes to be an eye-witness of all the marvels he relates. It is well, in order to know the spirit of that century, to give a literal translation of some of his miracles. "In a journey which I made to Cilicia," says the legendary, "I contracted a friendship with a priest who saw the Holy Spirit descend upon the altar at the hour of divine service. This priest resolved never again to celebrate mass, until he was visited by this glorious person of the Trinity; so that if the Holy Spirit was engaged, he waited until afternoon prayers before performing the ceremony. Near to Ægina, in Cilicia, I was witness to another very singular miracle, which confounded the enemies of our holy religion. A Catholic monk sent to be-

sech a monk of the Severian communion to send him a consecrated wafer, consecrated by a priest of his communion. The latter believing that he had made a convert, hastened to carry him a wafer himself. Then the Catholic heated some water in our presence, and when the liquid was in a boiling state, cast in the wafer, which immediately dissolved. Then he took an imperceptible part of a wafer, consecrated by an orthodox priest; he cast it into a boiling pot, and immediately the water lost its heat. To avenge himself for his defeat, the Severian monk fell upon his adversary, tore from him the rest of the wafer, rolled it up in his fingers, cast it on the earth, and trampled it under his feet; but suddenly a thunderbolt annihilated him, and the eucharist, glittering with light, mounted gently towards heaven." The *Spiritual Meadow* is entirely composed of like recitals, as burlesque, obscene, and altogether extraordinary. John dedicated his work to his dear disciple Sophronius, which has led some historians to cite this latter as the author of the collection. After his death his body was transported to Jerusalem, and deposited in the monastery of the abbot, saint Theodosius.

In France, flourished another monk, named St. Riquier, founder of the famous monastery of Centula. This pious cenobite, who had been converted to the Christian religion by two Irish priests, named Caidoc and Friscoir, pushed so far the fanaticism of penance, that he only ate barley bread, spread with ashes, twice a week, and only slept one night in four. This existence made so great a noise in the province, that the faithful came together from all parts to receive his benediction. Among other visits, it is said he received that of Dagobert, who came to ask absolution for his sins; but the saint refused to grant his request, and declared to him that the gates of heaven would never open before kings, oppressors of the people.

## HONORIUS THE FIRST, SEVENTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 625.—HERACLIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*The election of Honorius—Conversion of king Edwin—Honorius addresses letters to the Scotch—Festival of the exaltation of the cross—History of Monothelism—The pope becomes a heretic—The council condemns the pontiff—Infallibility of the Holy See—Death of Honorius.*

HONORIUS, the son of a consul named Petronius, was originally from Campania. He had scarcely been installed in the Holy See, when he learned that the Lombards had driven away their king, Adalwodus, an orthodox prince, and had proclaimed Ariovaldus, an Arian, in his place.

Fearing the influence of the new monarch on the religion of his people, the pontiff wrote to Isacius, exarch of Ravenna, that he should re-establish the dethroned king, and order the Italian bishops who had approved of this re-

volution, to go to the court of Rome to be judged and condemned, according to the canons of the church. But the exarch, wiser than the holy father, did not even reply to his request, and made a treaty with Ariovaldus.

Towards the end of the year 625, the king of Northumberland, yielding to the solicitations of queen Ethelberge, and the preaching of the metropolitan of Canterbury, and of Paulinus of York, determined to embrace the Christian religion. Honorius recompensed

these two prelates for this brilliant conversion, by authorising them to bear the pallium. He then addressed a letter to Edwin to exhort him to inform himself in the dogmas of religion, and to propagate it among the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk. He also wrote to the Scotch, to induce them to follow in their ceremonies the customs of Rome, and to conform to the decision of the council of Nice, in celebrating the festival of Easter.

In the interval, the emperor Heraclius conquered the Persians and re-entered Constantinople in triumph, leading back the Christians who were in captivity, and to whom he had restored their liberty. He also brought back the true cross which Chosroës had carried away from Jerusalem fourteen years before. This precious relic was deposited in the cathedral of Constantinople, until the emperor could carry it back to Jerusalem. In the following year, at the commencement of the spring, Heraclius embarked for Jerusalem, to thank God for his victories, upon the very spot of his passion. When he entered the holy city, the patriarch Zachary came to meet him at the head of his clergy, and received from his hands the cross of the Saviour, which was then enclosed in its case of gold, as it had been carried away. The holy prelate examined the seals, discovered that they were unbroken, and after having opened the case with the keys, he drew from it the sacred wood, to show to his assistants. The Latin church celebrates this glorious event on the 14th day of September, under the name of the exaltation of the cross. The Grecian church celebrates on the same day an analogous festival; not in honour of the return of the holy cross, but to recall the recollection of the apparition of the Labarum to Constantine the Great. This last version has induced the supposition, that the true cross had been really destroyed by the Persians, and that the act attributed to Heraclius was but an invention of the bishops of Rome.

The heresy of the Monothelites soon caused a new scandal in the church, in consequence of the publication of the famous *Ectheses* of the emperor Heraclius. It commenced in these words: "Wishing to conform to the wisdom of the holy fathers, we recognise in Jesus Christ, the true God, but one . . ." This bold proposition cast the church into a frightful confusion, and we will say with St. Augustine, that in these times of darkness, religion was obscured by the multitude of scandals which raised themselves against it.

Cyrus, the venerable bishop of Alexandria, desirous of putting an end to the disputes, convened a great council, which examined the sentiments of the Monothelites, and decreed that their opinions were in conformity with the doctrines of the orthodox. They summed up the decision of the assembly in nine articles. The seventh, which is the most remarkable, establishes, that the fathers recognise with Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, that there exists in Jesus Christ but one will or operation. This opinion was adopted by the pre-

lates, under the specious pretext of leading back the Severites to unity.

Sergius, on his part, convoked a synod in his diocese, and approved of the proceedings of the council held by Cyrus. But Sophonius, a monk of Jerusalem, condemned this error, which he treated as a heresy, and wished to constrain the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople to a solemn retraction. Sergius, who was aware of the mischief-making spirit of the monks, addressed himself to the Roman pontiff, to oblige this monk to keep silence upon questions which might make streams of blood to flow in the East.

Honorius replied to the patriarch: "Your letter informs us of new disputes from words started by a certain Sophronius, formerly a monk, now bishop of Jerusalem. We approve of our brother Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, who teaches with you, that there is but a single operation in Jesus Christ; and we severely blame this monk for having gone near you to combat your doctrines, and whose pride has been humbled by the force of your eloquence. The letter which you have addressed to us, shows that your decisions are the dictates of much circumspection and foresight, and we praise you for having abridged the new word, which might scandalize simple minds.

In accordance with your example, we confess a single will in Christ, because, by his incarnation he did not receive original sin; he took only the nature of man as it was created before sin had corrupted it. The wisdom of councils and the Scriptures, does not authorize us to teach one rather than two operations, and our intelligence does not conceive of this double faculty in the divine and human will of Christ.

"We should reject the word operation, because it appears to express at once, cause and effect, and may lead the faithful to confounding the work with the will, which has produced it. Still, if I condemn the double sense of this word, it is on account of the scandal which it would introduce into the church, by permitting common minds to confound us with the Nestorians and Eutychians; for it would import but little to admit the word operation. We profess these sentiments to you, that you may teach them in unison with us.

"Those who attribute one or two natures to Christ, and affirm that it accomplishes one or two operations, outrage the majesty of God; for the Creator, not having been created, cannot have one or two natures. I declare to you this principle, to show the conformity of my faith with yours, and that we may remain always animated by the same spirit.

"We have written to our brothers Cyrus and Sophronius, to put an end to their idle quarrels, and not insist upon new terms, will or operation. We invite them to say with us, that Christ is an only God, who, by the aid of two natures, does that which is divine, or that which is human. We have also commanded the envoys who brought us the synodical letter from the bishop of Jerusalem, not to speak in future of two operations; and

they have promised to conform to our will if the patriarch of Alexandria ceased to write or speak on the unity of the operation of Jesus Christ."

The letters of the pontiff were received without opposition from the bishops of the East, and the heresy of the Monothelites, sustained by the entire Greek church, found itself still more powerful under the protection of Honorius the First.

The pope died in 638, after a pontificate of twelve years, according to the chronology of Anastasius the Librarian.

Honorius, according to an Arabic version, gave, during his reign, an orthodox patriarch to the Maronites.

Vicelinus assures us, that this pope was distinguished for the purity of his morals and his charities to the poor. He conformed, at least, to the spirit of his age, which made the

virtues and merits of the pontiffs to consist in their love for founding churches and monasteries; for he gave more than three thousand Roman pounds to convents; he covered the dome of St. Peter's with copper plates, which he took from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and renewed the sacred vases of that cathedral.

Honorius, dead in the odour of sanctity, was not at first censured by any ecclesiastical authority; but some years after the sixth general council declared that this pontiff wholly participated in the impiety of Sergius. His letters were publicly given to the flames, with those of other Monothelites, and the fathers exclaimed, "Anathemas upon Honorius the heretic." The seventh and eighth œcumenical synods confirmed this judgment, and declared that popes were not infallible!!!

## SEVERINUS, THE SEVENTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 639.—HERACLIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Severinus—He is besieged in the palace of the Lateran—The soldiers pillage the treasury of the Holy See—The pope suspected of being a Monothelite—His character—His death—Vacancy in the Holy See.*

AFTER the death of Honorius, a bishop named Severinus, a Roman by birth, arrived at the sovereign pontificate; but he could not exercise the sacerdotal functions until the following year, his election not having been confirmed by the emperor.

The holy father, by his steadiness in refusing his approbation to the Ectheses of Heraclius, having excited the wrath of the cartulary Maurice, the latter assembled the soldiers and thus addressed them: "Comrades, Honorius died without paying you the arrears due to you, and the treasures have been increased by sums sent from Constantinople for the pay of the troops. The successor of this avaricious priest, in contempt of solemn engagements, refuses to pay a legitimate debt, and repels our just reclamations. Now, if we wish to receive the price of the blood which we shed for the empire, we have but one way, that of employing force and of doing justice to ourselves."

Rendered furious by this discourse, the soldiers seized their arms and hastened to the palace of the Lateran to pillage it; the massive gates resisted their efforts for three days, and Severinus, at the head of his clergy, courageously defended the treasures of the church. At length, worn out with fatigue and wounds, the servants of the pope demanded a capitulation. Maurice suspended the combat, calmed the sedition, and accompanied by the judges of Rome, penetrated beneath the roof of this rich edifice. They placed seals on the vestry, upon the saloons of ornaments, vases, and crowns; upon the

treasure chamber, upon the bullion chamber, and upon the galleries, filled with immense treasures, sent by emperors and kings, or deposited by patricians and consuls, to nourish the poor, or to bring back the captive. Then they discovered how the intentions of the pious donors had been treated with contempt, since their presents, shut up in the treasury of the popes, served, not to solace the miseries of men, but to indulge the luxury and debauchery of the Roman clergy.

The cartulary wrote to the exarch at Ravenna, to render him an account of what he had done, and Isaluis immediately came to Rome, to confirm, as he said, the election of Severinus to the episcopal see of that city. He drove off the principal clergy, who might have been able to excite the populace against acts of military despotism, and sent them into exile in different provinces. Then he made his troops hem in the approaches to the palace of the Lateran, and during eight days, the soldiers were employed in carrying off the gold, furniture, ornaments, and precious vases, which filled the dwelling of the pontiffs. Severinus at length, discerning that the power of the sword was still more redoubtable than that of the cross, determined to subscribe to the Ectheses of the emperor; and, in return, received from the exarch authority to govern the church.

Some historians maintain that the pontiff was not a Monothelite, and that he did not partake of the heresy of the prince. Others rely upon irresistible proofs, and cite a letter from Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, which

indicates positively the sending of the Ectheses of Heraclius to the sovereign pontiff, and of his forced adhesion after the attack on the palace of the Lateran, by the soldiers of Maurice. Thus it is proved, that Severinus was a heretical pope, were it not for the objection that, not having been ordained at the time of his abjuration, the Holy Spirit had not been able to communicate to him the light of infallibility, which would then submit the divine will to the caprice of princes.

Apart from this, the pontiff was esteemed for his virtues, his mildness, his love for the poor, and the care which he took in renewing the famous Mosaics of the roof of the cathedral. The duration of his reign has not been exactly determined; still, the general opinion places the epoch of his death in the year 640. He was interred in the church of St. Peter at Rome.

After the death of Severinus, the Holy See remained vacant for four months and twenty-nine days, in consequence of the intrigues of Heraclius, who protracted the elections to gain time to submit the Greeks and Latins to his Ectheses. Still, the difficulty for the emperor was not to cause his belief on Monothelism to be accepted by the Christians of the East, sufficiently prompt of themselves to cling to decisions formerly made, and always disposed to discuss and seek for modifications of dogmas, but he wished besides to impose his opinions on the Latin bishops.

These finding themselves sustained by the nobility and the people, rejected the adoption of the Ectheses, and sought to name a pontiff who partook of their sentiments. The agents of the emperor on their side, in conformity with the orders they had received, put intrigue and corruption to work, and rejected the candidates who refused to engage in advance to conform to the wishes of Heraclius. St. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and one of those who had most strongly opposed the prince, engaged, in consequence of this, in a violent polemical controversy with the Monothelites. He had traversed the East to examine the libraries, and had already made three enormous volumes, with passages from the fathers, favourable to his opinions; when, at the very moment he was about to go to Rome to present his labours to the Italian clergy, he fell dangerously sick and foresaw that his end was approaching. He then called to Jerusalem, Stephen of Dora, the first of his suffragans; he climbed with him on Calvary, and after having made him swear by the consecrated host, that he would obey him faithfully, he said to him, "go to the bishops of Italy and do not cease to press on them the condemnation of the impious novelties which Heraclius wishes to introduce into Catholicism." Stephen of Dora obeyed his metropolitan, and immediately embarked for Rome.

## JOHN THE FOURTH, SEVENTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 640.—HERACLIUS and CONSTANTINE, Emperors of the East.]

*Election of John—Birth of the pontiff—Ectheses of the emperor Heraclius—John condemns the heresy of the Monothelites—Disputes between the monks and the priests—Death of John the Fourth.*

JOHN the Fourth, the son of the scholastic Venantius was born in Dalmatia. He was named bishop of Rome by the people, the clergy, and the grandees; and his election having been confirmed by the chief of the empire, he immediately mounted the Holy See.

Before pursuing the recital of the religious wars, it is necessary to give a definition of the Ectheses of Heraclius, which then caused so great disorders in the church. This famous edict commenced by a profession of the orthodox faith in the Trinity; then it explained the incarnation by establishing the distinction of the two natures, and preserving the unity of the two persons. The author thus concludes: "We attribute to the word of God, that is to say, to the incarnate Word, all the divine and human operations of Christ. From the doctrine of the councils, we say that a single power executes these two operations; and that they both proceed from the incarnate Word, without division, confusion, or succession.

"We do not employ the term, 'a single operation,' but as it is found in the writings of the fathers; because it might seem strange to common minds; and because we fear that our enemies might seize upon it to combat the established belief in the double nature of Jesus Christ. We reject the term, 'two operations,' because this expression is not found in the works of the doctors of the church; and because it would admit being interpreted, to recognize in Christ two contrary wills; that is to say two persons, the one wishing the accomplishment of the sacrifice of the cross, the other opposing itself to the punishment—an impious thought and opposed to the doctrine of the fathers.

"The heretic Nestorius, in dividing the incarnation, did not dare to say that the two Sons of God, imagined by him, had two wills: he recognized, on the contrary, a single volition in these two persons. Thus the Catholics, who do not conceive but a single nature in Christ, cannot admit in him two powers

which are combative. Then, we confess, with the fathers, a single will in the incarnate word; and, we believe, that his flesh, animated by a soul, possessing activity with reason, has never accomplished a particular action, and opposed the divine Spirit which is united to him hypostatically.<sup>77</sup>

This formula of Monothelism was composed by the patriarch Sergius, and published in the name of the emperor Heraclius, who supported it with all his authority until his death. After the death of this prince, the political face of affairs changed in the East. Heraclius had left the empire to his son Constantine; but, before he was fairly seated on his throne, the empress Martina, sustained by the patriarch Pyrrhus, poisoned the young prince, to elevate to his place her younger son. The senate and people punished the assassins, placed a new emperor on the throne, and forced Pyrrhus to resign the see of Constantinople in favour of the patriarch Paul, a fanatical supporter of Monothelism.

The church of the West renewed its efforts to extinguish the schism, and lanced terrible anathemas against the Greeks. John the Fourth, at the instigation of Stephen of Dora, assembled a numerous council and condemned the Ecthesis, as well as all its favourers and adherents. The bishops of Africa hastened to follow this example, and the pastors of the provinces of Byzacenum, Numidia, and Mauritania, did not spare, in their sentences, neither the ancient Monophysites, nor those who had succeeded them.

After the adjournment of the council, the pope hastened to expedite its proceedings to the court of Constantinople, with an apostolical letter, in which his holiness sought to attenuate the enmity of the heresy of his predecessor Honorius, admitting all the while that he had partaken of the errors of the

schismatics. This singular apology, in which the most authentic proceedings were denied by pope John, thus terminated: "We have learned that there has been sent from Constantinople an edict, to constrain the bishops of the West to condemn the council of Chalcedon and the letter of St. Leo; but the efforts of the enemies of God have been fruitless, and we trust that the emperor, inspired by the Holy Spirit, will declare himself in favour of orthodoxy, and publicly cancel the infamous Ecthesis of Heraclius, which is yet affixed to the gates of all the churches of new Rome, to the great scandal of the faithful."<sup>78</sup>

During the following year, 641, John sent the abbot Martin, a pious and faithful man, to ransom the Christian captives who were in slavery. He instructed him at the same time to transport from Illyria and Dalmatia, the relics of the holy martyrs Venantius, Anastasius, and Maur; and when the sacred remains were brought to Rome, he received them with great pomp, and interred them in an oratory which he had constructed in the midst of the church of the Lateran.

During this pontificate, violent religious quarrels occurred between the secular and regular clergy, who pursued each other with an implacable hatred. The ecclesiastics, not being able to endure that the monks should have the right of placing priests in churches which had been given to them by the bishops, complained to the pope of the scandal of this abuse; but the politic John refused to admit their claims, and solemnly confirmed the privileges granted to the monks, in consideration of the services they had always rendered to the Holy See.

This pontiff died at Rome in 641, after a reign of eighteen months and some days, and was interred in the cathedral of St. Peter.

## THEODORE THE FIRST, SEVENTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 641.—CONSTANTIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—His letter to the patriarch of Constantinople—He condemns the Ecthesis of Heraclius—Paul of Constantinople treats with contempt the remonstrances of the pope—The pope appoints Stephen of Dora his vicar in Palestine—Retraction of Pyrrhus—Profession of faith of the patriarch of Constantinople—Condemnation of Pyrrhus—Excommunication of Paul of Constantinople—Death of Theodore the First.*

THEODORE obtained the Holy See some time after the death of John the Fourth; his election was confirmed by the exarch of Ravenna. This pope was by birth a Greek, and the son of a patriarch of Jerusalem. At the commencement of his pontificate, he received synodical letters from Paul, recently elected to the see of Constantinople, and from the bishops who had ordained him.

The holy father replied to the patriarch in these terms: "The reading of your letters, my dear brother, has apprised us of the pu-

riety of your faith; but we are surprised that they do not condemn the edict affixed, to the great scandal of the faithful, in all the streets of your city. The dogmas, confirmed by so many councils, should not be corrected by Heraclius nor Pyrrhus,—for thus the fathers, who prescribed, would have usurped the name of saints, and should be deprived of their celestial beatitude.

"Our astonishment is increased by learning that the bishops who consecrated you have, three times, called the heretical Pyrrhus,

holy. This unworthy priest made, as a pretext for quitting the see of Constantinople, his great age and his infirmities; whilst we know that he obeyed the terror with which the hatred of the people inspired him. Thus, this voluntary abandonment of his church, does not deprive him of his episcopate, and during his whole life, unless he is regularly condemned, you may expect a schism, or fear lest he should lay pretensions to the see which you occupy.

"Still, through a sentiment of affection for your person, we have given instructions to the archdeacon Siricus, and to Martin our deacon and nuncio, to represent us in a council, which you will assemble, to examine canonically the case of this heretic. Do not defer his examination under the pretext that you cannot equitably judge an absent bishop; his presence at the synod is not necessary, since you have his writings. Besides, have not his excesses brought scandal on the faithful? Has he not praised Heraclius? An abominable crime, since that prince has censured the faith of the fathers. Has he not approved of the subscription to the infamous Ethesis, which encloses a pretended symbol? Has he not surprised the vigilance of many bishops, by inducing them, by his example, to subscribe to this condemnable letter? Finally, has he not insolently caused it to be put up in the streets of Constantinople, in contempt of the severe warnings of our predecessor.

"Thus, when you shall have examined these accusations in your assembly, you will excommunicate him, and depose him from the priesthood, not only for the preservation of the faith, but even the security of your own ordination. If his partizans offer obstacles to your justice, and wish to excite a schism, you will render their efforts impotent by obtaining from the emperor an order which will constrain the guilty to appear before us, as we have already demanded from the prince."

The opinions of Theodore were not listened to, and the patriarch Paul affected even a contemptuous disdain for the remonstrances of the Holy See.

Sergius, metropolitan of the island of Cyprus, wrote to the pontiff, complaining of the conduct of the clergy of Constantinople. For himself, he declared that he recognized the primacy of the church of Rome, founded on the power given to the apostle Peter. He boasted of his attachment to the faith of St. Leo, and anathematized the Ethesis affixed in the Grecian capital. "Until to-day," says he in his letter, "we have preserved silence on the errors of our brethren, hoping that they would abandon their heresy to return to the Catholic faith; but their obstinacy has forced us to break with them, to follow the opinions of Arcadius our holy uncle, by conforming to the orthodox communion of your greatness. Such are our own sentiments, as well as those of our clergy and province!"

Stephen, chief of the diocese of Dora, and first suffragan of Jerusalem, also addressed complaints to the pope on the disorders

which the faction of Paul of Constantinople caused in Palestine. "Sergius," he wrote, "bishop of Joppa, after the retreat of the Persians, seized upon the vicariate of Jerusalem, without any ecclesiastical form, and is only sustained by the secular magistrates: he has even ordained several bishops, dependant on that see. Still, these latter, though well knowing that their election was irregular, and desirous of being maintained in their bishoprics, have not attached themselves to the patriarch of the imperial city by approving of the new doctrine."

The pontiff, to thank Stephen for his submission, named him his vicar in Palestine; and, by the same letters, he granted him power to arrest the disorders of the churches of that province, by deposing the prelates irregularly appointed by Sergius of Joppa. Stephen executed the orders of the holy father; still, he refused to nominate to the vacant sees; not recognizing in Theodore the right to create bishops without the permission of the prince.

The prelates of Africa then declared against Monothelism, and addressed their letters to the court of Rome. The abbot Maximus, a man celebrated for the sanctity of his morals and the purity of his faith, undertook the conversion of Pyrrhus, and the force of his reasoning was such, that in a conference he compelled the latter to retract. Ten years later, the venerable Maximus expiated his attachment to the church by an atrocious punishment, and the executioner was a pontiff of Rome! The converted heretic quitted Africa and came to Italy to demand from God pardon for his sins. According to custom, he performed his devotions at the tomb of the apostles. He was then admitted to present to the holy father a writing, in which were anathematized the doctrines that he or his predecessors had sustained against the faith.

This public manifestation of the return of Pyrrhus to orthodoxy, filled Theodore with joy. He opened to him the treasures of St. Peter, to make largesses to the people, and seated him on one side of the altar, honouring him as bishop of Constantinople. The holy father defrayed all his expenses, and furnished him with the means necessary to maintain, with pomp, the dignity of patriarch.

Thus Pyrrhus, having voluntarily descended from his see, soon repented of having abdicated his power, and abjured his belief to return to greatness! So ardent is the desire for rule among priests, and so many inexplicable contradictions does the ecclesiastical spirit offer.

His apostasy induced the defection of other oriental bishops. The three primates, Columbus of Numidia, Stephen of Byzacenum, and Reparatus of Mauritania, addressed a synodical letter to the pontiff, with the approbation of all their suffragans, in favor of Pyrrhus, and proclaimed his reinstatement in the see of Constantinople.

Paul, menaced by a deposition, and urged by the legates of the pontiff who exhorted

him to explain in what sense he understood the symbol of a single will in Jesus Christ, resolved then to send to the court of Rome, a dogmatical letter, for the purpose of deciding the question which divided Christendom. After having glorified his own charity towards the faithful, and his patience towards his enemies, who overwhelmed him with injuries and calumnies, he declared his faith in the incarnation, and added, "we believe that the will of Christ is single, because our intelligence rejects the idea of attributing to God a double action, and of teaching that he himself combated himself by admitting persons into himself.

"Still we do not wish to confound these two natures, in order, by establishing the one, to revoke the existence of the other. But we will say, that his flesh, animated by a reasonable spirit, and enriched with all its divine power by the personality, has a volition inseparable from that of the Word, which caused it to accomplish all its actions.

"Thus the flesh does not perform any operation natural to it, and cannot act by its own impulse against the order of the Word; it was obedient to its law, and only produced the phenomena which emanate from him. We do not wish to blaspheme the humanity of Christ by saying, that it was ruled by the necessities of nature, and that in rejecting the sufferings of the cross, it merited the same reprimand as the apostle St. Peter.

"Behold the sense in which we interpret the refusal of the passion, and these words of the evangelist, 'I descended from Heaven, not to do my will, but that of Him who sent me.' We are taught by these words negatively: we believe that Christ does not say who he is, but only who he is not, as in this passage, 'I have committed neither sin nor iniquity.' Paul, to give more force to his decisions, cites in his own favour the authority of the fathers, and thus closes, 'The bishops Sergius and Honorius, the one of the new, the other of the ancient capital of the empire, were of the opinion which I profess.'" He names the patriarch of Constantinople before the Roman pontiff, to show the supremacy of the Greek metropolis over the Holy See.

This letter did not appease the discontent of the pope, nor suspend the complaints of the bishops of the West, and of Africa. Then Paul besought the prince to arrest the disorders, by publishing an edict which should put an end to the disputes and impose silence on the two parties.

In this decree, called *Typus*, the emperor first stated the question, then cited summarily the reasons for and against Monothelism, and then added, "we prohibit our Catholic subjects from disputing upon the dogmas of one will and one operation, or of two wills and two operations. We approve of the decisions of the fathers upon the incarnation of the Word, ordering all to follow the doctrines taught by the Holy Scriptures, the œcumenical councils and the works which are the rule of the church. We prohibit from adding any

thing to the dogmas, and of desiring to interpret them according to irreligious sentiments or private interests.

"We desire that the state of tranquillity, which reigned before these discussions commenced, should be re-established, as if they had never been; and to leave no pretext to those who wish to dispute without any termination we order the writings affixed to the vestibule of the cathedral of Constantinople, and of the other metropolises of the empire, to be taken down.

"Those who shall dare to contravene the present ordinance, will be submitted to the terrible judgment of God, and will encounter our indignation. Patriarchs, bishops, and other ecclesiastics, shall be deposed; monks excommunicated and driven from their monasteries; the great shall lose their dignities and places; the principal citizens shall be despoiled of their property, and others corporally punished and banished from our states."

The emperor Constantius was no more fortunate than his predecessors, and could not arrest the troubles of the church, for the priests are obstinate in evil; they maintain the most extravagant and ridiculous errors, and when they have been a long time debated, they adopt them as articles of faith, and impose them on human credulity.

Theodore evinced great intolerance in the theological discussions about Monothelism; and upon the simple suspicion that Pyrrhus retired, since his retraction, to Ravenna, professed the heresy anew, he assembled some bishops in the church of St. Peter, and pronounced a terrible anathema against him.

We are assured that he profaned the wine of the consecrated cup by mixing with it the ink which he used to sign the condemnation of Pyrrhus. Ecclesiastical authors justify this sacrilegious act, under the pretext that this use was confined to Greek prelates. The existence of this custom proves, at least, that the Christians of the East did not yet admit the dogma of the real presence in the eucharist, and did not believe in transubstantiation. If they believed that the bread and wine were the body and blood of God, would the pontiff have dared, in the presence of a synod, to mingle the Christ with profane matter?

Cardinal Baronius maintains, that Theodore condemned in a new council the formulary of the emperor Constantius, and anathematized the patriarch of Constantinople. Still, authors who have narrated the holding of this assembly, do not speak of the *Typus*, nor of the excommunication of Paul, which induces us to presume that he was anathematized shortly after, and only when the holy father had learned that the letters and warnings of his legates were unable to lead him back to the Roman faith.

As soon as Paul was apprised of his deposition, he closed the church of the Orthodox, situated in the palace of Placidius; he prohibited the nuncios, who inhabited this magnificent residence, from celebrating divine service, and pursued them with bitterness, as well as

the Catholic bishops and the simple faithful. Some were banished, and others thrown into prison; and some were beaten and rent with blows from rods.

Whilst his ambassadors were exposed to the fury of his enemies, the pontiff was occupied with transferring the bodies of the holy martyrs Primus and Felician into the magnificent church of St. Stephen, and erected an oratory to St. Sylvester in the palace of the Lateran, and another to the blessed martyr Euplus, beyond the gate of St. Paul's.

Notwithstanding the care which he gave to his controversy with the Monothelites, and which absorbed almost all his time, Theodore did not neglect any occasion of extending the influence of the see of Rome over the churches of the West. He entered into active intercourse with the Spanish clergy, and his opinions ruled the seventh council of Toledo. He also corresponded with the ecclesiastics of Gaul, and directed the third council which was

held in that country by order of Clovis the Second. By his instigation the creed of Nice was approved of, and thus the Monothelite heresy was prevented from being propagated in France.

Theodore even carried his solicitude to the provinces of the Low Countries, where St. Omer laboured for the conversion of the infidels with Mommolin, Eberitan, and Bertin. It was by his councils that these missionaries converted some influential lords, and founded different religious houses; amongst other, the celebrated monastery of Sithien or Saint Bertin, in which, a century later, the usurper Pepin the Gross confined the last heir of the Merovingian dynasty.

In the midst of this active life, the pontiff was attacked by a grievous malady, of which he died in 649, after a reign of about eight years. He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

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## MARTIN THE FIRST, SEVENTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 649.—CONSTANTIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Martin the First—His birth and education—Council at Rome—Discourse of the pope—Second session of the council of the Lateran—Examination of the Etheses—Judgment of the council—Letter of the pope to the emperor—The prince wishes to arrest the pontiff—Corruptions of the clergy—Martin is carried off from Rome—Insults offered to the pontiff—Paul of Constantinople obtains the favour of the pope—Martin the First sent into exile—His death.*

MARTIN the First was of a distinguished birth, and originally from Tudertum or Todi, in the province of Tuscany. From his early infancy he had been confided to skillful masters, who developed his aptitude for study. He terminated his philosophic course, and acquired a perfect knowledge of the art of eloquence; still, his piety having led him to examine the vanity of human affairs, he learned that the wisdom of an orator and a philosopher, was a dangerous rock for the safety of the soul. He then determined to renounce the grandeurs of the age, and to consecrate himself entirely to God, by embracing the ecclesiastical state, in which, besides, he hoped to obtain an honourable post.

In all the functions which he performed, the holy minister exhibited a great zeal for religion, and was distinguished for his ability and profound wisdom. In a month and a half after the death of Theodore, in spite of the intrigues of his rivals, he was nominated as pontiff by the people, the clergy, and the grandees of Rome, and his election was immediately confirmed by the emperor Constans, who ordered his agents to use all their influence to render the new head of the church favourable to the Typus. But the purity of his faith, and the councils of St. Maximus, who was then in the holy city, determined him to take a contrary resolution; and to

destroy the last hopes of the heretics, he assembled in the palace of the Lateran, in the chapel of the Saviour, called Constantienne, a council of five hundred bishops, and submitted to their judgment all the religious questions which troubled the churches.

The synod remained together several months, and held five sessions, which are each called "secretarium," in the style of the day, perhaps from the place, perhaps, because, the convoked prelates alone had the right of entering the assembly. The first sitting took place on the 5th of October, 649; Theophylactus, prothonotary of the Roman church, spoke and besought the pontiff to explain the cause of the convocation of the council. Martin thus expressed himself, "My brethren, we have to examine the errors introduced into Christianity by the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople, Cyrus and Sergius, and by their successors Paul and Pyrrhus. Eight years have passed since the publication of this bull of scandal, in which Sergius decided in nine different propositions, that there existed in Jesus Christ but a single person, in which the divinity and humanity blended themselves; a condemnable heresy which fortified the errors of the Acephalites. This patriarch then pronounced an anathema against those who did not partake of his culpable belief; and not only did he spread

abroad this doctrine, but he even composed, in the name of the emperor Heraclius, that famous *Ectheses* of scandal. It maintains, with the impious Apollinarius, that there exists in Christ but a single will as the consequence of a single operation; he dared to affix this sacrilegious bull on the gates of his church, and caused it to be approved by several chiefs of the clergy, whose religion he overreached.

"Pyrrhus, the successor of this patriarch, also subscribed to this culpable edict, and through the influence of his example, illustrious prelates were drawn into the schism. Later, repentance led him to our feet; he presented a petition, written with his own hand, abjuring the heresy which he and his predecessors had maintained against the Catholic faith; but, he has since returned like a dog to his vomit, and we have been obliged to punish his crime by a canonical deposition.

"The new patriarch openly accepts the *Ectheses* of Sergius, and has undertaken to prove its orthodoxy. As a punishment for his audacity, we have pronounced our anathema against him. In imitation of Sergius, he has overreached the religion of the prince, and has persuaded him to publish, under the name of Typos, a decree, which destroys the Catholic faith, by prohibiting the faithful from employing the terms, 'one or two wills,' and which leaves us to suppose that Jesus Christ is without will, and has not accomplished any operation. Still further, far from being touched with repentance on learning his deposition, he has given way to sacrilegious violence; has closed our church in the palace of Placidius; has plunged into prison the legates of our see; has stricken with rods orthodox priests; and has, finally, condemned to the torture a great number of monks.

"Our predecessors displayed all Christian charity and prudence, by using prayers and reprimands towards the bishops of Constantinople; but these prelates have closed their minds against apostolical counsel and remonstrance. I have then thought it necessary to assemble you, that all being assembled in the presence of God, who sees and judges us, we might deliberate upon the guilty and their sacrilegious errors. May each one then pronounce freely, according to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit."

The letter of the metropolitan of Ravenna, who excused himself for not being able to come to the synod, was publicly read; then they regulated the forms by which to proceed to the condemnation of the Monothelites.

The second session was held on the eighth of the same month. The holy father ordered that the accusation against the heretics should be drawn in proper form by the parties interested, or by the dean and notary of the Roman church. Theophylactus thus spoke; "I announce to your beatitude, that Stephen, bishop of Dora, first suffragan of Jerusalem, is at the door of the church in which we are assembled, and asks permission to present himself before you." The pontiff gave orders to admit him to the council.

The doors were opened and the prelate, introduced by the master of ceremonies, presented his request to the synod. The notary, Anastasius, read the address, translating it from Greek into Latin. It contained an explanation of the first troubles in the East; the articles published by Cyrus of Alexandria; the letter of St. Sophronius, who ordered him to come to Rome to condemn the heretics; and finished by recalling the complaints which had been already made to Theodore against Sergius of Joppa. We will cite the last words of his request. "I have executed the orders of the defunct holy father against heretical prelates, and I have not consented to admit them to the orthodox communion, until I received a retraction written with their own hand. All these abjurations have been remitted to pope Martin the First.

"Still, I beseech you, my brethren, to be willing to listen to the demand which my humility addresses to you, in the name of the prelates, the Catholic people of the East, and the glorious Sophronius. We beseech you to dissipate, by your wisdom, the remains of the heresy, and cause evangelical charity to succeed the blind fanaticism which impels the faithful into interminable wars."

The synod also received the complaints of many abbots and Greek priests, or monks, who asked for the condemnation of the Monothelites. The old petitions, addressed to the Holy See, against Cyrus, Sergius, and their adherents, were then read. Then the pontiff, rising from his chair, thus expressed himself: "There are enough complaints, my brethren, against these culpable wretches. Time would fail us to produce before you all the remonstrances which have been addressed to us by Catholics. We are sufficiently instructed in the guilt of the heretics, and we can remit to the coming session the canonical examination of the writings of each of the accused."

The assembly having met nine days afterwards, the sitting was commenced by an examination of the works of Theodore, bishop of Pharan. Martin cited several passages from the fathers, which condemned the errors of this prelate. The seven articles of Cyrus of Alexandria, were then examined, as well as the letter of Sergius of Constantinople, which approved of them, by pronouncing an anathema against those who did not recognize in Jesus Christ a single theandric operation. They commented on the passage of St. Denis, bishop of Athens, cited by Cyrus, and drawn from the letter of Caius. He finished thus: "Finally, Christ has done neither divine actions as a God, nor human operations as a man; but he has shown to the world a new species of operation of an incarnate being, which we must call theandric acts."

These words were in reality those of St. Denis the Areopagite; and the pontiff not being able to explain them, accused Cyrus and Sergius of having falsified this passage, by placing in the seventh article the words, "new operation," instead of "theandric ope-

ration," which should be placed there. He endeavoured to show that Sergius had destroyed the sense of these words, by suppressing, in his letter, the word "theandric," in order to write only that of "operation." Remarks worthy of the most subtle theologian!

Thus were the faithful edified by prolonged and violent disputes, founded upon terms which the sophistical spirit of the Greeks had introduced into the language of the church. Martin, after having maintained that the word "theandric," included, necessarily, the idea of two operations, added, "If this expression signifies a single operation, it would say that it is simple or compound—natural or personal.

"If simple, the Father also possesses it, and he will be like Christ, God and man. By admitting this operation as compound, we declare the Son to be of another substance from the Father, who cannot comprise a compound operation. If we call it natural, we declare the flesh to be substantial with the Word, since it executes the same operation—thus, in place of the trinity, we should proclaim the quaternity. When we admit the theandric operation to be personal, we separate, on the contrary, the Father and the Son, since they are distinguished by individual operations.

"Finally, the heretics maintain that the union of the divine and human nature, brings back the theandric operation to unity; in other words, they avow that the Word, before its union with the flesh, possessed two operations; and that, after its hypotheosis, it only accomplished one; and, consequently, they curtail it of one of its operations by confounding them together. These contradictions prove that St. Denis, by the word compound, which he used, has wished to designate the union of two operations in the same person; and, that he has wisely said, that Jesus Christ accomplished neither divine actions as God, nor human actions as a man; but, that he has shown the perfect union of operations and natures. The sublimity of this union is the execution, humanly, of divine actions; and, divinely, of human actions: for, the flesh of Christ, animated by a reasonable soul, and united personally to him, performed miracles which made an impression on the people; and, by his all-powerful virtue, he submitted voluntarily to the sufferings which have given to us the life of heaven. Thus, he possessed that which is natural to us, in a super-human manner; and, we will say with St. Leo, that each operation performed in Christ its own particular part; but, with the participation of the other."

This singular explanation of the theandric operation, was approved of by the assembly without opposition. They then read the Ectheses of Heraclius, and declared, the extracts from the two councils of Constantinople, held by the patriarchs Sergius and Pyrrhus, which affirmed that the Ectheses had been approved of by the pontiff Severinus, to be false and deceitful.

The fourth sitting of the synod was held on

the 19th of October. Martin noticed the contradictions which resulted from the pieces which had been read in the preceding session, and explained the articles in which Cyrus anathematizes those who do not say with him, that Jesus Christ acts by a single operation. "Sergius and Pyrrhus approve of this doctrine," added he, "and still these three prelates adhere to the Ectheses, which prohibits the use of the terms, *one or two operations*. Thus they cast themselves out from the bosom of the church, since it is a contradiction to speak of an operation, and, to prohibit deciding upon it."

The sovereign pontiff fell into a grievous error; for he attributed to the Ectheses a prohibition which was found in the Typos; and, either through ignorance of the question, or through an oratorical *ruse*, he placed the heretics in contradiction to themselves, whilst the edict of Heraclius supported Monothelism, and these prelates had been able to approve of it without contradicting themselves, and without anathematizing themselves.

At length, in the last session, the pontiff brought in the books of the fathers and caused passages to be read from them, in opposition to the heresy; and, after this reading, he said, "My friends, it is known to all the world, that innovators calumniate the fathers and the councils, who have taught two wills, two operations, and two natures in Jesus Christ; the fathers have not only decided this, but they have proved it by the number, the name, the pronouns, the qualities, the properties—by all possible means. We approve of this doctrine without adding to, or taking away any thing from it."

In order to render more apparent the conformity of the sentiments of the innovators with the heretics, the pope compared the words of one with the other, and concluded by saying, that the first were more culpable than the second, since they wished to persuade ordinary minds that they followed the writings of the fathers, whilst the heretics openly declared that they opposed them. He fortified his conclusions by the authority of St. Cyril and St. Gregory of Nazianzes, and demonstrated that Christ, by his incarnation, had taken human nature entire; and, consequently, with it, the will which is essential to a reasonable soul.

After a long deliberation, the council rendered its judgment in twenty canons; it condemned all those who did not confess the trinity and the incarnation of the Word; who refused to recognize Mary as the mother of God, and Christ as consubstantial with the Father and the Virgin his mother. The fathers decided that Jesus Christ was himself of one nature with his incarnate word; that two distinct natures existed in him, which were united hypostatically, and preserved their properties; and, that he executed two wills and two operations, the one divine, the other human. Finally, they condemned those who rejected these dogmas, or who did not pronounce anathemas against the heretics who

attacked the trinity and the incarnation. Sabellius, Arius, Origen, Didymus, Erager, Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius of Constantinople, and his successors Pyrrhus and Paul, were excommunicated; terrible anathemas were lanced against those who accepted the Ectheses of Heraclius, or the Typos of Constantius; against priests who submitted to orders given by the impious, who were infected with Monothelism; and, against the heretics who should maintain that their doctrine was similar to that of the fathers, or who should produce new formulas of belief about the incarnation. The subscription of the decree is conceived in these terms: "I, Martin, by the grace of God, bishop of the Catholic and apostolic church of the city of Rome, have subscribed, as judge, the definition which confirms the orthodox faith, as well as the condemnation of Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius of Constantinople, the patriarchs Pyrrhus and Paul his successors, with their heretical writings, with the Ectheses, and the impious Typos which has been published at Byzantium."

The proceedings of the council were written in Latin and Greek, on the request of the monks of Palestine, and the pontiff sent them to the churches of the East and West, with several synodical letters. He addressed circulars to all the faithful of Christendom to inform them of the errors of the Monothelites, and of the necessity of assembling a council to condemn this heresy. "We send," he wrote, "the proceedings of the synod to all Christians to justify our conduct before God, and to render inexcusable those who shall refuse the obedience they owe us. Do not listen to the innovators, and do not fear the power of those crowned men whose life passes as the herb which withereth, and none of whom has been crucified for us."

He then informed the emperor of the decisions of the council, saying to him: "Our adversaries, my lord, have dared to write to the bishops of Africa that you have published the Typos, to arrest the violence of our theological discussions, and to give to truth time to establish itself. The fault of these discords should fall on those who have departed from the precepts of the church; for the fathers affirm, that the least change in the exposition of divine truth, is condemnable in the eyes of God. We address to you the proceedings of our council, translated into Greek, and we beseech you to read them attentively, in order that your pious laws may proscribe heretics, and cause the doctrines of the holy fathers and the councils to triumph."

At this period, the new bishop of Thessalonica, Paul, sent his synodical letters to the court of Rome; the pontiff pronounced them Monothelical: still, at the request of the deputies, he consented to suspend the effects of the excommunication which the prelate had incurred; he only noticed the error into which he had fallen, and sent to him by his legates the profession of faith which he

should follow. Paul fearing lest his submission to the holy father might draw on him the enmity of the bishops of the East, deceived the deputies of Martin, and sent back by them an exposition of his belief, in which, in speaking of the will and the operation of Christ, in which he had left out the word "natural," as well as the formula of the anathema pronounced against heretics.

The legates of the court of Rome, seduced by the artifices and the flatteries of the bishop of Thessalonica, accepted this writing, which they carried to the pontiff. Martin, having discovered the trickery, was enraged at his envoys, called them traitors, sacrilegious, infamous, and shut them up in a monastery, clothed in sackcloth, with their heads covered with ashes. He then wrote to Paul this threatening letter:

"Know, knavish and deceitful bishop, that thou art deposed from all sacerdotal dignity, until thou shalt have confirmed, by writing, without any restriction or omission, that which we have decided in our council; and thou shalt have anathematized these new heretics, their sacrilegious Ectheses, and their odious Typos. If thou shalt desire to re-enter into our communion, thou must, at the same time, repair the injury thou hast committed against the canons, in not recognizing thyself as the subject and vicar of the Holy See." Martin addressed, at the same time, an order to the clergy of Thessalonica, prohibiting all communication with Paul if he persisted in his heresy, and also to nominate another bishop.

Amandus, or St. Amand, prelate of Maëstricht, sent a letter to the pope, advising him of the ecclesiastical disorders of his diocese, and of his desire to abandon his see to avoid the scandals which he could not hinder. Martin replied to him: "We have been apprised that priests, deacons, and other clergy fall into the shameful sins of fornication, sodomy, and bestiality. Those among these wretches who shall be taken but a single time in sin, after having received sacred orders, shall be deposed, without hope of being reinstated, and shall pass their lives in the accomplishment of a severe penance. Have no compassion on the guilty, for we do not wish before the altar any minister whose life is not pure.

"But you are not permitted to abandon the functions of your dignity to live in retreat, because of the sins of others; you should, on the contrary, govern your affliction, and remain upon the episcopal see for the edification of the Christians of Gaul.

"We send you the acts of the last synod, and our circular, that you may apprise all the bishops of your jurisdiction of them; they must approve, without examination, that which we have decided to be the true faith, and should address to us this confirmation, subscribed with their own hand.

"Induce king Sigebert to send us bishops who will consent to go as a legation from the Holy See to the emperor, to carry to

that prince the proceedings of our council and those of your assembly.

"We have given to your deputy the relies you asked from us. As for the books, our library being poor, it has not been in our power to remit them to your legate; and his precipitate departure has prevented us from having copies of the works in our archives transcribed."

Martin addressed letters to Clovis the Second, to beseech him to send to Rome two prelates of his kingdom, who should accompany an embassy to Constantinople, to which he wished to give a character of solemnity. The two prelates who had first been designed by the prince to go to the pope, could not fulfil this mission, as reasons of state recalled them to Gaul.

Whilst executing these reforms, the holy father had not foreseen the storm which his zeal had raised in the East. The emperor Constantius, advised that the pontiff was seeking aid against his authority, resolved to put his edict of the Typos in force in his Italian provinces, and then to humble the pride of the court of Rome. He sent Olympius, his favourite, in the quality of exarch, with orders to assure himself of the army, and to seize upon Martin. If he found resistance among the soldiers, he was to temporize, to seduce them little by little by largesses and distinctions; and, finally, when the time appeared favourable, he was to seize the pontiff in his palace and send him to Constantinople.

Olympius debarked for Italy during the sitting of the council of the Lateran; at first, according to his instructions, he invited a part of the bishops to separate themselves from the communion of the pope; all his efforts having failed, and not daring yet to employ violence, he had recourse to treason. At the moment when the holy father was presenting to him the communion in the church of St. Maria Majora, the exarch made a preconcerted signal, and his esquire drew his sword to slay the pontiff. By a miracle, add the sacred historians, Martin became invisible and the esquire blind. Olympius, alarmed by this prodigy, prostrated himself at the feet of the pontiff and revealed to him the orders he had received from the emperor. He then passed over into Sicily to combat the Saracens, and formed an independent kingdom.

The exarch was secretly assassinated some time after, and Constantius named to succeed him, two officers, Theodore, surnamed Calliopas, and a domestic of the palace, also named Theodore, and whose surname was Pellares. They had orders to carry off the pope by force by accusing him, before the people, of heresy and of crimes of state, and by reproaching him with not honouring Mary as the mother of God, and with having sent letters and money to the Saracens.

Martin, informed by his spies of their projects, retired with his clergy into the church of the Lateran on the same day on which the officers of the empire entered Rome. He did not visit the exarch, and making the state of

his health a pretext, sent some priests to compliment him. The latter replied to them, "That he wished to adore the pontiff conformably to usage, and that on the next day, Sunday, the Lord's day, he would come to the patriarchal palace, where he hoped to see him." The term, "adore," at this period, did not represent the idea which we bestow upon it in our language; it signified, simply, to honour; and the custom of a real and sacrilegious adoration, as now practised at Rome, was unknown to the bishops of the first ages.

The next day mass was celebrated in the church of the Lateran by the holy father; but the exarch, fearing the fury of the people, did not dare attempt the abduction, notwithstanding the number of his troops. He only sent his cartulary with some soldiers, on Monday morning, to the palace of the Lateran, to complain of the distrust exhibited towards him. "They accuse you, holy father," said the officer to him, "of concealing arms and stores for your defence, and of having placed soldiers in your pontifical palace."

Martin immediately took him by the hand and made him visit his dwelling, that he might bear witness of the falsity of these accusations; "our enemies," added the pontiff, "have always calumniated us; on the arrival of Olympius we were accused of being surrounded by armed men, to repulse force by violence. He soon learned that we placed all our trust in God."

The exarch, reassured as to the dangers of an arrest, placed himself at the head of his troops and surrounded the church. At the approach of the soldiers, the pontiff, although sick, placed himself on a bed at the very door of the church. They, without any regard for the venerable old man, nor to the sanctity of the place, penetrated into the temple, broke the lights, and in the midst of the terror and the noise of arms, Calliopas, showing to the priests and deacons the order of the emperor, commanded them to depose Martin as unworthy of the tiara, and to ordain another bishop in his place.

A gesture, a word, of the holy father and blood would have flowed. Martin calmly raised himself, and leaning on two young ecclesiastics, walked gently from the church. The priests immediately cast themselves upon the guards, exclaiming, "No, the holy father shall not go from these walls! Anathemas against you, mercenaries of a tyrant, destroyers of the Christian father! Anathemas against you!" The pontiff extended his hand and the obedient clergy ranged themselves at his side.

Martin then delivered himself up to the soldiers of the exarch; but, at the moment when they were preparing to lead him away, the priests and deacons cast themselves anev on the troops, and surrounding the holy father, exclaimed: "We will not abandon him, he is our father; we will live or die with him." Then the pontiff addressed this entreaty to Calliopas: "My lord, permit those of my clergy who love me, to follow me into sla

very." All accompanied him to his palace, which was on the moment changed into a prison, and of which all the doors were guarded by the soldiers of the exarch Theodore.

The following night, whilst the clergy were plunged in sleep, they carried off the holy father from Rome, accompanied by only six devoted servants. His abduction was so hurried, that they were unable to take any of the necessaries for a long journey, except a drinking cup. His escort, embarked on the Tiber, arrived on Wednesday the 19th of June, at ten o'clock in the morning, at Porto, from whence it started again the same day, and on the first of July arrived at Mycena. The pontiff was then conducted into Calabria, from thence to different islands, and finally to the isle of Naxos, where he remained an entire year.

During the whole of the journey, Martin, enfeebled by a horrid dysentery, could not leave the vessel which had become his prison. The bishops and faithful of Naxos sent him presents to solace his misfortunes; but the soldiers who guarded him seized upon the provisions, overwhelmed him with outrages, and even beat the citizens, angrily repulsing them, and saying: "Death to those who love this man: they are enemies of the state!"

At length Constantius gave orders to bring him to Constantinople, and in the middle of the month of September, in the year 654, the holy father entered the port of the imperial city. During a whole day Martin remained on the vessel, lying on a wretched linen bed exposed as a sight to the populace, who called him an heretic, an enemy of God, of the virgin, and of the prince. During the night a scribe, named Sagoleve, and several guards, led him from the bark and took him to a prison, called Prandearia, where he remained, without assistance, for three months.

It is believed that he wrote in his prison the two letters which have descended to us.

In the first, he justifies himself to the emperor from the accusations brought against him, and invokes the testimony which the Roman clergy had rendered in the presence of the exarch, of the purity of his faith; he protests that he will defend the decisions of his council as long as life shall be spared to him. "I have sent," he wrote, "neither letters nor money to the Saracens; I have only given aid to some servants of God who came from that country to ask alms for unfortunate Christians. I believe in the glorious Mary, virgin and mother of Christ; and I declare anathematized, in this world and the next, those who refuse to honour and adore her above all creatures." He terminates his second letter by saying: "It is forty days, my lord, since I have been able to obtain a bath for my enfeebled body. I feel myself nipped by suffering; for the sickness which devours my entrails has left me no repose on sea or on land. My strength gives way under it, and when I ask for salutary nourishment which may revive me, I undergo an insulting refu-

sal. Still, I pray God, when he shall have taken me from this life, to seek those who persecute me to lead them to repentance."

He was finally brought from his prison and taken before the senate, which was assembled to interrogate him. The cartulary Bucoleon, who presided over the council, having commanded him to rise up, some officers supported him in their arms, and he was addressed by the president in these harsh words: "Miserable wretch! Has our sovereign oppressed thy person, has he seized upon the riches of thy church, or has he only sought to take from thee the dignity of Bishop?" The pontiff preserved silence.

Bucoleon continued, with a menace: "Since thy voice cannot raise itself among us, that of thy accusers will reply to us." Then Dorotheus, patrician of Cilicia, several soldiers, Andrew the secretary of Olympius, and some guards of the suite of that exarch, advanced into the midst of the council chamber. At the moment when the Bible was opened to receive their oath, Martin said to the magistrates, "I beseech you, lords, in the name of Christ, who hears us, to allow these men to speak without swearing them on the Holy Scriptures; let them say against me that which is commanded them, but let them not lose their souls by a damnable oath."

The witnesses, however, swore to inform the judges of the truth. Dorotheus first expressed himself, in these terms: "If the pontiff had fifty heads, they should fall under the sword of the laws, as a chastisement for his crimes; for, I swear, he has corrupted the West, and rendered himself the accomplice of the infamous Olympius, the mortal enemy of our prince and of the empire." Pressed with questions by Bucoleon, the pope replied, "If you wish to know the truth, I will tell you. When the Tyros was sent to Rome—" The prefect Troilus interrupted him by exclaiming, "We accuse you of crimes against the state; do not speak of the faith; it is not the question before this assembly, for we are all Christians and as orthodox as the Romans—" "You lie," replied the holy father; "and, at the terrible day of judgment, I will rise up between God and you, to pronounce anathema and malediction against your abominable heresy."

Troilus, smothering his wrath, continued: "Audacious prelate, when the infamous Olympius executed his guilty projects, why didst thou receive the oath of the soldiers of this traitor? Why, instead of lending to him the aid of thy authority, didst thou not denounce his perfidies by opposing thy power to his will?"

The pope replied to the prefect: "In the last revolution, my lord, when the monk Georges, who became prefect, quitted the camp and penetrated into Constantinople to accomplish his bold designs, where were you—you and those who hear me? Not only did you not resist this seditious person, but you even applauded his harangues, and you drove from the palace those whom he ordered you

to expel. Why, when Valentin was clothed with the purple and had seized upon the throne, instead of opposing your power to his, did you submit to his commands? In your turn avow that we cannot resist force.

"How then could I oppose Olympius, who commanded all the armies of Italy? Is it I who was exarch? Is it I to whom was given the troops, treasures, and sovereign power, on the Roman peninsula? But words are useless; my destruction is resolved upon; permit me then to keep silence. I beseech you for it; dispose of my life according to your intentions, for God will give me a holy recompense."

The president declared the sitting at an end, and went to the palace to make his report to the emperor. Martin was carried from the hall of council and placed in the court yard, close by the stables of the prince, in the midst of the guards; then they carried him upon a terrace, that the sovereign might see him through the hangings of his apartment, the soldiers carrying him in their arms on to the midst of the platform, in the presence of all the people and of an innumerable crowd. Bucoleon, having come from the apartments of the prince, approached Martin to advise him of his sentence. "Bishop of Rome," said he, "behold how God has delivered you into our hands; you have wished to resist the emperor—you have become his slave. You have abandoned Christ—lo, he abandons you." Then addressing himself to the executioner, he said, "Strip off the mantle of the pontiff and the strings of his hose;" and turning towards the soldiers, he added, "I deliver him up to you: tear his garments to pieces." Then he commanded the crowd to ill-treat him. Some wretches alone cried out, *Anathema upon the pope!* and the other assistants, lowering their heads, retired, overwhelmed with sadness.

The executioners took from him his sacerdotal pallinum and his other ecclesiastical ornaments, which they divided among themselves, leaving him only a tunic without a girdle, which they tore on both sides, to leave his body entirely exposed to the injurious effects of the air, and to the greedy inspection of the mob of Constantinople. They placed an iron collar around his neck, which was attached to the arm of an executioner, to show that he was condemned to death. He was led in this apparel, the chief executioner carrying before him the sword of death, from the palace to the pretor's house; there he was loaded with chains, and cast into a prison with murderers; an hour afterwards he was transferred to the prison of Diomedes. During the passage, his keeper drew him along with such violence, that in climbing up the stairs his legs were torn upon the stones and stained the flags with blood. He fell, panting, and made vain efforts to raise himself; then the soldiers stretched him out upon a bench, where he remained, almost naked, exposed to severe cold. Finally, two wives of the jailers, taking pity upon him, took him away from the prison,

and dressed his wounds, and placed him in a bed to reanimate his torpid members; he remained until night without being able to speak, and without recovering the sentiment of existence.

The eunuch Gregory, prefect of the palace, having been informed of the cruelties exercised towards the holy father, was touched with compassion, and sent him some nourishment by his steward; he himself escaping from the palace, went to his prison, took off the collar and chains, and exhorted him to retake courage and hope for a better lot. In fact, the next day, the emperor, in consequence of his counsels, went to the patriarch Paul, whose life was terminating in the sufferings of a severe illness, to inform him of the punishment of the pontiff, and to ask if he should proceed to put him to death. Paul, far from applauding the cruelty of the prince, heaved a deep sigh, turned towards the wall and preserved silence; then he murmured these words: "The torments of this unfortunate man augment those of my condemnation." The emperor asking him, why he spoke thus, the prelate raising his head, said to him, "Prince, it is deplorable to exercise such severity against priests whom God has delivered into your power. In the name of Christ I adjure you to put an end to the scandal and the cruelties of your justice, or fear to burn in eternal flames." These words alarmed Constantius, and determined him to order them to put an end to the severities exercised against Martin.

The patriarch having died some days after, Pyrrhus wished to remount the see of Byzantium; but the act of retraction which he had given to pope Theodore was published by the grandees and the priests, who opposed his reinstallation, judging him unworthy of the sacerdotal office, who had been anathematized by both the Greek and Latin metropolises. Before making a decision, the emperor wished to learn the conduct of this prelate during his sojourn at Rome, and sent Demosthenes, an officer of the treasury, with a writer, to interrogate the holy father in his prison, and to ask of him what had been the actions of the patriarch Pyrrhus in Italy.

Martin replied to the envoys of the prince: "The patriarch came to our apostolic see, without having been cited there; after having subscribed with his hand the abjuration of his heresy, he was humbly presented to Theodore, our predecessor, who received him as bishop, restored to him his rank in the church, and maintained him in his dignity, placing at his disposal the treasures of St. Peter." After this reply the officers retired.

The pontiff remained three months longer in the prison of Diomedes. Then Sagoleves, one of the principal magistrates of Constantinople, came one morning to say to him, "Holy father, I have orders to transfer you to my home, to conduct you to-night to a place which the cartulary will indicate to me." Martin, addressing himself to those who were near, exclaimed: "My brethren, the moment

of parting has arrived, give me the kiss of peace;" then extending his trembling hands, he gave them his benediction, and added, "Do not mourn, but rejoice for the glory which God prepares for me."

At night the officers came to take him from the house of the magistrate, and conducted him to the port, where they embarked on board a vessel which sailed for the peninsula of Chersonesus. A month after his arrival, Martin wrote to an ecclesiastic of Constantinople, complaining of the absolute destitution in which he was. "He, to whom I confide this letter," said the holy father, "is about to rejoin you at Byzantium, and his presence has afforded me great joy, notwithstanding the disappointment I suffered in learning that he brought me no aid from Italy. Still I praise God, who measures out to us our sufferings as seems fit to him; but do not forget, my brother, that I am destitute of food, and the famine is so great in this country, that I cannot obtain bread at any price. Warn my friends that it is impossible for me to live, if they do not speedily send me subsidies and provisions.

"I am still more sensitive to the indifference of the Roman clergy, as I have not committed any act which justifies the indifference they show for my person. Besides, holy Peter, who nourished indiscriminately all strangers, cannot leave me to die of famine; I, who am in exile and affliction for having defended the doctrines of the church of which I was the chief.

"I have designated the things necessary for my wants; I beseech you to buy them and send them to me with your usual promptitude, for I have nothing with which to struggle against my frequent maladies."

In another letter he utters his complaints

with grievous bitterness. "I am not only separated from the rest of the world, but I am even deprived of spiritual life; for the inhabitants of this country are all pagans, and have no compassion for my sufferings. The vessels which come here to load with salt, do not bring us any of the necessaries of life, and I can buy only a single measure of corn for four pennies of gold. Those who formerly prostrated themselves before me to obtain dignities, do not now trouble themselves about my fate. The priests of Rome show for their chief a deplorable ingratitude and insensibility, and leave me without assistance in exile. There is money in heaps in the treasury of the church; corn, wine, and other subsidies are accumulating in its domains, and yet I remain in almost entire destitution! With what terror then are all seized, that prevents them from obeying the command of God! Am I then their enemy? And how will they dare appear before the tribunal of Christ, if they forget they are, like me, formed of dust?

"Nevertheless, I forgive them my sufferings, and pray to God to preserve them steady in the orthodox faith, and particularly the pastor who now governs them. I abandon the care of my body to God; and I trust, that in his inexhaustible pity, that he will not delay delivering me from terrestrial pains."

In fact, the pontiff died on the 16th of September, 655, and was interred in a temple dedicated to the Virgin, at a short distance from the city of Chersonesus, where his memory was long held in great veneration. The Greek church regards Martin as a confessor, and the Latin has placed him in the rank of martyrs. Some authors affirm that his relics were carried to Rome, and deposited in a church, which had been consecrated for a long time to St. Martin of Tours.

## EUGENE THE FIRST, SEVENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 655.—CONSTANTIUS, Emperor of the East.]

*The emperor causes Eugene to be chosen pontiff—The legates of the pope commune with the Monothelites—Firmness of the abbot Maximus—Letter upon the persecution of which he was a victim—Death of Eugene.*

EUGENE, a Roman by birth, and the son of Rufinian, had been elevated to the Holy See by the order of the emperor Constantius, at the time when Martin was plunged into the prisons of Constantinople. The prince desiring that the election of the new pontiff should be canonically consecrated, endeavoured to induce Martin to give in his own demission as chief of the apostolic church. On his refusal he went on, and the election of Eugene was celebrated with pomp in the church of St. Peter.

Some authors, thinking to reinstate the memory of this pontiff, have supposed that Martin the First sent, from the island of Naxos,

authority to consecrate in his place, the bishop who should be chosen; but the letters of the orthodox pontiff, on the contrary, show the falsity of this opinion.

After his ordination, Eugene sent legates with secret instructions, to enter into an accommodation with the Monothelites of Constantinople.

St. Maximus, the illustrious abbot of Chrysople, always opposed a courageous resistance to the progress of the heresy. He was arrested by the orders of the prince, and after some months of rigorous incarceration, was led before the magistrates to undergo an examination. The judge having ordered him

to explain what would be his conduct in case the Romans were reunited to the Byzantines, he replied, "If you do not confess two wills and two operations in Jesus Christ, the envoys from the holy city will not commune with you. Besides, if they should be guilty of a sacrilegious action, by communing with you, the faith of the apostolic see would preserve its purity, for they are not the bearers of synodical letters."

The judges replied, "You alone are in error and darkness. The nuncios of the pontiff Eugene have been since yesterday within our walls; and to-morrow, on the Lord's day, in the presence of the people, will commune with the chief of our clergy; and all will learn that you alone pervert the faithful of the West, since they commune with us, when you are no more among them. Return to wiser thoughts, and let the example of Martin teach you to fear the justice of the emperor."

The abbot Maximus firmly replied, "The rule which I wish to follow is that of the Holy Spirit, which anathematizes by the mouth of the apostle, popes and even angels, if they wish to teach another faith than that which was preached by Jesus Christ."

His disciple Anastasius, advised of the order which the pope had given to excommunicate his master, and to put him to death if he persisted in condemning the error of the Monothelites, wrote to the monks of Cagliari, in Sardinia, "Our adversaries have at length re-

solved not to follow the doctrine of the fathers; and in their ignorance are floating on an ocean of contradictions. After having for a long time maintained, that we must speak neither of one or two operations, they now recognise two and one; that is to say, three.

"None of the heretics who have preceded them have dared to defend this gross error, which the fathers, the councils, and mere reason proscribe. Still they have caused it to be approved by the legates of the unworthy pope Eugene, and, in his name, persecute the faithful who oppose the destruction of the faith."

Maximus became, in fact, the victim of his attachment to the orthodoxy of the church. The emperor, at the instigation of the bishop of Rome, ordered that he should be publicly flogged through all the streets of the city, and that after this flagellation they should cut off his tongue and his right hand.

The other actions of this pope remain entirely in oblivion. He died on the 2d of June 658, and was interred in the church of St. Peter, where the priests affirm his body is preserved. The Portuguese monks maintain, on the contrary, that his relics were long since transported into their province. Ecclesiastical authors have passed great eulogiums on the lofty piety of Eugene, and his liberality to the churches. The reformers of the Martyrology have also decreed to him the honours of canonization!

## VITALIAN, THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 658.—CONSTANS and CONSTANTINE, Emperors of the East.]

*Election of Vitalian—Sends envoys to Constantinople—Places organs in the churches of Rome—The emperor Constantius comes into Italy—He pillages Rome—The church of England—Letter of the pontiff—The pope sends an archbishop to England—The bishop of Ravenna treats with contempt the orders of the pope—Vitalian excommunicates the bishop of Ravenna—The bishop excommunicates the pope—His death.*

THE pontiff Eugene being dead, Vitalian, the son of Anastasius, born at Signia in Campania, was chosen to succeed him. After his exaltation, the new pope sent legates to Constantinople to remit to the prince his profession of faith; the clergy also addressed a synodical letter to beseech the emperor to confirm the election. Father Pagi affirms, that Vitalian did not write to the patriarch Peter, then chief of the clergy of Byzantium. Fleury is of a contrary opinion. In both cases these authors agree that the envoys of the holy father approved of the Typos of the prince, and were received with honour at the imperial court. Constantius, flattered by this mark of condescension, became favourable to the church of Rome. He put an end to the persecution against the orthodox, augmented the privileges of the pontiffs, and gave to the church of St. Peter a copy of the Bible covered with gold, and adorned with precious stones.

The patriarch of Constantinople, a zealous Monothelite, testified, by marks of munificence, the joy which he experienced at his union with the pope; and in a letter which he wrote to him, he cited different passages from the fathers, which he had altered to establish the unity of the will of operation in Jesus Christ.

In 660 the pontiff introduced into the churches the use of organs, to augment the eclat of religious ceremonies.

Two years after, in 662, the emperor Constantius resolved to pass over into Italy, to place the seat of government beyond the attempts of the enemies of the empire, who pushed their excursions up to the very walls of Byzantium. He went to Tarentum; thence to Naples; but having failed in an attempt on Benevento, which held out for the Lombards, he fell back on the apostolical city. The pope, at the head of his clergy, went to meet the

prince, who made his offerings at St. Peter's, and remained twelve days in the ancient capital of the Cæsars. Then, in his quality of chief of the state, he proceeded regularly to the pillage of Rome, to engross the treasures which had been spared by the wars. He carried off from the temples all the ornaments of gold and silver; the statues, balustrades, and even the brass of the porticoes. He tore off even the covering of the church of St. Mary of the Martyrs. The greater part of these spoils were carried into Sicily, where the prince had resolved to establish his residence.

At the same period, Egbert king of Kent, and Oswi, king of Northumberland, sent deputies to the Holy See, to consult the pope on some points of religious discipline; and amongst others, on the period of the celebration of the festival of Easter. They also informed him of the death of the metropolitan of Canterbury, and besought him to send a prelate to fill the vacant see.

The ambassadors were instructed to beseech the holy father to put an end to the dissensions excited by his representatives, who wished to subject the churches of England to the Roman ritual. Wigard, chief of the deputation, well knowing the avarice of the pontiff, assisted his demands by rich presents and considerable sums, enclosed in vases of gold and silver. The pontiff hastened to reply to king Oswi; but, whilst praising his zeal for religion, exhorted him to conform to the traditions of the apostolic church, not only in the celebration of the festival of Easter, but in other religious ceremonies. "We send you," added he, "as thanks for your offerings, relics of the blessed St. Peter and St. Paul; of the martyrs St. Lawrence, St. John, St. Gregory, and St. Pancrace; and we present to the queen, your wife, a cross of gold, and a key forged from the iron of the chains of St. Peter!" A violent pestilence then ravaged Italy; Wigard and the other deputies of the kings of Kent and Northumberland having fallen victims to it, the pope was obliged to send his reply by legates.

Some years after these events, John, bishop of Lappe, in the island of Crete, came to Rome, to beseech Vitalian to render him justice, by reforming a sentence pronounced against him by his metropolitan Paul, and the other prelates of Crete.

The holy father held a synod in the palace of the Lateran, to examine the cause of the bishop, as well as the proceedings of the council which had condemned John. The assembly unanimously declared, that the judgment was irregular. It blamed the rigor of which the bishop had been the victim, and accused Paul of rebellion, for having refused to his suffragan to permit an appeal to the court of Rome. "This crime alone," added the Italian ecclesiastics, "merits anathema, and would weaken the authority of the wisest deliberations."

John was reinstalled in his see, and the pontiff ordered the archbishop Paul to efface the scandal of this unjust deposition by a

striking act of reparation to the prelate of the church of Lappe. The latter, having solemnly declared his innocence, was reinstalled in his honours. On his departure from the holy city, Vitalian gave him two letters; one to Varrus, chamberlain and cartulary of Constantinople, the other to George, bishop of Syracuse, that these lords might present him to the emperor during his sojourn in Sicily.

Vitalian then employed himself in the nomination of a prelate for the see of Canterbury, in accordance with the request which Egbert, king of Kent, had made of him. He brought to Rome, Adrian, abbot of the convent of Neridan, near Naples, to offer him the diocese of Canterbury, because this monk had been pointed out to him as well informed in the dogmas of religion, skilled in all points of discipline of the clergy, regular or secular, and understanding perfectly the Greek and Latin languages. Adrian, a philosopher rather than a monk, declined this important dignity, and proposed in his own stead Andrew, a monk of his convent, a man venerable for the excellence of his doctrine, and by the gravity of his age. He also declined it, declaring that his corporeal infirmities prevented him from accepting the mission of the holy father.

Then Adrian presented another monk, named Theodore, born at Tarsus, in Cilicia. This Benedictine had, by profound study, acquired great learning in divine and human literature. He spoke with purity the Greek and Latin, and joined to irreproachable morals, habits of passive obedience to the orders of his superiors. Theodore was named archbishop of Canterbury, and Adrian consented to accompany him into England to teach the people of that island, and to endeavour to cause them to submit to the authority of the Roman church.

Vitalian induced St. Benedict Biscop, who was making his fourth pilgrimage, to return to his country, to conduct thither the new prelate Theodore, and to serve him as an interpreter. Biscop obeyed the orders of Vitalian, and quitted the holy city on the 27th of May 668, taking the route for England, with the metropolitan of Canterbury and the abbot Adrian.

They disembarked at Marseilles, and went to Arles to give to the archbishop John the letters which the pontiff had addressed to him. The prelate received the travellers with favour, and kept them in his diocese until they received from Ebroin, mayor of the palace, permission to traverse Gaul.

As soon as the king of Kent was apprised that the envoys of the holy father were coming towards his kingdom, he sent an ambassador to the court of the French monarch, to obtain authority to conduct them to the port of Quentavia, in Ponthieu, now called St. Josse-sur-mer.

Theodore, sick from the fatigue of his journey, was obliged to remain some months in this city. Then he passed over into England, where he took possession of the see of Canterbury. He governed this church for the space of twenty-one years. This prelate ob-

tained, in the end, the supremacy of his see over the other churches, though the archbishop of York had before been declared independent by Gregory the First. Theodore terminated the religious discords of the country, by inducing the English to consent to receive the Roman ritual. Throughout his pontificate, he ruled princes and priests—made them comprehend the advantages of education, and founded schools, in which he taught himself. Science, made general by his efforts, increased under the cloudy skies of England, and prepared the way for the social existence of this great nation.

A contrary revolution was in operation in the East. A theological mania had seized upon the minds of the Greeks, and was carried by them to such extravagance, that on the arrival of their new emperor, Constantine Pogonatus, they had imperiously demanded that his two brothers should be crowned at the same time as himself. This triple consecrated unction and obedience to three princes at once, being in their view, a rigorous consequence of their belief in the holy Trinity, and of the adoration of the three divine persons. Constantine, who thus saw himself divested of a part of the supreme authority, in consequence of religious ideas in which he did not partake, wished to lead them back to a belief more in accordance with his interests. As a consequence, he persecuted the Monothelites, and favoured their adversaries; and Peter, patriarch of Constantinople being dead, he named as his successor, Thomas, deacon of St. Sophia, who was all devotion to the court of Rome. The invasions of the Saracens interrupting, however, all communication between the Latin and Greek churches, the new patriarch could not send to the pope, nor to the Latin bishops, his synodical letter.

Shortly after took place the celebrated disputes between the pontiff of Rome and bishop Maurice. Vitalian had ordered the metropolitan of Ravenna to come to the court of Rome, to be there examined on his actions and his faith; but the prelate, supported by the favour of the exarch, had refused to appear, and the pontiff having declared him deprived of his honours, and debarred from the communion of the faithful, he, in his turn, had pro-

nounced a terrible anathema against the pope.

Vitalian, furious at finding himself excommunicated by an ecclesiastic whom he regarded as his vassal, summoned in the case all the bishops of Italy, and in a great council, deposed Maurice from his sacerdotal functions.

The metropolitan was unwilling to have recourse to the pontifical clemency. He opposed a contemptuous disdain to the thunder of the apostolic church, and prohibited his clergy from submitting, either directly or indirectly, to the decrees of the bishop of Rome. He also published a bull of excommunication, in which he accused the proud successor of St. Peter of desiring to annihilate the liberties of the church, to found a culpable tyranny; and he even announced that he would employ temporal force to oppose himself to the overshadowing ambition of the Roman bishop.

Vitalian bent before the firmness of the prelate of Ravenna; and fearing lest the spirit of emancipation might spread among the clergy, he suspended the effects of his resentment, and appeared to forget the revolt of the audacious Maurice.

The Benedictines attribute to the pope an apocryphal letter, beyond doubt written by the monks, for the purpose of legitimatizing the possession of houses, and immense estates, which they claimed in the province of Sicily. This is the language which they make Vitalian hold: "My brethren, I have learned with great affliction, that your monasteries and property have been ruined by the ravages of the Saracens, and that many among you have fallen under the sword of that impious people. I send to console you, some monks from Monte-Cassino. I exhort you to obey them; to labour with them for the re-establishment of your abbeys, and to repair the disorders of your domains. . . ."

This orthodox and ambitious pontiff died in 672, after a reign of thirteen years, and was interred at St. Peter's.

John, patriarch of Constantinople, had re-established the name of the bishop of Rome in the sacred writings; but Theodore, who succeeded him, obtained from Constantine Pogonatus authority to blot out Vitalian's from the sacred catalogue.

## DEODATUS THE SECOND, SEVENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 672.—CONSTANTINE POGONATUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Origin of the pontiff—His election—He gives great privileges to the abbey of St. Martin of Tours—Character of the pontiff—His death.*

DEODATUS, whom some authors called the pontiff Adeodatus, the God-given, was a Roman by birth, and the son of Jovian. He was placed, when very young, in the monastery of St. Erasmus, situated on Mount Celius, where the monks took charge of his educa-

tion. Later, out of gratitude to the monks who had brought him up, he increased the buildings of the convent, and organized the community, which he placed under the government of an abbot.

After the death of Vitalian, the senate, the

clergy, and the people chose him as the successor to the throne of St. Peter. The emperor confirmed the election, and he was immediately ordained bishop of the holy city.

History is silent as to the acts of his pontificate. The chronicles only relate that, during his reign, St. Agiric, priest and abbot of the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, performed a pilgrimage to Rome, to present to the pope a charter which Robert, metropolitan of his diocese, had granted to the regular clergy, and of which he asked the confirmation.

Deodatus, not wishing to raise to equal authority with the bishops, the convents which were dependencies of their churches, at first rejected the demand of St. Agiric. But the monk having showed him in the archives of the apostolical court several examples of this abuse of power, he yielded to his prayers, and approved of the charter of Robert.

This authority does not include the clauses then in use, in order to assure to the monks the liberty of living independent, and in accordance with their rules. Therefore, Lamoye has rejected this piece as apocryphal, relying his opinion on the formula reported by Marculfe, and used at this period for religious charters. Nevertheless, father Leconte, whose erudition and exactness make him authority with some, has not hesitated to affirm the authenticity of the privilege of the abbey.

Deodatus, according to the opinion of Anastasius the Librarian, was charitable to the poor, accessible to the unfortunate—of a calm character, and extreme goodness.

He consecrated fourteen priests, two deacons, and forty-six bishops at a single ordination; and this is all we know of the actions of his pontificate, which lasted about five years. He died in 676, and was interred in the church of St. Peter, at Rome.

## DOMNUS THE FIRST, EIGHTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 677.—CONSTANTIUS POGONATUS, Emperor of the East.]

*The election of the pontiff—The patriarch of Constantinople writes to him in favour of Monothelism—Uncertainty of the reply of the holy father—The bishop of Ravenna submits to the pope—The emperor convokes a general council—Letter from the prince to the pope—Death of Domnus.*

AFTER the death of Deodatus, the Holy See remained vacant several months: the clergy, the people, and the lords of Rome being divided by the rivalries of priests greedy of the supreme authority. At length, their suffrages fell upon Domnus; and when he had received the imperial sanction he mounted upon the throne of the church. Onuphrus gives to the pontiff the name of Dominus, and says he was a Roman by birth, and the son of the priest Maurice.

Theodore, patriarch of Constantinople, who had declared in favour of the heresy of the Monothelites, did not address his synodical letter to the new pope, to congratulate him on his election. He only wrote to him to know what were his opinions in relation to a reunion of the churches of the East and West. The reply of Domnus has been destroyed by the priests, which induces us to presume that it was not orthodox.

Besides, the pontiff showed an extreme indulgence in regard to heretics. At Rome, even, he granted a signal favour to the Syrian monks of the monastery of Bœce, who openly professed the errors of the Nestorians; and his indecision upon the dogma was such, that, according to several ecclesiastical historians, his holiness declared that it was impossible for him to pronounce on the question which divided the church, without emitting contradictory or erroneous propositions. And Platinus himself says, that Domnus candidly avowed to the priests, who composed his council, that

he could not comprehend how the Son of God could have two natures, two wills, and two operations; because such a doctrine was entirely at variance with the unity taught in the Bible, and which they avowed to be, at the same time, the essence of the divinity of Christ.

Towards the commencement of the year 678, the emperor having concluded a peace with the Saracens, was desirous of putting an end to the disorders which troubled Christianity; but foreseeing the obstacles which the ignorance and obstinacy of the Greek and Latin bishops would oppose to his conciliatory efforts, he called to his aid wise counsellors, to deliberate with them upon the measures necessary to be taken to bring back calm to the church.

Following their advice, he ordered the two titulars of the first sees of the empire, Theodore, chief of the clergy of Byzantium, and Macaire, patriarch of Antioch, to come to court, to inform him of the errors which had for so long a period divided the ministers of religion.

The two prelates, led to sentiments of equity by the noble conduct of the monarch, forgot their rivalry and their disputes, and avowed to the prince that the spirit of controversy natural to the Greeks had led them to ultra consequences on the dogmas or the mysteries of religion, and had led them to adopt false interpretations of the dogmas taught by the fathers. They affirmed that the terms em-

played in theological discussions were only pretexts which enabled prelates to excite the schisms which separated the churches; and that an œcumenical assembly would remedy all these evils.

Constantine then resolved to convoke a general council, and wrote to the pope: "We beseech you, holy father, to send to us calm and well-informed men. They should bring with them the works whose authority will be necessary to decide all religious questions with the patriarchs Theodore and Macaire. We promise you entire surety for their liberty and life, whatever may be the decisions of the council which we wish to call together.

"We hope to be justified in the judgment of God, because of the sincerity of our zeal for religion. We place in him all our trust; and we beseech him to bless the efforts we are making to obtain union among the Christians of the empire. Still we will employ no other power for conviction but that of argument, and we condemn those who would use violence to bring into subjection the consciences of men.

"The chief of our clergy has demanded from us authority to efface from the sacred chronicles the name of the pontiff Vitalian, and preserve that of Honorius. We have not approved of this request, being desirous of maintaining an entire equality between the

ecclesiastics of the East and the West; and to show that we regard them both as orthodox, until the questions raised between them shall be decided by the authority of our synod.

"An order has been given by us to the patriarch Theodore, the exarch of Italy, to defray all the expenses of the prelates and doctors whom you shall send to Constantinople, and to give them vessels of war to escort them, if that step shall be judged necessary for the safety of their persons."

This letter did not reach the pontiff Domnus. The holy father died towards the end of the year 678, before the ambassadors of the prince had arrived at Rome.

During his reign, the pope obtained the submission of the new archbishop of Ravenna, Reparatus, who, gained secretly by presents from the pontiff, had demanded permission to return to his obedience to the court of Rome. The holy father had consequently solicited from the emperor the abrogation of the decree which rendered the metropolitan church of Ravenna, independent of the Holy See, which met with no opposition.

Domnus paved with marble and surrounded with columns the court of honour, which was before the church of St. Peter. The church of the Apostles, situated on the Actian way, and that of St. Euphemia, on the Appian way were also repaired by his care.

## AGATHON, THE EIGHTY-FIRST, POPE.

[A. D. 678.—CONSTANTINE POCONATUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Origin of Agathon—His education—His election as pontiff—Disorders in the church of England—Wilfrid, bishop of York, is driven from his church—His journey to Rome—He is re-installed in his see—Agathon receives the letter addressed to Domnus the First by Constantine—Reply of the holy father to the prince and his brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius—Letter from the council of Rome, on the ignorance of the clergy—Arrival of the legates in the East—Council of Constantinople—Excommunication of Honorius the First—Remarkable history of eighteen sessions—Death of Agathon.*

AGATHON, the Neapolitan, had been brought up in the monasteries; he regarded them as the schools where the study of pious practices, and the knowledge of the dogmas of religion were best taught. The senators, the clergy, and the Roman people gave their suffrages for him; and, in the end, he fully justified, by his fitness, the preference they had bestowed upon him.

After his exaltation, the new pope bestowed his attention on the church of England, troubled by the ambition and disorder of its priests, who had driven from his see Wilfrid, bishop of York. The illustrious persecuted, resolved to demand justice from the holy father against his suffragans, and undertook the journey to Rome. The fatigues of his pilgrimage were assuaged by the generous cares of Algisus, king of the people of Frigia and of Berchter, sovereign of the Lombards, who gave him escorts to preserve him from the snares and

dangers of which he might have become the victim. The pontiff, already informed of the unjust condemnation by the English bishops, listened favourably to his complaints, and convoked a council of fifty bishops, to examine the judgment, and to consolidate at the same time, by a vigorous action, the rule which the Holy See was commencing to exercise over the clergy of Great Britain.

Andrew of Ostia, and John of Porto, were charged to examine, with other ecclesiastics, into the process against St. Wilfrid. When their labour was finished they informed the assembly of it, thus expressing themselves: "My brethren, we do not find Wilfrid guilty of any crime which deserves the punishment which he has undergone from the royal sentence; and, on the contrary, we admire the sage conduct which he has exhibited towards his sovereign. He has not sought to excite sedition to maintain himself in his bishopric,

and is content to appeal to the court of Rome, where Jesus Christ has established the primacy of the priesthood and a supreme tribunal for all the members of the clergy, as well as for the laity of all ranks."

The pope ordered that Wilfrid should be introduced into the hall of the synod, in order to hear his complaints. The latter, after having read his petition, in which he took the title of bishop of Saxony, repelled the royal sentence which had declared him deposed. "I will not accuse," said he, "the metropolitan Theodore of having listened too lightly to false reports, because he has been sent into our province by the Holy See, and because I regard as infallible those whom the holy father has chosen from among his flock. Thus, my fathers, I take before you a solemn engagement, that if your assembly recognizes my deposition as equitable, I will submit humbly to its will. If my condemnation, on the other hand, is judged to be contrary to the sacred canons, I beseech you to drive from my diocese the impostors who govern it, and to order that the suffragans of an archiepiscopal see shall be chosen, for the future, from among the ecclesiastics of the same church."

The council replied, by acclamation, that he should be reinstated in his bishopric, and that the prelates charged with supporting with him the heavy weight of ecclesiastical functions, should be named in a synod composed of his own clergy, and should be consecrated by Theodore. They pronounced, at the same time, an anathema against clergy and laity, no matter what their dignity—even against kings, who should oppose the execution of this judgment.

Wilfrid returned into his province, carrying with him very many relics of saints, apostles, and martyrs, for the edification of the faithful in Great Britain.

St. Benedict Biscop made his fifth pilgrimage to Rome in the following year, to obtain from the pontiff a privilege which should assure him of the independence of his monastery, and authorize him to teach the Gregorian chant to his monks, and to celebrate the mass with Italian ceremonies. John, first singer of the church of St. Peter, and abbot of St. Martin's, was deputed to accompany Biscop to teach sacred music to the English monks, and to assure himself, at the same time, of the orthodoxy of the churches of the kingdom. They quitted the holy city, carrying, like Wilfrid, a prodigious quantity of relics, of pious books, and of images, which they were to expose to the adoration of the faithful in the new church, which the indefatigable pilgrim had consecrated to the blessed apostle Peter.

The letter which Constantine, during the preceding year had sent to Domnus the First, was sent back to the pontiff by Epiphanius, secretary to the prince. The holy father immediately assembled a council to reply to the emperor. There remain but two letters of the proceedings of this assembly: one from Agathon; the other is written in the name of the synod, and both are addressed to Constantine

and his brothers Heraclius and Tiberius, who bore the name of Augusti. "We have received," wrote the holy father, "the despatches which you addressed to our predecessor, to exhort him to examine the orthodoxy of the faith. In our desire to resolve this important question, we have sought for ecclesiastics capable of pronouncing wisely on the dogma of the incarnation; but we have not encountered, in all Italy, but plain men; such as the unfortunate state of the times permits us to find them.

"Having then taken counsel of all our brethren, we have resolved to send you as the best informed of our church, the venerable bishops Abundantius and John; our dear brethren Theodore and George, priests; John, deacon, and Constantine, sub-deacon; Theodore, priest and legate from the see of Ravenna, and several monks, who will assist at the general synod which you have convoked in your imperial city. We do not desire to represent them to you as the lights of the church; for we cannot find an exact knowledge of the sacred Scriptures among those who live among barbarous nations, and who purchase the food of each day by the labour of their hands.

"But, if we are ignorant in the learning of the sacred texts, as a recompense therefor, we guard with religious simplicity the primitive faith which our predecessors have left us, by asking from God, as the chief light, to preserve in our hearts the remembrance of their words, and of their decisions. We have pointed out to our deputies some passages from the holy fathers, in the books themselves, that they should be presented to you, when you demand them. Thus, the religion of this apostolical church, your spiritual mother, will be explained to you, not with profane eloquence, of which our envoys are ignorant, but with the sincerity and conviction of belief which we have professed since the cradle. We salute you in Jesus Christ."

The pontiff then explains his faith on the trinity and the incarnation. He affirms, that the three divine persons have but a single nature and a single will; and that the word having been clothed with a human form, under the name of Jesus, possesses two natures, two wills, and two operations. He cites several passages of Scripture, commented on by the fathers, and relates the definitions of the council of Chalcedon and that of the fifth œcumenical assembly. He assures them that the Holy See has never sustained heresy; that it has never departed from the path of Christian truth, and that its decisions have always been received as the divine word of St. Peter. He finally finishes this long letter by exhorting the emperor to use his power to maintain the integrity of the Catholic faith, and to deliver the church from its enemies. "If the bishop of Constantinople," added he, "teaches our doctrine, there will be no more division among the faithful. If, on the other hand, he embraces Monothelism, he will render an account to the judgment of God."

In their synodical letter, the prelates who composed the assembly, addressed themselves to the princes, and thus spoke: "Lords, you have ordered us to send to Byzantium ecclesiastics whose morals are exemplary, and whose intelligence has been nourished by reading the sacred texts.

"How edifying soever may appear to be the external actions of priests, we cannot answer for the purity of their private life; still we hope that the conduct of our deputies will be in conformity with Christian morality. As to their learning, it is reduced to the practices of their religion; for in our age the shades of ignorance cover the world, and our provinces are constantly devastated by the fury of nations. In the midst of the invasions, combats and brigandage of barbarous people, we cannot even teach our young clergy to read. Our days are full of affliction, and we cultivate a soil red with the blood of men. Finally there remains to us nothing but faith in Jesus Christ, as all our property and all our light."

The legates of the pontiff having arrived in Rome, Constantine received them in the oratory of St. Peter, at the imperial palace. They presented to him the letter from the court of Rome, and the surprise of the monarch was great, when he discovered, on a first examination, the gross ignorance of the priests of the Latin church. Nevertheless, he exhorted them, in conformity with the instructions which they had received from the pope, to prepare the questions which the council should examine, and to discuss them calmly, according to the rules of justice. He assigned to them the palace of Placidius for their residence, and gave orders to the cartulary to furnish them with the sums necessary to sustain their dignity.

Some days after they were invited to go to the church of our lady of Blaquernes, and the prince, desirous of showing all his deference for the Holy See, sent them horses richly caparisoned, and a numerous cortège. The synod then met in the palace of the sovereign, in the saloon of the dome. Thirteen of the principal officers of the crown surrounded the emperor, who himself presided over the assembly.

One of the legates of the court of Rome first spoke, and expressed himself in these terms; "Half a century has already passed, my brethren, since Sergius, patriarch of this city, introduced into the language of religion new expressions, which changed the purity of the faith. His error has been condemned by the Holy See, and the pontiffs have, without ceasing, exhorted the prelates who professed it, to reject it as impious and sacrilegious. Still, in spite of the anathemas of the popes, the error has propagated itself even to our day, in the Greek church.

"Nevertheless, we hope it will cease to trouble Christianity, and we beseech our magnificent emperor to order the clergy of Constantinople to give a formula of their belief on the incarnation of the Word, that we may be able to combat it." The bishops of Byzantium and

Antioch developed their views, and read from the proceedings of the council of Ephesus in favour of their conclusions.

In the second session, the assembly informed itself of the decisions of the council of Chalcedon, which, according to the legates, were entirely opposed to Monothelism. In the third, they recognized as apocryphal an epistle of Menas, addressed to pope Vigilius, and of which the heretics had availed themselves to prove, by the authority of this ancient patriarch of Constantinople, that there really existed but one will in Jesus Christ.

In the following sessions they read the letters of pope Agathon; but the bishop of Antioch victoriously opposed to the arguments of the pontiff two volumes of passages, extracted from the fathers. The deacon of Ravenna, rising from his seat, addressed the emperor—"Remark, my lord, that in all these citations, Macaire, Stephen his disciple, Peter bishop of Nicomedia, and Solomon of Clanea, have not produced any text that establishes the single will of the trinity and of Christ. They have even altered or left out the passages which condemn the Monothelites. We beseech you, then, to have brought from the patriarchal palace of this city, the original books, and we will show the assembly, by comparing the extracts produced before them, that they have been mutilated and interpolated.

"In our turn, we will cite the works of the fathers, and will clearly prove two wills and two operations in the Word, after its hypostatic union with human nature."

The patriarchs George and Macaire demanded, in the seventh session, a copy of the letters of pope Agathon, to verify the texts upon which he founded his conclusions. Then they submitted two discourses attributed to the pontiff Vigilius, and addressed to the emperor Justinian and the empress Theodora. They contained these words: "We anathematise Theodore of Mopsuesta, who refuses to recognize Jesus Christ as one hypostasis, one person, and performing a single operation." Stephen, a monk and priest of Rome, having risen, exclaimed, "This writing is an imposture. For, if Vigilius had taught the unity of volition, and the council had approved of it, he would have employed the term 'one operation,' in the definition of the synod."

In the following session, the patriarch of Constantinople also gave his opinion. "I have compared with the works which are in my archives, the decisions of pope Agathon, and of the prelates of the West; and I must say, that the testimony of the fathers is there reported with religious exactness. I avow, then, openly, that I profess to believe, without restriction, all they contain."

The assembly expressed its adhesion to these sentiments, by loud acclamations. They then examined the general doctrine of the heretics, and the council rendered this judgment: "After having examined with profound attention the dogmatical letters of Sergius of Byzantium, to Cyrus of Alexandria, and the replies of the pontiff Honorius the First to

Sergius, we declare that we have found them contradictory of the doctrine of the apostles; the decrees of œcumenical assemblies; the sentiments of the fathers of the church, and conformed in all points to the false science taught by the heretics.

"We condemn them as capable of corrupting the souls of the faithful; and in rejecting these impious dogmas we anathematize their authors Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, Theodore, and the pontiff Honorius the First, as heretics, impious, and sacrilegious. . . ."

This condemnation of Honorius has been the stumbling-block of pontifical infallibility. As the partizans of the papacy could not deny the regularity, nor the authenticity of a sentence confirmed by the court of Rome, and rendered under the guidance of the legates of the Holy See, by an orthodox synod, they have endeavoured to establish that this pope had not erred. "In admitting even as patent the condemnation of Honorius," say some of their historians, "it is always the truth to say, that he was not the inventor of the heresy; that he did not define it; and that he never proposed it as a teaching of the universal church. The glory of the apostolical see is especially in the privilege granted to St. Peter and his successors, of acting with a prudent skill which leads them to define nothing, from the fear of putting forth decisions contrary to the faith." This is indeed the tactics which the popes have always employed, since Honorius, to preserve their orthodoxy.

In the fourteenth session they discovered that the acts of the fifth council were filled with alterations and interpolations. Finally, they pronounced an anathema against the Monothelite, Polychronus, who had the impudence to propose to justify his faith by the resurrection of a dead man.

Constantine, a priest of the diocese of Apamea, having desired to give his opinion on religious tolerance, was accused of Manichæism, and driven from the assembly.

The definition of the faith of the synod was published at the last meeting, in the presence of the emperor and the principal officers of his court. It was declared that they adhered

to the five preceding councils; and they quoted the creeds of Nice and Constantino-ple. The letters of pope Agathon were approved as being in conformity with the decisions of the œcumenical assembly of Chalcedon, and with the doctrine of St. Leo and St. Cyril. The mystery of the incarnation was explained by the fathers, who demonstrated the existence in Jesus Christ of two natural wills and two operations. They prohibited the teaching of any other doctrine, under pain of interdiction and excommunication for the clergy, and of anathema for the laity.

They terminated the discussions of the council after nineteen sessions. Constantine, to assure the execution of these decrees, made an ordinance conceived in these terms: "He who shall contravene the present constitution, if he is a bishop, clerk, or monk, shall be deposed; if he is in possession of dignities, he shall be deprived of them, and his property confiscated; if he is a mere citizen, he shall be banished from Constantinople, and all the cities of the empire."

Some ecclesiastical authors affirm, that this prince merited the honours of canonization in sustaining the faith of the Holy See, and giving to orthodox priests the power of exercising a salutary rigour towards heretics. They also praise him for having granted to the legates of the pontiff a rescript, which diminished the sums the popes paid to the Greek monarchs at the time of their ordination.

Some months after this triumph, Agathon was attacked with a severe illness, of which he died on the 1st of December, 681. He had reigned about four years. His body was buried in the church of St. Peter.

The legends speak with great veneration of the purity of his morals, of his humility, his extraordinary charity, and above all, of the gift of miracles with which he was endowed. They call him Agathon the Wonder-worker, and relate that, during a violent pestilence which ravaged Italy, whilst he was the treasurer of the exchequer of St. Peter, he cured, by a simple imposition of his hands, a multitude of the sick, and resuscitated a great number of the dead!

## LEO THE SECOND, EIGHTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 682.—CONSTANTINE POGONATUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Origin of Leo—His education—His election—Receives the legates on their return from Constantinople—Letter from the emperor—The pope sends the proceedings of the council of Constantinople to the churches of Spain—He anathematizes his predecessor, the pontiff Honorius—His death.*

Leo was born in Cudolla, a small city of the thither Abruzzas. His father, named Paul, was a physician. Destined from his youth to the ecclesiastical state, Leo was occupied with the study of the sacred writings, and by an assiduous application, acquired a profound

knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, especially for the age of ignorance in which he lived.

After the death of Agathon, the clergy, people, and grandees of Rome raised him to the throne of St. Peter as the only priest who was capable of worthily filling the pontifical

chair. The first use which he made of his authority, was to assemble a synod to receive and approve of the decisions of the general council of Constantinople, which had been brought to him by the legates of the Holy See.

The letter of the emperor terminated with these words: "We have caused the writings of your predecessor to be publicly read; they have been judged conformable to the Holy Scriptures, to the decrees of councils, and the works of the fathers.

"Thus we have received his word as that of the apostle himself, and our assembly has been unanimous in its acclamation. Nevertheless, Macaire, patriarch of Antioch, has obstinately refused to submit to the authority of the decisions of pope Agathon; and we have been obliged to depose him from his see. But he and his adherents have besought us to send them to your court, to appeal to your wisdom and knowledge from the judgment pronounced against them. We have granted their request, and leave it to your paternal judgment to punish or to recompense them."

Instead of listening to the protestations of the Monothelites, Leo caused them to be shut up in prison, and put to the torture. Anastasius, priest, and Leontius, deacon of Byzantium, overcome by the tortures, consented to anathematize those who had partaken of their belief; and on the day of the Epiphany they solemnly received the communion of the pontiff, after having remitted to him on their knees a profession of faith written with their own hands. It was not thus with the patriarch Macaire; this courageous ecclesiastic was unconquerable, and in the midst of the most cruel tortures he constantly refused to abjure his belief.

The envoys of the Spanish clergy came at the same period to present to the court of Rome, the proceedings of the twelfth council of Toledo, and to ask the approval of the pope to the great changes which had taken place in their country. Behold what had passed. Wamba, king of the Visigoths, at the termination of frightful convulsions produced by an empoisoned beverage, which his son Everigus had administered to him, became crazy, and was confined in a monastery, dependent on the diocese of Toledo. As he had then recovered his reason, they feared, lest he should take a notion to reclaim the throne, and the ambassadors came to beseech his holiness to confirm the abdication which had been wrested from him in his state of madness, and to

declare holy and legitimate the usurpation of Everigus, his prisoner and successor.

In return for this act of complaisance, the ambassadors were instructed to offer to Leo a large sum of money. His holiness granted all they asked, and as a mark of his communion sent to the new king and his clergy several letters, to inform them of the decisions made by the council of Constantinople. "This general assembly," wrote Leo, "has justly condemned the memory of the heretics Sergius, Theodore, Pyrrhus, Cyrus, Peter, and particularly that of the infamous pope Honorius the First, who, instead of extinguishing in its birth the flame of heresy, as the dignity of the apostolical see demanded, kindled it by his apostacy."

"We do not send the proceedings of the synod, because they have not yet been completely translated from the Greek to Latin; still we remit the definition of the council and the edict of confirmation rendered by prince Constantine. We beseech you to inform the prelates and people of your province of them, and to cause them to be approved by the bishops, and to give to our legate your subscriptions, to deposit them near to the confession of the blessed St. Peter."

Constantine, regionary sub-deacon of the Holy See, who had assisted at the sixth council, was sent to Constantinople as nuncio. The letter which he was commanded to present to the emperor contained this remarkable passage: "Prince, the edict rendered by your greatness, has been very agreeable to us; it gives great power to the decisions of an œcumenical assembly, and forms a two edged sword to exterminate heretics."

Leo the Second died some time after, whilst he was occupied in the translation of the proceedings of the general council of Constantinople. He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

The historians, Anastasius and Platinus, place the period of his death towards the end of the year 683.

Baillet, in his work on the life of the Saints, assures us that the pontiff was full of piety. He equally praises the firmness he exhibited in prohibiting the inhabitants of Ravenna from celebrating the anniversary of Maurice, their former metropolitan, who had freed himself from the authority of the Roman church; and he even affirms that Leo compelled the successors of that prelate to give up to the Holy See the ordinance they had obtained from the emperor, which assured to them their independence.

## BENEDICT THE SECOND, EIGHTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 684.—CONSTANTINE POGONATUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—The emperor grants to him a privilege which assures the independence of the popes—Council of Toledo—The patriarch Macaire perseveres in his heresy—Death of the pontiff—Miraculous conversion of a young lord, Ansbert.*

THE successor of Leo the Second was a Roman by birth, and the son of a citizen named John. Attached to the church from his infancy, the young Benedict directed his studies towards profane sciences, but without neglecting the Sacred Scriptures and religious singing. He was chosen bishop of Rome by the assembly of the ecclesiastics, grandees, and people; but could not exercise the pontifical functions for eleven months after his nomination, because the court of Constantinople had not yet confirmed his election.

Benedict wrote to the emperor to address to him the complaints of the clergy on the delays which hindered the confirmation of bishops, when the barbarians intercepted the communications between the two cities. The prince, seduced by the praises and flatteries of the holy father, who called him "Shining light of the world; regenerator of the faith, &c.," acceded to his request, and made a decree which permitted the clergy, the citizens, and the army, to consecrate a pope without waiting for the approval of the emperors.

As soon as the pontiff saw his authority established in the East, he wrote to his legate in Spain, ordering him to assemble a council at Toledo, that the prelates of that country might approve of the decisions of the œcumenical council of Constantine Pogonatus. The seventeen bishops of the Carthaginian province having assembled, examined the proceedings of the general council of Constantinople. The fathers gave their approbation to the decrees of the council, and sent to Benedict the Second a synodical letter, explanatory of their belief. The holy father having remarked in this profession of faith the expressions, "the will engenders the will," and "there are three substances in Jesus Christ," addressed representations to his legate, to cause them to retract these errors. But the prelates replied they could not modify them; for such were their opinions; and that the observations of the pope had not changed their convictions.

During the following year, the emperor, to manifest his friendship to the pope, sent to the court of Rome the hair of his sons Heraclius and Justinian. The pontiff received the present of the monarch favourably in the name of St. Peter, and regarded himself from that time as the adopted father of the young princes, according to the usage of ancient times.

Benedict the Second, at the solicitation of the envoys of Constantine, undertook the conversion of Macaire, patriarch of Antioch, who persevered in his schism, notwithstanding the persecutions and tortures to which he had been submitted. He recalled him from his

exile, and for six weeks he was brought daily from his prison to enter into controversy with St. Boniface, who endeavoured to induce him to abjure his heresy. The prelate opposing a steady resistance to promises and menaces, rejected all the advances of the Holy See, and strove to maintain, during his life, his belief in Monothelism. The pontiff occupied the apostolical throne during only six months, and died in the beginning of the year 685. His body was buried in the church of St. Peter.

Anastasius the Librarian relates, that Benedict the Second affected a great humility; that he was mild, patient, liberal, and repaired the churches of St. Peter and of St. Lawrence of Lucina. He also added many embellishments to those of St. Valentin and St. Mary of the Martyrs; and that he left thirty pounds of gold to the clergy and monasteries of Rome. The martyrology places him in the number of saints whose memory the church celebrates.

At this period took place the wonderful conversion of St. Ansbert, and his retreat into the monastery of Fontenelle. This holy man, according to the version which the Bollandists have left us, was born at Chaussy, a village of Vexin. His personal qualities, and the influence of his family, opened to him a brilliant career; and the chancellor Robert was so delighted with his merits, that he wished him to espouse his daughter Angadreme. This young lady, who did not partake of the ideas of her father, and who desired to consecrate herself to God, passed several nights in prayer, and obtained from heaven the privilege of having her face covered with leprosy. Ansbert refused to take her for his wife. Then she was enabled to enter into the convent of the Oratory, where she received the veil from the hands of St. Ouen.

As for Ansbert, he continued to frequent the society of the young lords and beautiful ladies of the court, who obtained for him the successorship to Robert in the post of chancellor. He then sought anew to marry, and demanded the hand of a daughter of a rich lord. But scarcely was he betrothed to her, when the face of this beautiful person was covered with an horrible leprosy. The young lord affrighted, at once quitted the court, and concealed himself in the abbey of Fontenelle, with the fixed resolution to consecrate himself to God. He sold his immense estates, and employed the proceeds in founding monasteries and hospitals.

His reputation for sanctity soon extended into all the provinces of the kingdom, and the Episcopal church of Rouen becoming vacant, the inhabitants of that city demanded him for

their bishop. Ansbert, promoted to this see, devoted himself entirely to preaching the gospel, and solacing the poor; and condemned with an eloquent voice the prodigalities and disorders of the court. Pepin Heristal, mayor of the palace, discontented at the severity of

the holy prelate, caused him to be torn from his church by his satellites, who conducted him to the monastery of Hainaut, where, by order of the prince, the monks inflicted on him such cruel treatment, that he died a few months after his arrival.

## JOHN THE FIFTH, EIGHTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 685.—JUSTINIAN THE SECOND, Emperor of the East.]

*Election and ordination of John—His character—The churches of Sardinia return under the dependancy of the Holy See—Death of the pontiff.*

JOHN the Fifth, the son of Cypriacus, was born in Syria, in the province of Antioch. During the reign of Agathon his ability, firmness, and moderation had procured for him the appointment of a legate to assist at the œcumenical council of Constantinople. After the death of Benedict the Second he was chosen pope, and ordained by the bishops of Ostia, Porto, and Velitia.

His infirmities, and a chronic malady, confined him to his bed during the entire duration of his pontificate. In the solemn festivals he could scarcely be carried to divine service. He nevertheless showed much energy and great activity in governing the church, and vigorously opposed the bishops of Cagliari, who had usurped the right of confirming the elections of the prelates of Sardinia.

The metropolitan Citonatus, having ordained Novellus as bishop of the church of the Lands, without having obtained the authority of Rome, John the Fifth hunted up in the archives of the palace of the Lateran, a decree of the pope St. Martin, which interdicted the archbishops of Cagliari from nominating their suffragans; and he assembled a council which constrained Novallus to place himself under the control of the Holy See, by an authentic proceeding.

Notwithstanding his great sufferings he stood upright to ordain; and during the year, which was the duration of his reign, he consecrated thirteen bishops.

He also maintained active relations with the churches of the East and West. And authors relate that he addressed several letters to the principal bishops of France, who, since the death of St. Ouen, the glorious disciple and faithful companion of St. Eloi were in discord. He also replied to St. Julian of Toledo, who addressed to him the proceedings of a new council, held in that city, and who had remitted to him his treatise on prognostics, or considerations on things to come.

This work, which has come down to our days, is a strange and ridiculous dissertation on the origin, nature, and effects of the flames of purgatory. It was regarded as very orthodox by John the Fifth, who even wished to order the study of it in the ecclesiastical schools. At length, the intensity of the sickness which afflicted the pontiff having redoubled, he fell into a state of moral depression, which permitted him no longer to occupy himself with the affairs of this world. He died in 686, and was interred in the church of St. Peter.

## CONON, THE EIGHTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 686.—JUSTINIAN THE SECOND, Emperor of the East.]

*The clergy and army dispute in Rome the election of pontiff—The old Conon is elevated to the throne of St. Peter—Letter from the emperor to the new pope—Weakness of the holy father—Pilgrimage of St. Killian—Vengeance of the missionary against the family of duke Gosbert—Death of the pope.*

THE emperor Constantine, in giving to the see of Rome the liberty of choosing its chief, was desirous of assuring the tranquillity of the church, and of preventing the scandalous schisms which were caused by the disgraceful intrigues of the popes. His edict produced a very different result. It gave, on the contrary, a new aliment to the ambition of the eccle-

siastics, and multiplied disorders and disputes.

After the death of John, two priests, Peter and Theodore, were prodigal of gold to the factious, and excited violent seditions to obtain the pontifical throne. Peter assembled the leaders of the army in the church of St. Stephen; sent soldiers, who drove his com-

petitor from the church of the Lateran, and closed the gates. The latter assembled his partizans, and wished the clergy to proceed to his election, under the very porch of the temple.

A collision appeared imminent; the bishops of the two parties entered into the episcopal palace; and to shun all controversy between the rivals, they united their suffrages upon Conon, a venerable old man, of a peaceful and simple spirit, and proclaimed him pope. As soon as the new pope was proclaimed, the magistrates and principal citizens came to salute him with their acclamations. The army alone, yet deferred to approve of his election. But, seeing that the clergy and people had sanctioned it, the soldiers abandoned the interests of Theodore, and confirmed the choice which had been made of Conon.

The pontiff, born in Sicily, was of a family originally from Thrace. He had constantly filled subaltern offices in the church; and his intellect, always employed in the details of religious practices, rendered him incapable of comprehending the political maxims of a government so Machiavelian as that of the see of Rome. Still, he knew how to gain the good graces of the emperor; and Justinian the Second, at his solicitation, rendered several successive decrees in favour of the church. He first renounced the capitation tax, which the patrimonies of Brutium and Lucania had paid him; then he ordered the military to restore the fiefs and domains in Italy and Sicily, which the leaders had seized as pledges for services rendered to the court of Rome. At last, the prince pushed his deference for the Holy See so far as to write the following letter: "Having learned that the proceedings of the sixth council were in the hands of officers of our crown, and thinking that the guardianship of pieces so sacred should be confided to magistrates, we have taken them from them.

"We convoked the patriarchs, the legate of your beatitude, the senate, the metropolitans, the bishops, the officers of the palace, our guards, the chiefs of the different armies who are in Constantinople, and have caused to be read in their presence the decisions of the oecumenical council. These proceedings have been sealed up in their presence, that they might not be altered by heretics. We advise your holiness of the measures we have deemed it necessary to take, to assure the maintenance of orthodoxy in the Eastern church."

Some months after the reception of these letters Conon named, as rector of the patri-

mony of Sicily, Constantine, deacon of Syracuse. This ecclesiastic, by his scandalous exactions, excited the indignation of the people, who rose against him. The governor of the province was obliged to cast the guilty rector into prison to appease the people and to carry his complaints to the imperial court, not only against the rector, but even against the head of the Roman church.

The pilgrimage of Killian to the holy city is placed at about this period. The pope having approved of the faith and doctrine of the Irish bishop, gave him, in the name of St. Peter, power to instruct and convert infidel nations. Killian then returned to Wirtzberg, where he instructed in the Christian faith duke Gosbert, caused him to abandon the worship of his ancestors, and in defiance of his family baptized him. The duchess Gelania of Gosbert, alarmed at the prodigalities of her husband, who was dissipating all the heritage of his children in pious foundations, or in presents to monasteries, addressed violent reproaches on the subject to the missionary. The latter, in order to avenge himself on the princess, and to bring her within the reach of his anger, used the control which he exercised over the mind of the duke; and to induce him to consent to a divorce, persuaded him that his union with Gelania was incestuous, according to the laws of the church; because she was his relative within the sixth degree. The new convert, ruled by the Irish priest, promised to obey, and only asked to defer this painful sacrifice until after his return from an expedition he was about to make against the people beyond the Maine. But, during the absence of her husband, Gelania profited by the opportunity; ordered the missionary to leave her estates, and upon his refusal beheaded him. The chronicle adds, that God permitted, in vengeance for the death of St. Killian, this guilty female to be stricken suddenly with a strange disease, which caused such frightful pangs that she ate her hands in a paroxysm of pain. That, besides, duke Gosbert, on his return, was massacred by his domestics. That Hetan, his eldest son, was driven from his states by the eastern Franks; that his other children were massacred, and that there remained no descendant of this criminal race.

The health of Conon, already tottering, became daily more feeble since his election. He soon succumbed under the weight of the episcopal functions, and died in the beginning of the year 687, after a reign of eleven months and three days. He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

## SERGIUS THE FIRST, EIGHTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 687.—JUSTINIAN II., LEONTIUS and TIBERIUS III., Emperors of the East.]

*Schism in the Roman church—Sedition at the election of a pontiff—Three popes proclaimed at once in the holy city—Sergius purchases the pontificate, and pledges the crowns of gold of St. Peter—Origin and education of the pontiff—He avenges himself on Paschal, his competitor—Baptism and death of king Cadwallon—Council of Toledo—The famous council of Trullo makes several decrees against the ambition of the pontiff—Marriage of the priests maintained by the council—Jurisdiction of bishops—Decrees in relation to monks, marriages, and dress—The bishops of the council prohibit the faithful from espousing their mothers or sisters—Sergius rejects the council—The emperor comes to take Sergius from Rome—The army of Ravenna protects the pontiff—Conversion of the people of Frisia—The pope is accused of adultery—Vitiza, king of Spain, refuses to recognize the sovereignty of the see of Rome—Death of Sergius.*

DURING the last sickness of Conon, the archdeacon Paschal having seized upon the riches which the pope had bequeathed to the clergy and monasteries, offered to John, exarch of Ravenna, to surrender them to him if he would aid his election. The latter easily allowed himself to be seduced by the glitter of gold, and sent his troops to Rome to surround the city and favour the ambitious projects of the archdeacon.

Nevertheless, after the death of the holy father, the people were divided into several factions. The arch-priest Theodore, at the head of his faction, penetrated into the palace of the Lateran, and caused himself to be chosen pontiff. Paschal, on his side, caused himself to be proclaimed the successor of Conon to the throne of St. Peter. Each party assembled in arms, ready to sustain, by force, the bishop whom it had nominated. The strife had even commenced in the court of the church of Julius, when the principal magistrates, the greater part of the clergy, the militia, and the honourable citizens determined to act in the same manner as they had done on the death of John the Fifth. They went to the imperial palace, and proclaimed as pontiff a priest named Sergius, who belonged to neither of the two factions. Sergius seized his two competitors, Paschal and Theodore, and constrained them to swear obedience to him.

He was himself soon driven from the holy city by the friends of Theodore, and obliged to take refuge in Ravenna. John Platinus, then exarch, proposed to the holy father to reinstall him on the pontifical throne, if he would consent to give him the treasures promised by his competitor, Paschal. Sergius, greedy of power, consented to the bargain, and was led back in triumph to the city of Rome, in the midst of the troops of the exarch.

To fulfil his promises, his holiness despoiled the churches of their ornaments, sold a great part of the vases, chandeliers, pyxes, and pledged in the hands of the Jews even the crowns of gold which were suspended over the altar of St. Peter. Then Sergius thought to get rid of his old rivals. The archdeacon Theodore being the most redoubtable, he accused him of witchcraft, enchantments, sorcery, relations with an evil spirit, and caused

him to be shut up in a monastery, where he died of poison.

Sergius, son of Tiberius, was born at Palermo, in Sicily. He had first served the church as a child of the choir; then as an acolyte, and had finally been ordained a priest of the order of St. Susanna, by Leo the Second. The sacred Scriptures and the works of the fathers were almost unknown to the new pope, who passed the greatest part of his life in chanting the psalms of the church, and in celebrating divine service in the oratories of the cemeteries of the holy city.

During the enthronement of the new pope, St. Wilfrid arrived in England, and presented to Egfred, king of Northumbria, the decree of the Holy See, which reinstalled him in his bishopric. The prince who had deposed him, refused to restore to him his dignities, and assembled the principal lords of his kingdom, clerical and lay, to reform the decisions of the court of Rome. By the decisions of the assembly, the proceedings of the Italian synod were obliterated; Wilfrid declared a rebellious subject and cast into prison. The chronicles relate, that the soldiers who guarded the holy bishop heard, every night, the voice of angels, who sang with him the sacred psalms, and saw shining lights in his prison. Egfred, alarmed by this miracle, restored the saint to liberty, and wished to reinstall him in his bishopric; but the metropolitan Theodore boldly opposed the will of the sovereign, declaring that Wilfrid, before remounting his see, should renounce the decree of the pope. The prelate replied, that gratitude compelled him to refuse the marks of clemency from the king; and that he preferred death to apostacy, of which he would render himself guilty, by abandoning the sacred rights of the pontiff and of the Holy See.

At this period Cadwallon, king of Wessex, led on by religious fanaticism, solemnly abandoned the sovereign dignity, and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, to receive baptism before the sepulchre of the apostles. When the prince had arrived at the gates of the holy city, the pontiff Sergius went to meet him with a large retinue of clergy; and having accompanied him to the church of St. Peter, he poured the regenerating water on the forehead of the monarch, in the presence of the senators, the bishops, and an immense concourse

of people. Some days after this ceremony, Cadwallon, attacked by an unknown disease, died suddenly. The pope seized upon the immense wealth the prince had brought with him, to perform magnificent obsequies, and engraved Latin and Greek epitaphs upon the marble which covered his tomb.

This same year (688) the fifteenth council of Toledo assembled in Spain, to hear the reading of a long discourse on complaints addressed to the Spanish prelates by pope Benedict the Second. St. Julian, who presided over it, spoke in these words: "In the profession of faith which we sent to Rome, the pontiff is scandalized at the expression, 'the will engenders the will,' and has demanded of us an explanation. We declare then, that we intended thus to designate the faculty which engenders volition and the accomplished act, which is called the will, in the same manner as the Word is the wisdom of the wisdom; or the realization of the thought of God. As to the second proposition, 'there are three substances in Jesus Christ,' we wish to teach by these words, that the Saviour is composed of Divinity, soul, and body; or of three principles, which are united together by his incarnation. Still we agree, that one cannot recognize but two—the Divine and human principle; and that the soul and body are confounded, to form a single substance—that of humanity.

"Our decisions are in conformity with those of the fathers; and we hope they will be confirmed by the new clergy of Rome, if there yet remains any knowledge of the holy books in that church. But, in any case, we should refuse the retraction which an ignorant pontiff demands." The proceedings of this synod were approved by Sergius, as Robert, metropolitan of Toledo, testifies in the works he has left us.

In 692 took place the death of the celebrated Theodore, who aspired to free himself from the rule of the bishop of Rome. The pope designated to replace him in the archbishopric of Canterbury, Birthwald, abbot of the monastery of Rolin, in Kent. This ecclesiastic was the first Englishman who occupied this see. He governed the clergy of Great Britain for thirty-seven years.

The two last œcumenical assemblies having separated without publishing the canons, the Greek patriarchs addressed representations to the emperor Justinian, to authorize the holding of a new assembly, which should be considered as the continuation of the last synod to complete the proceedings of the councils. Paul of Constantinople, Peter of Alexandria, Anastasius of Jerusalem, George of Antioch, Basil of Gortyna, the legates of the Holy See, and more than two hundred bishops, assembled in the imperial palace, in the saloon of the dome called in Latin, Trullus. It gave its name to the synod known in the church, under the title of the Council in Trullo. "The fathers proposed to determine the decrees which should serve as rules to regulate the discipline of the churches of the East and West; and after having rejected

the constitutions attributed to St. Clement, they approved of the canons of Nice, Ancyra, Neocesarea, Gangres, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Sardis, and Carthage, as well as the canonical epistles of St. Denis and St. Peter of Alexandria, of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, of St. Amphiloctus, and of several other fathers of the Greek church."

An illustrious prelate then spoke on the important question of the marriage of priests. "My brethren," said he, "I recall to your attention, that we have now to occupy ourselves with a subject whose importance is extremely grave, and which demands profound meditation. It is absolutely necessary that your assembly should express itself in a positive manner upon a question which divides the churches of the East and West, and that we should develope the reasons which have determined your wisdom to render a decree contrary to the opinions of the see of Rome.

"The Roman ecclesiastics attach themselves to the letter of the rule; and the Byzantians bind themselves by interpreting it according to its spirit. To shun the excess of both, we should seek to establish equitable laws, which assure purity of morals in the clergy, by showing us at all times less rigid than the church of Rome—more severe than that of Constantinople.

"We will order that the clergy who have been twice married, and who are yet under the yoke of their second marriage, should be deposed. Those whose marriages have been broken off, shall preserve their dignity, but remain interdicted from all sacerdotal functions.

"The canons shall prohibit the consecration, as bishops, priests, or deacons of those who have contracted a second marriage, or who live with concubines, or who have married a widow, or divorced wife, a courtesan, a slave, or an actress. In the canons of the apostles, readers and chanters are permitted to marry after their ordination. This authority will extend for the future to subdeacons, deacons, and even to priests.

"Before consecrating a clerk, the Latin clergy make him promise to break off all intimate relations with his wife; whilst we, on the contrary, will conform ourselves to the wisdom of the ancient apostolic canon. We will maintain the marriage of those who are in sacred orders, and we will not deprive them of their companions. If they are judged worthy to belong to the church, they shall not be excluded because they are in a legitimate bond. We will not make them promise to preserve celibacy, which would be to condemn matrimony, which God himself has instituted and blessed by his presence.

"Thus the bishops, who, in contempt of the apostolic canons, shall dare to deprive an ecclesiastic of the rights of legitimate union, shall be deposed and anathematized. The separation shall exist for prelates only, and their wives shall be obliged to inhabit a monastery at a distance from their residence. We will

also prohibit the bishops of Africa and Syria from keeping, to the great scandal of the people, in the interior of their palaces, the concubines who inhabit them."

In the other canons the council prohibits the clergy from keeping taverns or hostleries; from assisting at horse races, or scenic representations; from having in the city, or on a journey, other garments than those proper for their station; and from wearing their hair long, like the laity.

The fathers permitted the entrance into convents of children of the age of ten years, though St. Basil did not authorize it until they were seventeen; and they declared that men lost through debauchery, robbers as well as murderers, could be received in the monasteries, which were pious retreats, founded for penitents, whatsoever might be their crimes. They prohibited females who had taken the vows, from wearing rich garments and jewelry. Finally, they anathematized as sacrilegious the laity who changed the destination of cloisters consecrated by the authority of a bishop.

They maintained the jurisdiction of the chiefs of dioceses over the country churches, and confirmed the decision of the council of Chalcedon, which gave to the see of Constantinople, the same privileges as that of Rome. They declared that prelates dispossessed by the incursions of the Mussulmans, should still preserve their dignity, their rank, and their power of ordaining clergy, and of presiding in the church. This was the origin of the bishops *in partibus*.

Then, in accordance with the rules laid down by St. Basil to Amphilocus, they proportioned penance to the sins and the strength of the guilty; and they decreed that heretics who should present their abjuration, subscribed with their own hands, might re-enter the church, after having been anointed with holy oil upon their forehead, nose, eyes, mouth, and ears.

They prohibited the celebration of the liturgy and of baptism in private oratories, without the permission of the bishop, and ordained the following provisions: "The priests shall not receive any salary for administering the holy communion; and the faithful shall not receive the eucharist in a vase of gold, or of any other expensive material; but it shall be deposited in their hands, crossed one over the other, because the world contains no substance so precious as the body of man, which is the true temple of Jesus Christ. They shall not give the bread and wine of the holy table to the dead; for the Saviour, in instituting the sacrament of the altar, said to his apostles, 'Take, eat: this is my flesh and my blood;' and a dead body cannot perform the command contained in these divine words.

"Bunches of grapes shall not be given with the eucharist; they shall be blessed separately as first fruits; and honey and milk shall not be offered on the altar.

"It is forbidden to mix water with wine at the communion; to come into the temple with

cooked food; to eat eggs and cheese on the Saturdays and Sundays of Lent, and to eat the blood of any animal whatsoever, under pain of deposition for clergy, and of anathema for laity. The week of Easter should be passed in festivals and devotion, and they should not assist at public spectacles.

"We condemn the repasts called *love-feasts*, because in these banquets, in which glowing cups are emptied in honour of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, under the very roof of the church, licentiousness has taken the place of the charity which the first Christians brought to these religious festivals. We prohibit from selling in the churches, as is done, food, drink, and all other kinds of merchandise; and we pronounce anathema on the man and woman whose criminal embraces shall render them adulterers in the sanctuary. We prohibit bringing a brute into the house of God, except on a journey, and from absolute necessity, to protect it in a storm.

"We prohibit from blotting or tearing the books of the Holy Scriptures, or of the fathers, or from selling them to perfumers, unless they should be incorrect or already destroyed by vermin. The mark of the cross shall not be made in flag stones or on the earth trodden by the feet of man, and it is expressly ordered to represent Christ under a human form, as being preferable to that of a lamb, which painters and sculptors still give him.

"They shall chant in the temple without elevating the voice. The canticles shall only contain proper expressions; and they shall no more read scandalous legends of confessors and martyrs; fables invented by the enemies of the truth, who wish to dishonour the memory of holy men, whom the church venerates."

The synod then prohibited games of hazard, dancing at the theatres, buffooneries, combats between animals, and the juggleries of the mountebanks, who pretended to be possessed with the devil. It condemned to six years of repentance, conjurors, bear-keepers, fortune-tellers, and vagabonds, who, under the frock of the Eremites wore long hair and black garments. The fathers refused to tolerate the usage of comic, satirical, and tragical disguises. They proscribed the public dancing of the courtezans, the invocations which the people addressed to Bacchus at the period of the maturity of the grapes, and the bacchanals which the vintagers executed after the labours of the day. They also prohibited the lighting at new moons of stubble fires before the dwellings, an ancient custom which the people respected. They abolished the custom of giving cake at the festival of Christmas to celebrate the blessed delivery of the Virgin, maintaining that the fathers and the œcumenical assemblies had decided that Mary became a mother without going through the act of delivery. They prohibited a priest from blessing incestuous unions between a father and his daughters; between brothers and sisters; between those who held children at the baptismal font; between brothers-in-

law and sisters-in-law ; between catholics and heretics. Finally, the assembly prohibited, under pain of excommunication, making immoral pictures, curling the hair, and bathing with courtizans.

Justinian subscribed with his own hand all the canons passed by the council. The place of the subscription of the pope was alone left in blank. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, all the bishops, and even the legates of the court of Rome, affixed their signatures to the foot of the proceedings. The decrees were then addressed to the holy father, who refused to approve of them, declaring them derogatory to the authority and dignity of his see.

The emperor, furious at the resistance of the pontiff, who thus rendered useless some months of great labour, sent Zachary, his protospathary, to bring away Sergius. But the pope, informed of his plan, distributed money to the militia of Ravenna, the duchy of Pentapolis, and the neighbouring provinces ; and with their aid undertook to oppose himself to the will of Justinian. The soldiers, always docile and submissive to those who pay them, followed faithfully the instructions of the pontiff. On the very day of the arrival of the protospathary, they entered the holy city, filling the air with their clamors, and menacing the envoys of the prince, even under the windows of his palace. Zachary, alarmed at this manifestation, escaped from his residence, ran to the Vatican, and took refuge in the chamber of the holy father, beseeching him, with tears, to save him from the fury of the troops.

At the same moment the army of Ravenna, which had also received orders from the clergy, entered by the gate of St. Peter, and advancing even to the palace of the Lateran, demanded, with loud clamor, to see Sergius. The gates having been closed at the approach of the soldiers, they threatened to break them open. The protospathary then seeing no mode of escaping the danger, precipitated himself under the bed of the pontiff, and covered closely in the most remote corner. The pope reassured the unfortunate Zachary. He then ordered the militia to enter the court of the palace, and presenting himself at the door-sill of the church of Theodore, went towards the chair of the apostles, that all the world might perceive him. He received with honour the citizens and soldiers ; appeased their minds, and thanked the troops, assuring them that his liberty was no longer threatened. Still the tumult did not entirely cease until after the expulsion of the envoy of the emperor.

Some years after these events, Pepin Heristal, mayor of the palace, at the court of Dagobert the Third, undertook to convert to Christianity the people of Friesland ; and for this purpose sent to the holy city Wilbrod, a zealous apostle, to be ordained bishop of these barbarous nations. Sergius, having received the presents and letters of Pepin, consecrated Wilbrod, metropolitan of Utrecht, under the name of Clement, and sold him a great number of images and relics to expose them to the adoration of the multitude in the pagan temples, which were already transformed into churches.

At the same period, Vitiza, king of Spain, refused to the pontiff the tribute which the sovereigns of that country paid to the Holy See. He prohibited his subjects, under penalty of death, from recognizing the authority of the popes ; and Sergius, whose skill led back the archbishop of Aquileia, failed before the firmness of the Spanish monarch, whose churches no more looked up to the Latin metropolis.

We will not terminate the life of Sergius, without recounting as a new example of the impudence and knavery of the monks, the illustrious miracle of which St. Adhelme pretends he was a witness, during a sojourn which he made at the court of the holy father, and which he thus relates in his acts: "The pope was accused of incontinence, and even adultery, by some heretical priests, who offered to furnish the proofs of the crime, and to produce the young nun whom he had abused. But God enabled him to confound the calumny of these wretches ; and as they brought in a child eight days old, whom they affirmed to be his son, the pope deposited him in my hands, and sprinkled the regenerating water upon his forehead. The ceremony of baptism having been finished, he ordered me, in the presence of all his assistants, to ask of the child who was his father. I interrogated the new-born with a heart full of zeal, and by the will of God he replied to me, 'The pontiff Sergius is not my father!!! . . .'"

The pope died in the month of September, 701, after a reign of fourteen years. He was interred in the church of St. Peter. Several authors assure us he was the first pontiff who caused to be sung in the canon of the mass these words: "Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world, have pity on us." He repaired several churches, and in one of them he constructed a magnificent tomb, in which he deposited the body of the blessed St. Leo.

## THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

## MAHOMED.

*Moses, Jesus, Mahomed, descendants of Abraham—History of Mahomed—His country and family—Marriage of the prophet—His journeys and studies—He places the black stone in the temple of the Kaabah—Jealousy of the chiefs of his tribe—Apparition of the angel Gabriel—Mahomed receives from God the mission to preach the Koran—Persecutions of the prophet—His predictions—The Koreeschites wish to assassinate him—Flight of Mahomed, or the Hegera—Mahomed at Medina—Wars and victories of the prophet—He seizes upon Mecca, and destroys the idols in the temple of the Kaabah—His death—He is sanctified by his followers—His doctrine—Voluptuous paradise of Mahomed.*

DURING the seventh century, the empire, divided by numerous schisms, weakened by incessant wars with enemies around it, suffered the power which it preserved over the Roman peninsula to be annihilated. The odious policy of the pontiffs, and the incursions of the barbarians, subjugated to the sway of the Holy See, Spain, Gaul, England, and a great number of kingdoms.

But, whilst paganism is falling to pieces in the West to make way for the Christian religion, the East sees a new belief arise. Soon the Koran and the Bible will divide the world, and Mahomed, like Christ, sprung from that ancient nation of nomade shepherds, the descendants of Abraham, will effect in the East the most surprising of religious revolutions.

Moses, Jesus, Mahomed! All three children of the Shemitic race, and sons of Abraham, have come to reveal sublime religions, which have led the people to the belief in the Bible, the Evangelists, and the Koran—sacred books—which are themselves but the developements and the application of the precepts traced by the finger of Jehovah, on Mount Sinai, on the tables of stone.

Moses, the legislator of the Hebrews, has ruled for twenty-four centuries; and his dogmas have spread throughout the world with the remains of the Jewish people. Mahomed is regarded as the prophet by the people who live under a burning sky, and Christ has become the God of the inhabitants of the colder zones.

Before passing judgment on the moral causes which led to the fall of Christianity in the East, and in order to be enabled to follow the usurping and perfidious policy of the pontiffs of Rome in the West, it is indispensable to know the history of the prophet.

Mahomed or Mahommed was born at Mecca, towards the year 570. He was of the family of the Koreish, descendants of Ishmael, who possessed, for a long period of years, the sovereignty of their city, and the superintendance of the Kaabah, a temple founded by the patriarch Abraham himself, according to ancient traditions. The infancy of the prophet was surrounded by prodigies, which the Arabian legends are pleased to relate. An orphan from his cradle, he was brought up by his uncle Abon Thaleb, who taught him the business of a merchant. At twelve years of age he conversed with the Christian monks, and astonished them by the profundity and

wisdom of his discourse. Some years after he made his first essay in arms, in a war in which his tribe was engaged, and surpassed the old warriors in coolness and courage.

Arrived at the age of manhood, he espoused a rich widow called Khadijah, and occupied himself with the care of extending his commercial relations in Abyssinia, Egypt, and even in Palestine. He himself directed his caravans from the plains of Yemen, even to Syria; and in his numerous journeys he acquired an exact knowledge of the manners and genius of the population which crowds the sands of Arabia. Frequently, in traversing the desert, he quenched his burning thirst with the briny water which springs from the foot of the rare clusters of palm trees, and dried dates were his only nourishment during the long days of the march.

This laborious life added great wealth to the fortune of his wife; then Mahomed abandoned the labours which had increased his wealth to give himself up entirely to the study of Arabian poetry, and to comment on the writings of the poets of that nation.

At this period, the first citizens of Mecca reconstructed, with their own hands, the Kaabah, which had been burned by the imprudence of a woman. The edifice having been built, there took place a struggle between the chiefs, who pretended to the honour of placing in the exterior angle of the temple, the pledge of alliance which God made with men, or the black stone which the patriarch Abraham had before deposited in the Kaabah. Swords were drawn and blood was about to flow on the sacred steps, when, by a heavenly inspiration, they agreed to choose, as arbiter of their difference, the first man whom chance should conduct to the mosque. Mahomed appeared, and was declared arbitrator.

The prophet ordered four sheiks of the tribe to place the stone upon a rich tapestry, and to raise it as high as their heads, each holding one of the corners of the precious tissue. He then took it and placed it himself in the angle consecrated to receive it. This bold action placed him at the head of the tribes. The Koreish, furious at seeing him thus elevate himself to the power which they exercised over the people, swore his death, and pointed him out as an ambitious man, who sought to obtain supreme power.

To escape their vengeance, and to put an end to their calumnies, Mahomed resolved to





*Lith. of Wagner & M<sup>e</sup> Gouyon, Paris*

Mahomet

live isolated from the world. He refused even to see his relatives, and retired to remote places, passing the long evenings in contemplating the spectacle inspired by the eastern heavens. One night, whilst he was meditating, at the entrance of the cavern of Mount Hora, he was suddenly surrounded by a dazzling lustre, and the angel Gabriel appeared to him, holding a book of gold in his right hand. "Rise, prophet," he said to him, "and read in this Koran, the eternal truths which God orders thee to announce to men." Mahomed obeyed: the present, the past, and the future of humanity excited his attention. He accepted the divine mission which was announced to him, and the angel quitted him, calling him the apostle of God.

When the vision had disappeared, the prophet perceived in his bosom new force and ability. He returned to his dwelling and related the wonders he had seen. His cherished wife, his young cousin Ali, and his slave Zaid, to whom he gave his freedom, became immediate converts to his doctrine. Abu-Beer, Abd-al-Rahman, Saad, Zobeir, and some others of his friends, also partook of his belief. But faith had not yet penetrated his heart, and for several years he dared not preach his doctrine beyond the circle of familiar friends who approached him. Finally, a second vision inflamed his spirit; the same envoy of God ordered him to preach Islamism among all nations.

From that moment Mahomed preached publicly at Mecca; but as he resisted strongly the worship of idols, the priest and Koreish assembled in cabal, and resolved to massacre the bold innovator.

Abu-Thaleb, led by the inspiration of God, had entered into their assembly. He hastened to warn his nephew of the danger which threatened him, and begged him to cease his preaching. The prophet, rejecting the counsel given through cowardice, replied, that he would not abandon his enterprise though they should place the sun on his right hand, and the moon on his left, to arrest him. His firmness strengthened the faith of his uncle, who strove to partake of his perils.

Notwithstanding the pursuits of his enemies, Mahomed continued to teach the people in the streets of the city, and his eloquence converted to Islamism a multitude of men, children, women, and old men.

Another of his uncles, called Hamza, became a Mussulman, struck with his sabre a magistrate, who dared to raise his hand to Mohamed. Omar, his bitterest enemy, was suddenly enlightened by reading a passage in the Koran, and abjured idolatry at the very moment in which he sought the envoy of God to slay him. The Koreish, frightened by these conversions, which augmented daily the number of the proselytes, resolved to exterminate them before they were sufficiently powerful to repel force by force. They drove them from Mecca, and obliged them to retire into Abyssinia. The prophet himself was constrained to fly in order to escape death.

Masters of the city, the Koreish assembled its inhabitants, made them swear to contract no alliance and to have no communication with the followers of Mahomet, and deposited the act containing this anathema in the temple of the Kaabah. The prophet caused it to be told them, that God, irritated at their blasphemy, had permitted this infamous decree to be gnawed by a worm in all the parts in which the sacred name was not written. They at first refused to believe in the prescience of their enemy; they then went to the mosque, and having found it done as predicted, they retracted the solemn oath pronounced against the Musselmen, and in spite of the opposition of Abou-Lahab, the head of the Koreish, they opened the gates of the city to the exiles.

This year was fatal to Mahomet, which he has named in his Koran, the time of mourning, because death took from him Khadijah his wife, and his uncle Abou-Thaleb; the loss of these cherished beings left him without aid, opposed to the outrages of men, who before called themselves his friends. He continued his vehement discourses, and commanded them, in the name of him who sent him, to burn the idols. Aber-Lahab, to avenge his gods, insulted the prophet through his partizans, and even essayed to excite against him the religious zeal of Arab tribes who came to the temple of Mecca.

Mahomet then sent one of his disciples to the inhabitants of Yathreb, who were converts to his faith, to demand aid against the Koreish. The envoy received their oath of fidelity in the name of the prophet, and for the first time Mahomed ordered his followers to draw their swords to second the power of his word. His partizans then escaped secretly with the Musselmen who left Mecca, and added to the number of the troops of his new allies.

The Koreish, informed of the secret alliance which Mahomed had contracted with the people of Yathreb, resolved to kill him, to prevent him from flying from Mecca, and from taking up his residence among a hostile people. They met in cabal and decided, that men chosen by lot from each division of the tribe, should go by night to the residence of Mahomed, and should together strike him with their daggers, in order that the people should not lay the crime on any one in particular. But God having revealed the plot which was formed against his life, he changed his garments with his cousin Ali, and favoured by this disguise and the darkness, he escaped from the assassins who already surrounded his house. He sallied precipitately from the city, travelled during the whole night, and at sunrise took refuge in a cavern of Mount Thur.

This flight, or Hegira, is, according to the Musselmen, the most remarkable event in the life of Mahomed. They commence their computation from this period, which corresponds with the 16th of July, 622, of the Christian era.

The prophet, escaped from the dangers which threatened him, went to Yathreb, where his entry was a triumph for his followers; and the people, who had long waited for

## THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

## JOHN THE SIXTH, EIGHTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 705.—TIBERIUS the Third, Emperor of the East.]

*Picture of ecclesiastical affairs in the eighth century—Profound ignorance of the clergy—Election of John the Sixth—Disorders in Italy—State of the English church—Journey of St. Wilfrid to Rome—A council examines the accusations against him—He is justified—The pope obliges him to return to England—Death of John the Sixth.*

THE farther we advance into ecclesiastical history, the more are we scandalized by the conduct of the pontiffs of Rome, and by the oblivion into which they consign the sage precepts of the apostles and the maxims of the first Christians, in order to adopt the customs of paganism and a crowd of superstitious practices opposed to the doctrines of Christ. Thus the eighth century will astonish us as much by the infamy of the princes who governed the people, as by the proud audacity of the popes who were seated in the holy city.

The kingdoms of the West are ravaged by the Saracens, who, after having conquered Asia and Africa, subjugate also a part of Europe. Disastrous wars succeed between kings; all the empires are in a state of revolution. To increase the calamity, the clergy light the torch of fanaticism, drive men to the practice of an incredible superstition, and in the midst of a general desolation seek to rule the whole world.

The popes, instead of maintaining ecclesiastical discipline and the purity of the faith, authorize by their example the debauchery of the clergy and the monks. The Holy See pursues its policy of encroachment, not to put an end to the misfortunes of the people, but to establish over the nations a tyranny still more dreadful than that of kings. The Grecian emperors are already obliged to implore the aid of the pontiffs to maintain themselves in Italy, and the Lombard kings seek the same protection to preserve their conquests.

After the death of Sergius the First, the chair of St. Peter remained vacant for fifty days, and was then occupied by John the Sixth, a priest of Grecian origin. The emperor Apsimarus sent to the new pontiff the patrician Theophylactus, the exarch of Ravenna, to engage him to maintain the interests of the court of Constantinople against the king of the Lombards. But the arrival of the ambassador excited a violent sedition among the Romans. Soldiers surrounded his residence in order to seize upon his person and put him to death from hatred to the emperor. John the Sixth went into the midst of the tumult, addressed exhortations to the crowd, and endeavoured to suspend the effects of the fury of the people. Theophylactus, availing himself of a moment of calm, embarked upon the Tiber, and returned in disgrace to Constantinople.

Some time after, the pontiff, gained over by the presents of Apsimarus, dared to express sentiments favourable to the empire. Gilulph,

duke of Benevento, determined to bring him back, through fear, to the party of the Lombards. He immediately invaded Campania, sacked the cities, ravaged the country, burned up the domains of the clergy, and led a great number of the citizens into captivity. The holy father, unable to repress this violence, besought the duke of Benevento to grant him peace. The ambassadors were the bearers of considerable sums which they offered him to purchase his alliance, and to obtain the liberty of the citizens who had been torn from their fire-sides and their families.

During the following year the church of England was still troubled by St. Wilfrid, who, from his attachment to the court of Rome, refused to obey the metropolitan of Canterbury, under the pretext that his see was independent, by virtue of a privilege or a grant which the pontiff Agathon had given to him. Wilfrid, condemned by an assembly of the bishops of Great Britain, appealed from their decision to the pope, passed the sea a second time, followed by some of his suffragans, and came to lay his complaint before John the Sixth, who received him with great honours. Whilst they were examining his cause, the deputies of Berthwold, the archbishop of Canterbury, arrived in Italy, and laid also before the Holy See an accusation against Wilfrid.

A council having been convened to listen to the complaints of the two parties, the accused appeared before the fathers and thus addressed them; "The holy pope Agathon made a decree which his pious successors, Benedict and Sergius, confirmed, which assures our authority over the see of York, and over the monasteries of the kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia. We have offered, in full synod, to render to the metropolitan Berthwold, the respect which is due to him as the primate of England, established in this high dignity by the Holy See; but we have canonically refused to submit to a judgment of deposition, pronounced against us without referring it to your light."

After having heard the envoys of the metropolitan of Canterbury, and examined all parts of the judgment, the assembly declared Wilfrid fully justified and sent him back absolved. The pope then wrote to kings Ethelred and Alfred—"Princes of Mercia and Northumbria, we request you to inform bishop Berthwold that we have rejected his calumnious accusation against Wilfrid, and that this last is maintained by our authority in all the

rights which our predecessors have granted to him."

The holy prelate of York recrossed the seas, carrying with him from Rome a great number of relics, banners, images, and stuffs of pur-

ple and silk, as ornaments for the English churches.

John the Sixth died on the 10th of January, in the year 705, shortly after the departure of Wilfrid.

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## JOHN THE SEVENTH, EIGHTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 705.—JUSTINIAN the Second, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—He authorizes by his silence the proceedings of the council "in Trulho," held at Constantinople—Aribert gives the popes the Cottian Alps—Actions attributed to John—His death.*

WHEN the funeral solemnities of John the Sixth were terminated, the people, the grandees, the clergy of Rome, assembled in the church of St. John of the Lateran, to choose a pontiff. All the suffrages united upon a priest, a Greek by birth, who passed for a learned man in those times of ignorance; the new pope was ordained under the name of John the Seventh.

The emperor Justinian, who had remounted the throne, sent to him two metropolitans, bearing the proceedings of the council "in Trulho," and a letter, in which he besought him to assemble, immediately, a synod of Latin bishops, to approve of the regulations adopted by the fathers.

John feared to excite the resentment of the prince, by condemning the six volumes of canons which were addressed to him, and yet did not wish to compromise his authority by approving of proceedings which the churches of Italy had declared to be opposed to the dignity of the court of Rome. He sent back the proceedings to Constantinople, without making any change in them, and without deciding any thing, leaving Justinian at liberty to interpret his silence as an approval of the decretals, which were universally received by the churches of

the East. This is the only act which history has preserved to us of this ephemeral pontificate.

The holy father died in the year 707, after a reign of eighteen months. He was interred in the cathedral, before an oratory which he had built to the Virgin. The walls of this church were adorned with paintings of the most costly mosaics, which had been executed by his orders.

John the Seventh repaired, besides, several churches, and particularly that of St. Mary, in which he established his residence. He gave to it a great number of pictures, among which is found his portrait. He gave to the clergy sacred vases of gold and silver, and a chalice of massive gold, weighing more than twenty pounds, and enriched with precious stones.

Paul, the deacon, relates, that during his pontificate, Aribert the Second, whose father had usurped the throne of the Lombards, desiring to render the popes favourable to him, augmented their domains, by the patrimony of the Cottian Alps; and that the deed of this donation, written in letters of gold, was remitted to John the Seventh, by the ambassadors of the monarch.

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## SISINNIUS, EIGHTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 708.—JUSTINIAN the Second, Emperor of the East.]

*Vacancy in the Holy See—Election of Sisinnius—His infirmities—He dies after a pontificate of twenty days.*

SINCE freedom of election had been given to the Roman church, the principal leaders of the Italian clergy, after the death of the pontiff, placed themselves at the head of parties to seize the chair of St. Peter; and their intrigues frequently occasioned long interregnums. The wise citizens, in order to bring all competitors into harmony, then chose some priest who belonged to none of the factions.

John the Seventh had been dead three

months, and none of his cotemporaries had been able to prevail over their adversaries. The senate and the people determined then to elevate to the Holy See, the bishop Sisinnius, a Syrian by nation, and the son of a Greek priest, named John.

This venerable prelate, worn down by infirmities, was subject to attacks of the gout, so severe that he could not even carry his hands to his mouth.

Notwithstanding his severe suffering, his holiness showed great firmness of soul, displayed a surprising activity in the government of the church, distributed numerous alms to the poor, endeavoured to produce a reform in the morals of the clergy, and even undertook to build up the walls of Rome, which had fallen into ruins.

Death suddenly arrested him in the midst of his apostolical labours, after a pontificate of twenty and some days, in the month of February, of the year 708. He was interred at St. Peter's.

During the reign of Sisinnius, St. Bonnet, bishop of Clermont, came on a pilgrimage to Rome to visit the tombs of the apostles, and

to obtain from the sovereign pontiff the confirmation of his title of bishop, which was actively contested with him by the ecclesiastics of his diocese, on account of the intrigues which took place before his election.

As the prelate brought with him rich presents, in expiation of his fault, the pope showed himself indulgent, and confirmed his nomination, on condition that he would consecrate all the products of his bishopric to pious foundations in alms-giving.

St. Bonnet executed so religiously the penance which had been imposed upon him, that he was called the friend of the poor, and merited to be canonized.

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## CONSTANTINE THE FIRST, NINETIETH POPE.

[A. D. 708.—JUSTINIAN the Second, PHILIPPICUS, ANASTASIUS, Emperors of the East.]

*Intrigues for the election of popes—Exaltation of Constantine—Quarrel of the pontiff and the archbishop of Ravenna—Felix is besieged in his metropolis, laden with chains and conducted to Constantinople—The legate of the pope causes his tongue to be torn out, and his eyes put out with a red-hot iron—Pilgrimages of the faithful to Rome—New cruelties of the pope—His journey to Constantinople—He is received by the prince with great honours—Revolt of Philippicus Bardanes—He seizes the throne and publicly burns the acts of the council which condemned the Monothelites—The pope excites seditions in Rome—Anastasius obtains the empire—He re-establishes the decrees of the sixth council—Zeal of prince Anastasius for the church—Triumph of the pope—His death.*

At this period, the Greek priests and monks, driven from their churches by the Arabs, and by the frequent revolutions which desolated the empire, took refuge in Italy and Rome. Thus the Holy See, at the commencement of the eighth century, was constantly filled by Greek priests, who were in a great majority in Italy. After the death of the Syrian, Sisinnius, a prelate of the same nation, was chosen to succeed him, who was consecrated by the name of Constantine.

Become sovereign pontiff, through the intrigues of his friends, Constantine hastened to fulfil the promises he had made previous to his election, and the archbishopric of Ravenna was given to the deacon Phillip, who had been one of the most ardent supporters of his party. The new patriarch, finding himself seated on the most important see of Italy, wished to assure its independence, and refused to renew the promises of fidelity and obedience to the Roman church which his predecessors had made. He assembled troops, fortified the city of Ravenna, and prepared to resist the thunder of the pontiff by force of arms.

Constantine comprehending the inutility of anathemas against so powerful an ecclesiastic, sent legates to the emperor Justinian to obtain troops, with which to subjugate the rebellious priest. The prince immediately sent the patrician Theodore at the head of an army. The city was taken by assault; Felix, arrested by the soldiers, was loaded with

chains, taken to Constantinople, and plunged into a dungeon. Finally, by order of the legate, he was brought out of prison, his tongue was torn out, his eyes put out, and he sent into exile. This cruelty, exercised at the instigation of Constantine, was but the prelude to still more terrible executions.

The legate obtained from the weak Justinian an order to put out the eyes of the patriarch Callinicus, and after the punishment the unfortunate prelate was sent to Rome, where the holy father exercised on him all the tortures which the ingenious cruelty of a priest could invent.

Pilgrimages were already regarded, during this century, as the most meritorious work before God. Men whose lives had been soiled by debaucheries or crimes, could compensate for their iniquities by making a journey to the holy city. Nobles, dukes, and even kings, came to prostrate themselves before the tomb of the apostles—implored pardon for their sins—offered rich presents to St. Peter, and received in exchange the absolution of the pontiffs of Rome.

Conrad prince of the Mercians, and the king of the Eastern Saxons, named Offa, yielding to the general infatuation, abandoned their kingdoms and came to Italy, bringing with them immense treasures, destined for the holy father. Constantine rendered to them great honours, surrounded them with hypocritical monks, and by dwelling on the horrors of another life, so alarmed their coarse

minds as to determine them to embrace the monastic life. Both died some time after, condemning perchance the fanaticism which had caused them to forget their wives, their children, and even their kingdoms.

In the following year, the pope yielded at length to the entreaties of the emperor, who besought him to come to Constantinople to regulate the affairs of the Eastern churches. He embarked at Porto, accompanied by two bishops, three priests, and some monks. He went towards Greece, passed the winter in Otranto, and then went to the imperial city, where Justinian awaited him.

Tiberius, the son of the emperor, and the patriarch, went seven miles from the city to meet the holy father; they were followed by the grandees of the empire, the clergy, the magistrates, and an innumerable crowd of citizens. On his arrival, Constantine celebrated a solemn mass in the church of St. Sophia; and after the ceremony, the same cortege conducted him to the palace of Placidius, which was prepared for his reception. Anastasius assures us, that the emperor, in the presence of the people, kissed the foot of the pope, and that the people admired the humility of this good prince. He remarks that this action was singular, and glorifies Justinian for having been the first to set, to the powerful of the earth, the example of kissing the sandals of the bishop of Rome.

During his sojourn at the court of Byzantium, the holy father approved of the proceedings of the council "in Trullo," and frequently conferred with the monarch on the interests of the church and the state. Justinian was then preparing an expedition against the inhabitants of the Chersonesus, who endeavoured to assassinate him when he took refuge among them. Constantine, foreseeing the difficulties of such an enterprise against a warlike people, endeavoured to divert the prince from his project; but his just remonstrances were useless, and the troops received orders to embark for this distant peninsula.

The soldiers had scarcely arrived under the walls of the city, when, fatigued by forced marches, and irritated against their leaders, whose improvidence had left them exposed to all sorts of privations, they revolted against their generals, fraternized with the citizens and proclaimed emperor, under the name of Philippius, the Armenian Bardanes, the general who had before been exiled by Justinian to the very place which they came to besiege.

The new sovereign immediately marched on Constantinople, at the head of the army which had chosen him for its chief. He took the capital by assault, and having seized upon Justinian, cut off his head and remained sole master of the empire.

The pope, who was then on his way to Italy, received on his arrival in Rome a letter from the emperor, which ordered him to approve Monothelism and reject the sixth general council, threatening to persecute the orthodox ecclesiastics in case of his refusal.

Philippius was in fact scarcely seated on his throne, when he convoked an assembly of bishops, in which the sixth council was anathematized, and the decrees which had been made by the fathers were condemned to be burned publicly before the imperial palace.

Bardanes then nominated Monothelite prelates to govern the Greek churches, and replaced in the sacred writings the names of Sergius, Pyrrhus, Honorius, and other heretics.

Constantine hastened, on his side, to elevate in the church of St. Peter an immense roll, which contained the six general councils. He ordered the faithful to honour them as the inspirations of the holy spirit; he prohibited any one from pronouncing the name of the usurper in the public prayers--of receiving his letters, portrait, or even the money struck with his effigy.

In placing himself thus openly in opposition to Philippius Bardanes, the pope had not only in view the project of separating himself from the Greek church, but he wished to break the bonds which attached the Holy See to the empire; and, under the pretence of orthodoxy, to give new aliment to the secret hatred which divided Italy and Greece, and to place the successors of the apostles within reach of shaking off the yoke of the emperors of the East.

The people of Rome, always excessive in their anger and their joy, seconded the policy of the pontiff, and decreed that neither the title nor the authority of Bardanes the Heretic should be recognized. The senate prohibited any one from receiving his statues or his portraits, and from pronouncing his name in religious solemnities; and did not wish to recognise the new governor, named Peter, sent by Philippius. Sustained by the clergy, Christopher, the old titular governor, essayed to maintain himself in the city; but Peter resisted him with an armed hand, and blood flowed upon the steps of the pontifical palace. The pope, who had excited the revolt, being then satisfied at seeing that his power already balanced that of the sovereign, advanced into the midst of the rebels, clothed in his sacerdotal robes, surrounded by his bishops, and preceded by crosses and banners. This imposing spectacle influenced the superstitious minds of the people and the soldiers; quiet was then re-established, and Peter not daring any longer to count on the devotion of his troops, retired immediately to Ravenna.

They then learned by letters from Sicily that the usurper had been deposed, and that Anastasius, an orthodox prince, had obtained the empire. The new monarch re-established the decrees of the sixth council, and addressed to Constantine his profession of faith and the synodical letters of John, whom he had named patriarch of Constantinople. The prelate wrote to the court of Rome in these terms: "We inform you, most holy father, that the tyrant Bardanes placed over our see a man who was not even of the body of the Byzantine church, and who partook of the errors of his master.

"We at first resisted the menaces of the tyrant by refusing to recognise his bishop; but the supplications of the faithful determined us to consecrate him, that our people might escape the horrors of a persecution.

"We accuse ourselves also of having anathematized the sixth general council, and we repent having committed an action so condemnable.

"Your legate will inform you of our grief for this act, in which we were forced to abjure the faith we loudly profess before you. He will also tell you, we have braved the orders of Bardanes, by preserving precious in our own residence the acts of the council, which contained the subscriptions of the bishops and of the emperor Constantine.

"We dare then to hope, that our conduct will not be condemned by your wisdom; and we beseech you to address us in your turn your synodical letters as the pledge of a mutual charity." Historians do not speak of the death of the pope; they only relate that the deacon Agathon annexed a copy of the letter of John to the acts of the sixth council.

The envoys of Anastasius were received with the greatest honours by the holy father, as were also the new officers who came in the name of the prince to take possession of the government of Italy. They had orders to protect the Holy See in all circumstances; to

maintain the integrity and assure the privileges of the city and church of Rome.

Some months after, the old metropolitan of Ravenna, who was so cruelly mutilated and deposed from his see, at the commencement of this pontificate, became reconciled to Constantine, and was recalled from his exile. Felix was admitted to prostrate himself at the feet of the pope, to remit him his act of submission, and to renew his oath of obedience, which he could not do but by inarticulate sounds. He paid into the treasury an enormous sum for his ordination, and was reinstalled in his archbishopric in contempt of the canons, which prohibited from preserving in orders, prelates deprived of sight and voice.

Benedict, archbishop of Milan, also came on a pilgrimage to Rome, and disputed with the Holy See the right of consecrating the chiefs of the clergy of Pavia. Notwithstanding the equity of his demands and the moderation of his remonstrances, he was condemned by the pope, who declared himself a judge in his own cause.

Constantine died soon after, and was interred in the beginning of the year 715, in the cathedral of St. Peter. He was the first who assembled a council to authorize the use of images in churches.

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## GREGORY THE SECOND, NINETY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 715.—ANASTASIUS the Second, THEODOSIUS the Third, LEO the Isaurian, Emperors of the East.]

*History of Gregory before his pontificate—The Lombards seize the city of Como—The pope purchases the treason of duke John—The church of Bavaria—Gregory founds many monasteries—He claims the treasures of the church, and dissipates the property of the poor to enrich the monks—Letters of the pope—Council of Rome—Attempt to assassinate the pontiff—He excites a general revolt in Italy—War of the images—Hypocrisy of the pope—Attempts of the pope against the emperor—New revolt in Italy—Fury of the Romans—Disputes between the bishops—Insolence of the pontiff—His death.*

GREGORY was the son of the patrician Marce Land, a Roman by birth. Brought up in the patriarchal residence of the Lateran, under the eyes of the pontiff Sergius the First, he surrendered himself from his youth to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and of sacred and profane eloquence. He spoke with remarkable facility and elegance, and his talent procured for him the surname of Dialogus. At Byzantium he had excited the admiration of the bishops, the grandees, and the prince, by the wisdom of his discourse and the purity of his morals.

In recompense for the services he had rendered the church, he was elevated in succession to the posts of sub-deacon, sacellary, and librarian; and at length, forty days after the death of Constantine, the clergy chose him as the one most worthy to occupy the chair of St. Peter.

Gregory undertook to rebuild the walls of Rome, but he was soon obliged to abandon this useful project to look after the defence of Italy. At this period, the emperors of the East only thought of their Italian provinces to levy contributions on them; and when they ruined them, they left them exposed almost without defence to the incursions of the Lombards. These people, at the commencement of the pontificate of Gregory, seized on the city of Como and established themselves in the province. The holy father sent an embassy to them to demand the restitution of a city which belonged to the empire; and even offered them considerable sums to indemnify them for the expenses of the war; but they refused.

All negotiations being useless, he menaced them with the wrath of God, and fulminated a terrible excommunication against them.

Neither entreaties nor anathemas were able to change the determination of the Lombards. Gregory then brought into play the resources of policy and treason; he wrote to duke John, governor of Naples, and an ally of the Lombards, offering him thirty pounds of gold to surprise Como. John immediately executed the orders of the pope. He introduced troops into the city during the night, murdered the sentinels, drove out the Lombards, and remained master of the city.

This bold action increased the influence of Gregory, and permitted him to establish on a solid basis the edifice of papal despotism. He sent numerous spies to the courts of Constantinople, France, and England, and filled all the strange sees with priests of his church.

Through his exertions, Christianity made great progress in Germany, and two of his favourites, George and Dorotheus, were sent into Bavaria with long instructions for the Christians of that province. The instructions of the pontiff ran thus: "After having given your letters to the sovereign duke of the country, you will consult with him as to assembling a council of the priests, magistrates, and principal men of the nation. You will then examine the ecclesiastics, and you will give, in our name, the power of celebrating divine service—of performing or chanting the mass to those whose ordination you shall find canonical and faith pure, teaching them at all times the rites and traditions of the Roman church.

"You will prohibit from exercising any function of worship, those whom you shall judge unworthy of the priesthood, and you shall nominate their successors. Be careful to give to every church a clergy sufficiently numerous, to enable them to celebrate the mass properly—the services by day and night, and to read the holy books.

"When you shall establish bishops, you shall regulate the dependencies of each see; and you shall have regard to distances and the jurisdiction of the lords. If you shall create three bishops, or a greater number, you will reserve the principal see for a metropolitan, whom we shall send from Rome.

"You will consecrate the new prelates by the authority of St. Peter; and you will recommend to them not to make illicit ordinations, to preserve the property of their diocese, and to divide it into four parts as the canons provide. They will administer baptism at Easter or Pentecost, and not at any other time, except in case of necessity. They will not condemn marriage under pretence of incontinence, nor authorize debauchery under pretence of marriage.

"They will prohibit divorces, polygamy, and incestuous unions; and will teach that the monastic state is preferable to the secular, and continence more meritorious in the eyes of God than the chastest union. They will not call immodest the food necessary for the support of man, unless it shall have been inmolated to idols. They will proscribe en-

chantments, conjurations, auguries, and the observances of lucky and unlucky days.

"You will instruct the prelates and principal ecclesiastics, that they may teach to the faithful the dogmas of the resurrection of the body, and of the eternity of the pains of hell. You will order them to combat the false doctrines spread through the country in regard to demons, which, according to popular belief, can resume their original dignity as archangels of God, after a long series of ages."

The legates followed their instructions closely, and reduced the new churches of Germany to the rule of the Holy See.

St. Corbinian of Chartres, undertook the journey to Rome in the same year, 716, to confess his innermost thoughts to the pope, and his fear, lest the gifts and visits of young women would be the cause of his eternal damnation, by exciting in his heart the desires of the flesh. Gregory hastened to reassure his weak conscience, and showed to the monk that he himself received in his apartment all the most beautiful ladies of the city.

He passed the holy monk through all the grades of the ministry; ordained him a bishop; gave him the pallium, and authorized him to preach the gospel throughout the world.

Corbinian submitted to the duties of his new dignity, and after having sworn obedience to the Holy See, he returned to France to propagate the word of God, and above all, to reform the morals of the monks, which had sunk to the lowest degree of corruption and infamy.

Gregory the Second endeavoured to introduce the same reforms into the Italian convents; he re-established the monastery of Monte Cassino, which had been ruined by the Lombards more than a century before, and resolved to re-establish in this retreat, the severity of the rule of St. Benedict for the purpose of forming monks who might set an example to other monks. Petronax, and several brethren from the convent of the Lateran, were designated to inhabit the new monastery; they afterwards joined to them some hermits who lived in great simplicity. Petronax was named superior, and became the sixth abbot of this community, since the death of St. Benedict its founder. He entirely re-constructed the abbey, increased in size the old church of St. Martin, and consecrated an altar in honour of the Virgin and of the holy martyrs Faustin and Joveinus.

In his zeal, the pope re-established the neighbouring monastery of the church of St. Paul, whose buildings had been abandoned very many years. He filled it with monks, "to sing the praises of God, by day and by night." He transformed into a convent the hospital of old men, situated in the rear of the church of St. Maria Majora, and raised again the cloisters of St. Andrew of Barbara, whose walls were in ruins. His fanaticism for convents was pushed to such an excess, that after the death of Honesta, his mother, he changed his house into a monastery, which

he dedicated to St. Agatha. He gave large revenues to this church, very many houses in the city, several farms, much distant land, and a tabernacle of silver weighing seven hundred pounds.

All these liberalities were made at the expense of the people, for the purpose of leading into monastic idleness, adulterers, robbers, and murderers who wished to escape human justice by devoting themselves to the Holy See.

The zeal which the pontiff exhibited for the reform of the regular clergy, did not change the morals of the convents; on the contrary, the favours which he granted to religious communities, multiplied to infinity the number of monks, and increased debauchery and scandal.

In 720, Winfred, an English priest, came to Rome and asked from the pontiff the power to labour for the conversion of pagan nations. Gregory ordered that he should be received with distinction in his house of hospitality; and having been brought to St. Peter's, passed a whole day in conference with him, discussing matters of religion and the means of subjecting the infidel. After this he consented to name him as bishop of the people among whom he should preach the gospel. On the 30th of November, the holy monk was solemnly ordained under the name of Boniface, and took an oath, by which he engaged to defend the purity of the faith and the unity of the church against all the enemies of religion; to remain always submissive to the Holy See; to concur in the aggrandizement of the pontifical authority, and not to commune with prelates who were in opposition to the court of Rome.

Gregory gave him a large volume of ecclesiastical canons or rules for his conduct, and confided to him letters which should assure him the protection of the French bishops and princes. In the first, which was addressed to Charles Martel, the holy father demanded the aid of this conqueror, to render the courageous mission of Winfred profitable, who was going to convert the infidels in the country east of the Rhine. In another letter, he exhorted the bishops, priests, deacons, dukes, counts, and all Christians, to treat Boniface and the ecclesiastics of his train with honour; to give them money, provisions, and all the aid necessary to accomplish this pious enterprise; menacing with anathema all who refused to assist them in this meritorious work.

A third letter was destined for the faithful of Thuringia, and especially for their princes; the pope congratulated them on having resisted the pagans, who wished to lead them back to idolatry. He recommended to them, perseverance in the faith, attachment to the Roman church, and obedience to Boniface. The last was written to idolaters. Gregory represented to them the excellence of the Christian religion, exhorting them to overthrow the temples of paganism; to become converts to the gospel; to be baptized; to erect churches, and to build a palace for the holy apostle.

Some time after the ordination of Boniface, the pontiff assembled in the church of St. Peter, a council composed of twenty-two bishops and all the clergy of Rome. The council condemned illicit marriages, and especially those of priests with nuns or with the widows of ecclesiastics. The pope pronounced an anathema against the faithful who espoused a priestess, a deaconess, a nun, a god-mother, the wife of their brother, father, or son; a niece, a cousin, a relative, or a connection. He particularly excommunicated Adrian and a deaconess named Epiphana, who had married in contempt of their oaths of chastity and the laws of the church. The holy father condemned Christians who consulted soothsayers, diviners, or conjurers; he prohibited the clergy from letting their hair grow, and declared as excommunicated, the lords who usurped the property of the Holy See.

During the pontificate of Gregory, the wars of the images recommenced with new fury. These ridiculous quarrels had been at first excited by Philippicus Bardanes, a zealous Monothelite, who had taken from the churches the tableau of the sixth council; then by pope Constantine, who had anathematized the emperor, and re-established the worship of images in the churches, in obedience, as he said, to the orders which a holy English bishop had received from God himself in a vision.

Bardanes having been driven from the empire by Anastasius, the policy of the new master of the empire changed the belief of the faithful and favoured orthodoxy. To render himself agreeable to Constantine, the prince permitted his subjects to render divine honours to paintings and statues; and during his reign, the adoration of images invaded the East and the West.

Leo, the Isaurian, on his arrival at the throne, was scandalized by seeing the credulous people prostrate themselves before the images which filled the churches, and undertook to destroy this sacrilegious worship. Gregory highly condemned the orders of the monarch, addressed to him insulting reproaches, and announced that he would resist with all his power the persecution undertaken against Christianity. Leo endeavoured to bring back the pontiff to more charitable sentiments, and sent ambassadors to him. The pope refused to receive the letters of the prince, and drove the envoys from Rome.

Irritated at the insolence of Gregory, the emperor gave orders to Jourdain, his cartulary, to John, sub-deacon, and to Basil, captain of his guards, to go to Rome and seize the pontiff, dead or alive. Arrived in the holy city, the officers of Leo showed their orders to Marin, governor of Rome, and concerted with him a plan to seize the pontiff or put him to death; but at the moment of the execution, Marin, who was already sick, was struck by paralysis. This abortive attempt made some noise in the city. The pontiff, warned by his spies, kept on his guard, organized a revolt, and when all the measures

were ready, the priests seized John and Jourdain and cut off their heads. Basil only escaped their fury by taking refuge in a monastery, where he took the habit of a monk.

To revenge the murder of his officers, the emperor sent into Italy, as exarch, the patrician Paul, at the head of a formidable army. He had orders to invest Rome, to depose Gregory, to seize his person, and send him to Constantinople. But the pope preached rebellion, by his band of monks, throughout Italy. was prodigal of gold to the militia, excited the Venetians and Neapolitans, and even addressed himself to the king of the Lombards and their dukes, imploring the protection of their arms.

The preaching of the monks produced marvels among the superstitious and ignorant people; at Rome they drove away the magistrates, murdered the guards of the prefect, and tore down the ensigns of the empire. At Naples, the governor, his son, his officers and soldiers, were massacred. At Ravenna, the exarch Paul, his wife and daughters were beheaded; finally, entire Italy, excited by the pontiff, resolved to free itself from the rule of the Greek emperors.

Under the pretext of great zeal for the worship of images, the Lombards profited by these troubles, and seized upon the states of the emperor as belonging to an excommunicated person. Leo offered them large sums, bought their alliance, and obtained from them a promise not only to withdraw from the invaded territory, but also to join his troops in besieging the holy city.

Gregory on his side, sent rich presents to Luitprand, king of the Lombards, and detached him from the cause of Leo. The Arian monarch then proposed to become the arbitrator between the emperor and the pope. By his mediation the Holy See obtained peace on favourable terms, and an apparent tranquillity succeeded for some time the deplorable violence which had overwhelmed Italy.

Soon after, the war recommenced with more fury than ever. Leo maintained that the adoration paid to paintings and statues was the most culpable kind of idolatry, and wished to bring the faithful to proscribe a worship, condemned by the clergy, the grandees, and even the very people of Constantinople. The patriarch Germain, a slave of the Holy See, alone dared to resist the orders of the prince, and in a transport of fanatical zeal affixed to the doors of his church a pastoral letter, in which he declared that the worship of images having always been in use in the church, he was ready to suffer martyrdom in its defence. He then sent ambassadors to Rome to advise the pope of the resistance which he opposed to the will of a heretical tyrant, and to ask his advice.

The pontiff replied in these terms: "The vigour with which you have defended the faith before the image-breaking Leo, will find its recompense in a better world.

"Still, my brother, do not forget, that to assure our rule over the people, we should shun

opposing too openly established belief; thus you will say to the faithful, that the homage rendered to representations placed in Christian temples, has nothing in common with the practices of paganism, which we are accused of imitating; you will endeavour to make them understand, that in our worship, they must consider the intention and not the action. Besides, there exists no resemblance between the statues of the pagans and our paintings; the images of a being who is not, who never has been, and whom we do not find but in fables and the inventions of mythology, are idols.

"But can the existence of God be denied? Has not the Virgin dwelt among men? Was not Jesus born in her womb? Did he not perform miracles and suffer the punishment of the cross? Did not his apostles see him after his resurrection? It is pleasing to God, that heaven, the earth, and the sea, animals and plants, should relate these marvels, by speech, by writing, by painting, and by sculpture!

"If impious wretches accuse the church of idolatry, because she venerates images, let them be regarded as dogs, whose brayings strike in vain upon the ears of their masters; and say to them as to the Jews, 'Israel thou hast not profited by the perceptible things which God has given thee to lead thee to him; thou hast preferred the heifer of Samaria, the rod of Aaron, the stone from which the water flowed, Baal, Baalpeor and Astarte, to the holy tabernacle of God; in fine, thou hast adored the creature as Jehovah.'"

Gregory held a new council at Rome, and in the presence of a great number of bishops, a second time anathematized the emperor, prohibited all people from paying him any tribute; freed them from the oath of fidelity; commanded them in the name of religion to take up arms and to drive from the throne the heretical Leo, who was deposed from the sovereign power by the will of God.

Italy replied to the imprecations of the sovereign pontiff by rising in arms. The Venetian broke the images of the prince, burned his ordinances, cast his officers into the sea, and all swore they would die in defence of religion and the pope. At Rome, men, women, and children swore upon the cross to die for the images. In Campania they massacred the new duke of Naples and his son, who had declared for the prince. In the five cities of Peantapolis, the officers of the empire were murdered by the priests themselves. In all the cities they raised upon the walls the standard of revolt.

In the midst of these massacres, the hypocritical Gregory showered around him alms; ordered processions of his clergy; walked with naked feet through the streets of the city; kissed the dust, and recited long prayers in the churches, beseeching God to put an end to the hostilities; at the same time he glorified his partisans, exhorted them to preserve the faith, and concealed under the mask of religious humility the ambition which devoured him, and the hatred which he bore to all par-

ties. His legates induced king Luitprand and the Lombard dukes to march with their troops against Ravenna, in which the patrician Eutychius had shut himself up, and at the same time other ambassadors went furtively from Rome to excite against the Lombards, the patriarch of Grada, the duke Martel, and the people of Venetia and Istria.

Finally, the Holy See triumphed. Leo, threatened by the fury of the adorers of images, who had already attempted to assassinate him, even in his palace, and fearing lest the Roman peninsula should detach itself from the empire, addressed letters to the pontiff, informing him that he would submit to the decision of a council, which he besought him to convoke.

Gregory did not permit the envoys of the emperor to enter Rome; he was unwilling even to touch the letter which they carried, and caused it to be read by a deacon. The following is his reply to the monarch. "The universal head of the church, the successor of the apostles, the vicar of Christ, prays God to send Satan upon earth to snatch from his throne the odious image-breaker who persecutes the faith."

The pope died soon after these events. He was interred in St. Peter's at Rome, on the 13th of February, 731.

There have been found priests, bold enough to place in the rank of saints, a pontiff who, for fifteen years, had filled Italy with blood and murder, and who had torn from the credulity of the people two thousand one hundred and sixty pennies of gold to enrich the monks!

Father Pagi relates a miracle, which, in his opinion, should alone suffice to elevate Gregory as high in heaven as the apostles. "Duke Eudes," wrote the monk, "solicited the court of Rome for some time to send him some relics. The holy father yielded to his entreaties, and sent him three sponges with which they had washed the tables of the palace of the Lateran. Gregory obtained from God, that these sponges should render the troops who fought in the war against the Saracens invincible! In fact," adds the venerable monk, "when the sponges arrived in camp, they were cut in small pieces and distributed to the soldiers, and of all who ate of them, not one was either wounded or slain!!!"

## GREGORY THE THIRD, NINETY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 731.—LEO the Third, and CONSTANTINE, called Copronymus, Emperors of the East.]

*Election of Gregory the Third—His bold letters to the Emperor Leo the Third—Council of Rome against the image-breakers—The emperor arms against the pope, but his fleet is dispersed by tempests—Revolts in Italy—The pope is attacked by the Lombards—Gregory implores the aid of Charles Martel and sends him rich presents—The French prince refuses to succour the pope—Success of the mission of Boniface in Germany—His letter addressed to Gregory—Journey of Boniface to Rome—Death of Gregory the Third—Actions of the pontiff.*

THE Holy See remained vacant during thirty-five days, which were employed in celebrating the funeral of Gregory the Second. After the ceremonies, the Roman people, led on as if by divine inspiration, took from the midst of the crowd the priest Gregory, and chose him pontiff, because he had the same name as his predecessor.

The new pope was a Syrian by birth, and in the opinion of Anastasius, passed for being very regular in his morals, and very well informed in the Sacred Scriptures. He understood the Greek and Latin languages, and expressed himself with elegance. Some ancient authors called him Gregory the younger; others confound him with his predecessor, because he pursued the same policy and abandoned himself to the same excesses against the emperor Leo, in defence of the scandalous worship of images.

At the commencement of his pontificate, the emperor having addressed to him a letter, to congratulate him on his advent to the throne of St. Peter, Gregory replied in these terms: "We have found in our archives letters sealed with your imperial seal, and subscribed with

your own hand in vermilion. In them you confess our holy faith in all its purity, anathematizing those who shall dare oppose the decisions of the father, whatever may be their rank. Why then are your thoughts now different? Who obliges you to turn backwards, after having walked for ten years in the good way?"

"Until the last years of the pontificate of Gregory the Second, you did nothing against the worship of images; now you affirm that they replace the idols of paganism in the temple of Christ, and call those who adore them idolaters. You order the statues of the saints to be broken and the ruins of them to be thrown out of the house of God; and you do not fear the just chastisement of your conduct, which scandalizes not only Christians but infidels.

"How can you fulfil the duties of your station and not interrogate, as emperor, learned and experienced men? They will teach you how to interpret the command of God and refuse adoration to the works of men. Have not the fathers of the church and the six councils left to us holy traditions? Why do

you refuse to follow their instruction? Why do you not receive their testimony; and why do you persist, on the contrary, in error, ignorance, and presumption?

"We beseech you to abandon the inspirations of pride, and to listen humbly to a discourse filled with sense, which we address to your simple and plain comprehension.

"God prohibited the worship of the works of man, because the idolatrous inhabitants of the promised land adored animals of gold, silver, wood, and all kinds of creatures, saying, 'Behold our divinities.' But there exist things which God himself has designated for our veneration. The tables of the law, the holy ark, and the cherubims, were adored by the Jews, although they were the work of the artisan. So the material representations of our mysteries should be honoured by the faithful, and we cannot condemn those who execute them or who venerate them.

"We do not represent God the Father, because it is impossible to paint the divine nature which we cannot know; if we knew it, we would represent it in our pictures. You reproach us for rendering homage to planks, stones, and wall; but the worship which we render them is not servile. It is not a true worship due to God; it is an inferior kind of adoration; it is not absolute, it is relative. If the matter is made into an image representing the Son of God, we say to him—'Son of God, succour us, save us!' If it is an image of the Virgin, we say to it—'Holy Mary beseech your Son that he would save our souls;' and finally, if it is to a Martyr, we add—'Holy Stephen, who didst shed thy blood for Jesus Christ, intercede for us!' We do not place our hope in these images, we do not regard them as divinities; they serve only to arouse the attention of our minds.

"You are then given up to error when you condemn the representations, exposed in the churches, to the veneration of the faithful; and Christians are authorized, from your conduct, to call you a heretic and persecutor.

"We shall not cease to repeat, that the emperors should abstain from ecclesiastical affairs and apply themselves solely to those of government; for the union of bishops and princes assure the power of the church and of kings, submits the people to this double and irresistible authority, and maintains our rule over the credulity of men. Still, we should not purchase the union of the thrones of the Cæsars and of St. Peter, by the destruction of the Evangelical doctrine; and since you persecute the images, there cannot be peace between us.

"You have written to us to convoke a general council to examine the questions which divide us. But, suppose it should assemble, where is the emperor, who shall preside, according to usage, over its sessions, who shall recompense those who speak wisely, and who shall pursue those who wander from the truth? You are yourself the guilty one whom it would condemn! Do you not see that your efforts against the images is but presumption,

ignorance, and barbarity? You should accuse no one but yourself as the sole cause of the scandal, disorders, seditions, murders, and civil wars which have desolated Italy! There is no need of a synod to judge your crimes; all the West has fallen away from obedience to you; your statues and your portraits have been broken and trampled under foot—your decretals torn upon the public places, and your officers murdered or driven from Italy.

"The Lombards, Sarmatians, and other people of the North, have ravaged the Decapolis; Ravenna remains in their power, after having been pillaged; your strongest places have been taken by assault, so that your ordinances and your army have been powerless to defend them.

"You, however, think to frighten us by your threats, by saying, 'I will send my guards to Rome to break the images of the cathedral; I will carry away pope Gregory laden with chains, and I will chastise him as my predecessor Constantine, chastised the pontiff Martin.'

"Prince, learn that we do not fear your violence; we are in safety in Italy; abase then the pride of your wrath before our authority, and learn that the successors of St. Peter are the mediators, the sovereign arbitrators between the East and West."

Leo addressed new letters to the holy father, making him propositions full of wisdom. Gregory replied to him, "You affirm that you possess the spiritual and temporal power, because your ancestors united in their persons the double authority of the empire and the priesthood. . . . They might thus speak, who have founded and enriched churches and who have protected them; nevertheless, under their reigns, they have always been submitted to the authority of the bishops. But you who have despoiled them, who have broken their ornaments, how dare you to claim the right of governing them? The devil, who has seized upon your intelligence, obscures all your thoughts and speaks by your mouth.

"Learn then, you, whose ignorance and vanity are so great, that Jesus Christ did not come upon earth, but to separate the priesthood and the empire, the Spirit and the flesh, God and Cæsar, the pope and the emperor. It is not permitted to bishops to have a charge of the palace of kings; so princes are prohibited from sending rude soldiers into the sanctuary of the church.

"The elections of the elergy, the ordinations of prelates, the administration of the sacraments, the distribution of goods to the poor, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction appertain to priests; the right of governing provinces, of enriching courtiers, of murdering the people, these constitute the power of kings, and we do not infringe on any of these prerogatives.

"Let each preserve the power which God has given him, and not seek to usurp that which he refuses to him. Cease then to overthrow the images placed in our temples, by wishing to reform our worship, and by accus-

ing us of adoring matter. Our churches themselves, what are they? Stone, wood, lime, which the hand of man has consecrated to God. Why do you not destroy them, as you break the stone and the wood of our statues and the cement of our paintings? Because there must be churches for Christians to come to, to prostrate themselves before the altar of Christ.

"Allow then the faithful to employ the riches which they take from Satan to adorn the throne of God; do not deprive fathers and mothers of the sweet satisfaction of showing to their newly baptized children the edifying images of the saints and martyrs, of the Virgin and Jesus Christ, and do not turn aside the common people from the veneration which they bear to the representations of holy histories, to plunge them in idleness and debauchery."

Gregory, after having addressed these letters to Leo, assembled a council to condemn, canonically, the destroyers of images. The metropolitans of Grada and Ravenna, ninety-two bishops, all the clergy of Rome, the senators, the consuls, and the people, assisted at this assembly in the church of St. Peter. After long deliberations, the synod ordered that those who contemned the images or profaned the sacred ornaments of religion, should be anathematized and separated from the communion of the faithful. The decree was solemnly subscribed by all the members of the council. Then the clergy of the provinces addressed requests to the emperor to ask for the re-establishment of the paintings and statues in the temples.

Leo, irritated by the boldness and insolence of the pope, and exasperated against the prelates and people of the Roman peninsula, resolved to punish these rebellious priests and to draw on them a terrible vengeance. He armed a numerous flotilla and directed it against Italy. Unfortunately, in the passage, his vessels, assailed by violent tempests, were stranded or obliged to regain Constantinople. The holy father, on the news of this disaster, ordered public prayers to be made and rendered thanks to God for the brilliant miracle, which saved his church from the fury of the image-breaker.

The emperor immediately occupied himself with reorganizing an army and equipping a new fleet. Whilst waiting to commence the chastisement of the rebels, he doubled the capitation tax in Calabria and Sicily, and confiscated, in all the provinces submitted to his sway, the property of the patrimony of St. Peter, from whence the revenue was raised to two hundred and twenty-four thousand francs of gold. In the East, the prince condemned to banishment the seditious priests, and imprisoned several bishops; but none of these were executed, though the church points out the demoniacal John of Damas, as a victim of his cruelty, and has placed him in the martyrology. Leo, however, shaken upon his throne by the revolts of the pontiff, lost by degrees the most beautiful provinces of his

empire, and became the execration of his people, who designated him by the name of anti-christ.

Gregory soon repented that he had lost the support of the empire. The Lombards, having no longer to fear the Grecian troops, resolved to reduce all Italy to their sway and poured numerous troops into Campania. To arrest this invasion, he had no other resource, but to produce discord among his enemies and to induce Tharismund, duke of Spoleto, to revolt against Luitprand, king of the Lombards.

At the first signal of revolt, Luitprand marched with his army against the duke of Spoleto and entirely defeated his troops. The latter, pursued by his enemy, took refuge with the holy father, who granted him an asylum and received him with great distinction. The Lombard king, furious at the pope, summoned him to deliver up the rebel, threatening to declare war immediately on the Romans. His demand was rejected, under the pretext, that Christian charity ordains us to suffer the most violent persecutions, rather than violate the duties of hospitality; the latter, irritated at the treachery of the holy father, entered, at the head of his troops, on the territory of the church and laid siege to Rome.

In this extremity, Gregory dare not address the emperor to obtain from him any aid; he sent deputies to Charles Martel, claiming in the name of Jesus Christ the aid of the Franks against the Lombards, who had sworn to sack the holy city, massacre the pontiff, and exterminate all his clergy. The ambassadors bore to the king of the Franks, rich presents, precious relics, and the keys of the sepulchre of the apostles.

This legation was the first which entered the kingdom of France; "and would to God for the good of the people," adds a protestant author, "that the ultramontanes had never come, or that they had hung the first who presented themselves, threatening with a like fate all those who should have afterwards been willing to incur the risk of such an embassy." Charles, however, showed little disposition to succour the holy city. The pontiff then wrote him a second letter. "We are in extreme affliction, my son; for the savings which remained from the past year for the sustenance of the poor and the maintenance of the churches, are now the prey of Luitprand and Hildebrand, princes of the Lombards. They have destroyed all the farms of St. Peter, and carried off all the cattle which they found on them. We have had recourse to your power and have addressed ourselves to your religion; still, up to this very day, we have received from you no consolation. We fear lest you should believe the calumnies which these guilty kings have spread against us; for they appear assured that you will refuse us all succour, and to augment our evils and our humiliation, they brave your power and despise your courage.

"'You have had recourse,' say they, 'to Charles Martel to defend you! Let him come then with his Franks, and let him try to

wrest you from our hands, if he wishes the plains of Italy to drink the blood of his fierce hordes.'

"Prince, will you not resent the insults they offer you? Will not the children of the church of Gaul make any effort to defend their spiritual mother? Will they join our enemies in railing at the prince of the apostles, by saying that St. Peter should himself defend his house and his people, and avenge himself on his enemies without having recourse to the arms of princes?"

"It is true, my dear son, the apostle could annihilate with his terrible sword the barbarians who desolate his city; but his arm is arrested by God, who wishes to prove the hearts of the faithful, and reserves for you the glory of preserving us from the desolation which threatens us.

"We beseech you then, by the griefs of the Virgin, by the sufferings of Christ, by the fearful judgments of God at the last day, and by your own safety, not to leave us to perish, by preferring the friendship of the king of the Lombards to that of the prince of the apostles."

Charles Martel did not suffer himself to be moved by the entreaties of the pontiff; he only sent a small sum of money to solace the people of Rome, who were suffering the consequences of the treachery of Gregory towards the Lombard prince.

At the same period, the English monk, named Winfred, ordained bishop, during the preceding pontificate, and who had been sent into Germany, wrote to Rome to advise the holy father of the success of his mission and to ask his counsel. The pope thus replied to him: "We render thanks to God, my brother, on learning from your letter, that you have converted more than one hundred thousand souls to the Christian faith, partly by your eloquence, partly by the aid of the army of Charles prince of the Franks. We grant you our friendship; and still further to recompense the zeal which appears in your apostolic labours, we give you the pallium and the title of archbishop.

"Do not relax in your ardour, my dear brother; and notwithstanding your great age, continue the holy work you have commenced. You should preach the Gospel wherever God shall open to you the way; for the apostle is like the light which enlightens the world, and passes on without power to arrest its course.

"Continue to subject to Christ and to the authority of our see all the people of Germany! And, by virtue of the power which we have received from St. Peter, we give you power to consecrate bishops, who shall labour with you, without ceasing, for the instruction of the people who have become Christians.

"You will command your priests to administer a second baptism, under the invocation of the Holy Trinity, to those who shall have been baptized by pagan laymen or by an idolatrous priest, who sacrifices to Jupiter and eats the immolated food.

"In marriages, you will cause the faithful to observe the degrees of relationship even to the seventh generation; and you will prohibit them from espousing a third wife. The priests shall refuse the holy communion to parricides and incestuous persons, and they will command them to abstain during all their lives from flesh and wines; they will cause them to observe a rigorous fast on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Fridays, and will not grant them absolution unless they are in danger of death.

"Masters who sell their slaves to the pagans for human sacrifices, shall be submitted to the penance inflicted on homicides. The bishops shall prevent the new Christians from eating the flesh of horses and dogs; finally, they will proscribe conjurers and sorcerers, and will prohibit auguries and incantations, as well as sacrifices in honour of the dead, or for the sanctification of woods and fountains.

"We grant you the right of jurisdiction over all the clergy whom you shall establish; and we desire that you would expedite the period of the journey you are about to make into Italy, to receive our blessing and to confer with us on the interests of the infant church of Germany."

Boniface yielded to the wishes of the holy father and came to Rome, where he was overwhelmed with honours by Gregory, who made him sit on his right hand in the presence of the grandees and bishops. An historian adds, "that the favours of the pontiff could not, however, be considered as a recompense for the zeal which the holy old man had shown in the cause of religion, but only as the price of the devotion which he had manifested for the Holy See, and as the pay for the maxima of obedience, which he had propagated among the barbarians."

The court of Rome already dreamed of establishing the principle of the sovereignty, and of the infallibility of the pope; Gregory dared to say, in full council, that his see was above the thrones of the earth, and that the pontiffs might conduct all nations to the prince of darkness, without any living man having the right to accuse them of sin, because they were not submitted to the judgment of mortals!

The English monk, after having visited the tombs of the holy martyrs, took his leave of the pontiff and quitted Rome laden with presents and relics.

Gregory the Third, according to the librarian Anastasius, performed a great number of pious actions. "He repaired," says this author, "all the churches of the apostolic city, especially that of St. Peter. He placed around the sanctuary six precious columns, which the exarch Eutychius had given him; he crowned them with architraves covered with silver, and adorned with figures of Jesus, his apostles, and the holy mother in the midst of the virgins. At different places, the sanctuary was ornamented with golden lilies, candelabras of silver, and rich perfume pans; and from the veil, which was of silver, surmounted

by a crown of gold, fell a cross enriched with diamonds, which hung suspended over the altar. Between the columns of porphyry were placed a statue of the Virgin Mary, a patine, a chalice, and two vases of colossal size. All these ornaments were of gold and adorned with precious stones.

"The church of St. Mary Majora, contained an image of the Virgin Mary, holding the infant Jesus, also of massive gold; and, finally, the church of St. Andrew had received, from the liberality of the pontiff, a statue still more precious than the preceding. The weight of the gold of the different offerings amounted to more than an hundred and seventy-three pounds, and of the silver to more than five hundred and thirty pounds.

"Gregory repaired several monasteries which were in ruins, built new ones, endowed them with large domains, and redeemed the property which had been pledged by debauched monks; he placed priests and monks in several oratories to pray night and day, and ordered that in future, the oblationary sub-deacon of St. Peter's should furnish to the new churches lights and oblations; that is to say, bread, wine, and candles to celebrate divine service. He rebuilt a great part of the walls of Rome, and defrayed this enormous expense from his own purse. Finally, he gave a large sum to the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto to purchase a fortress, which defended an important position in the states of the Holy See."

Gregory died towards the end of the year 741, after a reign of ten years, and after having concluded a peace with Luitprand king of the Lombards. He was interred in the church of Saint Peter. He was placed, like his predecessor, by the priests in the catalogue of the saints.

Several ecclesiastical historians maintain, that during his pontificate the Musselmen persecuted with violence the Christians of Asia, Africa, and Spain, and made a great number of martyrs. These accusations are evidently false, since it is shown by the tes-

timony of cotemporary authors that the caliphs re-established the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria, and even gave bishops to the Nubians who professed Christianity; that, in Spain in especial, the Arabs protected the convents of men, as a safeguard accorded by two chief Musselmen to the inhabitants of the city of Coimbra, attests in an irrefutable manner; the following is the remarkable document:

"The Christians shall pay a capitation tax double that of the Arabs; each church shall pay an annual tribute of twenty-five pounds of silver; that of the monasteries shall be fifty, and of the cathedrals double that. The Christians shall have a court of their nation at Coimbra and Godadatha, to administer justice, only; they shall put no one to death without the authority of the Arabian sheik or alcade. If a Christian kills a Mahomedan or injures him, he shall be judged equitably by the Arabian law. If he abuses an Arab girl, he shall embrace Islamism and marry her whom he has seduced, or be put to death. If he seduces a married woman, he shall undergo the punishment inflicted on adulterers. Christian bishops shall not curse the chief Musselmen in their temples, nor in their prayers; and they shall not celebrate the mass, but with closed doors, under a penalty of ten pounds of silver.

"The monastery of Raban shall not be submitted to any tax, because the monks point out to us the game when we hunt upon their lands; and because they cordially receive the worshippers of the prophet. It is our will that they possess their property in peace; that they freely come to Coimbra, and that no impost be demanded from them for the merchandize which they buy or sell, in order to testify to Christians our indulgence towards those who do not show themselves rebellious to our paternal rule." After reading such a document, whose authenticity is irrefutable, it is really impossible to believe in the absurd recitals of the persecutions exercised by the Musselmen.

## ZACHARY, THE NINETY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 741.—CONSTANTINE, called COPRONYMUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Zachary—Dangerous position of the Holy See—Peace with the Lombards—Interview between Zachary and Luitprand—The pope gives a sumptuous feast to the king—First period of papal grandeur—The church in Germany—Letter of Zachary to the French bishops—Complaints against the pope—Decision upon baptism—Disorders of the clergy in the French provinces—Impostors in Germany—Council of Rome—Persecution of the priest Virgil—The king of the Lombards seduced by the pope—Turns monk—Carloman, the brother of Pepin, becomes a monk to save his soul—Foundation of the celebrated abbey of Fulda—Childeric the Third deposed and shut up in a monastery—Pepin usurps the crown of France—The emperor grants several domains of the empire to the Roman church—Second interview between Zachary and Luitprand—Death of the pope.*

THEY chose as successor to Gregory the Third, the priest Zachary, a Greek by descent, who was ordained sovereign pontiff on the 28th of November, 741.

We are left in ignorance of the intrigues by which Zachary arrived at the pontifical throne; we only know that the Holy See, menaced by powerful enemies, was exposed to the greatest dangers, and that the holy father was obliged to employ all the resources of his policy to save the church from the wrath of the Lombards and the hatred of the emperor. On one side, Constantine Copronymus the son of Leo, the image-breaker, had inherited the rich domains which his father had torn from the popes and continued the war against the rebels of Italy, and the worship of images: on the other, the French, consulting less the fanaticism of priests than the interests of the nation, refused to take part in these deplorable wars, allowing Luitprand to ravage Italy and besiege the city of Rome.

Thus, the Holy See, which wished to free itself from the imperial authority, was punished for its rebellion by the very consequences of its victory, and was about inevitably to fall under the terrible yoke of the Lombards.

Zachary, to free himself from this difficult position, had recourse to trick, to negotiation, and finally determined on an infamous act of treachery to Thrasimond, duke of Spoleto, the same whom his predecessor had incited to revolt. He sent ambassadors to king Luitprand, instructed to offer, in his name, rich presents, and to swear to give up Thrasimond to the vengeance of the Lombards. On this condition the king promised to conclude a peace, and restore four important cities he had taken from the Holy See during the war. Zachary then united his troops to those of Luitprand and marched against the unfortunate duke of Spoleto.

Thrasimond learned too late the mistake he had made in putting confidence in a priest. Finding himself betrayed by the court of Rome, he immediately submitted to the king and entered into a monastery.

The king, having this enemy no longer to fear, deferred fulfilling the promise he had made to Zachary; but, on the contrary, retained in his power the cities which he had seized. All the reclamations of the court of Rome being without effect, the pope, accompanied by a large number of bishops, priests,

and deacons, went to Suterramna, a city situated twelve miles from Spoleto, to confer with Luitprand and demand the execution of the treaty. He was received by the monarch in the church of St. Valentine. The union of his prayers and his protestations of boundless devotion, changed the intentions of the sovereign, who not only restored four important cities, but even gave to the Holy See the patrimonies of Sabina, Narni, Ossino, Ancona, and several others. He confirmed a peace for twenty years with the duchy of Rome, and restored all the captives.

On the following day the pontiff consecrated a bishop in the church of St. Valentine, and after the ceremony he invited Luitprand to supper. The tables were covered with the most exquisite meats, the fish of two seas, rare and valuable animals, the fruits of Europe and Asia. Historians relate that the holy father outdid, in this repast, the sumptuous feasts of Vitellius or Lucullus.

Zachary then returned to Rome, assembled the people, and ordered public prayers to thank God for the success of his treachery; and during several days the clergy and the people went in procession from the ancient Pantheon to the church of St. Peter, making the streets resound with songs of gladness in honour of Christ and his infamous vicar.

We now enter upon the most remarkable period of papal grandeur. History will show us the bishops of Rome abandoning the principles of the Bible, trampling under foot the precepts and the morality of Jesus Christ, plunging into all the excesses of depravity, tearing diadems from the foreheads of kings, and crushing the unfortunate people beneath their execrable tyranny.

In Italy the church was triumphant. In the East, the quarrel between the image-breakers and image-worshippers continued to trouble the empire. Constantine Copronymus, who, according to Christian authors, was a monster, born from the coupling of two ferocious beasts, that only quitted the laboratory of his magicians, or the tower of his astrologers, to order persecutions against his subjects, who rendered honours to paintings or statues. This tyrant, who was neither Christian, Jew, nor pagan, had no faith but in the prestiges of sorcery; and after he had consulted the entrails of the victims, or in-

voked the manes of his ancestors, there was no cruelty of which he was not capable.

In Germany, the missionary Boniface, notwithstanding his great age, continued to make numerous conversions. After the death of Gregory, the holy archbishop wrote to the pontiff to renew his oath of obedience and the promise which he had made to the Holy See, to consecrate the last days of his life to subjugating to it the numerous proselytes of Germany. He informed Zachary of the creation of several bishoprics, and besought him to confirm these establishments and to authorize him to convoke his new clergy in a synod. "Know, holy father," added he, "that Carloman, the duke of the Franks, has besought me to assemble a council in the part of the kingdom which is under his control, and has promised to labour with me in the re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline. This prince thinks, that in order to reform the morals of the Gallic clergy, it is necessary to ordain frequent assemblages of their chiefs and the lords, for during eighty years the Franks have not held a council, nor nominated metropolitans. The episcopal sees are abandoned to avaricious laymen, clerical debauchees, or to public farmers, like to secular property. Still, before undertaking this reform, I desire to have your instructions, and to understand the canons which regulate the administration of church goods and the morals of the clergy."

Zachary, in his reply, approves of the establishment of the new bishoprics, and authorizes the holding of a synod in France. He recommends to Boniface to interdict the sacerdotal functions to bishops, priests, or deacons, who shall have espoused several wives, or who shall have fallen into the sin of the flesh with the virgins consecrated to God.

By order of Carloman, the council assembled in Germany, on the 21st of April, 742, and all its decisions were submitted to the approval of the Roman pontiff. Zachary replied in a synodical letter addressed to the French bishops, in which he praises them for the energetic measures they had taken to drive from their sees schismatical prelates, concubine keepers, sodomites, and murderers. "What victories," adds the pope, "can a people hope for, when the God of armies is implored by sacrilegious priests, whose impure hands, after having been soiled by luxury and debauchery, profane the divine body of Jesus Christ? And how can these men dare present themselves as ministers of a God of peace, when they bear upon their vestments the bloody traces of the faithful whom they have murdered?"

"But if you have pure priests, exempt from crime—and especially if you obey Boniface, who will instruct you in our name—all infidel nations will fall before your swords; and after the victory, God will recompense you by giving you eternal life."

Some years after, the English apostle wrote anew to Zachary to consult him on some very singular facts. We give a faithful translation of his letter, which pictures faithfully the

morals of the period. "Gregory the Third authorized us to designate as our successor a priest whom we pointed out to him; but since the death of your glorious predecessor, the brother of this priest, at the close of an orgy, slew the uncle of the duke of the Franks, and by the law of the Franks, vengeance is permitted to all the relatives of the dead on the murderer and the members of his family. Thus, he whom we had designated as our successor, having been forced to fly, what must I do, most holy father?"

"I submit another difficulty to your decision. A man of illustrious birth has been presented to us, who affirms with an oath that he purchased from Gregory the Third, authority to espouse his cousin in the third degree, although she had taken a vow of chastity. He has demanded from us the nuptial benediction under a pretence that his conscience was not quiet, and offers to pay us for a permission to marry. In his country, the union which he has contracted passes for an abominable incest in the eyes of the common people, so that I attribute his return to penitence, not to a motive of religion, but to a fear of a general reprobation.

"Some prelates have also complained of the avarice of the court of Rome; they say that in the holy city all the dignities are sold at auction, and in spite of their desire to obtain the pallium, that they have not dared to ask for it, because they are not rich enough to pay for it. We have repelled these calumnies and condemn their error; and the better to convince them, we beseech you to grant this mark of dignity to our brother Grimm, archbishop of Rouen."

Zachary replied to the archbishop Boniface, "We will not suffer it, my brother, that during your life a bishop should be chosen in your place, which would be an infraction of the canons. Beseech God, during your life, that He would give you a worthy successor, and at the hour of death, you will be able to designate him before all the people, that he may come to us to be ordained. We grant this favour to you alone, to recompense the zeal you have constantly manifested for the Holy See.

"You have submitted to us a case of union of which we cannot approve without violating the canons; nevertheless, I avow, to the shame of our Holy See, that my predecessors have sold like permissions to fill the treasury of St. Peter, when it has been exhausted by wars or by the prodigalities of pontiffs. You have acted prudently in repulsing the accusation of simony which culpable priests brought against us, and in anathematizing those who would sell the gifts of the Holy Spirit."

At this period the see of Treves was the oldest in Germany and the largest in extent, so much so that it was called a second Rome. Zachary, jealous of the importance of this church, and under pretext of recompensing the holy bishop Boniface, detached from it the cities of Mayence, Cologne, Liege, Utrecht, Strasburg, Worms, and Spire, to form an

archbishopric, of which he established the see at Mayence. By this dismemberment, the greatest metropolis of Germany became the smallest and least important in its spiritual jurisdiction.

Boniface took immediate possession of his see, but he found the clergy of the country plunged in an ignorance so profound that the priests did not understand Latin. One of them being called before the bishop to baptize an infant, performed it with this formulary—"Baptizo te in nomine Patria, Filia et spiritua sancta." The prelate, scandalized by the abject state of his new priests, wrote to the holy father to ask of him whether he should perform a second baptism when the first appeared irregular. Zachary replied to him—"We ought not to baptize a second time those who have already received the holy water of baptism; for a simple ignorance of the language does not introduce religious error into the words; it is enough to render the sacrament regular—that it should be administered in the name of the Holy Trinity. Still, in order to avoid a scandal which a clergy so ignorant gives rise to, you will assemble a council to decide what measures it is necessary to take to bring back discipline and knowledge to your church."

The synod having assembled, Boniface hastened to inform the pontiff of its proceedings, and advised him in these terms of the disorders of the priests of Gaul: "During the thirty years I have been in the service of the Holy See, I have never failed to inform it of all that happens to me, agreeable or otherwise, in order to be sustained by its advice. Thus, I must advise you of the persecutions of which I have been the victim, in presiding over the council of the Franks as you ordered me.

"False bishops, infamous and sodomite priests, shameless and murderous clerks abound in this country. One of these, the prelate Adalbert, maintains that an angel came from the extremity of the earth, to bring him marvellous relics, by virtue of which he can obtain from God all he asks of him. He dares to affirm, with execrable oaths, that he receives letters from Jesus Christ, and by this sacrilegious knavery he has gained the confidence of families, seduced women and girls, deceived credulous minds, and received sums of money which should have come to the legitimate bishops.

"Not only does Adalbert declare himself a saint and a prophet, but even in his pride he has dared to make himself equal to the apostles, and to consecrate churches in his own honour. He has elevated crosses and oratories in the fields, near to fountains, in the woods, and upon rocks, to induce the abandonment of the old churches, and to turn to his own profit the offerings of the ignorant. He sells to the faithful his nails and his hair, as precious relics, which they should adore; and he blasphemes our holy religion in blaspheming the sacrament of confession. He says to men who come to prostrate themselves at his feet to avow their faults, 'I know your sins—it is

useless to confess them; your most secret thoughts are revealed to me; rise up, and go in peace to your homes, I give you absolution?'

"Another heretical priest named Clement, rejects the authority of canons, councils, treatises and decisions of the fathers: he calls St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory impostors; he rejects their dogmas as gross errors, capable of corrupting men, and opposed to the true spirit of the morality of Jesus Christ. Clement maintains, that no power has the right of deposing him from the episcopate, though he lives in concubinage, having two adulterous sons, and though he has undergone circumcision. Finally, this unworthy priest, introduces Judaism into the church, and permits the faithful to espouse the daughter of a brother or sister. He teaches that the Saviour, by descending to the infernal regions, redeemed all the damned whom he found there—even infidels and idolaters; and that at the last judgment he will draw from thence all those who shall have received the eucharist; because, adds he, Christ cannot suffer the souls whom he has redeemed by the price of his own blood to burn eternally in hell.

"We cannot tolerate by our silence such scandals; and we beseech you, most holy father, to write to duke Carloman, that these two heretics may be placed in prison, and be subjected to the torture; and that no one may speak to, or communicate with them."

As soon as Zachary received the letter of the archbishop Boniface, he hastened to convoke a council at Rome. The false prelates, Adalbert and Clement, were excommunicated, and the proceedings of the synod were addressed to the primate of the Gauls: "We exhort you, my brother," wrote the pontiff, "to bear with courage the persecutions of bad priests, and to persevere in your conduct.

"Has not Rome itself been filled with scandals by its clergy? Has not the chair of St. Peter itself been soiled by pontiffs who were guilty of adultery, incest, murder, and poisoning? But God in his goodness has designed at length to grant us peace, and to console us.

"Ordain fasts and processions, and we will join our prayers to yours, all unworthy as we are, to call down upon you the clemency of Jesus Christ. Still, though placing all your confidence in God, do not abandon the aid of the temporal power to lead back heretics, and to persecute them if they reject the truth.

"We approve of all the decisions of your council. We depose and anathematize Adalbert and Clement. In conformity with your desire we have written to duke Carloman, beseeching him to punish severely those unworthy ecclesiastics, for the edification of the churches which are administered by impostor bishops and priests.

"We know that infamous men, vagabond slaves, those guilty of homicides, robberies, adulteries, and other abominable crimes, transform themselves into ministers of Jesus Christ, live without recognizing the authority of our

see, and seize upon churches. Whosoever you shall find these props of Satan, deprive them of the priesthood, and submit them to the monastic rule, that they may terminate their scandalous lives by sincere repentance.

"Above all, proscribe the philosopher Virgil, that Scotch priest, who dares maintain that there exists another world, and other men upon that world; other suns and other moons in the heavens; who affirms that to be a Christian, it is enough to follow the morality of the Bible, and to practise its precepts, without even being baptized. Let him be driven from the church, deprived of the priesthood, and plunged in the darkest dungeons; let him then undergo all the tortures invented by man; for we will never find a punishment sufficiently terrible to chastise an infamous wretch, whose sacrilegious doctrine has destroyed the holiness of our religion. We have already requested the duke of Bavaria to deliver up to us this apostate, to be solemnly judged and punished, in accordance with the rigor of the canons. The prince having refused our request, we have written to the priest a threatening letter prohibiting him from raising his abominable voice in the presence of the faithful assembled in the house of God."

Virgil was indeed cruelly persecuted by the slaves of the Holy See, who called a sacrilegious idolatry, the theory of the learned Scotchman in relation to the earth, which he maintained to be round, and inhabited on all its surface. Eight centuries later, the doctrine of the antipodes, taught by this philosophic priest, will fecundate the genius of Christopher Columbus, and add a new continent to the old world.

But Rome, in its ignorance, could not believe there was any other science than that of religion; that there existed other worlds than those authorized by the canons, approved by the fathers, and preached by the apostles. Sovereigns, still more ignorant than the ecclesiastics, did not recognize other truths than those taught by the church. They submitted themselves blindly to the decisions of pontiffs, consulted them in their enterprises, and sometimes even abandoned their crowns to sit in the councils of the popes, the cross in their hand, their heads ornamented with a mitre, or their shoulders covered with a frock.

Thus the king of the Lombards, Ratchis, preferred to the grandeur of a throne, a simple cell in the monastery of Monte Cassino. Carloman, the brother of Pepin, also renounced the world, came on a pilgrimage to the holy city, and after having enriched the purse of St. Peter, received from the hands of the pontiff the frock of St. Benedict, and shut himself up in a monastery. This great prince served in the kitchen, took care of the stables, and laboured in the garden to humble his pride and to save his soul from the flames of hell. The famous abbey of Fulda, of which Boniface has given a description in a letter addressed to the pontiff, owes to him its foundation. "In a vast forest in the midst of a

wild locality, we have built a monastery, &c. have sent to it monks who live in accordance with the rule of St. Benedict, depriving themselves of flesh, wine, and beer; they are without servants, and continually occupied in manual labour. This retreat has been founded by us, by the aid of pious souls, and especially by the assistance of brother Carloman, formerly prince of the Franks. We ourselves propose, with your approbation, to repose our old age in this holy retreat, waiting for the hour of our death."

Pepin, become absolute master in France after the retreat of his brother, occupied himself with bringing Rome into his interests. The priest Ardobanus, who was authorized so to do by the bishops, abbots, and lords of Gaul, came to consult the pope on several points of ecclesiastical discipline, which may be reduced to three principal heads: the episcopal order, the penance of homicides, and illicit unions. The ambassador at the same time informed his holiness, that Mayence had been selected as the metropolis of the kingdom. In his secret instructions, the mayor of the palace had charged Ardobanus to offer rich presents to the holy father, and to assure himself of the views of the court of Rome, as to the time in which he should usurp the crown of France. The pontiff received the ambassador at a solemn audience. He replied to the letters of the prelates and the lords, by urging them all to do their duty. The seculars, by combating against the infidel, and the ecclesiastics by assisting them with their counsel and their prayers. He also addressed private letters to Pepin, encouraging him in his ambitious projects, and authorizing him, in the name of religion, to depose Childeric the Third immediately, and to take possession of his crown. The mayor of the palace, confident of the aid of the clergy, announced the forfeiture of the feeble monarch, caused his head, and that of his young son Thierry to be shaved, and shut them up—the one in the monastery of Sithian, the other in a convent in Normandy.

Zachary had well foreseen that his policy guaranteed to the Holy See the protection of a rising dynasty, and that in exchange for the sanction which he gave to an usurpation, the new prince would aid him to abase the Lombards, and to free him entirely from the rule of the emperors. In fact, the sovereigns of Constantinople were soon reduced to implore the aid of the popes, and Constantine Copronymus, who had been driven from the throne by the usurper Artabasus, could not repossess himself of his crown but through the assistance of the Holy See. The prince, in gratitude, yielded to the pope several dominions of the empire. The exarch Euty chius, John metropolitan of Ravenna, and the people of the Pentapolis and of the province of Emilius, asked, in their turn, the powerful protection of Zachary to arrest the victorious arms of the Lombards.

Under the pretext of being better able to appreciate the subject of their complaints,

the pontiff went to Ravenna, accompanied by a numerous court. On his arrival the citizens and clergy sallied from the city to receive him, exclaiming, "Blessed be the shepherd, who has left his flock to come to deliver us—us who were about to perish." Some days afterwards Zachary sent ambassadors to inform the Lombard prince of his arrival in his estates. Luitprand sent an escort composed of the lords of his court to meet the holy father, and receive him with all the honours due to his dignity and rank.

In his interview with the king, his holiness demanded the execution of the treaties, the retreat of the troops which occupied the province of Ravenna, the restitution to the Holy See of the cities which his generals had seized, and especially of that of Sicina. The monarch, fearing to draw upon himself the enmity of Zachary, acceded to his requests, consented to restore the city of Ravenna, two-thirds of the territory of Sicina, and only kept, for the safety of his troops a single fortified place, which he even promised to restore to the exarch after the return of his embas-

sadors, who had gone to Constantinople, to treat of peace with the emperor.

After having elevated the pontifical chair to the highest degree of power during a reign of eleven years, Zachary died in the month of March, in the year 752. He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

The patriarchal palace of the Lateran was almost entirely rebuilt by this pontiff; he increased its size by several immense saloons, paved with marble, enriched with paintings and mosaics. The legends relate that in digging the foundation of this admirable building, the workmen found a human head, buried very deep in the earth, and in an excellent state of preservation; that it was carried to the pope, who affirmed that it was the head of the blessed St. George. By his orders the precious relic was deposited in a magnificent shrine, on which a Greek inscription was engraved. The credulous people, the hypocritical clergy, and the lords of Rome, then bore it in procession to the deaconry of St. George, of the Veil of Gold, where it has since performed numerous miracles.

## STEPHEN THE SECOND, NINETY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 752.—CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of the pontiff—He dies after a reign of three days, and without having been consecrated.*

AFTER the death of pope Zachary, the Romans chose, to occupy the Holy See, a priest named Stephen, who took immediate possession of the patriarchal palace of the Lateran.

On the third day, on awakening, at the moment when he was rising from his bed to give some orders, he suddenly lost his voice and recollection, and fell dead at the feet of his deacons.

Some historians refuse to count Stephen the Second in the number of the pontiffs, because he had never been consecrated; but Onuphrus, Bauvini, the cardinal Baronius, and father Petau, have pursued a different mode of thinking—that consecration adds nothing to the dignity of a priest canonically elected, and that he is really pope after his nomination has been made by the people, the clergy, and the lords. We conform to their decision.

Such was in fact the doctrine and usage of the church in the first ages. The right of choosing the ministers of religion appeared so important, that subdeacons, deacons, priests, and bishops were all named, without exception, by the assembly of the faithful. St. Cyprian even augments the latitude of this power. "Not only," says he, "have the faithful the divine right of choosing the ministers of the church; but they can even regularly

depose those who shall show themselves to be unworthy of the ministry, after having been consecrated. They are even obliged in conscience so to do; for those who would tolerate an ecclesiastical prevaricator would render themselves guilty towards God." Pope St. Leo himself maintains that election alone confers the dignity of bishop. He adds that the faithful of the same city should all concur in the nomination of their pastor. He formally recognizes the right of election as being in all Christians, and launches anathemas against those who should essay to take this privilege from the people to arrogate to themselves the nomination to the different dignities of the church.

From these considerations it evidently follows, that the consecration of bishops was not then regarded as indispensable to their possessing the episcopal dignity, and that it was sufficient that they should have obtained the suffrages of the Christians of a diocese to be canonically its pastor. Thus Stephen the Second, notwithstanding the brevity of his apparition on the throne of St. Peter, although he had not been ordained prelate was none the less really pope, and as such he should occupy his rank in the chronological series of the successors of the apostles.

## STEPHEN THE THIRD, NINETY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 752.—CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS, Emperor of the East.]

*Election of Stephen the Third—His birth and education—He sends legates to prince Astolphus—The king of the Lombards seizes Ravenna—He makes war on the Romans—Embassy from the king of the Lombards to Constantinople—Council of the image breakers—Decisions against the images—The Romans are reduced to the last extremity—Stephen asks for aid from the French—Pepin protects the pope—Intrigues and machinations of the pope—He falls sick—His wonderful cure—He consecrates the temple—Pepin and his two sons—War of Italy—Peace with the Lombards—Astolphus recommences the war—The pope again asks aid from Pepin—Knavery of the pontiff—He addresses to the French monarch letters written by St. Peter, the Virgin, and the saints—Pepin, the dupe of this chicanery, re-enters Italy at the head of an army—The pope is placed in possession of the exarchate of Ravenna—Origin of the temporal power of the popes—Didier, king of the Lombards—Death of Stephen the Third.*

AFTER the death of Stephen the Second, the people, the grandees, and the clergy assembled in the church of St. Mary-Majora, and proclaimed a pontiff, who was enthroned under the name of Stephen the Third. He was a Roman by birth, and an orphan from his earliest infancy. The popes, his predecessors, took care of his infancy, and had brought him up in the palace of the Lateran; there he had passed through all the ecclesiastical orders to the deaconate.

In his different employments, Stephen had steadily used his influence to solace the sufferings of the poor, on which account the Romans had so great a veneration for him, that on the day of his election, some of the people raised him on their shoulders and bore him in triumph to the church of St. Peter. Some authors relate, that this ceremony was authorized by an ancient custom; but Polydorus Virgilius affirms that it was the first example of an enthronization so contrary to apostolical humility, and blames Stephen for having submitted to it.

Stephen was also the first pontiff who sealed his letters with lead instead of wax, which the bishops of Rome had before used for that purpose.

Three months after his enthronement, the holy father sent legates to the king of the Lombards, to offer him rich presents in exchange for a treaty of peace between his people and the Holy See. Astolphus at first took the presents, and swore to a treaty of four years. Perceiving afterwards that the small number of Greek troops who defended Italy, presented to him a favourable opportunity to snatch the exarchate from the empire, he broke the peace and marched upon Ravenna. Eutychius, who commanded for the emperor, defended himself with courage for some months, when, overwhelmed by the number of the enemy, he abandoned his capital, and took refuge at Constantinople. Ravenna fell before the arms of the Lombards, and its ruin caused the destruction of the exarchs, who had reigned for about one hundred and eighty years in the capacity of imperial vicars.

Astolphus, elated by his first success, resolved to seize upon all Italy; and under the pretext that the possession of Ravenna gave to him as a consequence the use of the rights

granted by the empire to this government, he claimed the sovereignty of Rome, and threatened to undertake a siege of it, to reduce it under his authority. The pope immediately sent the abbots of St. Vincent, of Vulturina, and St. Benedict of Monte Cassino, to demand the execution of the treaties, and the preservation of the peace. But Astolphus, full of contempt for these ambassadors in frocks, was unwilling to even listen to their propositions. He ordered them to re-enter their monasteries, prohibiting them even from returning to Rome to render an account of their embassy.

Still the war was for a time suspended by the conversion of Anselmus, the brother-in-law of Astolphus, who embraced a religious life, and obtained from the king, for himself and his monks, the territory of Nonantula, two leagues from Modena. An abbey and a church were built by the care of the prince, in honour of the apostles. Sergius, metropolitan of Ravenna, dedicated it in an imposing ceremony, and Astolphus confirmed the foundation, which he had before made, in which he only obliges the monks to furnish him with forty pikes at Lent, and an equal number at Advent. He then accompanied his brother-in-law to Rome, and offered this donation to the clergy, by placing, according to usage, the deed upon the confessional of St. Peter.

Princes already knew the subtle distinction of the Holy See between Cæsar and the church, since at the very time in which the monarch was preparing to carry on a terrible war against Stephen the Third, he showed, as a Christian, his absolute submission to the prince of the apostles, and assisted at a council convoked by the pope, to clothe Anselm in the monastic habit, and to give him the pastoral baton.

Some days after this ceremony, John, the silentiary of the emperor, arrived at the holy city, bearing letters for the pontiff and the king of the Lombards. Constantine urged the prince to restore to him the places he had unjustly snatched from the empire, in contempt of treaties, and demanded the terms on which he proposed to put an end to a war which would be destructive to the two people.

Astolphus, desirous of gaining time to pursue his conquests, and consolidate his rule in Italy, refused to give a decisive reply to the silentiary. He named an ambassador to return,

with John to the court of Constantinople to treat of peace with the emperor himself.

Stephen also sent several deputies to the emperor, under the pretence of carrying letters to him, but in reality to induce him to descend into Italy with an army to deliver Rome from the Lombards. Constantine, occupied in the East with his war against the Arabs, and separated, besides, in his opinions from the holy father, on the subject of image worship, treated with contempt the entreaties addressed to him, abandoned Rome to king Astolphus, and convoked a general council in his city of Constantinople, to condemn the adoration of images.

Three hundred and thirty-eight bishops assisted at this assembly. After a sufficiently long preamble, the fathers made the following declaration: "Jesus Christ delivered men from idolatry, and taught them to worship in spirit and in truth; but the devil, jealous of the power of the church, now seeks to restore the worship of idols, under the appearance of Christianity, by persuading the faithful that they should prostrate themselves before creatures. Thus, to combat the prince of darkness, we order the priests to cast out from the temples all the images which defile them, and to destroy those which are exposed for adoration in churches or private houses, under penalty, for bishops, priests, and deacons, of deposition; for monks and laymen of anathema; and without prejudice to the corporal punishment inflicted on the guilty by the imperial laws."

When the synod rose, Constantine went in great pomp to the public square, and published the decrees of the council of bishops. The iconoclastic priests hurried immediately into the churches, and under pretence of destroying the images and overthrowing idolatrous ornaments, seized upon crosses enriched with precious stones, the sacred vases, rich vestments, precious veils, and the services of gold or silver destined for divine service.

The king of the Lombards finding the emperor too much occupied with his religious quarrels to dream of arresting him in his plans of conquest, entered upon the territory of Rome, and notwithstanding the supplications of the pope, he summoned the inhabitants to recognize him as their sovereign if they did not wish to be put to the sword.

Stephen the Third having none but undisciplined troops to oppose to the Lombards, shut himself up in the city, exhorting the people to implore the mercy of God. He caused the relics of the apostles to be carried in procession, he himself walking with naked feet, and his head covered with ashes, carrying upon his shoulders an image of Jesus Christ, which the priests said had been sent by God to the Holy See. A bishop led the way, waving in the air a great cross of gold, to one side of which was attached the treaty of peace made with the king of the Lombards, and to the other the bull of excommunication of this sacrilegious prince.

Notwithstanding the confidence which the pontiff exhibited in heaven, he counted more

on terrestrial arms to arrest the troops of Astolphus. Despairing of aid from the emperor, he resolved to address himself to king Pepin, to inform him of the desolation of the church. He wrote at the same time to all the dukes of France, beseeching them to come to the rescue of St. Peter, whom he called their protector, promising them, in the name of the apostle, the remission of all the sins they had committed or might commit in future, and guaranteeing to them unalterable happiness in this world, and eternal life in the next.

Droctegand, the first abbot of Gorza, chief of the embassy, had scarcely quitted Italy, when the silentary John returned from Constantinople with the legates. Constantine ordered the holy father to go to the court of Astolphus, to obtain the restoration of Ravenna and of the cities which were dependencies on the exarchate. The pope was convinced in advance of the inutility of this negotiation. He however consented to undertake it, with the view of approaching France, and going himself to solicit the aid of Pepin. He immediately sent ambassadors to the court of Pavia, to demand a safe conduct, which the Lombard king hastened to grant him, guaranteeing, besides, that he should receive all the honours due to his rank.

Stephen left Rome, on the 14th of October, 754, accompanied by the French ambassadors, who had returned with Droctegand in the interval of the negotiation. On his arrival in the territory of Pavia, Astolphus forewarned him that it was useless to come before him, if he wished to obtain from him the restoration of the exarchate of Ravenna, and of the other places of the empire which he or his predecessors had acquired. The pontiff replied that no fear should prevent him from accomplishing the mission with which his prince had charged him, and he pursued his way towards the capital of the Lombards.

The next day, the day fixed for the conference, Stephen was admitted to the presence of the king. He prostrated himself at his feet, and offered him rich presents, beseeching him, in the name of Constantine, to restore the provinces which he had seized. Astolphus persisted in his first refusal, and the silentary John, notwithstanding his promises and his threats, could not weaken the resolution of the Lombard chief. The French ambassadors then announced to him, in the name of the king, their master, that they had orders to conduct the pope into Gaul. The king immediately perceived the perfidious intentions of Stephen, but he dared not arrest him, and was constrained to submit to the will of the envoys of the court of France.

After passing the Alps, the pontiff arrived at the monastery of St. Maurice, in the Valois, where the French lords were in waiting to conduct him to Ponthion, a strong castle, situated near to Langres, and which was one of the royal residences. Charles, the oldest son of Pepin, had gone more than fifty leagues to meet the holy father. The king, the queen, and the young princes received him more than

a league from Ponthion. Anastasius relates that the French monarch had the weakness to walk on foot, with his head uncovered, for two hours, holding the bridle of Stephen's horse!

On the following day, the pope and his clergy paid their respects to the king, and besought God to preserve him to his people. On the next day they offered to him rich presents, and also to the lords of his court; but, on the third day, the songs of gladness gave way to lamentations; Stephen appeared with all his clergy, their heads covered with ashes and clothed in sackcloth. All prostrated themselves at the feet of the monarch, beseeching him with lamentable cries, by the mercy of God and the merits of the holy St. Peter and St. Paul, to deliver them from the dominion of the Lombards. The holy father remained prostrate with his face to the earth, until Pepin had extended to him his hand, pledging that the king would raise him from the earth as a sign of the deliverance which he promised him.

In fact, the trick of the pontiff was entirely successful. The emperor consented to send ambassadors to prince Astolphus, to beseech him, in the name of the apostles, not to exercise hostilities against Rome. But this embassy not having achieved any result, Pepin allowed himself to be drawn by his self-conceit into a terrible war, in which his best soldiers were about to perish to sustain the ambition of an hypocritical priest. The prince convoked, in the city of Carisiac or Quiercy, the lords of his kingdom, and in their presence he decided they should carry war into Italy, to deliver the holy church; and he even made in advance a donation to St. Peter of several cities and territories, which were still under the rule of the Lombards. The deed was solemnly delivered, and Pepin signed it, in his own name and that of his two sons, Charles and Carloman.

Astolphus, having been apprised of the preparations for war which the Franks were making against him, hastened to send to their court the monk Carloman, the brother of Pepin, to destroy by his influence the machinations of Stephen, and to turn aside the lords of Gaul from their enterprise against Italy. Mazeray affirms, that the monk pleaded the cause of the Lombards with so much eloquence to the parliament of Quiercy, that it determined to send envoys to Pavia to propose a treaty of peace between the pope and the king.

The ambassadors were received with great honours by Astolphus; he consented not to lay claim to the sovereignty of Rome, but refused to restore to the emperor the exarchate of Ravenna, maintaining that this matter concerned neither the pope nor the French monarch, and that Constantine must reconquer, by arms, the provinces which the unskillfulness of his generals had lost to the empire.

Stephen the Third then maintained, that Ravenna and its dependencies did not belong to him who had conquered them, but that they had escheated, of divine right, to the Holy See, as being the spoils of an heretical prince.

Carloman was desirous of representing to the holy father how unjust were his pretensions, and what scandal he would give to the faithful by laying claim to the spoils of one condemned. Stephen, then, to disembarass himself of an adversary so clear-sighted, undertook to make him suspected by the jealous Pepin. He accused Carloman of nourishing ambitious thoughts; and he determined the monarch to shut him up in the monastery of Vienne, and to shave his young nephews. Master of the ground, he easily obtained from the prince a promise to employ the French armies in conquering for him the exarchate of Ravenna; and the assembly at Quiercy, having terminated its deliberations, Stephen came to St. Denis to wait the time of his departure.

During his sojourn in France, the pontiff fell sick from the fatigue of the journey, or the severity of the season, and in a few days his illness became so great that his household despaired of his life. But the Holy See was not thus to lose a chief who understood its interests so well. The chronicles also relate his miraculous cure. "The pope, almost dead, was carried into the church of St. Denis to address his last prayers to God. As soon as he was in prayer the apostles Peter and Paul, and the blessed St. Denis, appeared to him before the altar. Denis, held a censer in his right hand and a crown of martyrdom in his left; he was accompanied by a priest and deacon. He advanced towards Stephen, and said to him, 'Peace be with you, my brother; do not fear; you will return happily to your church; rise up, and consecrate this altar to God and the holy apostles Peter and Paul.' The vision disappeared, and the pontiff rising up full of strength, celebrated mass.

The king, the queen, the lords, the clergy, the monks and the people were astonished at this miracle. The next day the pontiff dedicated, with imposing ceremonies, the oratory of St. Denis, in honour of Jesus Christ and the apostles, and deposited on the altar his pallium, which has since been preserved as a relic in the abbey.

Stephen then consecrated, in a solemn festival, Pepin, his two sons Charles and Carloman, and his wife Bertrade. After having laid his hands upon them, he declared, in the name of God, that the Franks and their descendants were prohibited, under penalty of anathema and of eternal damnation, from choosing kings of another race. The holy father created the two princes patricians of Rome, to pledge them to defend the holy city. Le Cointe assures us, that the baptism of Charles and Carloman had been deferred until this period, that the pope might be their godfather; in fact, in several of his letters Stephen calls them his spiritual sons.

The war of Italy having been resolved upon in the parliament, the king of the Franks made immense preparations in order to insure the success of his arms. He passed the Alps at the head of numerous troops, and constrained Astolphus to give entire satisfaction to the

pontiff. The treaty was concluded in the presence of the ambassadors of Constantine, who had come to claim the exarchate for their master. Their reclamations were useless, and Ravenna was adjudged to the Holy See. The peace having been signed, Pepin retired with his army, carrying with him hostages from the Lombards. Stephen re-entered Rome in triumph, accompanied by prince Jerome, brother of the king of the Franks.

But Astolphus was scarcely freed from the hostile army, when he broke the treaties which had been forced from him, seized anew upon the exarchate, and marched on Rome. The pope immediately wrote to the French monarch, "I conjure you by the Lord our God, and his glorious mother—by the celestial virtues and the holy apostle, who has consecrated you king, to render to our see the donation which you have offered it. Have no confidence in the deceitful words of the Lombards, and of the grandees of that nation. The interests of the church are actually placed in your hands, and you will render an account to God and St. Peter in the terrible day of judgment, of the manner in which you shall have defended them.

"It is for you that God has reserved this great work for so many ages! Your fathers did not receive the honour of such a grace, and Jesus Christ, by his prescience, has chosen you from all eternity to cause his church to triumph; for those whom he has predestinated he has called, and those whom he has called he has justified!"

Astolphus was already under the walls of Rome, of which he pressed the siege with vigour. The pope fearing to fall into his power before the arrival of his succours, sent by sea new ambassadors to inform the king of the Franks of the extremity to which he was reduced. The bishop George, count Formaric, and the abbot Vermir, an intrepid soldier, who, during the siege donned his curiass and fought upon the walls, were the legates of the Holy See. They presented themselves before the assembly of Frank lords, and spoke to them in these terms: "Illustrious lords, we are overwhelmed with bitter sadness, and pressed down by an extreme agony. Our misfortunes have caused us to shed such abundant tears, that it seems as if they alone would recount our griefs. The Lombard, in his demoniac fury, dares to command the holy city to open its gates. He threatens, if we refuse to obey his orders, to overthrow our walls, stone by stone, and to put us all, men and women, to the sword.

"Already have his barbarous soldiers burned our churches, broken the images of the saints, torn from the sanctuaries pious offerings, and snatched from the altar the sacred veils and vases. Already have they beaten with blows holy monks, become intoxicated in the sacred chalices, and violated our young nuns.

"The domains of St. Peter have become the prey of the flames; his cattle driven off, his vines grubbed up by the roots, his crop

trampled under foot by horses, slaves murdered, and even infants put to death upon the bosoms of their mothers."

Not only had the holy father ordered his ambassadors to make these false recitals to move the compassion of the Franks, but—excess of daring and rascality—he invented an unknown artifice, and which no other pope had dared to use. He addressed to Pepin several letters written, he said, by the Virgin, angels, martyrs, saints, and apostles, and which were sent from heaven to the Franks. That of the chief of the apostles commenced thus: "I, Peter, called to the apostleship by Jesus Christ, the son of the living God, beseech you, Pepin, Charles, Carloman, and you, lords, clerical and lay of the kingdom of France, not to permit my city of Rome and my people to be longer rent by the Lombards, if you wish to shun the tearing of your bodies and souls in eternal fire, by the forks of Satan.

"I command you to prevent the residue of the flock which the Lord has confided to me, from being dispersed, if you do not wish he should reject and disperse you as he did the children of Israel.

"Do not abandon yourselves to a criminal indifference, and obey me promptly. Thus you will surmount all your enemies in this world; you shall live many years, eating the good things of the earth, and after your death you shall obtain eternal life. Otherwise, know that by the authority of the Holy Trinity—in the name of my apostleship, you shall be deprived for ever of the kingdom of God."

This letter of St. Peter produced a great sensation on the rude minds of the French. The chiefs immediately assembled their troops, passed the Alps, and advanced into Lombardy, to succour the Holy See. Astolphus was constrained to yield again to the power of the arms of Pepin, and he restored the exarchate to the pope.

Fulrad, the counsellor of the king of the Franks, went into the Pentapolis and Emilia, with the proxies of the Lombard sovereign, to cause them to recognize the authority of the Holy See. Ravenna, Rimini, and twenty-one other cities gave their keys to the abbot Fulrad, who deposited them, with the deed of gift from king Pepin, upon the confessional of St. Peter. Such was the origin of the temporal power of the Roman church.

The Franks then retired from Italy. Astolphus did not survive the disgrace of this treaty; he died in consequence of a fall from a horse in the beginning of the year 756.

Didier, duke of Istria, then conceived the project of causing himself to be proclaimed king of the Lombards; but Ratchis, who had reigned over this nation before he became a monk in the convent of Monte Cassino, tired of a religious life, left the monastery, and laid claim to the heritage of Astolphus. As he well knew the avidity of the court of Rome, his first thought was to bring the pope into his interest, and he promised him not only not to trouble him in the possession of Ravenna,

but to enrich St. Peter with several large domains.

His proposals had been already accepted by the pontiff, when the commissioner of Pepin ordered Stephen to cause Ratchi to return to Monte Cassino and to proclaim Didier king of the Romans. The holy father obliged to change sides, nevertheless caused the duke to buy his protection, and constrained him to yield to the Roman church the city of Faenza and its dependencies, and the duchy of Ferrara and two other important places. The domains of the Holy See were thus augmented by almost all the provinces which the empire possessed in Italy.

Stephen then learned that Constantine Copronymus had sent a solemn embassy from Constantinople to the court of France, to make proposals for the marriage of his daughter Gisella with the oldest son of the Greek emperor. As it was important to the policy of the sovereign pontiff that these princes should have no relations between them, he despatched in his turn an extraordinary ambassador to the court of the French king, to turn him aside from an alliance with the family of Constantine, under the pretence, that this monarch was separated from the Roman communion, and was tainted with heresy. The envoy of

his holiness acquired such an ascendancy over the mind of Pepin, that he finally declined the proposals of the Greeks; and the Greek envoys, in reply to their request, to know what were the motives which induced him to reject an alliance so advantageous to the two nations, could draw from him no other reply than "that he was unwilling to expose himself to eternal damnation, by authorizing the marriage of his beloved daughter with an heretic!" The ambassadors, indignant at seeing so much weakness in a prince who commanded so valiant a nation, took their leave and went to report to Constantine his ridiculous reply.

The astute pontiff triumphed over the Greek emperor, but God did not permit him to gather the fruits of his skill. Two months after the departure of the envoys of Constantine, he died in the palace of the Lateran on the 26th of April, 757.

We can exclaim with the prophet, "Vanity, vanity of human affairs!" This pontiff, who had abused religion to increase his authority; who had employed a sacrilegious knavery, and made use of the sacred names of Christ, the virgin and the saints, for his contemptible interests, lost, with his life, his grandeur, his riches, his palaces and his provinces!

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## PAUL THE FIRST, THE NINETY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 757.]

*Election of Paul—The archbishop of Ravenna refuses to submit to the law of celibacy—Zeal of Pope Paul for relics—His liberality to monks and churches—Submission of Paul to the orders of Pepin—His death—His benevolence to the unfortunate.*

DURING the last days of the illness of Stephen, Rome was divided into two factions for the election of a pontiff. The most numerous party wished to nominate Paul, the brother of Stephen the Third, the other was in favour of the Archdeacon Theophylactus.—Paul, more of a philosopher than a priest, refused to mingle in the intrigues of his party, disdained to strengthen his party by simoniacal bribes, and did not leave the palace of the Lateran, where he bestowed on his brother the cares which his sufferings demanded.

Nevertheless, after the death of Stephen, the party of Theophylactus disappeared of itself and Paul was ordained pontiff. The new pope immediately wrote to King Pepin to inform him of the grievous loss of his brother, and to advise him of his election. He promised to the French monarch an unshaken fidelity in his own name and that of the Roman people, for whom he claimed his powerful protection.

By the treaty concluded with Astolphus and confirmed by Didier, the bishopric of Ravenna had been recognized as submitted to the Holy See, both in its temporal and spiritual affairs. The pope hastened to avail himself of his new

rights, and deposed the prelate of that church, who lived publicly with his lawful wife, and ordered him to come to Rome to render an account of his conduct.

The archbishop of Ravenna obtained, however, his re-installation, by promising to separate from his wife. In fact he made her enter a nunnery of the city, but continued his culpable relations with her; and the holy nuns, through weakness, tolerated this infraction of the laws of the church.

Towards the end of the year, (753,) Queen Bertrade gave birth to a daughter who was named Gisella. This happy news was announced to the pontiff by the king of the Franks, who sent him at the same time the veil in which the princess had been enveloped on the day in which she was baptized. Paul learned, by the reception of this present, that the monarch wished him to regard Gisella as his spiritual daughter. He immediately assembled the people in the church of St. Petronilla, and consecrated, in honour of Pepin, an altar, upon which was deposited the precious veil which the French lords had brought him. Afterwards the holy father desiring to augment the veneration of the faithful for this

church, transported into the sanctuary the relics of Petronilla, brought from the oratory of the ancient cemetery which bore the name of this saint.

The pope afterwards evinced an extreme and ridiculous zeal for relics; he caused them to dig into all cemeteries situated without the walls of Rome, to bring from them the putrified remains. The dead bodies drawn from these horrid charnel houses were deposited in the temples, and adored as the sacred remains of glorious martyrs. Paul exhumed in this manner the remains of more than three hundred persons who had died in the odour of sanctity. He bore them himself solemnly through the streets of Rome, enclosed in precious shrines covered with plates of silver and gold, shining with precious stones, and placed them in the monasteries and the churches. He constructed for them oratories, even in his paternal mansion, where he reared in honour of Pope Stephen the martyr, and St. Sylvester the confessor, a magnificent altar, in which he placed a great number of these bones. All these oratories were confided to communities, who celebrated divine service, day and night. Unfortunately the holy father despoiled the treasures of the poor, to assign immense revenues to the religious orders.

Constantine continued in the East his persecutions against the image worshippers, and exercised chiefly his rigour against the hermits and monks, whom he called "the abominable." The ecclesiastical legends maintain, that he put in execution against these unfortunate persons, all kinds of imaginable punishments; that amongst others he caused them to beat a priest named Andrew with blows from iron bars, until his bones were powdered, when he was enclosed in a sack and cast into the sea; that he crushed between two plates of brass an abbot named Paul; that he walled up in a chapel forty-eight monks who died of madness and starvation in this infernal prison.

In Italy the church was tranquil and powerful, thanks to the protection of the Franks, as during the whole of his pontificate, Paul showed himself constantly submissive to King Pepin, and even sacrificed his personal sentiments to the desires of the monarch. It is related that a priest of the Roman church, named Marin, attached to the court of France, had given to George, ambassador from the emperor Constantine, sage advice, but opposed to the interests of the Holy See; and that the pontiff having been advised of it, made known his resentment to the king, and besought him to banish the guilty priest into a distant pro-

vince, in order that he might repent of his crime. Pepin, who was satisfied with the services of this ecclesiastic, refused to exile him, but claimed on the contrary for him a bishopric and the title of St. Chrysogones. The pope no longer dreamed of punishing Marin, but even more, he hastened to send him his new dignities, expressing a desire to be above all things agreeable to the illustrious monarch of the Franks.

In the affair of Remedius, the brother of Pepin, he gave a new proof of his submission to the prince. The metropolitan of Rheims, named Remy, or Remedius, had brought into his diocese Simeon, a chanter of the Roman church, to teach religious chanting to the clergy of his church. The latter having been recalled to Rome before he had completed the instruction of the clergy, the archbishop testified his discontent to the king. The prince wrote immediately to the pope, complaining of the little regard he had shown for Remy.

Paul hastened to reply to the irritated monarch: "My lord, rest assured, that but for the death of George, the chief of our chanters, we should not have recalled Simeon from the service of your brother; but the imperious need of our church forced us to do so. To repair, as much as possible, our fault, we promise you to take great care of the monks you have sent to us. We will instruct them perfectly in ecclesiastical singing, and we will give them all our books of music and science; the antiphonal, the responsal, the dialectics of Aristotle, and the books of St. Denis the Areopagite, with books of geometry and orthography, and a Latin grammar. We will add for the queen, your wife, a magnificent night clock."

Some time after, the pope, having had the imprudence, at the close of a religious ceremony, to remain several hours exposed to the sun in the church of St. Paul, was attacked by a violent fever, of which he died on the 21st of June, 767.

Anastasius represents the holy father as a man of mild and charitable character; he says, that during the nights, he was in the habit of going, accompanied by some domestics, to visit the dwellings of the poor to distribute alms; that he visited the sick, and gave them all the aid they needed; that prisoners were equally recipients of his bounty; that he frequently paid the debts of workmen whom pitiless creditors retained in prison; finally, that he solaced widows, orphans, and all who were in need. The church has justly placed this pontiff in the number of the saints whom she reveres.

## CONSTANTINE THE SECOND, THE NINETY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 767.]

*Cabals and violence for the election of a pope—A layman elevated to the pontifical see under the name of Constantine the Second—Letters from the pontiff to Pepin—The king of the Franks refuses to recognize him—Conspiracy against the pope—Constantine driven from the Holy See—Fraudulent election of the monk Phillip—He is driven away by the deacon Stephen—Violent election of Stephen the Fourth.*

As soon as the news of the death of Paul was spread about, the ambitious exhibited themselves in open day to dispute the throne of St. Peter. Toton, duke of Nessi, having resolved to acquire the pontifical throne for his family, assembled all his partizans, entered Rome by the gate of Saint Pancras, and conducted his troops into his palace. This bold step frightened all rivals, and his brother Constantine was declared pope, though he had not even received sacred orders. Toton then conducted him, with arms in his hands, to the palace of the Lateran, to receive the clerical tansure from George, bishop of Prenestum. That prelate at first resisted the orders of the lord of Nessi; he besought him to renounce an enterprize so criminal; but at length yielding to promises and presents, he conferred on the new pontiff ecclesiastical orders, even to the deaconate; and on the following Sunday, assisted by the bishops of Albanum and Ponto, consecrated him chief of the clergy of Rome.

Constantine, now in possession of the pontifical chair, wrote to the king of the Franks, to inform him of his election, which he affirmed had been made in spite of himself, and in obedience to the will of Providence. Receiving no reply, he addressed another letter, beseeching Pepin to place no belief in the calumnies which the envious spread against him; and in order to show his great zeal for the interests of religion, he added, "We advise you, that on the 12th of the past month of August, a priest, called Constantine, sent us the synodical letter of Theodore, patriarch of Jerusalem, addressed to our predecessor, Paul, and bearing the signatures of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, and several other metropolitans of the East. We have approved of it, and caused it to be read from the tribunal of the temple to the people. We have sent you copies of it in Greek and Latin, in order that you may rejoice with us in beholding the Christians of the East show an holy ardor for the worship of images."

Pepin, who had been apprised of the scandalous events connected with the election of Constantine, did not reply to his second letter, and refused to approve of his intrusion.

Christopher, the dean of the Roman church, and his son Sergius, the treasurer, availing themselves of the misunderstanding of the two courts, resolved to elevate another pope to the chair of St. Peter, and formed a conspiracy against the pontiff. The first thing was to assure themselves of the aid of the king of the Lombards, and the more easily to execute

their design, they announced to their friends that they wished to terminate their days in a monastery. They then asked from the pontiff leave to quit Rome, and to retire into the convent of St. Saviour, near Pavia.

Constantine had already received some intimations of the hostile projects of these two priests; re-assured however by their protestations of devotion, he contented himself with causing them to swear by Christ and upon the evangelists, that they would undertake nothing against his authority. They then went into the territory of the Lombards, but instead of going into the monastery, they went to Pavia, and besought Didier to grant them license to deliver the church of Rome, pledging themselves to name another pontiff, who would restore to the prince the cities which he had been obliged to abandon to the Holy See.

Seduced by the hope of regaining the provinces which he had lost, Didier gave them troops to accompany them to Rieti. On his side, Sergius placed himself at the head of the soldiers of the duchy of Spoleto, forestalled them, and directed his steps to Rome during the night.

At the break of day he presented himself at the gate of St. Pancras, where a great number of his relatives and friends, informed of his march, waited for him. As soon as these latter perceived the signals, they disarmed the sentinels, opened the gates, and mounted upon the walls, raising a standard to show them they could enter into the city. The Lombards, however, fearing some snare, remained posted upon Mount Janiculum, and refused to enter Rome; at length, excited by the harangues of Sergius, and Ricipert, one of their chiefs, they descended the hill.

Toton, at the news of the entrance of his enemies, assembled some soldiers in haste, and marched to meet the Lombards. On the way he was joined by Demetrius, and the treasurer Gratosius, two traitors sold to his enemies. These, under pretence of directing, led him into an ambuscade at the turning of a street; on a given signal he was surrounded by assassins, and Ricipert himself inflicted on him so violent a blow with a lance, in his reins, that he fell dead.

At that moment the soldiers gave ground, abandoned the field of battle, and hastened to the palace of the Lateran. The fright spread. Constantine and his other brother, Passif, trembling for their lives, shut themselves up in the oratory of St. Cesaire, with the vidame Theodore, and anxiously awaited the

termination of this terrible revolution. When the tumult was appeased, the leaders of the Roman militia went to the pontiff, and conducted him to a monastery, which was regarded as an inviolable asylum.

Thus the victory remained with the rebels; but on the next day a misunderstanding broke out between them; and the priest Waldipert, one of the leaders of the revolt, resolved to nominate a pope secretly, to prevent the ambitious projects of Sergius and his father. He assembled the deacons and priests of his party, and after having induced them to approve of his design, they went in mass to the convent of St. Vit or Vitus, and took from it the monk Phillip, whom they carried on their shoulders to the church of the Lateran, crying through the streets of Rome, "Phillip is pope, St. Peter himself has chosen him."

The new pope knelt, according to custom, before a bishop, to receive consecration; he then rose, gave his benediction to the people assembled in the church, and went to the palace to take possession of the chair of St. Peter, and on the same evening entertained at his table the principal dignitaries of the church and the militia.

Christopher arrived the next day under the walls of Rome. As soon as he knew of the usurpation which had been accomplished, he entered it in fury, and protested with frightful oaths, that the Lombards should not quit the city, until the pope, elevated by Waldipert, had been driven from the patriarchal palace. The priests, intimidated by his threats, declared the election of Phillip simoniacal and sacrilegious, tore from him his sacred garments, struck him upon the cheek, and sent him back to his convent.

Sergius and Christopher then proclaimed as bishop of Rome the execrable Stephen the Fourth. The Lombard soldiers, with naked swords, replied by acclamations, elevated the newly chosen in their arms, and bore him in triumph to the palace of the Lateran.

In the East, the persecutions against the worshippers of images continued. The emperor, in his sanguinary fanaticism, con-

demned, without pity, to the most frightful punishments, his servants, friends, and even his relatives. The patriarch Constantine, who had baptized his two children, could not escape death, notwithstanding the species of spiritual bond which attached him to the tyrant. Furious at not having been able to subjugate the prelate, neither by the confiscation of his property, nor by exile, nor by imprisonment, the emperor made him appear before an assembly of ecclesiastics, to be there judged. As a preamble, he was beaten so cruelly that the muscles of his reins having been broken, it was impossible for him to stand or be seated. He was obliged to be carried into the church of St. Sophia, where the fathers were assembled who were to pronounce his sentence, and to extend him before the sanctuary, at a place called the Solea, to be present at the judgment. When the decree of condemnation had been rendered, the secretary read, with a loud voice, the list of the crimes of which he was accused, and at each head of the accusation, the executioner struck the unfortunate man. The patriarch Nicetas, from his throne of gold, by the light of tapers, and to the tolling of bells, then solemnly anathematized him. The bishops then all passed by him, tore from him in tatters his sacerdotal garments, and spit upon his face. After this infamous ceremony the wretched man was dragged to the sill of the church, and the doors shut against him. The next day he was exhibited as a show in the hippodrome, and his hair, beard and eye-brows torn from him; they then clothed him in a woollen garment without sleeves, set him backwards upon an ass, and made him make the tour of the course three times, led by his young nephew, whose nose they had cut off. At length the emperor gave orders to put out his eyes and cut off his lips and his tongue, and seeing him dying, he commanded his head to be cut off, and suspended by the ears in a public place, where it remained exposed to the sight of the people. The body was dragged by the foot to the sink into which they cast the executed.

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## STEPHEN THE FOURTH, THE NINETY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 768.]

*Origin of Stephen—Cruelty exercised by Stephen against the unfortunate Constantine—They put out the eyes and tear out the eyes of the friends and relatives of the old pope—The priest Waldipert dies under torture—Stephen recompenses the ministers of his vengeance—Legation in France—Council of Rome—Decrees on the election of popes—Usurpation of the See of Ravenna—Paul Asiarus, the chamberlain of Stephen the Fourth, allies himself with Didier, king of the Lombards—The pope abandons his friends—Evident Justice of God—Ingratitude of princes—Cowardice of the pope—His death.*

STEPHEN, the son of Olivius, was of Sicilian origin. In his youth he quitted his country, to go to a friend of his father, who presented him to Gregory the Third. Placed by the

orders of the pontiff in the monastery of St. Chrysostom, he was instructed in ecclesiastic singing, and received some notions of the Holy Scriptures. On the death of his protec-

tor, the pontiff Zachary drew him from his convent, made him a chamberlain of the palace, and then ordained him a priest of the order of St. Cecilia. The popes, Stephen the Third and Paul First, also attached him to their persons.

On the death of Paul he had retired to the church of St. Cecilia, and had conspired to be elevated to the supreme dignity of the church, but the election of Constantine the Second foiled his plans. Finally, the last revolution procured for him the pontifical tiara, the end of all his intrigues, the recompense of all his machinations. He was consecrated under the name of Stephen the Fourth, in the church of St. Peter, in the presence of the clergy, the *grands* and the people. A confession of the Romans was read in a loud voice, from the tribune of the church, in which they accused themselves of not having been able to prevent the intrusion of Constantine, implored pardon for their crime, and demanded the punishment of the guilty.

The new pontiff immediately gave orders to put out the eyes and tear out the tongue of Bishop Theodore, the *vidame*, the friend of the deposed pope. After his punishment, the unfortunate mutilated was dragged to the convent of Mount Scaurus and thrown into a dungeon, where the monks allowed him to die of starvation.

Stephen then delivered up to his soldiers the unfortunate Passif, who was guilty of no crime, except that of belonging to the family of Constantine. These minions of a tyrant, overwhelmed him with outrages, despoiled him of his garments, beat him with rods, tore out his eyes, and plunged him, all bleeding, into the dungeons of the monastery of St. Sylvester.

All these executions did not calm the fury of Stephen, and like a tiger, whose rage increases in the midst of carnage, he assisted at the tortures of his enemies, commanded the massacres and daily pointed out new victims!

At the head of his Levites, the pontiff forced his way into the abbey, into which Constantine had been conducted by the magistrates of Rome, and pursued him even into the sanctuary. By his orders, they drew him from the altar which he had embraced, placed him upon a horse, with enormous weights suspended to his feet, led him through the streets of the city, and conducted him to the public square, where the executioner put out his eyes with a hot iron. After the punishment, Constantine was cast into the mud, trampled under foot by the executioners, and remained for twenty-four hours exposed to frightful sufferings without any assistance, Stephen having prohibited the citizens from giving any aid to the dying man, under penalty of the gallows.

On the second day, as the sufferer was still alive, the murmurs of the people compelled the priests to take up their unfortunate victim, who was carried into a monastery.

Stephen then turned his vengeance against the priest Waldipert. He accused him of having desired to assassinate Christopher, the deacon; and this ecclesiastic, who was in re-

ality only guilty of having elected another pope, was led through the streets of Rome, placed backwards upon an ass, with the tail in his hands instead of reins. After this humiliation he was handed over to the executioners, who tore off the nails of his feet and hands, tore off his flesh with hot pincers, put out his eyes and dragged out his tongue. The unfortunate priest could not support the violence of his torments and died under the hands of his executioners. Still the judgment of the pope ran its course; torture was inflicted on the dead body, which was then cast into a sewer without the walls.

The new pontiff, having thus assured to himself tranquil possession of the throne of St. Peter, recompensed the execrable ministers of his vengeance. The soldiers, docile executioners of all tyrants, stupid oppressors of the liberty of a people, were gorged with gold and wine, and received permission to return to their country laden with the spoils of the Romans. Gratosius, from being a mere treasurer, was raised to the dignity of duke of Rome. Sergius obtained the legation to France, and immediately set out at the head of an embassy with letters addressed to King Pepin, and the princes his sons.

Stephen, desirous of covering up the scandal of his usurpation, besought the monarch to send some French bishops to the council, which he had convoked to condemn the intrusion of the false pontiff Constantine. During his journey, Sergius was apprized of the death of Pepin and the coronation of Charles and Carloman; he nevertheless continued his route, and handed to the new sovereigns the letters destined for their father. The demand of Stephen having been accorded to by the princes, twelve French prelates went to Rome to assist at the synod.

Strange council! assembled not to judge, but to condemn. They led the unfortunate Constantine into the church of St. Saviour, in the palace of the Lateran, where the assembly was held; and when he was in the presence of his judges, Stephen addressed to him the following question—"How, infamous man, being a mere layman, hast thou dared to elevate thyself to the dignity of bishop, by an abominable intrusion?" The unfortunate man could scarcely make his reply for his tears and sobs. "I have done nothing, my brethren, which cannot be excused by recent examples. Sergius, a layman, like myself, has been consecrated metropolitan of Ravenna; the layman Stephen has even been ordained bishop of Naples. \* \* \* \* \* The prelates of Italy, confounded by the justice of his reasons, and fearing the censure of the French bishops, sharply interrupted him, exclaiming against his insolence and audacity. The pontiff commanded the executioner to strike him a thousand blows on the head and to tear out his tongue. The execution took place in the very synod itself, in the presence of the prelates.

After the punishment, the body, horribly mutilated and almost lifeless was carried

forth from the assembly and cast into the dungeons of the monks, where new tortures were inflicted on him.

They examined all that had been done during the pontificate of Constantine, and the proceedings of the council which had confirmed his election, were burned in the midst of the sanctuary. Then the pope raised himself from his seat and cast himself on the earth, groaning and exclaiming "Kyrie Eleison." The priests and the people also prostrated themselves, accusing themselves with Stephen, of having sinned against God by receiving the communion from the hands of the abominable Constantine. This farce terminated, the fathers proclaimed that the Roman clergy, people and pontiff, were absolved from all sins, having been constrained to yield to violence.

Besides this decision, Stephen the Fourth made a decree, which prohibited any layman, whether of the militia or of any other body, from mingling in the election of the popes, which was reserved for the bishops and clergy, subject to the ratification of the citizens.

It prohibited the bishops from promoting to the episcopate any layman or clerk, who was not canonically promoted to the rank of deacon or cardinal priest; it interdicted the entrance into Rome, during the elections, of the inhabitants of the castles of Tuscany or Campania; and it prohibited, under severe penalties, the citizens of the holy city from carrying arms or clubs.

The council also decided upon the ordinations made by Constantine, and rendered on this subject a decree conceived in these terms: "We ordain that the bishops consecrated by the false pope, return to the rank which they occupied in the church, and present themselves before the holy father to receive a new investiture of their dioceses. We will, that all sacred functions which have been exercised by the usurper be repeated, except baptism and the anointing with the holy oil. As to the priests and deacons, who were ordained in the Roman church, we ordain that they return to the rank of sub-deacons, and that it be optional with the pope to ordain them anew or to leave them in their primitive rank. Finally, we exact that the laymen who were shorn and graduated by Constantine be shut up in a monastery, or perform penance in their private houses."

When the synod had condemned all that concerned the cause of Constantine, the fathers occupied themselves with approving the synodical letter which Theodore, patriarch of Jerusalem, had addressed to Paul the First; they then treated of the question of the images. They ordered that relics and representations of saints should be honoured in accordance with the ancient traditions of the church, and that the council of Greeks, which condemned the worship of images, should be anathematized.

Finally, the labours of the assembly having terminated, Stephen the Fourth, at the head of his clergy, went in procession with naked feet and singing religious hymns, to the church of St. Peter; Levutius, the scriver, mounted

the pulpit, read the proceedings of the synod in a loud voice, and three Italian bishops in a loud voice pronounced an anathema against the transgressors of the decretals which had been read. The pope, dreading the power of the lay dukes and lords, who were ambitious of the emoluments of bishops for themselves or their families, maintained in the end with much firmness, the decisions which the assembly had made, and vigorously opposed the nominations of laymen.

On the death of Sergius, archbishop of Ravenna, Michael, scriver of the church, having dared to seize upon the episcopal palace, and to claim to be recognized as the metropolitan, though he had never even been in ecclesiastical orders, the holy father declared him excommunicated, and named Leo the archdeacon, to succeed him. For several months the two competitors disputed the see with deplorable bitterness. The duke Maurice having taken the part of Michael, the Lombard troops came to the support of the usurper, seized Leo and confined him a close prisoner at Rimini. Maurice sent ambassadors to Stephen the Fourth, to beseech him to consecrate Michael, offering him rich presents as the price of his condescension. But the pope having learned that by ordaining a lord protected by the Lombards, he might favour their pretensions upon Ravenna, his policy triumphed even over his avarice, and he sent to the insurgents, the nuncios of the Holy See and the ambassadors of King Charles, who operated so forcibly upon their minds, that Michael was driven from his palace and conducted to Rome in chains. The archdeacon Leo was taken from the prison of Rimini, led back amidst the acclamations of the multitude, and conducted in triumph to the episcopal palace.

Didier, disappointed in his hopes of seizing upon the exarchate of Ravenna, resolved to form an alliance with the Franks, and to weaken the power of the popes. His ambassadors went secretly to the court of the Frank king and offered to Queen Bertha, the hand of the young princess Ermengarde for one of her sons.

Stephen, advised by his emissaries, of this negotiation, wrote immediately to the sovereigns Charles and Carloman, to turn them aside from this union. He represented to them that the whole nation of the Lombards was of a degenerate blood, only producing leprous and infirm persons, and was unworthy of being allied with the illustrious nation of the Franks. He added, "Recollect, princes, that you are already engaged in legitimate marriages, by the will of God, with women of your own kingdom, and that you are not permitted to repudiate them to espouse others. Besides, King Didier being the secret enemy of the Holy See, his alliance is interdicted to you. Recollect that the king, your father, promised in your name, that you would remain faithful to the holy church, obedient and submissive to the popes; and that you would not unite yourselves with those who were not

obedient to the chair of St. Peter. Do not forget that you yourselves have renewed these promises since your advent to the throne. I adjure you then, in the name of the apostles, by the judgment of God, and by all that is dearest, not to complete this marriage, calling down the most terrible anathema upon your estates and your persons if you resist my entreaty.<sup>77</sup>

Charles, stricken by the charms of the princess, paid no regard to the menaces of the holy father, and espoused Ermengarde; but her infirmities preventing her from becoming a mother, he was obliged to repudiate her in a year after the marriage. Didier, did not dare to undertake any thing against the possessions of the court of Rome, but was still in no hurry to restore the cities which he had promised to give up.

Sergius and Christopher, the same who had come to ask the aid of the Lombard king against the unfortunate Constantine, claimed, in the name of the pope, the execution of the treaties, and threatened the prince with the wrath of the Franks. Didier, irritated by these constant demands, and at the ingratitude of these unworthy priests, resolved to employ in his turn the arms of perfidy. His emissaries gained to their cause the chamberlain Paul Asartus, who, jealous of the favour which Sergius and Christopher enjoyed, entered with joy into a plot to destroy his enemies. He accused them to the holy father, of having formed a conspiracy to seize upon the palace of the Lateran and the sovereign authority.

Stephen, frightened by this revelation, abandoned himself to the councils of Paul Asartus and claimed the aid of the Lombards. Didier arrived secretly in Rome, on the very day on which the pretended plot was to break out. By his care, accusations were skillfully spread among the people, against Christopher and Sergius, whom the public voice soon designated as the framers of an abominable conspiracy. They, well knowing the implacable character of Stephen, wished to quit Rome, in order to escape his vengeance. But all the gates were already guarded by the Lombard soldiery. They were arrested the same night and conducted before the holy father.

Stephen caused their eyes to be torn out in his presence by the same executioner who had before tortured the unfortunate Constantine. The operation was so painful, that the head of Christopher was prodigiously inflamed, and caused an hemorrhage, of which he died on the third day in the dungeons of the monastery of St. Agatha, where he was confined.

Sergius, more vigorous than his father, did not fall before this terrible execution; he was condemned to remain a prisoner in the cellars of the Lateran palace; but Paul Asartus had him secretly strangled some days afterwards. Thus perished the two authors of the elevation of the infamous Stephen the Fourth.

This pontiff for four years soiled with his crimes the throne of St. Peter, and died on the 1st of February, 772, leaving a memory devoted to the execration of men!

## ADRIAN THE FIRST, THE NINETY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D.—772.]

*Education of Adrian—He is elevated to the Holy See—He brings out of prison the unfortunate victims of the cruelty of his predecessors—Knavery of King Didier—New war with the Lombards—Information against the assassins of Sergius—Death of Paul Asartus—Embassy of the pope to King Charlemagne—Didier marches upon Rome—Charlemagne passes the Alps and besieges Pavia—He makes his entry into Rome—Donations to the Holy See—Presents from the pontiff to Charlemagne—Didier is made prisoner, and shut up in a monastery—Second journey of Charlemagne to Rome—Schism among the monks—The Iconoclastics—Irinus labours for the re-establishment of the images—Second council of Nice—New donation of Charlemagne to the Holy See—Works against the images attributed to Charlemagne—New heresy in Spain—Council of Frankfort against the images—The pope rejects the Carolin books—His death.*

ADRIAN was a Roman by birth, the son of a citizen named Theodore, of a very noble family. From his earliest youth he had given marks of his Christian calling, praying day and night in the church of St. Mark, mortifying his body by fasting, wearing a rough hair cloth garment, and distributing great alms. Pope Paul the First, from the advantageous reports made to him concerning the young Adrian, consented to receive him into the ranks of the clergy; he first made him a local notary, then sub-deacon. Stephen the Fourth ordained him deacon, and in this capacity he was

charged to explain to the faithful the doctrines of the evangelists. The general esteem which he had acquired in his different ecclesiastical dignities, caused him to be elevated to the pontificate on the death of his predecessor.

On the very day of his election, Adrian recalled from exile the magistrates and priests, whom Paul Asartus and his partisans had driven from Rome, and liberated those who were languishing in prisons. After the ceremonies of his consecration, he occupied himself with restoring to Rome, the calm and tranquillity, which had been broken by the





*Lith. of Wagner & M<sup>c</sup> Guigan, 116 Chestnut St.*

Charlemagne.

last revolutions, and threatened to punish with the greatest severity those who should excite new disorders.

Didier, advised by the chamberlain Asiartus of the energetic character exhibited by the new pontiff, resolved to employ a trick to re-establish his rule in Italy. His ambassadors came to congratulate the holy father on his exaltation, and to assure him of his friendship, and at the same time to inform him of his design to bring to Rome his grandchildren, the children of Prince Carloman, to have them consecrated.

Adrian penetrated the perfidious intentions of the Lombard, and understood his design of leading him into a measure which might excite against the church the wrath of the court of the Franks. The pontiff in turn using dissimulation, replied to the ambassadors of Didier, "I desire peace with all Christians, and I will faithfully preserve the treaties made between the Romans, the Franks, and the Lombards. I dare not, however, confide blindly in your word; for Didier has failed in all that he promised upon the body of St. Peter. He was the means of putting to death, through an abominable artifice, Christopher and Sergius, devoted servants of our predecessor, and has even threatened, several times, the monk Carloman, with the sword.

The envoys of the prince affirmed with solemn oaths that their master would perform all he had promised to Stephen the Third. The pope then appeared to be fully convinced of the sincerity of their professions, and sent legates to the court of Pavia, to claim the execution of the treaties. These latter, however, met on their route ambassadors whom the inhabitants of Ravenna were sending to the holy father, to inform him, that Didier had seized upon several cities of the exarchate, that their city was blockaded, and that the enemy's troops were ravaging all the country round. They announced, that they were reduced to the last extremity, and would certainly be forced to capitulate, unless they received aid in provisions and soldiers.

Paul Asiartus, the chief of the legation, who was the creature of the Lombards, ordered the deputies to return to Ravenna, and promised to forward their despatches without delay to the pontiff. The traitor intercepted the letters, and contented himself with informing Adrian of the progress of the army of Didier, informing him that the monarch refused to restore the places he had taken, until his grandchildren should have been crowned in Pavia. The pontiff, suspecting the perfidy of his legate, gave secret orders to the archbishop of Ravenna, to arrest Paul on his return from Lombardy, for high treason. At the same time he revived the old accusation against him of the assassination of the unfortunate Sergius, who had been strangled on the day of the death of Stephen the Fourth, and whose dead body had been found covered with wounds, and having around its neck the girdle of the chamberlain.

Asiartus, having terminated his diplomatic

mission, prepared for his return to Rome and quitted Lombardy, but on his passage through Ravenna he was arrested by the orders of the archbishop; they proceeded to judge him, and he was condemned to be beheaded in the public square. The punishment of the principal agent of King Didier, could not, however, arrest the progress of his arms, nor hinder him from pursuing his design of reuniting the exarchate to his kingdom. Adrian, not being able to resist his troops, determined to send legates to Charlemagne to inform him of the cause of the aggression of the Lombards, and of his refusal to crown the children of Carloman; he besought him to have pity on Italy, and to free the Roman church from the enemies who were punishing her fidelity to the Franks. The ambitious Charlemagne, who was already contemplating the foundation of the powerful empire of the West, listened favourably to the complaints of the Romans, and engaged to pass the Alps with his soldiers to retake from the Lombards the cities which Pepin had given to St. Peter.

Didier, having learned the impossibility of ensnaring the pope, then left Pavia with the princes his grandchildren, and under the pretext of wishing to confer upon the execution of the treaties, he directed his steps, with a numerous escort, towards the holy city. He determined to seize by force on the person of Adrian, but the latter, informed of the design of the prince by his spies, immediately assembled troops to defend Rome, caused the ornaments and treasures of the churches, situated without the walls, to be transported to the palace of the Lateran, and ordered that the gates should be closed and barricaded.

Adrian wrote to the king, conjuring him by the divine mysteries, not to advance upon the territory of the church, and threatening him with the thunders of St. Peter. Didier, seeing Rome in a state of defence, dared not undertake a regular siege. He contented himself with ravaging the neighbouring country, and returned to his states. On the rumour of the preparations making for war by Charlemagne, he hastened to inform him he was willing to give full and entire satisfaction to the Holy See.

The ambassadors at the court of Rome, Albyn, George, and Wulfard, abbot of St. Martin of Tours, pledged themselves that Charlemagne would reject the proposals of the Lombard king, and without even waiting the reply of the monarch, they solemnly declared war on Didier. The army of the Franks immediately passed into Italy and blockaded Pavia. The Lombard inhabitants of Rieti, Spoleto, Ossino, Ancona and Folegiri, frightened at this formidable invasion, resolved to avoid the horrors of war, and consented to pass under the rule of the court of Rome. The deputies, charged with taking an oath in their name, went to the holy city and swore fidelity to the pontiff Adrian and his successors. They engaged to cut their beards and hair in the Roman manner, to show that they were the subjects of the church; after the ceremony, the pope named

as duke of the province, one of the ambassadors named Hildebrand.

During the siege of Pavia, Charlemagne made a journey to Rome to assist at the celebration of Easter and to confer with the pope. Adrian, forewarned of his arrival, received him with great honours. The magistrates of the city, the companies of the militia, the clergy, clothed in their ecclesiastical ornaments, and the children of the schools bearing branches of rose and olive trees, advanced singing hymns before the French monarch.

As soon as he perceived the crosses and banners, Charlemagne dismounted from his horse, with the lords who formed his numerous retinue, and all advanced on foot to the church of St. Peter. There the proud pontiff, surrounded by the priests and deacons, waited for the monarch on the sill of the temple. The latter bent low, and kissed even the steps of the church; he then embraced the pontiff, and having taken him by the hand, together they entered the church and prostrated themselves before the tomb of the apostle. The conference commenced after the prayers. The two allies swore inviolable friendship and peace, and in the presence of an immense assembly, they confirmed their treaty by solemn oaths.

Charlemagne renewed the donation which had been made to Stephen the Third by himself, his brother Carloman, and Pepin their father. His chaplain and notary prepared a copy of it, which he signed with his own hand; the bishops and the lords also subscribed it; it was then deposited on the altar of St. Peter, and all swore to maintain it. By this deed the pontiffs became the possessors of the Isle of Corso, the cities of Barti, Reggio and Mantua, the exarchate of Ravenna, the provinces of Venice and Istria, and the duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum.

Before the departure of the king, Adrian presented to him the code of the canons of the Roman church and of the decretals. Upon the first pages of the book, the holy father had written acrostic verses in honour of the prince, and prayers that he should be victorious over the Lombards. Charlemagne then returned to his camp and pushed with vigour the siege of Pavia, which soon fell into his power. Didier was made a prisoner, shorn and sent into France, where he was confined in the monastery of Corbie.

"Then," says Mazeray, "the French monarch made a second journey to Rome, and the pope, followed by one hundred and fifty bishops, whom he had called around him to render the ceremony more imposing, advanced to the front of the palace of the Lateran, and in the presence of an immense crowd, bestowed upon the prince the title of patrician, the first dignity of the empire. He conferred upon him the right of investing bishops within his states, and even of nominating popes, in order to put an end to the cabals and disorders of the elections." Italian authors affirm that Charlemagne renounced this prerogative in favour of the Roman people, reserving to himself only

the right of confirming the nominations, as the Greek emperors had done.

During his stay at Rome, the king manifested great devotion for the apostle St. Peter. He visited the monasteries, cemeteries of the martyrs, and churches of the city. The people pressed in crowds upon his steps, and the priests made the sacred vaults resound with solemn acts of thanks to God in honour of the conqueror of the Lombards.

Charlemagne, recalled to his country to recommence his bloody strife, in Spain against the Saracens, and in Germany against the Saxons, quitted Italy. In traversing the duchy of Beneventum, he visited the convent of St. Vincent, which he found divided into two factions, in consequence of the election of an abbot. The two competitors, Ambrose Autpert and Poton, both chosen by the monks, disputed for the government of the monastery, and caused great scandal through the country. Finally, exhausted by the contest, they agreed to refer it to the judgment of the monarch. Charlemagne declared in favour of Ambrose, whose election appeared to him more regular than that of his adversary. Still, this monk was charged with such atrocious accusations, that not wishing to fully decide in so obscure a case, the king wrote to the pope, and induced the abbot to go immediately to the court of Rome.

Autpert followed the advice of Charlemagne, and started for the holy city; but three days after his departure he was assassinated in a tavern. Poton was suspected of having sent murderers in pursuit, but the crime not having been clearly proved, he continued to govern the abbey. The pontiff, being informed of the circumstances, ordered him to cease all his sacerdotal functions and come to Rome, accompanied by the principal monks of his convent. The abbot obeyed, and appeared before an extraordinary council composed of the metropolitan of Tarantaise, four abbots and the great officers of the city.

Several monks of the convent accused him of having resorted to violence, to prevent them from carrying complaints to Charlemagne against the cruelties and abominations of which he was guilty. As they did not furnish proofs in support of their accusations, the council decided that they could not condemn Poton, if he justified himself by oath, and made his innocence manifest by the testimony of ten of the principal monks, Franks, and Lombards. The abbot and his partizans immediately took the oath required, and Poton returned to his convent, of which he was recognized as the legitimate superior.

During the following year, (781,) Charlemagne, having finished his war with the Saracens and Saxons, crossed the Alps anew and returned to Rome to render thanks to God, and to have his youngest son, Carloman, crowned king of Italy. The young prince was baptized in the church of St. Peter; the pontiff held him at the baptismal font, gave him the name of Pepin, and consecrated him king of Italy in the presence of the bishops, the

priests, the Roman people, and the Frank lords.

Charlemagne, in his different journeys to Rome, had learned the horrid depravity of the Italian clergy, and had complained of it to the pontiff, that he might put a rein upon their dissoluteness. The prince branded the Roman priests with the most odious epithets. He accused them of dealing in slaves, of selling young girls to the Saracens, of keeping publicly brothels and gambling houses, and of scandalizing Christianity by those infamies, which had in former days drawn down the vengeance of God on the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Adrian treated as calumniators and enemies of religion, those who had made reports to Charlemagne so unfavourable to the ecclesiastics of Italy. He cast the imputation of the traffic in slaves upon the Greeks, who pirated on the coasts of Lombardy, and carried off young girls to sell them to the Arabs. He affirmed that in order to punish these freebooters, he had burned many of their vessels in the port of Centumcella. The fact of the burning of the ships was true; but the holy father had performed this act of vengeance against the Greeks, because they had united with the Neapolitans to ravage the patrimony and lands of St. Peter, and not for the purpose of putting an end to their piracies. The king was satisfied with the explanation of Adrian, and returned to his kingdom to reassemble his numerous armies and march to new conquests.

While the pontiff was strengthening his rule in Italy, the ecclesiastical affairs of the East assumed a grave character, which required all the attention of Adrian.

Taraisus, a creature of the Holy See, was ordained patriarch of Constantinople. Before accepting this dignity, he had exacted from the empress Irene and her son Constantine, a solemn oath that they would assemble a council to judge the heresy of the image-breakers. This measure, which, according to Cardinal Baronius, had been concerted between Adrian and Taraisus, would result, not in an equitable judgment, but in the certain condemnation and extermination of the heretics.

Irene, ignorant of this machination, wrote to the bishop of Rome to advise him, in the name of the emperor, of the determination she had come to, to assemble a general council to decide upon the question of the worship of images. "We beseech you, holy father," wrote Irene, "to come to this important assembly, to confirm by your testimony the ancient tradition of the Latin church in regard to pictures. We promise to receive you with all the honours and regard due to your dignity. If, however, the interests of your See render your presence indispensable at Rome, send us ambassadors commendable for their talent and prudence."

Taraisus, on his part, addressed letters of convocation to the bishops and priests of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem. He made a profession of his faith in relation to the

Trinity, the incarnation, and the invocation of saints; he condemned the heretics, approved of the six general councils, and the anathema against the destroyers of images. He concluded by a formal injunction to all the bishops to come to Constantinople, or send their legates to consult with him on a reunion of the churches.

Adrian replied to the emperor in these terms, "Prince, your great grandfather, led away by the baneful advice of impious men, carried off the images from the churches of his dominions to the great scandal of the faithful. To arrest the evil, the two popes Gregory, our illustrious predecessors, wrote him several letters, in the affliction of their souls, beseeching him to re-establish the sacred worship which he called idolatry; but he did not comply with their entreaties.

"Since that period their successors, Zachary, Stephen the Third, Paul, and Stephen the Fourth, have vainly addressed the same entreaty to your grandfather and father; finally, in our turn, we beseech you, in all humility, to cause the worship of images to be observed in Greece, according to the tradition of the church. We prostrate ourselves before you, and beseech you before God to re-establish the altars of the saints at Constantinople and in all the other cities of your empire. And if it is necessary to assemble a council to accomplish this reform and to condemn the Iconoclastic heresy, we will consent to it, but on condition that the false synod which declared our worship idolatry, shall be anathematized in the presence of our legates. We will send to you a declaration with an oath, in the name of the empress your mother, and in the name of the patriarch Taraisus, and of the senate, to grant to us entire freedom of discussion, to render to our legates all the honours you would render to our own person, and to defray all their expenses.

"We beseech you also to restore to us the patrimonies of St. Peter, which were given us by the emperors your ancestors for lighting the church, the support of the poor and the maintenance of our priests and monks. We reclaim also from your piety the right to consecrate the metropolitans and bishops, who are within our jurisdiction, a right which your predecessors usurped in contempt of ancient traditions.

"We have been surprised to learn that the title of universal is given to the patriarch of Constantinople; for the See of your capital could not hold even the second rank in the church without our consent, and when you call him œumenical, you pronounce a sacrilege.

"Your patriarch Taraisus has sent to us his profession of faith, which is very acceptable to us, and although he has sprung from the ranks of the laity to be immediately elevated to the episcopal dignity, we approve of his election, and consent, in his case, to violate the canons of the church, because we hope he will faithfully concur with us in the re-establishment of the worship of images."

Adrian then exalts the virtues and glory of the king of France; he repeats to the prince, that Charlemagne, submissive to the orders of the Roman church, constantly makes solemn donations in castles, patrimonies, cities and provinces, which he takes from the Lombards, and which appertain, he said, to the Holy See by divine right. He adds that the French monarch has subjugated by his arms all the barbarous nations of the West, and that he constantly sends chariots laden with gold for the lighting of St. Peter's, and the support of the clergy and numerous convents of Rome.

Constantine and the empress Irene, his mother, acceded to all the wishes of the pope; the council was definitely convoked, and the bishops of the East, as well as the legates of the pontiff, went to Constantinople, where the council commenced its sessions.

The image-breakers, who had divined the secret intentions of their adversaries for their entire destruction, embittered the people against the ambassadors of the Holy See, and compelled them to quit the city. The patriarch, the Eastern prelates, and the great dignitaries of the empire, then chose the city of Nice as the place for the continuation of their synod, and re-commenced their session in the church of St. Sophia.

The council was composed of three hundred and seventy-seven bishops, twenty abbots, a large number of monks, the envoys of the pontiff, and the commissioners of the emperor. The question of the images was first examined into, and after seven consecutive sittings, Theodore, the head of the clergy of Taurania, in Sicily, instructed by the fathers to resume the debate in the assembly, spoke in these words, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit! My brethren, after having employed the silence of the night in thinking over the questions which have been submitted to us, and which have agitated this distinguished assembly, I come to bring to you the fruit of my labour and my studies.

"Your wisdom has decided that holy images, be they painted, or be they of stone, wood, gold or silver, or any other convenient material, shall be exposed to the veneration of the faithful, in the churches, upon vases, on the sacred ornaments and vestments, upon the walls and ceilings, in private houses, and even upon the highway, to wit: the representations of our Lord Jesus Christ, of his holy mother, of angels, and of all the saints; for the more they contemplate these images, the more is a credulous people excited to love religion and its ministers.

"The true worship, which belongs only to the divine nature, shall not be rendered to them, but only salutation and adoration of honour; they shall be approached with incense and lights, according to the rites observed with regard to the cross, the evangelists, and other sacred things. Such is the doctrine of the fathers, and the tradition of the Catholic church. Christians who shall dare to teach any other belief shall be regarded as heretics, and we ordain that they shall be

deposed if they are ecclesiastics, and excommunicated if they are laymen."

After this decision of the council, Constantine and the empress, his mother, re-established the images in all the Greek churches, and even in their palaces. The legates of the pope returned to Rome and reported the proceedings of the synod, which were translated into Latin, and deposited in the archives of the palace of the Lateran. This version was so obscure and unintelligible, that no clerk of the apostolic court could either read it or copy it, and when, in the succeeding century, Anastasius, the librarian, had need to consult the proceedings of the synod for his historical labours, he was obliged to make a new translation from the original Greek.

Charlemagne returned into Italy, at the solicitation of the pontiff, to wage war on the duke of Beneventum, who had dared to prohibit his subjects from increasing the revenues of St. Peter. The unfortunate duke was despoiled of his best cities. Sora, Arce, Aquino, Theano, and Capua, conquered by the Franks, were added to the domains of the pope.

Tassillon, duke of Bavaria, who had incurred the indignation of the king of the Franks, sent a bishop and an abbot to Rome, to beseech the pope to intercede with the prince to obtain from his clemency a treaty of peace. Notwithstanding the justice of his resentment against the duke, Charlemagne listened favourably to the proposals of Adrian, and consented to receive his ambassadors. The pope at once demanded the price of his intervention, but the envoys of the prince declaring that they were not authorized to pay immediately to the pontiff the sum promised by their sovereign, Adrian, deceived in his avaricious hopes, at once lanced a terrible excommunication against the duke of Bavaria, and all his subjects. He declared that the Franks were absolved in advance from all crimes they might commit in the enemy's country; and that God commanded them, through his vicar, to violate girls, murder women, children, and old men, to burn cities, and put all the inhabitants to the sword.

Adrian sent this bull of anathema to the king of the Franks, who had returned to his kingdom. At the same period arrived other deputies, bringing to him the proceedings of the council of Nice, which he caused to be examined by the bishops of the West, who had not been convoked to this universal assembly. The prelates of the Gauls found the proceedings of the Greek clergy contrary to the ritual of the Gallic Church, which permitted images to be placed in the churches for ornament, and not for sacrilegious worship. They then composed, in the name of the king, a writing divided into four books, with a long preface, in which they thus explain themselves: "Some Christian bishops, assembled in council in Bithynia, have dared to reject as profane, the holy images which our fathers have placed in the churches to adorn their consecrated enclosures, and to recall to the people the leading events of Christian history.

This sacrilegious assembly thus attributed to images that which the Lord has said of idols, and rendered thanks to Constantine for having broken them, in order to guard men from idolatry.

"Since that period, a new council, held in the city of Nice, has fallen into an opposite error; not only has it anathematized the first synod, by declaring it to be impious, but even pretends to constrain the faithful to prostrate themselves before the images and render them an idolatrous worship.

"The proceedings of this council, composed of ignorant fathers and stupid monks, having been presented to us, we are compelled to reject the ridiculous doctrines which they command, and we have undertaken this work by the advice of the bishops of our kingdom, to refute the gross errors of the Eastern priests and the still more absurd propositions of the clergy of Rome.

"Charlemagne in his books, prohibits from calling holy, images which have no sanctity, neither natural nor acquired. He condemns the worship bestowed on them, and quotes, in support of his opinion, the celebrated passage of the Bible, in which it is said that Abraham adored the children of Heth, leading us to observe that he performed this as an act of veneration, or rather of mundane homage, and not of a religious adoration. He replied victoriously to the sophistries drawn from the writings of the fathers and quoted by the council of Nice, as to the utility of representations in the churches.

"He proscribed the worship, adoration, homage or honour, rendered to images, by bending the knees, bowing the head, or offering to them incense. We should adore, said he, neither angels nor men, still less images, which have no reason, and are worthy neither of veneration nor salutation, since they can neither see, nor hear nor comprehend \* \* \*."

Finally, the prince concluded his preface, by blaming the conduct of an abbot, who had dared to maintain in full council, that it was better to frequent taverns and brothels, to commit adultery, rape, incest, and even murder, than abstain from the adoration of the statues of Jesus Christ, his holy mother, and the glorious martyrs. Such is the summary of the Carolin books, or the books attributed to Charlemagne on the worship of images.

This same year was signalized by a new heresy which broke out in Spain. Elipand, archbishop of Toledo, consulted Felix, bishop of Urgel, whose pupil he had been, to know in what manner he should recognize Jesus Christ as the Son of God; whether as his natural or adopted Son. Felix replied, that in his human nature Jesus Christ was but the adopted Son of God; and that in his divine nature he was his natural Son. Elipand having approved of this decision of his master, propagated this doctrine in the Asturias and Galicia. Felix, on his part, spread it beyond the Pyrenees, through the province of Languedoc. Adrian, informed of this sacrilegious heresy, addressed a letter to all the bishops of Spain, to

exhort them to fortify themselves against the new doctrine, which appeared to tarnish the conduct of the virgin Mary, and represent her as an adultress. His holiness exhorted them to remain firm in the faith of the orthodox church, and to agree with St. Peter, "who," he added, "had positively recognized Jesus Christ as the Son of the living God." He quoted also passages from several Greek and Latin authors, in order to establish by their authority, that the title of adopted children belonged to Christians, and not to Jesus Christ.

He complained at the same time of various abuses which had been introduced into the churches of Spain. Some prelates of that province put back the celebration of Easter beyond the time prescribed by the council of Nice. Others treated as ignorant such of the faithful as refused to eat the blood of pork and the food of strangled animals. A great number of priests, abusing the texts of the Scriptures in relation to predestination, denied free will; and finally, the greater part of the prelates, conforming to the morals of the Jews and Pagans, scandalized the Christians by illicit marriages, or kept several concubines in their houses. The bishops shut up in their episcopal residences courtizans and eunuchs, under the pretext of wishing to convert the Arabs, by conforming to their manners, but in reality to continue, more easily, a life of shame and debauchery.

The pope lanced terrible anathemas against them, and ordered the metropolitan Elipand to assemble at Toledo a national council to examine into his doctrine concerning the Saviour, and the error of Migeus as to Easter. The archbishop obeyed, and the council declared in opposition to the opinion of the pontiff, that they might teach the adoption of Jesus Christ.

Charlemagne, who was desirous of maintaining unity of belief in his kingdom, wrote to the holy father to make a solemn decision on this important question. Adrian, intimidated by the decision of the Spanish prelates, dared not assemble a new synod. He contented himself with quoting the passages from the fathers he had already cited, and treated as sacrilegious those who wished to argue upon an article of faith which St. Peter had confessed, by saying to Jesus, "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God." After this reasoning, and to shun all controversy, he concluded by pronouncing as heretical, all Christians who did not think as he did, and he declared them excommunicated by virtue of the powers he held from the apostle.

The thunders of the pope did not intimidate Charlemagne; that prince wishing to put an end to the quarrels of the bishops of the West, convoked a council at Frankfurt on the Maine, his royal residence. The prelates of all the provinces submissive to his sway, hastened to obey his orders, and assembled to the number of three hundred. Three hundred priests or monks were added to them, with the principal lords of the imperial court. The sovereign himself presided over

the assembly, and caused his eloquence in theological discussions to be admired.

The result of the deliberations of the assembly was sent to the Spanish ecclesiastics, in the form of a synodical letter, and Charlemagne also wrote to them in his own name—"We are profoundly touched, lords bishops, by the oppressions which the infidel causes you to endure; but we suffer a still greater affliction from the error which reigns among you, and which has forced us to assemble a council of all the prelates of our kingdom, to declare the orthodox faith on the adoption of the flesh of Jesus Christ.

"We have examined your writings with profound attention, and your objections have been discussed, article by article, in the synod. Each bishop, in our presence, has had full liberty to express his opinion, and, by the aid of God, this important question is finally decided.

"I conjure you, however, to embrace our confession of faith in the spirit of peace, and not to elevate your doctrines above the decisions of the universal church.

"Previous to the scandal to which you have given rise by the error of the adoption, we loved you as our brethren; the uprightness of your belief consoled us in your temporal servitude, and we had resolved to free you from the oppression of the Saracens.

"Do not, then, deprive yourselves of the participation of our prayers and our aid; for if, after the admonition of the pope and the warnings of the council, you do not renounce your error, we shall regard you as heretics, and shall not dare to have further communion with you.

"As to the proposition submitted to our judgment, on the new synod held at Constantinople, in which it was ordained, under penalty of anathema, to render to the images of saints, the worship and adoration rendered to the divine Trinity, the fathers of our assembly have rejected this sacrilegious doctrine as impious, and reject the judgment of the court of Rome."

Unfortunately for France, the successors of Charlemagne did not conform to this judicious decision; the second council of Nice prevailed in the following ages, and the fury of religious wars, excited by the priests, soon covered whole provinces with ruin, disasters, incendiary and massacre.

The books attributed to Charlemagne, against the worship of images, were carried to the pope by Angelbert, abbot of Centula. Adrian replied immediately to the king of France, "We have received Angelbert, a minister of your chapel, whom we know to have been brought up in your palace, and whom you admit to all your counsels; he has submitted to us the capitularies signed with your name. We have listened favourably to that which he has submitted on your part, as if we had listened to it from your own mouth; and the affection we have for your person has led us to reply to those decisions, article by article, to maintain the ancient traditions of

the Roman church. We refuse, however, to regard these books as being your own work, except the last, which orders your people to obey our See.

"We have received the decrees of the council of Nice to prevent the Greeks from returning to their errors, but we have not yet given to the emperor our definite reply; and before granting peace to him, we shall exact that he shall restore to the Roman church the jurisdiction of several bishoprics and archbishoprics, as well as the patrimonies taken from us by Iconoclastic princes.

"Up to this time, our just reclamations not having been listened to, we might from thence deduce the belief that this indifference demonstrates that the Greek emperors are not really orthodox.

"If you approve of it, we will write, in your name, to Constantine and his mother, to thank them for the re-establishment of the images; we will urge them to restore our jurisdiction and our patrimonies, and if they persist in their refusal, we shall declare them, and all their subjects of Europe and Asia heretics, and will threaten them with your wrath."

This skilful reply shows how necessary it was for the Holy See to be cautious in its conduct towards the king of the French.

Still, notwithstanding the wishes of Charlemagne and the decision of the synod of Frankfort, the worship of images passed into the Gallican church as an essential dogma. It was in vain that theologians endeavoured to lay down rules for the distinction of the mode in which the representations were to be honoured, and that they established the *latría* as the worship due to God alone; that of the hyperdulia as destined for the Virgin and her pretended portraits, and that of simple *dulia* for the ordinary saints. The faithful persisted in seeing God himself in his representations, and adored the statues of stone and wood, as well as paintings and all sorts of images.

This adoration, which the court of Rome encouraged, constituted a true idolatry, which had been severely proscribed by the founders of Christianity and the fathers of the first ages of the church; since the historian Philostorgus relates, that in his time they refused to render any honour to a statue of Christ, which it was affirmed had been erected at Panteades, a small city of Jerusalem, with the consent of Herod the Tetrarch, and on the request of a woman whom Jesus had cured of a bloody flux. This statue had been overthrown by the predecessor of Constantine the Great, and since that moment had lain in the midst of the public square, half buried in the rubbish, and concealed by the grass which grew around it. When it was drawn out from this spot, it was placed in the sacristy of a church, and they were careful to avoid adoring it. This statue disappeared miraculously, as the priests affirm, during the reign of Julian.

Whilst the pontiff was prostrating himself at the feet of Charlemagne, an English prince came to bend before the bishop of Rome to obtain pardon for his sins, and the protection

of the apostle. Offa, the second king of the Mercians, after having slain Ethelbert, the last king of the East Angles, whom he had invited to his court on the pretence of giving him his daughter in marriage, went to Rome, according to the custom of the age, and demanded from the holy father absolution for his crime. The pope, turning the fanaticism of the prince to the profit of his avarice, would not consent to reconcile him with Heaven, except on condition that he should authorize the laws of Peter's pence in his domains, and found religious retreats of which the holy father should sell the benefices. Offa, assured of his eternal salvation, returned to his kingdom, constructed several monasteries in honour of St. Alban and other inhabitants of the

skies, and in conformity with his promise, placed the revenues at the disposal of the sovereign pontiff.

Adrian died shortly after, on the 25th of December, 795, after having occupied the See of Rome for twenty-four years. He displayed remarkable political skill in the management of the church. His supple and adroit spirit knew how to bend before power, in order to augment the authority of Rome, and extend her rule over the people. Avarice was his ruling passion, and notwithstanding the expense at which he was in the construction of convents and churches, he left immense wealth to his successor.—He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

## LEO THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDREDTH POPE.

[A. D. 795.]

*Election of Leo—He recognizes Charlemagne as sovereign of Rome—His liberality to churches and monasteries—The spoils of the Huns converted into sacred vessels and church ornaments—The king of the Mercians submits to the See of Rome—The pontiff grants to the archbishop of Canterbury the power to excommunicate kings—Attempt against the person of the pontiff—Bitterness of the conspirators—Leo is horribly mutilated—He is confined in a dungeon by the conspirators—He is taken out during the night and conducted into France—His return to Rome—Information against his assailants—Charlemagne goes to Italy—Leo crowns him emperor of the Romans—The miracles of the Christ of Mantua—Knavery of the pontiff—Will of Charlemagne—New conspiracy against the life of the pope—Sedition of the Romans—His death.*

On the very day of the funeral of Adrian, Leo the Third was elevated to the pontifical throne. He was originally from Rome, and had dwelt from his infancy in the patriarchal palace of the Lateran. He had been first ordained a sub-deacon, and afterwards a priest of the order of St. Susanna. In his different ecclesiastical functions, Leo had acquired the esteem of the clergy, the grandes and the people, who chose him on the death of Adrian, as the most worthy to succeed him.

After having been enthroned in the midst of general acclamations, Leo deputed to France legates bearing to the king the keys of the confessional of St. Peter, the standard of the city of Rome, and magnificent presents. He besought Charlemagne to send to the Holy See French lords, who should receive the oath of fidelity from the Romans. The prince sent immediately with Angelbert several chariots, filled with riches taken from the Huns at the pillage of their capital. At the same time he addressed to the pontiff letters conceived in these terms—"We have read, with profound satisfaction, the decretal of your election; we unite our suffrage with that of the Romans, who have elevated you to the chair of the apostle, and we recognize with joy, that you preserve the fidelity and obedience which are due to us.

"In testimony of our satisfaction, we send to you one of our devoted servants, laden with

presents which we destine for St. Peter. He will confer with you on all things which may interest the glory of the church, affirming it by your dignity, and the authority of our patriarchate."

In the instructions given to his ambassador, the king of France recommends to him to urge upon the pontiff to reform the morals of the Italian clergy, to put an end to the disgraceful traffic in sacred offices, and not to think that the sums sent to him as pensions, were to be spent on priestly debauchees.

In accordance with the wishes of the prince, Leo transformed the treasures of the Huns into vases of silver, chalices of gold, rose-coloured strainers, and sacerdotal ornaments embroidered with gold and precious stones. A part of the money served to pay for the embellishments to the palace of the Lateran, and the holy father ornamented his residence with columns of porphyry, balustrades of marble, and paintings in mosaic. One of these represented St. Peter seated, holding on his knees the three keys of paradise; Pope Leo was on his right, and Charlemagne on his left, both prostrate at his feet; with one hand the apostle was giving a pallium to the pope, and with the other he presented to the king a standard adorned with six roses, on which was written, "Holy Peter, gives life to Pope Leo and victory to King Charles."

Quenulph, sovereign of the Mercians, and

the successor of Offa, wrote to Leo, to congratulate him on his advent to the pontifical throne, beseeching him to regard him as his adopted son, and promising to him entire obedience to his will. He added in his letter, "You should be advised, most holy father, of the division of the diocese of Canterbury, ordered by your predecessor, in order to diminish the authority of the metropolitan of that See. Pope Adrian, instead of sustaining the chief of that See, consented through a cowardly condescendance, to give the pallium to the bishop of the Mercians, in order to elevate that prelate to the same rank as the archbishop of Canterbury. This measure has caused a great schism in our kingdom, and to avoid a revolution, we have been obliged not to declare our preference. We now beseech you, most holy father, to advise us what steps we ought to take in so difficult circumstances."

The ambassador of the English king was the prelate Athelrade, former abbot of Malmsbury, who had been nominated bishop of Winchester, and finally metropolitan of Canterbury. This wary monk, when presenting himself before the holy father, to place in his hands the letter of Quenulph, did not forget to offer him, for the treasury of the church, one hundred and twenty marks of gold. The pontiff not only re-established the primate of England, but he even gave him the power of excommunicating the kings and princes of his jurisdiction. In execution of this decree, Athelrade, on his return to his diocese, held a synod, and in the presence of the principal English lords and of the king himself, he declared as excommunicated and devoted to eternal fire, the laity who should dare to lay a sacrilegious hand on the property of the clergy.

Felix of Urgel continued to propagate his heresy in Spain, notwithstanding his condemnation by the French bishops. Charlemagne then renewed his remonstrances to the court of Rome, and demanded the convocation of a general council to condemn the error definitely. Leo hastened to accede to the desires of the monarch, and by his orders, all the prelates of Italy assembled at Rome, in the church of St. Peter. The pontiff opened the session in the following discourse, "My brethren, at a council held at Ratisbon, by the king of the Franks, previous to our reign, an heretic named Felix confessed that he had fallen into error in maintaining that Jesus Christ was the adopted son of God, according to the flesh.

"Our predecessor, to obtain this retraction, had been obliged to use rigour towards this rebellious son, and to confine him in our prisons as an heretic. A salutary fear of torture caused him to abjure his impious doctrine, and he even subscribed to a profession of orthodox faith, which is still deposited in our patriarchal palace. But after this public manifestation, the apostate fled into the country of the Pagan, where he braves the anathemas of our council, which has already excommunicated him, and which condemns him anew by my mouth."

Felix, surrounded by universal veneration in his diocese in Spain, did not disquiet himself on account of the thunders of the Holy See, and persevered in his doctrine.

In his turn, Leo became the victim of the religious passions which he wished to excite against the Spanish prelate. Two ambitious priests, Pascal, the princier, and Canaplus, the treasurer, formed a plot against the life of the pontiff, and were aided in the execution of their execrable project by the monks, whose fanaticism was let loose through fear of reforms.

At the close of a solemn procession and at the moment when the pontiff was re-entering the palace of the Lateran, the conspirators fell upon his escort, tore him from his horse, dragged him by his beard, sought to break his skull by blows of stones, and left him lying on the pavement, covered with wounds, and giving no signs of life; when the assassins, fearing they had not consummated their crime, carried him into the church of the convent of St. Stephen and St. Sylvester, of which they closed the gates, and there, upon the very steps of the altar, these monsters endeavoured to deprive him of his eyes and his tongue, rending him with their nails and their teeth; finally, they cast him, covered with blood, into the dungeons of the monasteries. Leo remained there two entire days, without succour, extended upon the floor of his prison. On the third day the abbot Erasmus, one of the conspirators, descended with the monks, to carry out his dead body, and place it in a coffin. As the unfortunate man still breathed, he was carried to another convent, that no one might discover his retreat, where the accomplices kept him hidden, until they had decided upon his fate.

During the night, Albyn, the chamberlain of the pope, informed by a religious of the place in which he was confined, penetrated to his dungeon with some devoted servants, and having borne him away, descended by the walls of the city, and carried him to St. Peter's, where the physicians bestowed on him all the care which his wretched state required. The pontiff preserved the use of his eyes and tongue, which caused some authors to affirm that he was cured by a miracle. But Leo himself, in the recital which he has left of this horrible adventure, explains, that in their haste, the murderers had only cut off a part of his tongue, and had lifted the eyes without tearing them from their orbits.

Albyn informed the duke of Spoleto of this horrible attempt, and besought him to come to Rome with his soldiers to protect the pope and facilitate the means of his going into France. By his aid the holy father passed the Alps in safety, and went to the court of Charlemagne, which was then at Paderborn, in Saxony, where the king received him with great marks of affection, and even shed tears when embracing him.

Pascal and Canaplus, furious at seeing Leo escape their vengeance, assembled their partisans and burned the domains of the church;

they then sent to the king deputies, instructed to bring against the holy father the most frightful accusations. The indignant prince drove them from his court without listening to them, and caused the holy father to be re-conducted into Italy, accompanied by his principal bishops, several counts, and an imposing escort.

In all the cities the pontiff was received by the population as if he were St. Peter himself; and when he approached Rome, the clergy, the senate, the militia, the citizens, the women and even the deaconesses, and female religions, all preceded by holy banners, went in procession to meet him, singing sacred hymns. Leo made his triumphal entry into the city and retook possession of the palace of the Lateran. Some days after, the prelates and lords who had accompanied him, assembled in council to hear the accusations brought against him by Pascal, Canapulus, and their accomplices. The pontiff was declared innocent, and his accusers were condemned to be beaten with rods and imprisoned for life.

The justification of the pope, did not, however, appear regular to the citizens of Rome, who were excited by the Italian priests, who were jealous of the favour which he granted to the French prelates. Leo, fearful of a new conspiracy, wrote to Charlemagne, advising him of his fears, and beseeching him to hasten the period of the journey which he was about to make into Italy.

The king assented to his desire, and made his entry into Rome in the month of December, in the year 800. Seven days after his arrival, Charlemagne convoked the clergy, the senate, and the people; he explained before the assembly that he had quitted his kingdom to put an end to the calumnious accusations which sacrilegious priests dared to spread against the pontiff. He examined, one by one, all the charges contained in the accusation of Canapulus, and then commanded those around him to speak out without fear in their support, if they appeared to them well founded.

No one having replied, the pontiff was admitted to justify himself by oath, before the immense multitude which filled the church of St. Peter; he took the book of the Apostles in his hands, raised it above his head, mounted the tribune, and said, "I swear upon the word of God, that I have not committed the crimes of which the Romans have accused me." On the next day the king received the final recompense of all that he had done for the court of Rome. He went in great pomp to the cathedral, where the pope, clothed in his sacerdotal ornaments, waited for him with his clergy, and there in the presence of the lords, prelates, and magistrates of the city, the holy father placed on his head a crown of iron, and said in a loud voice, "To Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God, Emperor of the Romans, life and victory." Lengthened acclamations resounded beneath the vaulted roof of St. Peter's, and the assistants repeated, "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by

the hand of God Emperor of the Romans." Then Leo prostrated himself before the new sovereign, and adored him, according to the usage of the ancient Cæsars, recognizing him as his legitimate sovereign and the defender of the church.

Thus was re-established, after an interval of three hundred and twenty-four years, the dignity of Roman Emperor, extinct since the year of our Lord 476. When the ceremony was completed, Charlemagne made immense donations to the churches of St. Paul, St. John the Lateran, and St. Maria Majora; he gave to the church of St. Peter, two tables of silver, chalices, perfume pans, and vases of gold enriched with precious stones, and allowed great sums for lighting it, and for the maintenance of its priests.

On his return to France, the new emperor was occupied in arranging the affairs of church and state; he convoked at Aix-la-Chapelle a national council, at which Paulin, patriarch of Aquileia, assisted as the legate of the pope; and amongst the rules established by it, one of the most remarkable was in reference to the rural bishops. It is decreed in the name of Charlemagne, in the following terms; "We have been frequently beset by complaints against the rural bishops, not only by the clergy, but even by the laity. The popes, the predecessors of Leo the Third, have declared in several synods, that these ecclesiastics have not the power to ordain priests, deacons, and sub-deacons; that they are not permitted to dedicate churches, consecrate virgins, nor administer the rite of confirmation; they even induced our predecessors to condemn them all and send them into exile, no matter what might have been the purity of their lives.

"Consequently, by the authority of the pontiff who now governs the Holy See, and following the advice of our prelates, and other subjects, we decree, that rural bishops shall not for the future exercise any episcopal functions under pain of deposition."

At this period, the metropolitan Fortunatus, sent deputies to Rome, to solicit the mediation of Leo, and to implore the intervention of the emperor with John, duke of Venice, and his son Maurice, who wished to drive him from his See. The pope received favourably the letters, and presents of the archbishop, and promised the envoys to obtain for their master the protection of the emperor. Leo determined in fact to undertake a new journey to France, to negotiate this affair, and to obtain from the prince several other decisions touching the temporal interests of the Holy See; but fearing to be arrested in his project, by the duke of Venice and his son, he availed himself of the superstition of the times, to lull suspicion. He caused it to be rumored about that the Christ of Mantua had shed drops of blood, which performed numerous miracles, and under pretence of assuring himself of the reality of these prodigies, he went to that city and from thence passed secretly into France.

Charlemagne was then at Aix-la-Chapelle. When he was informed of the arrival of the pope, he immediately sent his son Charles as far as St. Maurice, in the Valois, to meet him, whilst he himself went to Rheims to receive him. They passed eight days together in the consideration of grave political and religious questions. Finally, the pope retired, laden with presents. Charlemagne accompanied him through Bavaria, as far as the city of Ravenna.

Some time after, the emperor, perceiving the appearance of death, assembled at Thionville his principal lords, and in their presence divided his states between his three sons, Charles, Pepin, and Louis. In this division, the emperor made no mention of the dutchy of Rome, of which he reserved to himself the disposition. He read his will, and after having made the grandes of his court swear to its execution, he sent it to the Holy See, that the pope might affix to it his signature to confirm its authenticity.

The secretary of the prince wrote at the same time to Leo in favour of the metropolitan Fortunatus, who had been driven from his See by the Venetians and Greeks. He besought him in the name of his master to give to the persecuted prelate, the church of Pola in Istria, which was vacant by the death of the bishop Emilian. The pontiff complied with the request of the emperor, with the reservation, however, that if Fortunatus should return to his diocese of Grada, he should restore the See of Pola, without retaining any of the property belonging to that church. In his reply he added; "Since you desire to preserve for this unworthy prelate, temporal goods and honours, we beseech you also to take care of his soul; for the fear with which you inspire him, will without doubt compel him to reform his morals, which cause shame among the faithful. Our affection for your sacred person, and our desire to contribute to the safety of your soul, induce us to give you this advice; for even we ourselves have been led into error, and we ask pardon of God for having, in former times, accepted presents from this priestly debauchee. The ecclesiastics of your court have been gained by the gold of Fortunatus, and those who have dared to defend him, will answer before God for the disorders which he shall commit in the diocese which you have ordered me to confide to him."

In the following year, (809,) a new council was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, by order of Charlemagne, to determine the attributes of the Holy Spirit. Bernard, bishop of Worms, and Abelard, abbot of Corbie, were sent to Rome to carry to the pope the decision of the council, drawn up by Smagarde, abbot of St. Michael, at Verdun, and in which the fathers proved by Holy Scriptures and the opinions of the ancients, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. The deputies of the monarch presented their instructions to Leo and entered with him into grave discussions, without be-

ing able to induce him to approve of the decisions of the French synod.

But the holy father always presented in discussion an exemplary mildness and modesty, keeping within bounds in refuting questions which he did not think just. He agreed with them, that we are not permitted to pronounce against the usages of other churches, and that no man can advance a positive opinion on religious matters, which always contain incomprehensible mysteries. "The holy darkness in which Christ has veiled his mysteries, is too thick, added he, for us to undertake to dissipate it; we should confine ourselves to things clear and palpable, and not jump into the abyss of theology from which no human mind is able to sally." He applauded the decretals of Charlemagne, by which the prelates of the Gallican church were prohibited from hunting, shedding the blood of Christians or pagans, and having several legitimate wives; and which prohibited priests from saying mass without communing themselves, as was generally practised at that period. He applauded the emperor for having interdicted doctors in theology from introducing new angels into the liturgy, other than Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael; he particularly praised him for having prohibited nuns from taking the veil under twenty-five years of age, and also clerks from being made priests under thirty, and all ecclesiastics from employing pious frauds to deceive the credulity of the simple, from surrendering themselves to magical operations, from being addicted to intemperance, and from selling to the faithful permission to get drunk at taverns. Finally, he declared that the prince had acted under the guidance of the Spirit, in fixing two periodical periods for the holding of provincial councils, and in establishing severe rules of conduct for the regular and secular clergy.

These rules were neither the first nor the only ones which had already been published in Gaul upon ecclesiastical matters. The great emperor, who embraced in his vast conceptions all the spiritual and material ameliorations of his powerful empire, had already written an entire volume of capitularies on every species of religious questions, but without having attained the end which he had proposed, the repression of the numerous abuses introduced by the priests. Then all was mixed up, confounded in the most deplorable manner, rights and duties, privileges and charges; there was nothing everywhere but the oppressed and their oppressors. The immunities of the clergy shackled at each step the progress of the civil power, which, in its turn, frequently clutched the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was necessary then to use a salutary prudence in introducing any reform into society, and to induce the priests to consent to contribute at least a small part of their immense incomes to the wants of the state. Armies were led by clergymen, and in return, bishoprics and abbeys were frequently directed by military men or the favourites of princes. The councils, composed of men interested in

preserving this order of things, offered invincible obstacles to the wishes of the emperor, and we should not be astonished, that notwithstanding the wisdom of the advice of the pope, the French bishops were unwilling to agree with his opinion, but continued to teach that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as the Father.

Charlemagne died before the return of his ambassadors; the hand of God weighed heavily on the powerful monarch, whose forehead was adorned with the crown of emperors and kings. By his exploits, he had placed the kingdom of France in the first rank of nations, and by his fanaticism had augmented the power of the Holy See, enriched churches and monasteries, and laid the foundation of that theocratic power which extended itself in the following ages over Italy, Europe, the entire world, and which trampled the people beneath the most frightful tyranny. But this zealous defender of the pontiffs carried to his tomb the force which repressed religious factions, and which inspired in priests and monks a salutary terror.

At this period, hypocrisy, avarice, luxury, were the sole virtues of the ecclesiastics; so that the great king being dead, they wished to overthrow the severe rule of Leo and foment conspiracies against his life. But warned by terrible experience of the dangers which sovereigns incur who have excited hatred against them, the pope guarded against their plots, arrested the conspirators and had them executed in front of the palace of the Lateran. The women were exiled, the children of the guilty shut up in the monasteries of Rome, and all their goods confiscated for the benefit of the Holy See. Still the terror which this new conspiracy against him had induced, injured his health; he became dangerously ill and died in 816, after a pontificate of twenty years, five months, and sixteen days.

Leo, who twice fell beneath the vengeance of the priests, still showed himself prodigal towards them; he heaped up wealth on the monks and clergy by making to the churches

such magnificent offerings as to excite the indignation of the people. He employed four hundred and fifty-three pounds weight of gold for the pavement of the confessional of St. Peter, and enclosed the entrance to the sanctuary by a balustrade of silver, weighing five hundred and seventy-three pounds. He rebuilt the baptistery of St. Andrew, surrounded it with columns of porphyry, and in the midst of the baptismal fonts he placed a column of gold which sustained a silver lamb. Then he ornamented the windows of the church of the Lateran with glass of divers colours, a luxury unknown before that period. All these offerings to the churches of Rome amounted to more than eight hundred pounds weight of gold, and twenty thousand of silver, a sum so enormous, that we should doubt the reality of these expenses, if they were not attested by the most trustworthy historians. Leo was placed among the saints in 1673, and his name was added to the Roman martyrology.

Cardinal Baronius contests the miracle of the bloody hand as happening during the pontificate of Leo the First; he affirms that Leo the Third was the first pope who introduced the custom of giving the foot to be kissed instead of the hand, because he felt one day carnal sensations under the impress of the lips of a Roman lady. "Rare example of Christian humility," exclaims the cardinal, "an excellent method of preventing the sensations of concupiscence!"

We should recognize in this assertion the hypocritical language of a priest, who endeavours to conceal the pride of the popes under religious appearances, and we shall attribute to the vanity or ambition of the bishops of Rome the sacrilegious custom of presenting their feet for the adoration of the faithful. The successors of the apostles have always sought to elevate themselves above kings, and to constrain the people to prostrate themselves before them; for from the very first ages of the church, the prelates have exacted that the faithful should kneel to receive their benediction.

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## THE NINTH CENTURY.

### STEPHEN THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST POPE.

*Reflections on the Ecclesiastical history of the ninth century—Election of Stephen the Fifth—His journey to France—The Emperor Louis receives him with great honours—His return to Rome—Death.*

At the beginning of the ninth century, the Holy See found itself freed from the yoke of the Greek emperors, the exarchs of Ravenna and the Lombard kings. The popes by crowning Charlemagne emperor of the West, had procured for themselves powerful and interested protectors in his successors, who, in order to maintain their tyranny over the people, compelled all the bishops to submit, without any

examination of them, to the decisions of the court of Rome.

But a strange change was soon seen at work in religion; holy traditions were despised, the morality of Christ was outraged; the orthodoxy of the church no longer consisted in any thing but the sovereignty of the pope, the adoration of images, and the invocation of saints; in sacred singing, the solemnity of

masses, and the pomps of ceremonies; in the consecration of temples, splendid churches, monastic vows and pilgrimages.

Rome imposed its fanaticism and its superstitions on all the other churches; morality, faith and true piety were replaced by cupidity, ambition, and luxury; the ignorance of the clergy was so profound that a knowledge of the singing of the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the service of the mass was all that was demanded from princes and ecclesiastical dignitaries. The protection which Charlemagne had granted to letters was powerless to change the shameful habits of the priests, and to draw them from the incredible degradation into which they had been plunged; and the popes who wished to rear capable subjects, were obliged to educate in their own palaces, children who displayed an aptitude for learning.

Stephen the Fifth, who was of one of the most considerable families of Rome, was admitted into the patriarchal palace, according to the custom of the age, to obtain his education. The pontiff Leo ordained him sub-deacon, and afterwards conferred on him the diaconate, when he had perceived that the young ecclesiastic was worthy of his protection from the constant application he gave to his studies.

After the death of the pope, Stephen united in his favour the unanimous suffrages of the clergy, the grandees and the people, and was designated as his successor upon the throne of St. Peter. The first act of the new pontiff was to send legates to the new emperor to ask an interview with him.

This step was necessary for the interests of the Holy See, which was threatened by the emperor of the East, and as the danger was imminent, Stephen determined to go himself to France without waiting for the return of the envoys or the reply of Louis. The French monarch having learned that the holy father was on his way to his kingdom, immediately despatched messengers to his nephew Bernard, king of Italy, with orders to accompany the pontiff across the Alps; at the same time he sent ambassadors and guards who should serve as his escort to Rheims.

On the arrival of Stephen, the emperor ordered the great dignitaries of his kingdom, the arch-chaplain Hildebald, Theodulphi, bishop of Orleans, John, metropolitan of Arles, and several other prelates to go to meet the pope with great ceremony. He himself advanced with his court as far as the monastery of St. Remi, and as soon as he perceived the pontiff, he dismounted from his horse and prostrated himself before him, exclaiming "Blessed is

he who cometh in the name of the Lord." Stephen took him by the hand, replying, "Blessed be the Lord, who has caused us to see a second David." They then embraced and went to the metropolitan church, where they sung a Te Duem. Both prayed for a long time in silence; finally, the pope rose, and in a loud voice thundered forth canticles of gladness in honour of the king of France.

The next day he sent to the queen and the great officers of the court the presents which he had brought from Rome, and the following Sunday, before celebrating divine service, he consecrated the emperor anew, placed on his head a crown of gold enriched with precious stones, and presented to him another destined for Irmengarde, whom he saluted with the name of empress.

During his sojourn at Rheims, Stephen passed all his days in conversing with Louis the Easy, on the affairs of the church, and obtained from him all he desired; he even induced him to place at liberty the murderers who had attempted the life of Leo the Third.

We are led to believe that the rules then made by the emperor, for the sham reform of the regular clergy, were the fruit of his conferences with the holy father. His decrees particularly treated of the abuses which had been introduced into the church by canons and canonesses. Since the time of St. Chrodegang, the first reformer of this order, the men and women who made a part of it had fallen into the strangest depravity; they lived together in the same convents, abandoning themselves without any remorse, to the most shameless debauchery, licentiousness, drunkenness, and idleness, and had even the impudence to rear up under their very eyes the fruits of their adulteries and incests. Louis the Easy, at the instigation of the pope, ordered them to inhabit separate convents, and only authorized them to hold their houses by the title of a common property, or permitted them to reunite them by day, and to receive persons who were agreeable to them. He also made rules to determine the quantity of food and wine that they should consume, in order to put an end to their gluttony. He enjoined on them also not to wear the monastic habit, and to adopt one as an insignia of their order, which to this day serves to distinguish canons and canonesses.

Finally, the pontiff returned to Italy, laden with honours and presents. He did not long enjoy the favour of the French monarch and the pontifical authority; he died on the 22d of January, 817, having occupied the Holy See for seven months.

## PASCAL THE FIRST, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 817.]

*Election of Pascal—Louis addresses remonstrances to the Romans—New donations to the Church—Ridiculous story of St. Cecilia—The pope puts out the eyes and tears out the tongues of two Roman priests who remained faithful to France—Louis orders an inquiry into it—The pontiff justifies himself by oath from the murders of which he was accused—His death.*

PASCAL, the son of Bonosus, reared, like his predecessor, in the palace of the Lateran, had received from Leo the Third, the government of the monastery of St. Stephen, situated near to St. Peter's. He was charged with the distribution of alms to the poor of Rome, and particularly to pilgrims who came from distant countries; these duties brought him in great wealth, which he afterwards used in intriguing for the papacy.

After the death of Stephen, the Holy See remained vacant some days. The people and the clergy having assembled, chose the priest Pascal, who caused himself to be consecrated without waiting for the arrival of the envoys of the emperor. The pope, knowing the weakness of the French monarch, did not even take the pains to excuse himself for this want of delicacy; he placed the fault upon the Romans, who had obliged him to be consecrated immediately, that he might be enabled to exercise his pontifical functions. Louis then notified the citizens of Rome, that they should be careful for the future how they wounded his imperial majesty, and that they must preserve more religiously the customs of their ancestors.

But this easy prince soon repented that he had written so severely; and in order to atone for his fault, he renewed the treaty of alliance which confirmed to the Holy See the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, his grandfather and father; he even augmented the domains of the church, and recognized the absolute sovereignty of the pontiff over several patrimonies of Campania, Calabria, and the countries of Naples and Salerno, as well as the jurisdiction of the popes over the city and dutchy of Rome, the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily. As to this last province, the presumption is, that it was added by an act of fraudulent interpolation; for it is certain that at this period Sicily did not appertain to the French princes, but made a part of the empire of the East. Finally, Louis, renouncing the privileges of his crown, assured to the Romans the privilege of a free election, and granted to them permission not to send legates into France until after the consecration of the popes.

The court of Rome thus became a formidable power; nor were the popes possessed of immense revenues, but the sovereigns of the West placed armies under their command, ruined empires, exterminated people in the name of St. Peter, and sent the spoils of the vanquished to increase the wealth of the Roman clergy, and to support the monks in idleness and debauchery.

The pontiffs were no longer content to treat on equal terms with princes; they refused to receive their envoys, and to open their messages.

Thus the emperor of the East, Leo the Fifth, and Theodore, patriarch of Constantinople, having sent to Pascal nuncios, instructed to consult with him in regard to the worship of images, the holy father refused to see them, and drove them in disgrace from Rome. The ambassadors were obliged to return to Byzantium with their despatches.

Pascal, encouraged by the eulogiums of Theodore Studitus, a zealous adorer of images, had the impudence, after this excess of audacity, to send legates to Constantinople to order the emperor and patriarch to re-establish the worship of images. The prince in his turn, used reprisals upon the envoys of the pontiff; he caused them to be whipped through the streets of the city, and to be avenged on the pope, he showed extreme severity towards the image worshippers.

Pascal, desirous of sustaining his struggle against the emperor, published that all the Christians of Constantinople, who should have suffered for the faith of the church, would be received at Rome and supported at the expense of St. Peter; for this purpose he rebuilt the church of St. Praxedes and founded an immense monastery for the orientals, where divine service was celebrated by day and night in the Greek language; he bestowed on the convent large revenues in lands and houses; he ornamented splendidly the interior of the church, and placed on the high altar a tabernacle of silver weighing eight hundred pounds.

This liberality exhausted his treasures, and as the faithful showed great luke-warmness in despoiling themselves for the benefit of strangers, the pope adopted a singular expedient to cause alms to flow into his purse. He rebuilt the church of St. Cecilia, which had fallen into ruins and adorned it with great magnificence; he then placed on the high altar the shrine of the saint, but destitute of her remains. On the following Sunday he convoked the people to matins in the cathedral, and whilst he was prostrated in the affliction of his soul, he feigned to fall into a supernatural slumber.

Scarcely had he fallen asleep upon his seat, when St. Cecilia herself appeared to him in all her glory, and thus spoke to him: "Imperial priests and sacrilegious pontiffs have already sought my mortal remains; but their eyes were opened in obscurity, and their hands have lost their way in the darkness, for God

had decided that it should be reserved for you alone to find my body." On speaking to him these words she pointed with her hand to a spot in the cemetery of Pretextatus and disappeared.

Pascal woke at the same moment, and informed the priests of this miraculous vision; he then went with his clergy to the place indicated; he himself took a spade, dug up the earth, and discovered the body of the saint clothed in a robe of tissue of gold; at her feet were linen rags freshly impregnated with her blood, and by her side the bones of Valerian her husband. The pope caused these precious relics to be placed in a shrine glittering with precious stones, and to be solemnly transported into the church which he had founded in honour of St. Cecilia.

Ever since this miraculous discovery, the offerings of the faithful and the presents of pilgrims made the new church overflow with wealth, and augmented the riches of the holy father.

The same miracle frequently renewed by the successors of the pontiff, has always encountered simple and credulous men.

"This first success," says an old author, "induced the holy father to fabricate saints for the purpose of selling their bones to all Christendom, and this traffic brought him in large sums of money." The writer might have added that this abominable traffic extended itself promptly among the monks, who created thousands of saints and kept an open market for the sale of the bones of apostles and martyrs, the wood of the true cross, of the hair of the secret parts of St. Joseph, St. John the Baptist, the Virgin &c. And we should add, that in after ages, during the reign of St. Louis, the priests had the audacity to sell to the duke of Anjou, the brother of the king—abomination and sacrilege!—the fore-skin of Jesus Christ—and to expose it in a church to the adoration of the faithful.

Whilst the sovereign pontiff was occupied in increasing the treasures of the Holy See, the Mussulmen laboured to augment the extent of their empire, and used the rapidity of their conquests as an undeniable proof of the superiority of their faith over that of the Christians. The emperor Leo, imagining that the idolatry of his subjects was the sole cause of their continual defeats, instead of employing his energies in combating the Arabs, was engaged exclusively in a war against the images. For this purpose he united with himself the bitter enemies of image worship, John Hylas and the monk Anthorus, who occupied themselves in ransacking and collecting all the books which treated of the subject of images. The inquiry having terminated, the two fathers declared to the prince that it was incontestably proven, that the pretended pretext, which compelled Christians to adore the representations of sacred things was nowhere found written. Leo called in the patriarch Nicephorus, and ordered him to declare himself against the worship of images, and on his refusal to obey, he threatened

to cause all the statues which adorned the churches to be broken, as well as all the paintings which ornamented the walls. The prelate persisting in his resistance, the execution soon followed the threat. Not only did Leo destroy the statues and paintings which adorned the churches, but even persecuted the faithful who were suspected of the crime of image worship. The patriarch, Nicephorus, was exiled, and his See given to the ignorant Theodosius, who endeavoured to maintain the orders of the sovereign, by employing in their turn corruption and intimidation. Theodosius then convoked in council the most headlong Iconolastic bishops and fulminated with them terrible anathemas against their enemies. Some being called on to judge some bishops who from simplicity or ignorance, followed the errors of the court of Rome, allowed themselves to be transported, so far as to strike them in full assembly with their feet and hands, and even with the wood of their crosses. The fury of proselytism pushed them on to decree that all citizens who should only be suspected of image worship, should have their tongues cut off and their eyes torn out. The orthodox resisted the persecutions, and waited patiently until the death of Leo should enable them to use reprisals.

At this time, Lothaire, the oldest son of the emperor Louis, having come to Rome to be consecrated by the pontiff, was scandalized by all the disorders which existed in the holy city, and particularly in the palace of the pope, which resembled a lupanar in those evil cities destroyed in former times by fire from heaven. He addressed severe remonstrances to Pascal, and threatened him in the name of the emperor his father, to hand over an examination of his actions to a council. The pontiff promised to amend his morals; but as soon as the young prince quitted Italy, he arrested Theodore, the primiciary of the Roman church, and Leo, the nomenclator, two venerable priests, whom he accused of having injured him to the young prince. He caused them to be conducted to the palace of the Lateran, and their eyes to be put out, and their tongues dragged out in his own presence; he then handed them over to the executioner to be beheaded.

The emperor Louis, having been informed of this bloody execution, sent the abbot of St. Wast, and Humphrey, lord of Coira, to make inquiries against the pope; but the wary Pascal had already sent two legates to the court of France, to beseech the monarch, not to credit the calumnies which represented him as the author of a crime in which he had no participation. The explanations of the ambassadors shook the convictions of the prince; still Louis sent his two commissioners to Rome with full powers.

They had not even time to take informations as to the conduct of the pope; for on their arrival Pascal presented himself at their palace, surrounded by all his clergy, and claimed to justify himself by oath, in full council and in their presence. The next day

he assembled in the palace of the Lateran thirty-four bishops, sold to the Holy See, as well as a large number of priests, deacons, and monks, and before this assembly swore that he was innocent of the deaths of the primate and the nomenclator. The envoys of France then demanded that the murderers should be delivered up to them; the pontiff refused to do so, under the pretext that the guilty were of the family of St. Peter, and that it was his duty to protect them against all the sovereigns of the world; besides, added he, "Leo and Theodore were justly condemned for the crime of lese majesty."

The holy father then sent a new embassy composed of John a bishop, Sergius the librarian, and Leo the leader of the militia, to con-

vince the monarch of the sincerity of his protests. The emperor Louis did not judge it opportune, for the dignity of the church, to push his investigations and researches any further, fearing to find himself forced, in order to punish a crime, to deliver up to the executioner the head of an assassin pontiff.

On their return to Rome the legates found Pascal dangerously sick. He died on the 11th of May, 824, after a reign of seven years and three months, and was interred in the cemetery of St. Praxedes, the Romans opposing his inhumation in the cathedral of St. Peter.

Pascal has since been placed among the saints, and the church yearly honors his memory on the 14th of May.

## EUGENIUS THE SECOND, ONE HUNDRED AND THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 824.]

*Election of Eugenius the Second—Journey of Lothaire to Rome—He compels the pope to restore the riches stolen from the citizens by his predecessors—Constitutions of Lothaire—He represses the avarice and ambition of the pontiffs—Letter of the emperor Michael on the superstitions of images—The French bishops, assembled in council, reject the worship of images and refuse to submit to the authority of the popes—Disorders and profound ignorance of the clergy—Council of Rome—Death of the pontiff.*

AFTER the death of Pascal the Romans were divided into two factions, and proclaimed two pontiffs. A priest named Zinzinus had on his side the nobles, the magistrates, and the clergy: Eugenius, his competitor, presented himself as the chosen of the people. This second faction was the most powerful, and Zinzinus was compelled to abdicate the papacy, and yield his place to Eugenius, who seated himself on the throne of St. Peter. The new pontiff was a Roman by birth, and the son of Bohemond. Anastasius, the librarian, says formally, that the simplicity, humility, and good morals of Eugenius, recommended him very much.

After his ordination, his holiness informed the emperor Louis of the sedition which had broken out at Rome of his election, and besought him to punish the guilty. The emperor sent Lothaire to obtain an exact account of the whole affair, and to accompany him, the venerable Hildwyn, abbot of St. Denis, and archchaplain.

The prince, on his arrival in the Holy City, having caused it to be announced that he would hear all the complaints of citizens, entire families cast themselves at his feet, demanding justice against the Holy See, and Lothaire was enabled to judge for himself how many unjust condemnations the unworthy predecessors of Eugenius had made for the sole purpose of seizing upon the riches of the people. He ordered the holy father to restore to families the lands and territories which had been unjustly confiscated, and in order to prevent new abuses, he published

the following decree before the people assembled in the cathedral of St. Peter.

"It is prohibited, under penalty of death, to injure those who are placed under the special protection of the emperor.

"Pontiffs, dukes, and judges shall render to the people an equitable justice. No man, free or slave, shall impede the exercise of the right of election of the chiefs of the church, which appertains to the Romans, by the old concessions made to them by our fathers.

"We will, that commissioners be appointed by the pope to advise us each year, in what manner justice has been rendered to the citizens, and how the present constitution shall have been observed. We will also, that it should be asked of the Romans under what law they wish to live, in order that they may be judged according to the law which they shall have adopted, which shall be granted to them by our imperial authority.

"Finally, we order all the dignitaries of the state to come into our presence, and to take to us the oath of fidelity in these terms, 'I swear to be faithful to the emperors Louis and Lothaire, notwithstanding the fidelity I have promised to the Holy See; and I engage not to permit a pope to be uncanonically chosen, nor to be consecrated until he has renewed before the commissioners of the sovereigns, the oath which is now framed by the pontiff actually reigning, Eugenius the Second.'

Aventin affirms that this constitution re-established tranquillity in Rome, and put an end to the disorders which had arisen in all Italy,

through "the ambition, the avarice, and the knaveries and cruelties of the popes."

On his return to France, Lothaire found ambassadors from the emperor Michael, surnamed the Stammerer, instructed to inform him of the victory which he had gained over the usurper Thomas, and the happy termination of the civil wars which had desolated the empire. The Greek envoys placed in the hands of Louis letters from their court in relation to the worship of images, which was yet the great religious question.

"We inform you, wrote Michael, that a great number of priests and monks, at the instigation of the bishop of Rome, wander from apostolical traditions, and introduce condemnable novelties into the Christian worship. They take the crosses from the churches and replace them by images, before which they light lamps and burn incense. The devotees, and simple, envelope these idols in linen and take them as God-parents for their children; they offer them the first hair of the newly born, and prostrate themselves before them, singing canticles and imploring their aid.

"Priests, in their fanaticism, scratch the colours from the pictures, and mix these profane matters with the wine of the eucharist, which they administer to the faithful. Some ecclesiastics deposit the consecrated bread between the hands of the statues of stone, and then make the communicants take it from the idols themselves; some monks dare to celebrate the divine mysteries on planks bedaubed with figures of saints, and they call these altars privileged tables.

"To remedy this abuse, the orthodox emperor and our bishops assembled a council to decide that images should be placed in the churches at a proper height, to hinder fanatics from lighting lamps in their honour; or offering to them incense, or burning hair. But the priests, whom this condemnable superstition enriches, have been unwilling to recognize the authorities of our synods, and have appealed to the See of Rome and the pontiffs, in hopes of dividing with them the offerings of the faithful, have ranged themselves on their side, and calumniated the Greek church.

"We disdain to refute the infamous falsehoods of the bishops of Rome, and only declare to you our orthodox faith. We confess the Trinity of God in three persons, the incarnation of the Word, his two wills, and his two operations. We ask, in our prayers, the intercession of the Holy Virgin, mother of God, and of all the saints, and we honour their relics; we recognize the authority of the apostolical traditions and the ordinances of the six general councils; finally, notwithstanding our just indignation against the court of Rome, we consent to recognize its supremacy over the other churches. We even send to Pope Eugenius a Bible, a perfumed box, and a chalice adorned with gold and precious stones, to be offered to the church of St. Peter by our ambassadors, whom we beseech you to allow to accompany you to Rome."

The emperor Louis caused them to be conducted into Italy by a numerous escort, in which was found Fortunatus, patriarch of Grada, who should have been judged by the pontiff, for the debaucheries which had caused him to be driven from his See by the Venetians and Greeks.

During the sojourn of the envoys of Michael, the French bishops, Freculph and Agdaire, demanded from the holy father, in the name of Louis, authority to assemble a council in Gaul to examine the question of the images. Eugenius, not daring to refuse them his consent, they hastened to advise the emperor of it, who ordered the bishops of his kingdom to assemble at Paris, on the 1st of November of the following year, (826.)

In this assembly they took cognizance of the letter addressed by Pope Adrian to Prince Constantine and his mother, the empress Irene. They blamed the pontiff for having ordered the Greeks to adore the images; they rejected the council of Nice, and the synod of the image worshippers, as being both sacrilegious cabals. They approved of the dogmas taught in the Carolin books, and called the replies which Adrian had addressed to Charlemagne on his capitularies, impious.

Finally, when the discussions were finished, Amilarius and Halitgar, bishop of Cambrai, were instructed to carry to Louis, in the name of the assembly, the following letter: "Illustrious emperor—Your father, having read the proceedings of the synod of Nice, found in them several condemnable things; he addressed judicious observations on them to the pope Adrian, in order that the pontiff might censure, by his authority, the errors of his predecessors; but the latter, favouring those who sustained the superstition of the images, instead of obeying the orders of the prince, protected the image worshippers.

"Thus, notwithstanding the respect due to the Holy See, we are forced to recognize, that in this grave question it is entirely in error, and that the explanations which it has given of the holy books, are opposed to the truth, and destructive of the purity of the faith.

"We know how much you will suffer at seeing that the Roman pontiffs, those powers of the earth, have wandered from divine truth, and have fallen into error; still we will not allow ourselves to be stopped by this consideration, since it concerns the salvation of our brethren.

"We beseech you then, O prince! to address severe reprimands to the churches of Rome and Constantinople, that the scandal of the double heresy of the adoration and contempt of images may fall upon them; for it is by loudly condemning image breakers and image worshippers that you will restore orthodoxy, and assure the safety of the people."

Thus the Christians of Gaul not only rejected the dogma of the infallibility of the popes, whilst two very religious emperors, Charlemagne and Louis, and a great number of prelates, recognized that the Holy See was entirely deceived in the question of images;

but even refused to submit to the decrees of an universal synod, which had nevertheless been approved of by the pope, and at which his legates had assisted.

The Protestants logically deduce from it this consequence: "If princes, bishops and councils could reject the worship of images as a superstitious and idolatrous practice, without being heretics, and without incurring excommunication, we may now fully follow this example; for that which is once permitted by religious dogmas, should be the guide of the future; divine laws not being enabled to be reformed as political are, by the caprices of man."

The disorders and debaucheries of the clergy in this age of darkness, had entirely destroyed ecclesiastical discipline; the corruptions of morals was frightful, especially in the convents of the monks and nuns.

Eugenius the Second undertook to reform the abuses, and convoked a synod of all the prelates of Italy. Sixty bishops, eighteen priests and a great number of clerks and monks assembled, by the orders of the holy father. This assembly brought together all the ablest prelates of Italy; their ignorance was, however, so profound, that they were obliged to copy the preface of the proceedings of a council held by Gregory the Second, to serve them as an initiatory discourse. The following are their decrees: "Schools shall be established in the bishoprics, parishes, and other places, where they shall be recognized as indispensable. Cloisters shall be erected near to cathedrals, and it shall be enjoined on clerks to study there, and live there, in common, under the direction of a superior, named by the bishop of the diocese.

"Curates shall not be intrusted with the charge of a parish, but with the consent of the people; and priests shall only be ordained for a single rank, in order not to be obliged to remain in secular houses, freed from all inspection of their chiefs.

"Ecclesiastics are prohibited from engaging in money-lending, hunting, or the labours of agriculture. They shall always appear in public, clothed in their sacerdotal habits, that they may be always ready to perform the functions of their ministry, and that they may not be exposed to the insults of seculars, who might treat them with contempt when clothed in the garments of the laity.

Prelates are expressly prohibited from

turning to their own profit the property of the churches, and from levying imposts upon their dioceses; they are, nevertheless, permitted to accept the offerings of the faithful, in order to augment the riches of the church.

"Ecclesiastics should be exempt from appearing in courts of justice, unless their testimony should be absolutely necessary. In the proceedings in which they are engaged, they shall be represented by advocates engaged to defend them, except in criminal accusations, when they are authorized to appear in person if the interest of the cause demands it."

Eugenius the Second died soon after having presided over this synod; he was interred at St. Peter's on the 27th of August, 827.

Ecclesiastical authors affirm that the pontiff himself distributed aid to the sick, to widows, and orphans. In fact, the extreme care which he took, during the three years of his reign to provision Rome with corn from Sicily, caused him to be surnamed the Father of the Poor, a title until then disdained by his proud predecessors.

The decrees made by the last council, and which were inspired by a great spirit of wisdom, unfortunately had not the power to reform the corrupt morals of the priests, nor to excite them to study. The clergy changed none of their vicious habits, and remained plunged, as before, in an ignorance so profound, that those were quoted as the best informed among the bishops who knew how to baptize according to the rules, who could explain the pater and the credo in the vulgar tongue, and who possessed a key to the calendar of the church.

As to the other ecclesiastics, they were unable to distinguish the names of angels from those of devils, and solemnly invoked, in the litany, the names of Uriel, Raguel, Tobiel, Inias, Zubinac, Sabaoc, and Simill, all pronounced spirits of darkness by the pontiff Zachary.

In the churches, on Christmas day, they announced to the faithful that the Word had entered the world through the ear of the Holy Virgin, and on Holy Friday that he had gone to Heaven through a gilt door. Almost all the priests were anthropomorphites, that is, they believed that God was corporeal; they knew neither the creed of the apostles, nor that of the mass, nor that of Saint Athanasius, nor even the Lord's Prayer.

## VALENTINE, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 827.]

*Origin of Valentine—His education—Opinion of historians on his election—Eulogium on him—His death.*

VALENTINE, a Roman by birth, was the son of a citizen named Peter. He had been brought up in the palace of the Lateran, and the pontiff, Pascal the First, had ordained

him sub-deacon as a reward for his assiduity in his studies. Eugenius the Second, then attached him to his person, and exhibited for him so lively an affection, that the Romans

affirmed that the pontiff was the true father of Valentine. He consecrated him archdeacon, gave him absolute authority over all the ecclesiastics of his court, and heaped upon him riches and favour. The bishops, jealous of the power of the favourite, spread infamous stories about him, accusing him of having criminal relations with the pope.

The influence of Valentine was nevertheless so great, that after the death of his protector, he was elevated to the Holy See by the suffrages of the clergy, the grantees, and the people.

Some authors affirm that his election was not exempt from the intrigues employed at all times by ecclesiastics who coveted the tiara. They cite in support of their assertion, that the priests who elected Valentine chief of the church, feared so much lest another pope should be proclaimed by those of an opposite faction, that they hastened to enthroned him before having even consecrated him, an action contrary to all the customs of the church; and that they conferred the episcopate upon a deacon before having ordained him priest. Others maintain, on the

other hand, that the new pontiff opposed his own election with all his power, and that they were obliged to remove him by force from the church of St. Comus and St. Damian, where he had concealed himself, in order to avoid the high dignity to which he had been promoted.

Anastasius, the librarian, thus expresses himself in relation to this pontiff: "His youth did not resemble that of other priests; far from seeking out pleasures and play, he avoided dissipation, and retired into solitude, in order to abandon himself entirely to the study of wisdom and religion. Thus he became the model which mothers offered to the consideration of their children, and he acquired a reputation for holiness among the faithful of Rome."

Elevated to the chair of the apostle, where he appeared but for a moment, Valentine exhibited to the faithful the admirable virtues of Christianity united to a spirit of tolerance; but death, which respects neither merit, dignity nor greatness, soon struck him, and the church lost one of its best pontiffs on the 10th of October, 827, after a reign of five weeks.

## GREGORY THE FOURTH, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH POPE.

*Election of Gregory—Violent dispute between the pope and the monks of the Convent of Farsa—The commissioners of Louis condemn the pope to restore the property usurped by the Holy See—Revolt of the children of Louis—Gregory betrays him—Louis is deposed and shut up in a monastery—Generosity of the king to the Roman church—Death of Gregory.*

GREGORY was a Roman by birth, and the son of a patrician named John. The pontiff Pascal had conferred on him the sub-deaconate and the priesthood.

Platinus relates, that after the death of Valentine, the deacon Gregory, elevated to the throne of St. Peter by the unanimous suffrages of the clergy and the people, at first refused this high dignity. Papebroch affirms, on the other hand, that Gregory, of a low and perfidious character, was supposed to have hastened the death of his predecessor, and only obtained the See by intrigue and violence. "The Romans," says this historian, "did not wish to consent to his ordination through fear of offending the emperor Louis, and they sent ambassadors to the monarch, to beseech him to name commissioners who should be instructed to examine into the validity of the election. When the French envoys came to the holy city, the politic Gregory loaded them with presents, bought their friendship and obtained a confirmation of his title to the popehood. He was consecrated in their presence on the eve of the Epiphany, in the church of St. Peter. Nevertheless, the emperor, some time after, enlightened by the reports of his ministers, as to the conduct of the pontiff, wrote him a severe letter, and threatened to depose him if he did not repair the scandal of his election by exemplary conduct."

From that time Gregory vowed an implacable hatred to the prince, the effects of which we shall see in the latter years of his reign.

He first occupied himself by repairing the churches of Rome which had fallen into ruins; he built numerous monasteries, which he endowed with immense wealth torn from the people by the sword of kings or the knavery of priests. He then transported into one of the galleries of the church of St. Peter, the body of Gregory the Great, he placed it under the altar of an oratory dedicated to that saint, and of which the niche was of Mosaic upon a basis of gold. The fete of this pontiff was celebrated every year in this chapel, and during the ceremony the faithful kissed the pallium, the reliquary, and the girdle with which he had been buried. The bodies of Saint Sebastian and St. Tiberius were deposited in the same oratory.

Gregory the Fourth rebuilt the church of St. Mark and decorated it magnificently; he placed on the high altar a tabernacle of silver weighing a thousand pounds, and transported into the sanctuary the body of St. Hermer. Before the inhumation of the saint he cut off one of his fingers, which he sent as a present to Eginhard, the old secretary of Charlemagne. Still the care which he took to reconstruct temples which were in ruins, did not hinder him from extending his solicitude to temporal

affairs; he rebuilt the walls of Ostia and fortified the port which had been dismantled by the Saracens, in their incursions on the islands or shores adjoining the mouth of the Tiber. This city was surrounded by high walls, defended by bastions and deep ditches; he shut it up by immense gates furnished with portcullises, and placed upon the walls a species of catapulta to hurl stones, and formidable machines designed to repel the attacks of the enemy. The new city was named Gregoripolis.

During the sojourn of the commissioners of the emperor in Rome, Ingoalde, abbot of Farsa, brought to them a letter from Louis, which commanded them to examine with impartiality, the complaints brought against Popes Adrian and Leo, who were accused by the abbot of the monastery of St. Mary, of having seized upon five domains of great extent belonging to his convent. Ingoalde pressed upon the ambassadors the steps which had been already taken during the pontificates of Stephen, Pascal and Eugenius, and represented to them, that not having been able to obtain justice he had finally appealed to the emperor.

The commissioners advised the pope of the orders they had received, and summoned him to be represented before their tribunal. An advocate was immediately sent from Rome to present the defence of the Holy See; he rejected the claim of Ingoalde as derogatory to the dignity of the pope, and solemnly affirmed in the name of Gregory, that the property in dispute had never belonged to the monastery of St. Mary. The abbot rising from his seat, called the pontiff and his defender sacrilegious and liars; he showed the titles of the donations which had been made to his convent by King Didier, and which had been confirmed by Charlemagne.

Upon proof so authentic, the commissioners were obliged to condemn the court of Rome to restore the property which it had unjustly seized; but the lawyer refused to submit to their decision, and the pope, approving of this resistance, declared that he himself would go to France to break down the judgment of the commissioners. Notwithstanding this declaration, the prince ordered that the judgment pronounced against the Holy See should be executed without delay. Ingoalde was put in possession of the territories, and the deed which conferred them upon him was deposited in the archives of Farsa, in confirmation of the rights of the monastery.

Gregory had already sworn an implacable hatred to Louis, on account of the menaces which he had addressed to him on his election; this last affair transported him with fury, and he no longer kept any guard over his conduct towards the monarch. He first excited the children against the father; then, when Lothaire was in full revolt, he came into France to aid the cause of the prince, and to insure the success of the rebellion, by placing the guilty sons under the protection of the church.

The Chronicle of St. Denis, in speaking of these events, affirms "that the demons of hell animated all the children of Louis, and that Satan himself came in the person of the bishop of Rome, under the charitable pretext, as if he wished to re-establish peace between the emperor and his children, but in reality to excommunicate the monarch and the bishops who opposed the execrable wishes of these unnatural children."

As soon as Gregory had passed the Alps, the prelates who remained faithful to the unfortunate Louis, wrote to him to compel him to leave France. They recalled to his recollection the oaths which he had made to the monarch; they reproached him with the treason of which he was guilty in coming to trouble his kingdom, and mix himself up in the affairs of state, which were not within his competency; and declared that if he should undertake to lay an interdict on them, they would return against him the excommunications and anathemas, and would solemnly depose him from his sacred functions.

The pontiff, alarmed at this formidable opposition resolved to quit France, and was already preparing to return to Rome, when two monks, creatures of Lothaire, placed before him the passages from the fathers, and the canons of the Italian councils, which declared him to be the supreme judge of all Christians. Then pride triumphed over fear, and his boldness no longer knew any bounds. He dared to write to the bishops of the emperor's party a letter in which he elevates the power of the Holy See above thrones, and maintains that those who have been baptized, no matter what their rank, owe to him entire obedience. "If I have sworn obedience to the king, I cannot better fulfil my oath than by restoring peace to the state; and you cannot accuse me of perjury, who are yourselves guilty of that crime towards me."

On his side, Lothaire spread abroad proclamations against his father, but in terms less vehement than those of the sovereign pontiff; he only wished, he assured the world, to punish the evil counsellors by whom his father was surrounded and to prevent the tranquillity of the kingdom from being compromised by their senseless advice.

Under pretext of designating to the emperor the men whom he should exile from his court, Gregory went to the camp of the emperor to re-establish concord, according to the maxims of the gospel, between the father and his children. He remained several days with the emperor, and whilst making protestations to him of unutterable devotion, he was assuring himself of the defection of the troops by presents, promises, or threats; and on the very night of his departure, all the soldiers went over to the camp of Lothaire.

The next day, Louis having been informed of this odious treason, perceived that he could no longer resist the criminal projects of his sons; he called together the faithful servants who remained about his person, went to the camp of the princes and delivered himself

into their hands. The plain on which these events occurred lies between Basle and Strasburg; since that time it has been called "the plain of falsehood," in remembrance of the infamy of the pontiff.

Louis was received by his children with great demonstrations of respect; shortly afterwards, however, he was separated from Judith, his wife, who was intrusted to the guardianship of Louis, king of Bavaria; then, at the instigation of Gregory, they declared him a prisoner, and deprived of the imperial dignity. He was then despoiled of his royal ornaments, clothed in the garb of a public penitent, and constrained in the presence of an immense multitude, to confess with a loud voice, crimes that he had never committed. Lothaire confined him in the monastery of St. Medard, at Soissons, seized upon the sovereign authority, and caused the clergy, the lords, and the army to take an oath of allegiance to him as emperor of the West and king of France.

After having directed and consecrated this infamous usurpation, the pope returned in triumph into Italy. But the authority of the children of Louis was not of long duration; the people, indignant at the conduct of Lothaire, revolted against him and re-established the emperor upon the throne. In his turn, Louis resolved to be revenged on the pontiff, and sent immediately to Rome, St. Anscairus, the metropolitan of Hamburg, accompanied by the prelates of Soissons and Strasburg, and the count Gerald, for the purpose of interrogating the holy father as to the part which he had taken in the conspiracy of the French princes.

Gregory protested, on oath, the purity of his intentions, renewed the assurances of his devotion to the person of the king, pledged himself to aid him against his sons, and loaded with presents the envoys of France. The weak Louis consented to forget the past; he pardoned his children, and even carried his indulgence so far as to interpose his authority to protect the Holy See against his son Lothaire, who, furious at the new treason of the pope, had ordered his officers to treat with great severity the priests of the Roman church, and even the holy father himself.

Louis thus wrote to his son: "Recollect prince, that in bestowing on you the kingdom of Italy, I have recommended to you to have the greatest respect for the holy Roman church, and that you have sworn to defend it against its enemies, and not to leave it exposed to the outrages of strangers. Put an end then to the violence of your soldiery against the clergy of Rome. I command you to prepare food and lodging for my retinue and myself; for I am about to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the apostles, and I hope that by the time of my arrival in the holy city all complaints against your troops will have ceased."

The noble and generous conduct of Louis in this matter, serves to blacken for ever the memory of the execrable pontiff, who used religion as a plea to arm children against their father!

This cowardly, knavish, perfidious, and sacrilegious priest, destitute of principles and faith, occupied the chair of St. Peter for sixteen years. He at last died in the beginning of the year 844.

## SERGIVS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 844.]

*History of Sergivus, surnamed the Hog's Snout—Troubles caused by the election of Sergivus—Journey of King Louis to Rome—Boldness of the pontiff—His election is confirmed—He and his brother publicly sell the offices of the church—The Roman people take the oath of fidelity to the emperor—Louis is crowned king of the Lombards—The rape of the beautiful Ermengarde, daughter of Lothaire—Division between the emperor and his brothers—Council of Paris—Nomenoes seizes upon the sovereignty of Brittany—Inursions of the Saracens into Italy—Miracle of Monte Cassino—Death of Sergivus.*

SERGIVS was a Roman by birth. He had lost his father at a very early age. His mother took great pains with his education. Unfortunately she was carried off by an epidemic, and the young Sergivus remained an orphan.

Pope Leo the Third admitted him into the school of the chanters, where he distinguished himself by his rapid progress and his great aptitude for work. His protector, having taken him into his favour, made him an acolyte; Stephen the Fourth then made him a sub-deacon, and Pascal the First, ordained him a priest of the order of St. Sylvester; finally, Gregory the Fourth made him an archpriest.

On the death of this pontiff, the lords and

the people assembled together to choose his successor. But the number of those ambitious of the office was so great, that parties were undecided and did not choose any of the competitors. The brother of Sergivus, skilfully availing himself of the disposition of their minds, spread the name of the archpriest among the people, and his partisans proclaimed that Sergivus was alone worthy of the tiara. The voters, thus taken by surprise, immediately gave their suffrages to the happy Sergivus.

A deacon named John, also intrigued for the chair of St. Peter; furious at having failed in his projects, he put himself at the head of

soldiers and forced the gates of the palace to proceed to a new election. The prelates and the people precipitated themselves on these disorganizers in the patriarchal residence; they dragged the deacon from the church in which he had taken refuge, drove off his partizans, and finally, when the tumult was appeased, the citizens of Rome went to the church of St. Martin, which was the residence of Sergius. He was conducted with great honours to the palace of the Lateran; an immense crowd of priests and monks followed him, singing sacred hymns, and on the same day he was solemnly consecrated and enthroned in the presence of the people.

Anastasius relates, that during the night succeeding this important ceremony "there fell so great a quantity of snow, that the holy city appeared on the next day to be clothed in a spotless robe, as a sign of rejoicing, and a favourable presage for the new reign."

Before his election the pope called himself *Os Porci*, Hog's Snout. After the consecration he changed this ridiculous name, and took that of Sergius. To this circumstance is attributed the origin of the usage which is still preserved by the popes, of choosing a new name on mounting the Holy See.

The deacon John, as a punishment for his revolt, had been confined in a close prison; the magistrates charged to judge him wished to send him into exile; the clergy, always more severe than other men, thought this punishment too light, and asked that his eyes and tongue should be torn out. Sergius opposed all these cruel measures, restored his prisoner to liberty, and re-instated him in his diaconate.

In the midst of these disorders, the new pontiff, urged to receive consecration, was unable to wait for the consent of Lothaire to his ordination: the emperor, irritated by this act of disobedience, resolved to send to Rome his eldest son Louis, accompanied by his uncle, Drogon, bishop of Metz, to testify his discontent with the Holy See, and to prevent the future consecration of popes without his authority.

Before his departure, the young Louis was declared king of Italy, and Lothaire gave him a magnificent retinue to accompany him into his kingdom. As soon as Sergius heard of the arrival of the prince, he sent to meet him the magistrates of Rome, the children of the schools, the companies of the militia with their leaders, all thundering forth songs in honour of the young sovereign, and bearing crosses and banners at the head of the procession, as was practised in the reception of the emperors. Louis traversed the holy city in the midst of an immense escort, and advanced towards the porch of the church of St. Peter, where stood the pontiff Sergius, surrounded by his clergy and clothed with ornaments glittering with gold and precious stones.

When the king had mounted the steps of the church, the two sovereigns embraced, and both entered the court of honour, holding each other by the hand. At a signal of the holy father, the inner gates, which were of massive silver, closed as if of their own accord; then

Sergius, turning towards the prince, said to him, "My Lord, if you come hither with a sincere desire to contribute with all your efforts to the safety of the state and church, I will cause the sacred gates to open; but if not, you shall not enter the temple of the apostles."

Still, notwithstanding the pacific assurances of the young monarch, the soldiers of his escort, encamped around the city, had orders to ravage the country, to punish the Romans for having ordained a pope without waiting for the arrival of the commissioners of the emperor. The French prelates and lords even assembled to examine if the election of Sergius was regular, and if they should drive from the pontifical throne the audacious archpriest. This assembly, composed of twenty-three bishops, and a great number of abbots and lords, was so indignant at the intrigues and machinations of the holy father, that Angilbert, metropolitan of Milan, loudly accused Sergius of having excited, by his ambition, all the disorders which desolated the holy city, and declared that he separated himself from his communion.

Viguier also affirms that during the reign of Sergius, the priests enjoyed every license. He adds, "the pope had a brother named Benedict, a man of a brutal character, who seized upon the ecclesiastical and political administration of the city of Rome. By his avarice he introduced disorder every where, and wore out the people by his exactions. He publicly sold the bishoprics, and he who gave the highest price obtained the preference. He at last rendered the usage of simony, so natural to the Italian clergy, that there did not exist in this corrupt province a single bishop or priest, animated by laudable motives, who did not address complaints to the emperor to put an end to this abominable traffic.

"The divine Providence, wearied of these abominations, sent the scourge of the Pagans to revenge the crimes of the court of Rome. The Saracens, urged on by the hand of God, came even into the territory of the church, put to death a great number of persons, and sacked villages and castles."

Such was the frightful position of Rome six months after the enthronement of Sergius. Nevertheless, the young prince, seduced by the presents and the flattery of the pontiff, confirmed his election, notwithstanding the advice of his counsellors, and only exacted that the citizens of Rome should renew their oath of fidelity to him and his father. The ceremony took place in the church of St. Peter; the Italian and French lords, the clergy, the people and the pontiff, swore before the body of the apostle, entire submission to the emperor Lothaire and his son, after which Louis received the crown at the hands of Sergius, who proclaimed him king of the Lombards.

Drogon, bishop of Metz, who had assisted the Holy See in this difficult affair, received as a recompense for his good offices, enormous sums and the title of apostolic vicar, with full authority over the metropolitans of

the churches situated beyond the Alps, and the right of assembling general councils.

The discord which reigned among the children of the emperor Louis, was not extinguished since his death, and the hatred broke out on the occasion of the abduction of the beautiful Ermengarde, the daughter of Lothaire, who was carried off by a lord named Sisalbert, a vassal of King Charles the Bald. Lothaire accused his brothers Charles and Louis the German, of having authorized the ravishment of his daughter, and threatened them with a terrible war. Louis freed himself from this accusation by oath; Charles, on the other hand, having replied to his brother, that he did not fear his threats, all the wrath of the emperor was turned against him.

To assure himself of his vengeance, Lothaire first undertook to re-install upon the See of Rheims the prelate Ebbon, who had formerly been driven from his diocese on account of his crimes, and had been replaced by the celebrated Hincmar. He made Ebbon promise to use the influence of religion to detach the people from their obedience to the king of Neustria; he was then employed in inducing the pope to pronounce the re-installation of the unworthy archbishop.

Sergius, obedient to the orders of the emperor, wrote to King Charles, that he had cited the bishops Gondevand, metropolitan of Rouen, and Hincmar, to appear in the city of Treves, whither legates from the Holy See would go, to examine, in a council, into the case of the deposed prelate. The prince opposed the departure of his bishops, alleging that they were not in safety in an enemy's country, and indicated the city of Paris for a place of meeting. The legates having assented to this change, the synod assembled to judge the two prelates. Ebbon did not appear before the bishops, and did not even send letters to excuse his absence. The fathers then declared that they would interdict him, until he appeared before them, from all pretensions upon the diocese of Rheims, with a prohibition to attempt any enterprise against his successor.

Ebbon, intimidated by the sentence of the synod, detached himself entirely from the cause of Lothaire, and notwithstanding the solicitations of his sovereign, he refused to appeal to the Holy See, and lived five years longer in quiet and obscurity.

The emperor having failed in his projects against the archbishop of Rheims, formed new intrigues and encouraged the revolt of Nomenoe, duke of the Bretons. This ambitious lord had levied an army against Charles the Bald, and was desirous of being declared king of Brittany, notwithstanding the opposition of the bishops of the province, who were devoted to the king of Neustria, and refused to consecrate him. In that age of superstition and ignorance, nations regarded priests as the sole dispensers of crowns, and princes were not recognized as legitimate sovereigns, until after they had received their diadems from the hands of bishops. Lothaire, knowing the avarice of the holy father, induced the duke

to send to Rome a brilliant embassy, carrying rich presents to be offered to Sergius, in exchange for the re-establishment of the royalty of Brittany. This step of the duke was very successful; the pontiff declared his pretensions just and legitimate, and ordered the Breton bishops to consecrate him king under penalty of deposition and anathema. The duke then assembled the prelates of his province, and by his threats forced them to execute the orders of the pontiff.

Thus France became a bloody arena, in which the descendants of Charlemagne disputed for the first rank, and rivalled each other in crimes and outrages.

Italy, more unfortunate still under the tyranny of the popes, found itself abandoned defenceless to the avarice of the priests and the cruelty of the Saracens.

The Moors, having remounted the Tiber, besieged Rome and spread themselves through the country; the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul were pillaged, and the magnificent altar of silver which adorned the sepulchre of the apostle Peter became the prey of these barbarians. They seized upon the little city of Fondi, and after having put the men to the sword, they burned the city and led the women into captivity. Lothaire having sent troops against them, they pitched their camp near Gaëta, waited bravely for the French and routed them.

This victory augmented the power of the Saracens; they penetrated further into Italy, and directed their steps towards the convent of Monte Cassino, celebrated for the immense wealth which it contained. Arrived in the night in sight of the monastery, the Moors pitched their tents on the banks of a stream, whose ford they could easily pass, and which separated them from Monte Cassino, putting off until the next day the pillage of this rich abbey, in order that nothing might escape them.

The monks who found themselves defenceless, at the mercy of the Arabs, expected nothing but death. In their despair, they went with naked feet and ashes on their head to the church of St. Benedict, to pass the night in prayers and invoke the protection of their blessed founder. Then, by a brilliant miracle, at the moment when they thundered forth the chant of the sacred songs, the heavens were covered with clouds and there fell so abundant a rain, that the stream became a torrent, and it was impossible for their enemies on the next day to cross it! At least thus the legend relates the miraculous deliverance of the monastery.

Furious at seeing their rich prey escape them, the Saracens glutted their rage on the inhabitants of the surrounding country. They burned the farm houses, carried off the cattle, violated the women, and put to death by torture all the monks whom they encountered; finally, they ravaged all Italy until the end of the reign of Sergius.

The pontiff died suddenly on the 27th of January, 847, after having occupied the Holy See for three years. He was interred at St. Peter's.

In Gaul, a mendicant monk, called Gothesale, endeavoured to raise a new heresy, and taught the doctrine of predestination; that is to say, that according to his view, men could not correct their errors nor their habitual sins, on account of a hidden power which led them in spite of themselves to their destruction, and because God predestinated evil as well as good from all eternity. The celebrated Raban-Maur, archbishop of Mayence, vigorously combated these pernicious doctrines and condemned the heretic in several councils, regardless of the bonds of affection which united them. Both had passed many years in the monastery of Fulda, of which Raban had been the director.

It was from this pious retreat that the most illustrious doctors of the ninth century sallied forth to spread light through Gaul, amongst

others Valafrid, Strabon, and Loup de Ferrières. During twenty years Raban remained at the head of this celebrated community, which did not count less than two hundred and seventy monks, and caused himself to be cherished by all for his mildness, piety, spirit of concord and conciliation. Nevertheless, the love of science and of solitude, induced him suddenly to renounce his dignity of abbot, and he retired to Mount St. Peter, into a little isolated dwelling, where he composed a large number of very remarkable works upon philosophy and the different branches of sacred and profane learning. At the age of seventy he was named archbishop of Mayence. Forced, in spite of himself, to accept the burthen of the episcopate, he bore it gloriously until his death, of which it would be difficult to assign a certain epoch.

## LEO THE FOURTH, THE HUNDRED AND SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 847.]

*Enthronement of Leo—His pride—Knavery of the priests—Leo builds walls around Rome—Defeat of the Saracens by the allies of the pope—Ceremonies used at the dedication of new cities—Foundation of Leopolis—Death of Leo—Opinions of historians in regard to him.*

LEO was the son of an Italian lord, named Rodoaldus; his parents had placed him in the monastery of St. Martin, situated near to the church of St. Peter, in order that he might acquire in this pious retreat a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures. The young "religious" was recommended to Gregory the Fourth, who took him into the palace of the Lateran and ordained him a sub-deacon, attaching him to his person. Sergius the Second also conceived an affection for him; he consecrated him a priest of the order of the Four Crowns, and loaded him with riches and honours.

On the death of his protector, Leo, according to some authors, intrigued for the papacy; according to others, he was elevated to the Holy See by an unanimous vote, and against his wishes; all agree, however, that after his election he went to the patriarchal palace, followed by a magnificent retinue, and that he presented his feet to be kissed by the clergy, nobility, and principal citizens. The Romans dared not ordain the new pontiff without the authority of Lothaire, and the Holy See remained vacant for two months.

But the approach of the barbarians who threatened to besiege Rome a second time, determined the council of the city to wait no longer for the commissioners of the emperor, and the pope was consecrated by three bishops. The first act of the holy father after his enthronement was to repair the church of St. Peter, which had been devastated by the Arabs. He adorned it with a cross of gold, with chalices and chandeliers of silver, with curtains and tapestries of precious stuffs; he placed in front of the confessional or the pre-

tended sepulchre, tables of gold, enriched with precious stones and adorned with paintings in enamel, representing his portrait and that of Lothaire. The sepulchre was surrounded by large frames of silver, richly worked, and all these ornaments were covered by an immense tabernacle of silver, weighing sixteen hundred pounds.

These embellishments and the revenues which he appropriated to the priests of this church, amounted to more than three thousand eight hundred and sixteen pounds weight of silver, and two hundred and sixteen pounds of gold. In order to appreciate the outrage of the prodigalities of the pontiff towards his clergy, and the insatiable avarice of the priests of Rome, it will be enough to relate two facts of that unfortunate period. "At the council of Toulouse, held in 846, the contribution, which each curate was obliged to furnish to his bishop, consisted of three bushels of wheat, three bushels of barley, a measure of wine, and a lamb, the whole valued at two pennies." The second example of public misery is drawn from the life of Charles the Bald. "The prince made an edict in 864 for a new coinage of money; and as by this decree the old money was decried, and was no longer circulated, he ordered that there should be drawn from his coffers fifty pounds of silver, to be expended in commerce." Thus we may judge into what brutality and misery kings and priests had plunged the nations, when a chalice or a perfume box of a church in Rome was almost of more value than all the circulating medium of the merchants of a great kingdom!

We can with difficulty understand that men had descended to such an abject state, and that they should thus have allowed themselves to be despoiled by the avarice of sovereigns; we would even be tempted to doubt these extraordinary facts if contemporary historians did not recite them with a naïveté which guarantees the truth of their recitals.

The chroniclers of the period attribute to the holy father the death of a terrible dragon, the terror of the holy city. This is the legend: "A cockatrice of more than thirty feet in length by two and a half in thickness, had retired into a cave, near the church of St. Lucius, to which no one dare approach, as the breath of the monster caused death. The pontiff, however, went in a procession at the head of his clergy, to the cave where the cockatrice lay, and as soon as the animal heard the voice of the holy father, it died, casting forth a great quantity of flame from its mouth. . . ."

This miracle did not prevent the Arabs from continuing their ravages upon the coasts of Italy, from sacking the cities and devastating the country. Leo, fearing lest they should come even to Rome, and being desirous of placing the church of St. Peter beyond the reach of a sudden attack, surrounded it with walls and bastions, and even resolved to execute the plan formed by one of his predecessors, of building a city near to the church. He first addressed the emperor Lothaire, who approved of the plan of a new city, and sent large sums to hasten the building; he then assembled the notables of Rome, and consulted them upon the measures necessary to be taken for the execution of the work. In accordance with their advice and the general interest, they brought in serfs from the cities and domains which belonged to the lords and the monasteries.

Four entire years were employed on the foundation; the pontiff visited the workmen daily, without being prevented by cold, wind or rain. At the same time he raised again the old walls of Rome, which had fallen into ruins, and constructed fifteen towers, two of which were placed on the banks of the Tiber, and impeded the navigation of the river by great chains. The works were not yet completed when a debarkation of the Saracens took place in the island of Sardinia.

On the receipt of this news, Leo, fearing to be shortly besieged by the barbarians, demanded aid from the inhabitants of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaëta. His request was acceded to, and Cæsar, the son of Sergius, the leader of the Neapolitan troops, was sent to lead troops to the pontiff to oppose the landing of the Saracens. The holy father came to Ostia to receive his allies; he received the Neapolitan leaders with great demonstrations of friendship, and gave his feet to the soldiers to kiss; he then celebrated a solemn mass, and administered the communion to the whole army. Scarcely was the ceremony completed when the sails of the Saracens appeared on the sea; the troops, excited to enthusiasm by

this circumstance, which they regarded as a happy presage, uttered cries of joy at the sight of the vessels of the enemy; but the holy father, less confident in celestial prodigies, escaped during the night, and disgracefully returned to Rome.

At the break of day the Saracens commenced their landing; the Neapolitans, who lay concealed behind the rocks, suffered a part of their enemies quietly to disembark, when they suddenly unmasked themselves, fell upon the Arabs and made an horrible carnage. Almost all were put to the sword, and a tempest having arisen at the same moment, the rest of the fleet was entirely dispersed. Those who landed on the neighbouring islands were pursued by the Neapolitans; some were hung to the trees in the forests, others were conducted to Rome, and compelled to labour on the walls.

This new re-inforcement of workmen accelerated the work on the church of St. Peter, and the new city was completed on the 27th of June, 849. The holy father, wishing to finish his work by an imposing ceremony, convoked all the bishops of Italy, the clergy of Rome, the grandees and the people, and at the head of an immense multitude he approached the walls of the enclosure with naked feet and his forehead covered with ashes. The procession made the tour of the walls several times, singing hymns and psalms. At each station the pontiff sprinkled the building with holy water, and made a prayer before the gates of the city; mass was then celebrated in the church of St. Peter, and Leo distributed rich presents to the workmen, and even to the Saracens, who had done a part of the work. The dedication being terminated, the new city received the name of Leonine.

The holy father was also engaged in fortifying Porto, which remained exposed to the invasions of the infidel; but whilst he was occupied with these works, a great number of Corsicans, driven from their country by the Moors, took refuge at Rome, and besought the pontiff to take them under his rule, pledging, by oath, themselves and their descendants, to preserve an inviolable fidelity towards the Holy See. Leo listened favourably to their request, and offered them, as their residence, the city of Porto, where they established themselves with their wives and children. He even gave them lands, cattle, horses, provisions and money. This deed of donation was confirmed by Lothaire and his son, who deposited it upon the confessional of St. Peter, in the presence of the grandees, the clergy and the people. At the close of this magnificent ceremony the holy father granted to the metropolitan Hincmar authority to wear his pallium constantly, an ornament of distinction which archbishops could not wear but on great occasions.

The care of the pontiff was soon extended to the unfortunate inhabitants of Centumcella, who, during forty years, had been driven from their city by the Saracens, and whose dwellings had been entirely destroyed.





*Lith. et Wagner & M. Ouzan, No. Chestnut St.*

**Popess Joan.**

During that period they had been forced to take refuge in the woods, and to live as savage beasts. The pope, touched by their frightful misery, penetrated into the retreats of these unfortunate beings, was prodigal to them of aid, and built, to receive them, a new city, which he named *Leopolis*, and solemnly dedicated with the same ceremonies which had been used for the city *Leonine*. In the following century, the city having become too small to contain the population, which had prodigiously increased, the inhabitants abandoned it to return to the ancient *Centumcella* on the sea, which they called *Civita-Vecchia*, or the old city.

Whilst *Leo* was engaged in repairing the disasters which the *Saracens* had caused in Italy, *Daniel*, the chief of the militia of Rome, went to the emperor *Louis*, and accused the prefect *Gratian* of having formed a plot to free himself from the rule of the French. This revelation irritated the prince against the Romans; he assembled troops in haste, and without advising the pontiff or the senate of his projects, he entered the holy city at the head of his army. Notwithstanding the hostility of this movement, the pope received *Louis* with great honours upon the steps of the church of *St. Peter*, and delivered to him a discourse full of unction and wisdom, asking from him the cause of his discontent. The monarch refused to reply to the observations of *Leo*, and ordered him to convoke a council immediately, to judge the cause of *Gratian*, who was accused of the crime of *lese-majesty*.

On the day appointed, the emperor, the pope

and the Roman and French lords, went in great pomp to the new palace of *Leo*. The session was opened by *Daniel*, who appeared as the accuser of *Gratian*. The latter replied victoriously to all the accusations, and convicted his adversary of calumny; then the holy father, in the name of the assembly, declared that the calumniator should be delivered over to the accused, in accordance with the Roman law; but at the request of *Leo*, the sentence was retracted, and the guilty man escaped the just punishment of his crime. This was the last decree made by the pontiff; he died in the beginning of the year 853, after a reign of six years.

Several Catholic authors exalt the innocence of the life of *Leo*, the purity of his morals, his sincere piety, his liberality, and his information. Other writers, equally commendable for their information, affirm that the holy father founded a convent of nuns in his own house, and that he abandoned himself with them to the most abominable debaucheries; they accuse him of having been of a sordid avarice, and they cite, to sustain their opinion, the testimony of the celebrated abbot, *Loup-de-Ferriere*.

In fact, this monk, having been sent to Rome as an ambassador, took care to fortify himself with magnificent presents, "because, said he, without this indispensable precaution, one cannot approach *Leo the Fourth*." Finally, historians maintain that the care of his personal safety, and not his solicitude for the people, was the only moving cause of the immense works which he caused to be executed in the Roman province.

## THE HISTORY OF THE POPENESS JOAN.

[A. D. 853.]

*The history of the popess Joan proved by authentic and indisputable testimony—Birth of Joan—Opinions as to her true name—Her first amour with a young monk—She disguises herself as a man, in order to enter the monastery of her lover—She goes into England, where she becomes remarkable for her profound wisdom—Her journeys to Greece—Death of her lover—She goes to Rome—Her great reputation for holiness and learning is spread throughout Italy—Enthronement of the popess—Miracles during her pontificate—She consecrates and performs all the acts of the papacy—Louis the Second receives his imperial crown at her hands—Her amours with a cardinal—She becomes enciente—The Visions—She is taken with the pains of childbirth in the midst of a solemn procession—Her accouchement and death—The confusion of the clergy—The priests strangle her child—Examples of females disguised in the garb of men—The beautiful Eugenia made an abbot in a monastery of Benedictines—Singular adventures of the monk Theodore in the See of Constantinople.*

DURING several centuries, the history of the popess *Joan* was regarded, by the clergy even, as incontestable; but finally, the ultramontanes, understanding the scorn and ridicule which the reign of a woman might bring upon the church, have treated as a fable worthy of the contempt of enlightened men, the pontificate of this celebrated woman. The most equitable authors have, on the other hand, defended the reputation of *Joan*, and

have proved, by the most authentic testimony, that the popess illustrated her reign by the splendour of her abilities, and the practice of Christian virtues.

The fanatical *Baronius* regards the popess as a monster, whom atheists and heretics had evoked from hell by witchcraft and spells; the superstitious *Florimond de Raymond* compares *Joan* to a second *Heracles*, who had been sent by heaven to curse the Roman

church, whose abominations had excited the wrath of God. But the popess has been victoriously defended by an English historian, Alexander Cook; her memory has been rescued by him from the calumnies of her adversaries, and the pontificate of Joan has retaken its place in the chronological order of the history of the popes. The long disputes of the Catholics and Protestants on the subject of this celebrated female, having given a powerful attraction to her history; we are compelled to enter upon all the details of a life so extraordinary.

Behold the manner in which the Jesuit Labbé, one of the enemies of the popess, sent his cartel of defiance to the reformed Christians, "I give the most formal defiance to all the heretics of France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and all the countries of the earth, to be able to reply, with the slightest appearance of truth, to the chronological demonstration which I have published against the fable which the heterodox relate of the popess Joan, an impious fable, of which I have overthrown the fragile foundations in an invincible manner. . . ." The Protestants, far from being intimidated by the effrontery of the Jesuit, victoriously refuted all his allegations, demonstrated the falsity of his citations, destroyed all the scaffolding of his knavery and falsehood, and despite the anathemas of Father Labbé, they drew Joan from the imaginary space to which fanaticism had confined her.

In his treatise, Father Labbé accused John Huss, Jerome of Prague, Wickliffe, Luther, and Calvin, of being the inventors of the history of the popess; but it was proved that Joan, having mounted the Holy See almost six centuries before the appearance of the first of these illustrious men, it was impossible they should have imagined the fable; and that in all these cases Marianus, who wrote the life of the popess more than five hundred years before them, could not have been able to copy it from their works.

A history, whose moral views elevate it above the interests of religious sects, should occupy itself with the triumph of truth, without disquieting itself on account of sacerdotal wrath; and besides, the existence of this celebrated woman cannot inflict any blow on the dignity of the Holy See, since Joan, during the course of her reign, did not imitate the knaveries, the treasons, nor the cruelties of the pontiffs of the ninth century.

Cotemporary chroniclers establish, with the highest degree of evidence, the period of the reign of Joan, and their assertions merit the more belief, as these historians, being prelates, priests and monks, all zealous partizans of the Holy See, would have been interested in denying the appearance of a woman on the throne of St. Peter. It is true that several authors of the ninth century make no mention of this heroine; but their silence is justly attributed to the barbarity of the period and the stupidity of the clergy.

One of the most irrefutable proofs of the existence of Joan is to be found in the decree

which was to be made by the court of Rome prohibiting the placing of Joan in the catalogue of the popes. "Thus," adds the Equitable Launoÿ, "it is not just to maintain, that the silence which has been kept on this history, in the times immediately following the event, should be prejudicial to the recital which has been later made. It is true that the cotemporary ecclesiastics of the times of Leo the Fourth and Benedict the Third, through an excessive zeal for religion, have not spoken of this remarkable woman; but their successors, less scrupulous, have at last uncovered the mystery. . ."

More than a century before Marianus wrote the manuscripts which he left in the abbey of Fulda, different authors had already given several versions in relation to the pontificate of the popess; but this learned monk cleared up all doubts, and his chronicles have been received as authentic by the conscientious learned, who establish historical truths on the testimony of men whose probity and ability are incontestable. All the world agrees in recognizing Marianus as a judicious, impartial, and truthful writer; his reputation is so well established, that England, Scotland, and Germany have claimed the honour of being his country; and moreover, his character as a priest and the devotion he always exhibited towards the Holy See, do not permit us to suspect him of a leaning against the Catholic church.

Marianus was not a weak monk, a dupe or a visionary; on the contrary, he was very enlightened, very well informed, full of firmness and religion, and had given incontestable proofs of his attachment to the court of Rome, by defending, with great courage, Pope Gregory the Seventh against the emperor, Henry the Fourth. It is not, then, possible to refuse the authority of such testimony; besides, there did not exist a single historical fact at the close of the discussion, that we could not regard as evident.

Thus the Jesuits, who have endeavored to throw doubts over the existence of the popess, comprehending the strength which the writings of this historian gave to their adversaries, have endeavoured to accuse of incorrectness, the copies of the works of Marianus. Mabillon, especially, maintains that there exist copies, in which there is no mention of the popess. To confute this assertion it is only necessary to consult the manuscripts in the principal libraries of Germany and France, of Oxford and the Vatican. Besides, it is proved that the autograph manuscripts of the monks, which have been preserved in France for many centuries, in the library of the Dome, really contain the history of the popess Joan.

It is equally impossible to admit, that a man of the character of Marianus Scotus would have filled his chronicles with an adventure so singular, if it had not been true. Still, admitting that he was capable of such an imposture, is it probable that the popes who then governed the church, would have kept silence on this impety? Gregory the Ninth,

the proudest of the pontiffs, the most impassioned in his pretensions for the infallibility of the Holy See, would he have suffered a monk to dishonour the court of Rome with so much insolence? Would Victor the Third, Urban the Second, Pascal the Second, contemporaries of Marianus, have suffered this outrage with impunity? Finally, would the ecclesiastic writers of his age, and especially the celebrated Alberic of Monte Cassino, so devoted to the popes, have failed to rise up against such an infamy?

Thus, according to the most authentic and unexceptionable testimony, it is demonstrated that the popess Joan existed in the ninth century; that a woman has occupied the chair of St. Peter; been the vicar of Christ on earth, and proclaimed sovereign pontiff of Rome!!!

A woman seated in the chair of the popes, her head ornamented with the tiara, and holding in her hands the keys of St. Peter, is an extraordinary event, of which the records of history offer but a single example. That which most astonishes the mind is not, that a woman was enabled by her talents to elevate herself above all the men of her age, since heroines have commanded armies, governed empires, and filled the world with the renown of their wisdom, glory, and virtues; but that Joan, without armies, without treasures, with no other aid than her own mind, was sufficiently skilful to deceive the Roman clergy, and to cause her feet to be kissed by the proud cardinals of the holy city, that it is which places her above all other heroines, for no one beside approaches the marvellous fact of having become a female pope!

In a life so extraordinary as that of Joan, we should relate all the events which have been transmitted to us by historians, and enter in detail into the actions of this remarkable woman.

The following is the version of Marianus Scotus, of the birth of the popess:—"At the beginning of the ninth century, Charles the Great, after having subdued the Saxons, desired to convert them to Christianity, and sent to England for learned priests, who could second him in his plans. In the number of the professors who passed over into Germany, was an English priest, accompanied by a young girl whom he had taken into his family, to conceal her grossness. The lovers were obliged to interrupt their journey, and stopped at Mayence, where the young English woman gave birth to a daughter, whose adventures were one day to occupy the attention of future ages; this infant was Joan."

We do not know exactly the name which she bore in her infancy. She is called Agnes by some authors, Gerberte or Gilberte by others, and finally Joan by the greatest number. The Jesuit Sevarius maintains that she was also called Isabella, Marguerite, Dorothea, and Justa. We are not better informed as to the surname which she took; some assure us that she added to her name the designation of the English: others wish to join her to the name of Gerberte; and an author of the fourteenth century calls her Magnanima, doubtless to express the boldness and rashness of

Joan. These same authors present fewer contradictions as to the place of her birth; some maintain that she was born in Great Britain; others designate Mayence; others Engelheim, a city of the Palatinate, and celebrated as the birthplace of Charlemagne; but the greatest number agree that she was of English origin, was brought up at Mayence, and born at Engelheim, a village situated in the neighbourhood of that city.

Joan was a beautiful girl, and her mind, cultivated by the care of a well-informed father, exhibited such a development, that she astonished by her replies all the doctors who approached her. The admiration she inspired, still further increased her ardour for science, and at twelve years of age her instruction was equal to that of the most distinguished men of the Palatinate. But when she reached the age at which women begin to love, science was insufficient to fill the desires of her ardent imagination, and love changed the destinies of Joan.

A young student of an English family, and a monk of the abbey of Fulda, was seduced by her beauty, and became desperately enamoured of her. "If he loved well," says the chronicle, "Joan on her side was neither insensible nor cruel." Conquered by the vows of an inviolable attachment, and drawn on by the wishes of her own heart, Joan consented to fly with her lover from the paternal roof. She abandoned her true name, clothed herself in the garments of a man, and, under the name of English John, followed the young monk into the abbey of Fulda. The superior, deceived by this disguise, received Joan into his monastery, and placed her under the direction of the learned Raban-Maur.

Some time after, the constraint under which the lovers found themselves, induced them to determine to quit the convent to go into England to continue their studies. They soon became the most erudite in Great Britain. They then resolved to visit new countries, in order to observe the manners of different people, and to learn their language.

They first visited France, where Joan, still wearing the frock of a monk, disputed with the French doctors, and excited the admiration of the celebrated persons of that period; the celebrated duchess of Septimania, St. Anscirus, the monk Bertram, and the abbot Loup de Ferriere. After this first journey, the two lovers determined to visit Greece. They traversed Gaul, and embarked at Marseilles in a vessel which carried them to the capital of the Hellenes. Old Athens, which was the most ardent focus of learning, the centre of science and polite literature, possessed still its schools and academies, and was quoted throughout the world for the eloquence of its professors, and the profound knowledge of its astronomers and natural philosophers.

When Joan arrived in this magnificent country, she was but twenty years old, and in all the splendour of her beauty: but her monastic habit, by its amplitude, concealed her

sex from the observation of all, and her face, pale from vigils and labour, resembled a handsome youth, rather than a woman.

During three years, the two English lived under the beautiful skies of Greece, surrounded by all scientific illustrations, and pursuing their studies in philosophy, theology, divine and human literature, the arts, and sacred and profane history. Under masters so skilful, Joan fathomed every thing, learned every thing, explained all, and joining to universal knowledge a prodigious eloquence, she filled with astonishment those who were admitted to hear her.

In the midst of her triumphs, Joan was struck by a terrible blow. The companion of her labours, her cherished lover, he who had not quitted her for long years, was attacked by a sudden illness, and died in a few hours, leaving the unfortunate woman alone and abandoned on the earth.

Joan obtained new courage from her despair; she surmounted her affliction and resolved to to quit Greece. Besides, it became difficult for her much longer to conceal her sex in a country where men wore long beards, and she chose Rome as the place of her retreat, because there, custom commanded men to shave. Perchance this motive was not the only one which determined her preference for the holy city; the troubles and divisions which then agitated this capitol of the Christian world, offered to her ambition a larger theatre than Greece.

As soon as she had arrived in the holy city, Joan caused herself to be admitted into the academy called the school of the Greeks, for the purpose of teaching the seven liberal arts, and especially rhetoric. St. Augustine had already rendered this school very renowned; Joan augmented its reputation. She not only continued the ordinary courses, but she introduced a course of abstract sciences, which lasted three years, and in which an immense auditory admired her prodigious learning. Her lessons, her harangues, and even her improvisations, were delivered with an eloquence so enchanting, that the young professor was quoted as the most splendid genius of the age; and in their admiration the Romans gave her the name of the Prince of the Wise.

Lords, priests, monks, and especially doctors, considered themselves honoured in being her disciples. "Her conduct was as commendable as her abilities; the modesty of her discourse, her manners, the regularity of her morals, her piety, and her good works, shone forth," says Marianus, "as a light before men." All this exterior was an hypocritical mask, beneath which Joan concealed ambitious and guilty projects. Thus, at the time when the declining health of Leo the Fourth permitted the priests to form intrigues and cabals, a powerful party declared for her, and loudly proclaimed in the streets of the city, that she alone was worthy to occupy the throne of St. Peter.

In fact, after the death of the pope, the car-

dinals, deacons, clergy, and people unanimously chose her to govern the church of Rome! Joan was ordained in the presence of the commissioners of the emperor in the church of St. Peter, by three bishops; then, being clothed in the pontifical ornaments, she went, accompanied by an immense retinue, to the patriarchal palace and seated herself upon the apostolical chair.

The priests a long time discussed this important question, "Was Joan elevated to the holy ministry by diabolical art, or by a particular direction of Providence?" Some maintain, "that the church should exhibit great grief and humiliation at having been governed by a woman." Others hold, on the contrary, "that the elevation of Joan to the Holy See, far from being a shame, should be glorified as a miracle from God, who had permitted the Romans to proceed to her election, in order to show that they had been led on by the marvellous promotion of the Holy Spirit."

Joan, having arrived at the supreme dignity of the Church, exercised the infallible authority of vicar of Jesus Christ with so much wisdom, as to create the admiration of all Christendom. She conferred the sacred orders on prelates, priests and deacons; she administered the sacraments to the faithful; she presented her feet to be kissed by archbishops, abbots, and princes, and finally, she discharged with honour all the duties of the pontiffs. She even composed prefaces to masses and several canons, which were interdicted by her successors.

She conducted the political affairs of the court of Rome with great skill; and it was by her advice, that the emperor Lothaire, already very old, deciding to embrace the monastic life, retired to the abbey of Prum to repent over the crimes which had filled up his long career. As a favour to the new monk, the popess granted to his abbey the privilege of a prescription for a hundred years, the deed of which is set forth in the collection of Gratian. The empire then passed into the hands of Louis the Second, who received the imperial crown from the hands of Joan.

But this woman, who inspired so great a respect in the sovereigns of the world, who enchained the people by her laws, and had attracted to herself the veneration of the entire universe, for the superiority of her abilities, and for the purity of her life, was shortly to break the pedestal of her greatness, and affrighten Rome by the spectacle of a terrible fall.

The religious chronicles relate, that the year 854 was marked by miraculous phenomena in all parts of Christendom. "There were earthquakes in many kingdoms: a shower of blood fell in the city of Bressenu or Bresnau. In France, clouds of monstrous grasshoppers having six wings and six legs, armed with long and sharp teeth, devoured all the harvests of the provinces which they traversed; then a south wind having driven them into the sea between Havre and Calais, they were all drowned; but their impure remains

cast upon the shore, spread such an infection through the atmosphere, that it engendered an epidemic which carried off a great part of the inhabitants."

In Spain the body of St. Vincent, which had been torn from his tomb by a sacrilegious monk, who wished to sell it by piecemeals, returned one night from the city of Valencia, to a small village near to Mount Auban, and stopped upon the steps of the church, demanding with a loud voice to re-enter his shrine.

"All these signs," adds the pious legendary, "announced infallibly the abomination which was about to soil the evangelical chair."

Joan, abandoned to serious studies, had preserved an exemplary conduct since the death of her lover. Even at the commencement of her pontificate, she practised the virtues which had attracted to her the respect and affection of all the Romans, but then perchance by an irresistible attraction, perchance that a crown has the privilege of blackening the most beautiful character, she abandoned herself to the joys of sovereign power, and wished to partake them with a man worthy of her love. She chose a lover, assured herself of his discretion, and loaded him with riches and honours, yet guarded so well the secret of her liason, that we cannot learn, but by conjecture, the favourite of the popess. Some authors maintain he was her chamberlain; others assure us he was a counsellor or chaplain, whilst the greatest number affirm that he was a cardinal priest of a church of Rome. The mystery of their amour would, however, have remained covered by an impenetrable veil, had it not been for the terrible catastrophe which terminated their nights of pleasure. Nature amused herself, notwithstanding the efforts of the lovers, and Joan became pregnant.

It is related, that one day, whilst she was presiding over a consistory, a demoniac was brought before her to be exorcised. After the usual ceremonies, she asked the demon, at what time it wished to leave the body of the possessed. The spirit of darkness immediately replied, "I will tell you, when you who are the pontiff and the father of fathers, shall cause the clergy and people of Rome to see a child born of a popess."

Joan frightened by this revelation, hastened to terminate the council, and to retire into her palace; but scarcely had she entered the inner apartments, when the demon presented himself again before her, and said to her, "Most holy father, after your accouchement you will belong to me, soul and body, and I will seize upon you in order that you may burn for ever with me." This horrid threat, instead of throwing the popess into despair, reanimated her courage, and produced in her heart the hope of appeasing the divine wrath by a profound repentance. She imposed rude penances upon herself; covered her delicate limbs with rough hair cloth and slept upon ashes; finally, her remorse was so fervent, that God, touched by her tears, sent her a vision.

An angel appeared unto her and offered to her, in the name of Jesus Christ, as a punishment for her crime, either to be delivered up to the eternal flames of hell, or to be recognized as a woman before all the people of Rome. Joan accepted the latter, and waited courageously for the chastisement which her sacrilegious conduct had merited.

At the period of Rogations, which corresponds to an annual festival which the Romans called *Ambarralia*, and which is celebrated by a solemn procession, the popess, according to the established custom, mounted her horse and went to the church of St. Peter, clothed in her pontifical ornaments, preceded by the cross and sacred banners, accompanied by the metropolitans, bishops, cardinals, priests, deacons, nobles, magistrates, and a large crowd of people; she then came forth in this pompous apparel from the cathedral, to go to the church of St. John of the Lateran.

But before arriving upon the public square, between the church of St. Clement and the amphitheatre of Domitian, called the *Coliseum*, the pains of childbirth seized her with such violence, that the reins escaped from her hands, and she fell from her horse upon the pavement. The unfortunate woman rolled over on the earth, and uttered fearful groans; finally, having been disrobed of the sacred ornaments which covered her, in the midst of frightful convulsions, and in the presence of the immense crowd, the popess Joan gave birth to a child!! The confusion and disorder which this shameful adventure caused among the people, exasperated the priests, who not only prevented her from receiving any assistance, but even, without regard to the horrid suffering she was enduring, crowded round her to conceal her from all eyes, and threatened her with their vengeance.

Joan could not support her humiliation and the shame of having been seen by all the people in so terrible a position; she rallied her strength to bid a last adieu to the cardinal priest who sustained her in his arms, and her soul took its flight towards the skies.

Thus died the popess Joan, on the day of Rogations, in 855, after having governed the church of Rome more than two years.

Her child was strangled by the priests who surrounded the mother. The Romans, however, in remembrance of the respect and attachment which they had long had for Joan, consented to perform for her the last duties, but without display or pomp. They placed the body of her child in the same tomb. She was interred, not within the limits of a church, but on the very spot on which the tragic event had occurred.

There was elevated over her tomb a chapel adorned with a marble statue, representing the popess clothed in her sacerdotal garments, with a tiara upon her head and holding a young child in her arms. The pontiff Benedict the Third caused this image to be broken down towards the close of his reign, but the ruins of the chapel were still seen in Rome in the fifteenth century.

Some visionaries have gravely occupied themselves with inquiring as to what punishment God inflicted on the popess after her death. Some regarded the ignominy of her last moments as a sufficient expiation, and which besides, accorded with the vulgar opinion, that the popes, no matter what their crimes, could not be damned. Others, less indulgent than the first, affirm that Joan was condemned to remain suspended throughout eternity to one side of the gates of hell, and her lover to the other, without being able to be reunited.

The clergy of Rome, wounded in its dignity, and covered with confusion by this strange event, made a decree prohibiting the pontiffs from traversing the street in which the scandal happened. Thus, since that period, on the day of Rogations, the procession which leaves the church of St. Peter to go to that of St. John of the Lateran, shuns this abominable place, situated in the midst of its route, and makes a long circuit.

These precautions were sufficient to blacken the memory of the popess; but the clergy, wishing to prevent a like scandal from ever being again renewed, devised, before the enthronement of the popes, a custom very singular, but marvellously well adapted to the circumstances. The successor of Joan was the first to be submitted to this singular proof, which has since been called the proof of the pierced chair.

The following was the ceremonial employed:—As soon as a pontiff was chosen, he was conducted to the palace of the Lateran, to be solemnly consecrated. He was first seated upon a chair of white marble placed beneath the porch of the church, between the two gates of honour. It was called the *Stercoraire*, although it was not pierced; but this name was given to it because the holy father, rising from this chair, thundered forth the following from the hundredth and thirteenth psalm: "God has raised the poor out of the dust and the needy from the dunghill, to seat him above the princes!"

Then the great dignitaries of the church took the pope by the hand, and conducted him to the oratory of St. Sylvester, where was another seat of porphyry, but pierced in the bottom, on which they seated the pontiff. The first ecclesiastical historians speak only of one chair of this kind, whilst the most esteemed chroniclers always speak of two pierced chairs, which they designate as being of the same size, of like form, both of a very old style, without ornaments, cushions, or garniture.

Before the consecration, the bishops and cardinals place the pope upon this second chair, where he is exposed in his person, to show to the assistants the proofs of his virility, and then two deacons approach him, and satisfy themselves by the touch, that their sight has not been deceived by false appearances, and they testify this to the assistants, by exclaiming in a loud voice, "We have a pope." The assembly replied, "Thanks be to God,"

as a sign of gratitude and joy. The priests then came to prostrate themselves before the pontiff, raised him from the chair, encircling him with a silken girdle, kissed his feet, and proceeded to the enthronement. The ceremony always terminated by a splendid festival, and by a distribution of money to the monks and nuns.

Mention is made of the pierced chair in the consecration of Honorius the Second, in 1061; in that of Pascal, in 1099; in that of Urban the Sixth, chosen in the year 1378: Alexander the Sixth, publicly recognized at Rome as the father of five children by Rosavanzoza, his mistress, was submitted to the same proof. Finally, it lasted until the sixteenth century, and Crassus, master of the ceremonies of Leo the Tenth, reports precisely, in the *Journal of Paris*, all the formalities of the proof of the pierced chair to which that pontiff was submitted.

Since Leo's time, it has ceased to be practised: it may be because the priests comprehended the ridicule of an usage so inconvenient: it may be because the improvement of the age, no longer permits a spectacle injurious to the public morals. The pierced chairs being no longer needed, they were carried from their locations, to be placed in the gallery of the palace of the Lateran, which conducted to the chapel. Father Mabillon, in his journey into Italy, in 1685, describes these two chairs, which he examined with the greatest attention; and he affirms that they were of porphyry, and similar in form to a sick couch.

The ultra-montaynes, confounded by the authentic documents of history, and not being able to deny the existence of the popess Joan, have regarded the entire duration of her pontificate as a vacancy in the Holy See, and cause Benedict the Third, to succeed Leo the Fourth, under the pretence that a woman could not fill the sacerdotal functions, administer the sacraments, nor confer the sacred orders. More than thirty ecclesiastical authors allege this as a reason for not counting Joan in the number of the popes, but a very remarkable fact gives a formal lie to their opinion.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century the cathedral of Sienna, having been restored by order of the prince, there were sculptured in marble the busts of all the popes down to Pius the Second, who was then on the See, and there was placed in its rank, between Leo the Fourth, and Benedict the Third, the portrait of the popess, with this inscription, "John the Eighth, the female pope." This important fact, would then authorize us to count Joan as the one hundred and eighth pontiff, who has governed the church of Rome, if custom were not stronger than truth. If nothing else remains, it proves, however, that the reign of the popess is authentic; and that a woman gloriously occupied the sacred chair of the pontiffs of Rome.

Some ultra Catholics yet reject the truth, and refuse to admit the authenticity of all this proof, under the pretext that God would not

have permitted the chair of St. Peter, founded by Jesus Christ himself, to be thus occupied by a shameless woman.

But then we will ask, How God could have suffered the sacrilegious profanations and abominations of the bishops of Rome? Has not Christ permitted the Holy See to be soiled by heretical, apostate, incestuous, and assassin popes? Was not St. Clement an Arian; Anastasius a Nestorian; Honorius a Monothelite; John the Twenty-second, an atheist: and did not Sylvester the Second say he had sold his soul to the devil to become pope?

Baronius, that zealous defender of the tiara, himself says, that Boniface the Sixth, and Stephen the Seventh, were infamous wretches, execrable monsters, who filled the house of God with their crimes; he accuses them of having surpassed all that the most cruel persecutors of the church had caused the faithful to suffer.

Genebrard, archbishop of Aix, affirms, that during almost two centuries, the Holy See was occupied by popes of a libertinism so frightful, that they were worthy of being called apostatics, and not apostolics; he says that women governed Italy, and that the pontifical chair was converted into a distaff. In fact, the courtizans Theodora and Marozia, monsters of lubricity, disposed, according to their caprice, of the place of vicars of Jesus Christ; they placed upon the throne of St. Peter their lovers or their bastards; and the chroniclers relate of these women, facts so strange, so monstrous, and recount debaucheries so revolting, that it is impossible to place them in our history.

Thus, since the clemency of God has tolerated all these abominations in the Holy See, it might equally permit the reign of a popess.

Besides, Joan is not the first, nor the only woman who has worn the garment of a priest. A courtizan, named Marguerite, disguised herself as a priest, and entered a monastery of men, where she took the name of brother Pelagian. Eugenea, the daughter of the celebrated Phillip, the governor of Alexandria, during the reign of the emperor Gallienus, governed a convent of monks, and only discovered her sex to disprove an accusation of seduction which had been brought against her by a young girl. The Chronicle of Lombardy, composed by a monk of Monte Cassino, also relates, from the account of a priest named Herembert, who wrote thirty years after the death of Leo the Fourth, the history of a woman who became patriarch of Constantinople. "A prince of Beneventum, named Elchisus," says he, "had a divine revelation, in which an angel warned him, that the patriarch, who occupied the See of Constantinople, was a woman. He hastened to inform the emperor Basil, and the false patriarch, after having been despoiled of all her garments before the clergy of St. Sophia, was discovered to be a

woman, driven disgracefully from the church, and shut up in a nunnery."

After the recital of all these facts, which have been preserved in legends, for the benefit of the faithful, should not the priests avow, that God permitted the pontificate of the popess for the purpose of abasing the pride of the Holy See, and of showing that the vicars of Christ are not infallible?

Besides, the history of Joan does not approach, in the marvellous, to that of the Virgin Mary! The mother of Christ, did she not conceive and bring forth without ceasing to be a virgin? and did she not command God himself; since the Scriptures tells us, "Jesus Christ was subject to his mother."

If, then, the Creator of all things did not disdain to obey a woman, why should his ministers desire to be prouder than the all-powerful God, and refuse to bend their foreheads before a popess?

Moreover, until the seventh century, the faithful had recognized priestesses; for the proceedings of the council of Chalcedon formally declare, that women might receive the orders of the priesthood, and be solemnly consecrated as clerks. St. Clement, the immediate successor of the apostles of Jesus, enters at length, in one of his epistles, upon the functions of the priestesses. He says, they might celebrate the holy nuptials, preach the gospel to men as well as women, and disrobe them to anoint them over all their body in the ceremony of baptism.

Atton, bishop of Verceil, relates in his works, that priestesses in the primitive church, presided in the temples, and gave religious and philosophical instruction; that they had under their orders, deaconesses, who served them as the deacons did the priests. St. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and St. Cyprian, explain themselves more at length in regard to these women. They complain of many of them departing from the rules imposed on them, practising coquetry, being extravagant in their dress, painting their faces, having no reserve nor modesty in their conversation, frequented the public baths, and bathing entirely naked with the priests and young deacons.

The elevation of a woman to the priesthood was then no novelty in the church, when the popess Joan appeared. Many other females before her had been consecrated priestesses, had received the gift of the Holy Spirit, had exercised ecclesiastical functions. Why, then, do the adorers of the Roman purple seek to contest the certainty of historical and undeniable facts? Why are they willing to deny the existence of a celebrated woman? The majesty of the priesthood, the pontifical infallibility, the pretensions of the Holy See to universal rule, all that scaffolding of superstition and idolatry on which is placed the chair of St. Peter, falls before a female pope!!!

## BENEDICT THE THIRD, ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 855.]

*Benedict the Third, the successor of the popess Joan—The deputies of the emperor wish to choose Anastasius—The pontiff Benedict is driven from the palace of the Lateran by clubs—The bishops refuse to consecrate Anastasius—Anastasius in turn driven in disgrace from the palace—Consecration of Benedict—Etheluph, the king of Essex in England, places his kingdom under the protection of the Holy See—Misconduct of the deacon Hubert, brother-in-law of king Lothaire—Death of Benedict.*

THE pontiff who succeeded the popess Joan was a Roman by birth. His father had placed him in the palace of the Lateran, among the young clerks who studied religious singing and the sacred books. Gregory the Fourth had ordained him sub-deacon, and the predecessor of Joan had consecrated him a priest of the order of St. Callixtus.

After the death of the popess, the clergy and people ran in crowds to St. John the Lateran, to proceed to a new election, and to efface the scandal of the accouchement of Joan, by the election of a pope whose lofty piety might restore to the Holy See its lustre and its majesty.

Benedict the Third was declared by their unanimous suffrages worthy to occupy the chair of St. Peter. The clergy immediately went to the church of St. Callixtus to seek for the new pope, and conduct him to the palace of the Lateran. On the arrival of the bishops, Benedict, who was on his knees and engaged at his prayers, rose to salute them; but as soon as he had learned of his nomination to the supreme dignity of the church, he fell on his knees before them, and exclaimed, shedding tears, "I beseech you, my brethren, do not draw me from my church; my brow is incapable of supporting the weight of the tiara."

In spite of his entreaties, the people bore him in triumph to the patriarchal palace, and he mounted the throne of the apostles amid the noise of general acclamations. After this ceremony, the decree of the election was given him, which was sent to the emperor Louis the Second by two deputies, Nicholas, bishop of Anagauia, and Mercury, the captain of the Roman militia.

On their route, the ambassadors met Arsenes, prelate of Eugubio, who, turning them from the party of Benedict, induced them to enter into a conspiracy which had for its object the election of Anastasius, an ambitious priest, who had formerly been deposed from his sacerdotal functions by Leo the Fourth. The legates of the Holy See, seduced by the promises of Anastasius, returned into Italy, announcing that the French monarch had refused to ratify the ordination of Benedict, and that he was about to send commissioners bearing his orders.

In fact, the deputies of Louis the Second arrived in the states of the church, and stopped at Horta, a city situated forty miles from

Rome, to confer with Anastasius. The holy father, informed of their hostile dispositions, addressed to them letters full of submission, to engage them in his cause, and he sent the bishops Gregory and Maion with his message; but at the solicitation of Anastasius, the ambassadors caused the messengers of the pope to be arrested without hearing them, and detained them as prisoners. The pope then deputed to them Adrian and Duke Gregory, who experienced as rigorous a treatment. Finally, the commissioners of Louis advanced with Anastasius beyond the Ponto-Molo, stopped before the church of St. Lucius the Martyr, and in the name of their master ordered the senate, the clergy, and the people, to appear before them.

After divine service, the delegates of the prince marched towards the holy city, protected by numerous troops. Anastasius, who led the procession, first entered the church of St. Peter to burn the tableau of the council, on which was inscribed his deposition. He then invaded the palace of the Lateran, and ordered his satellites to drag Benedict from the pontifical throne. He himself despoiled him of his pontifical ornaments, overwhelmed him with reproaches, struck him with his bishop's cross, and then gave him over to priests, who had been deposed from the priesthood by Joan on account of the enormity of their crimes. These, to obtain the favour of their new master, bound the unfortunate Benedict with cords, and drove him from the palace, striking him with sticks.

Anastasius, left master of the episcopal palace, declared himself pope, and mounted upon the chair of St. Peter in the presence of the clergy and the soldiers. Rome was then plunged into consternation and affright.—Bishops and priests beat their breasts, shedding tears, and remained prostrate on the steps of the altars, invoking the protection of the all-powerful God. Soon after, a low rumour was spread through the city; the citizens assembled in the church of Emilius, and all swore to resist the oppression of the tyrants. The commissioners, informed of this revolt, surrounded with their soldiers the church in which the priests and the citizens were assembled. The officers mounted into the building, and advancing towards the bishops, who were singing sacred psalms, presented to them the points of their swords, exclaiming with fury, "Surrender, wretches!

recognize Anastasius for the sovereign pontiff." The prelates replied with firmness, "Strike, if you dare; but never will we receive as head of the church a man deposed and anathematized by a pope and council."

This energetic reply intimidated the officers. They retired into a chapel, to consult on the part they should perform under such circumstances. All their judgments being for violence, they re-entered the sanctuary with their soldiers, and addressing themselves again to the bishops, threatened to massacre them upon the altar itself, if they refused to consecrate Anastasius. The citizens then fell upon the officers, and snatched from them their swords; they represented to the commissioners of the emperor the injustice of their conduct, and proposed to inform them of the treason of the unworthy minister.

The French, alarmed, consulted among themselves, and consented to quit the church. The prelates and the people then followed them to the church of St. John the Lateran, exclaiming,—“We want the blessed pope Benedict—it is he whom we desire.” The deputies of Louis then yielded to this unanimous manifestation of the Romans, and renounced the hope of consecrating their protégé. They assembled the clergy in a saloon of the patriarchal palace, for the purpose of deliberating on the part to be taken to put an end to these disorders. The discussion was long and stormy, but the ecclesiastics gave such powerful reasons against the election of Anastasius, that the French yielded to their opinion. “Take, then, for pope, him whom you have chosen,” said the chief of the embassy; “and place him within the church which you shall choose; we will drive his competitor from the pontifical apartments, seeing he has merited deposition for his crimes and debaucheries.”

Guards were sent to the palace of the Lateran, and Anastasius was driven in disgrace from the pontifical chair.

The bishops then went in procession to the prison of Benedict the Third; they placed him on horseback, and conducted him in triumph to the church St. Maria Majora, where they passed three days and three nights in fasting and prayer. Those who had joined the party of Anastasius, also went into the church, to kiss the feet of the pope, and to confess their fault. Benedict received them all with kindness, pardoned and embraced them. Peace being thus re-established in the church, the clergy led back the pontiff to the palace of the Lateran; and on the following Sunday he was solemnly consecrated in the church of St. Peter.

In 856, Ethelwolf, king of England, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and placed his kingdom under the protection of the pope. He offered to St. Peter a crown of gold weighing forty pounds, and magnificent presents; he made great largesses to the clergy and the people, and constructed new buildings for the English school, which had been burned down. On his return to Great Britain, he held a council at Winchester in the church of St. Peter, and made a decree, by which for the future the tenth part of the land in his kingdom appertained to the church and was exempt from all charges; he re-established Peter's pence in all his kingdom, and finally, left by will a rental of three hundred marks of gold, payable yearly to the Holy See.

At the same period, the abbot Loup de Ferrieré sent to the pontiff two pilgrim monks, to be instructed in the customs of the Roman church, as he wished to introduce its rites into his abbey.

The holy father also received ambassadors from Michael the Third, emperor of the East, who brought, in the name of their master, considerable presents destined for the church of the apostle. The Greek monarch asked in his letter, that the holy father would approve of the sentence of deposition which he had rendered against Gregory, bishop of Syracuse, in Sicily, which Benedict confirmed without examination.

On the requisition of Hincmar, metropolitan of Rheims, the holy father approved of the synod which had been held at Soissons, and of which Leo the Fourth had rejected the decisions. The archbishop besought the pontiff at the same time to cite before his tribunal the deacon Hubert, brother of Thietberge, the wife of King Lothaire, an infamous priest, who had transformed a nunnery into a brothel, from which he drew immense revenues, by making a shameful traffic in the virginity of the nuns. He also accused him of carrying on criminal intercourse with the queen his sister. As Hincmar was instructed by Lothaire, to pursue before the court of Rome, the punishment of the guilty, and to demand a punishment which should be in keeping with the enormity of the crimes of the deacon; he wrote to the sovereign pontiff to give him a detailed account of the incestuous intercourse of the beautiful Thietberge with her brother.

Hubert received orders to appear at Rome before the expiration of thirty days, to justify himself from the accusations brought against him, and under penalty of undergoing ecclesiastical censures if he failed to appear; but Benedict the Third died on the 10th of March 858, before the convocation of the synod.

## NICHOLAS THE FIRST, ONE HUNDRED AND NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 858.]

*Election of Nicholas—Louis the German comes to kiss the feet of the holy father—Union of the churches of Bremen and Hamburg—Treatise of Ratramnus or Bertram on the Eucharist—Sect of the Sterconarists—Photius usurps the See of Constantinople—the legates approve of the elevation of Photius to the patriarchal See—Incest of Queen Thietberge with the deacon Hubert, her brother—Adulteries of Ingeltrude, wife of Boson—Affair of John, archbishop of Ravenna—Lothaire repudiates Queen Thietberge—Charles the Bald pardons the ravisher of his daughter Judith—Return of the legates of the Holy See—Nicholas excommunicates them—Condemnation of Photius and of Gregory of Syracuse—The council of Metz—The pope erases the decrees of the council, which he calls an assembly of brigands and robbers—Excommunication of the beautiful Ingeltrude—The French bishops accuse the pontiff of being the protector of all the abominations of Rome: they compare it to hell, and the pontiff Nicholas to Satan—The emperor comes to Rome—Hildivin, bishop of Cambay, enters the church of St. Peter armed, at the head of his soldiers—The troops of the emperor Louis pillage the churches of Rome and violate the nuns—Pride of the pontiff—Letters to the princes Louis and Charles—Lothaire pardons Queen Thietberge—Nicholas excommunicates Waldrade, the second wife of Lothaire—The conversion of the Bulgarians—Photius excommunicates the pope in a general council—Dissentions between Queen Thietberge and Lothaire—Council of Troyes—Photius repulses the emperor Basil from the communion of the faithful—Ignatius is re-installed upon the See of Constantinople—Nicholas claims from the king of Germany the revenues of the patrimony of St. Peter—Death of the pontiff—His excess of pride and presumption—He compares himself with God, and raises himself above the judgment of men.*

NICHOLAS was a Roman by birth, and the son of a poor physician; Pope Sergius the Second had received him into the patriarchal palace, and had named him subdeacon. Benedict the Third conceived, in his turn, so lively an affection for the young priest, that he attached him to his person in the quality of private secretary, and intrusted him with the most secret affairs of the church. On the death of his protector, Nicholas rendered him the last duties, placed him in his shroud with his own hands, and assisted by several deacons, bore him, with filial and religious respect, to the place of his sepulchre.

The Holy See remained vacant an entire month, the Romans being obliged to wait the arrival of the emperor Louis, in order to name a pontiff. As soon as the prince had entered within the walls of the holy city, the clergy, grandees and people, assembled to proceed to an election, and Nicholas, having united the majority of the suffrages in his favour, was declared sovereign pontiff of Rome. They conducted him to the palace of the Lateran, and proceeded to his consecration in the presence of the emperor.

This ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence, and the holy father showed in this circumstance more impudence and pride than his predecessors had ever exhibited. He was the first who ordained that the accession of the popes should be celebrated by a brilliant enthronement, and to leave to posterity an example of his own audacity and the mean spirit of the emperor, he exacted that Louis should come on foot to meet him, that he should hold the bridle of his horse, and thus conduct him from the church of St. Peter to the palace of the Lateran. Finally, the bigoted monarch, before taking his leave of

the pontiff, bent his forehead in the dust and kissed his sandals!

Some time after his accession to the Holy See, Nicholas transformed into an archbishopric the churches of Bremen and Hamburg, and gave them to his favourite Ansaire. Gonthier, the metropolitan of Cologne, at first opposed this decision, maintaining that it was not just to erect into an archbishopric a See which was dependant on his, but afterwards, yielding to the solicitations of the king and the bishops, he consented to this connection, in order not to bring a scandal on the church. The disputes being terminated, Louis sent to Rome, Solomon, bishop of Constance, and the priest Norful, a disciple of Ansaire. They were received with great honours by Nicholas, and carried back with them the decree which elevated Ansaire to an archiepiscopal See, with the rank of legate of the Holy See, and the right of preaching the gospel to the Swedes, Danes, Slavi, and all the nations adjoining these people.

At this period, Ratramnus or Bertram, priest and monk of Corbia, a man profoundly learned in the sacred Scriptures, wrote, at the request of Charles the Bald, a treatise "on the body and blood of Jesus Christ." Numerous theological discussions upon the Eucharist then divided the clergy of France, and the king, desirous of putting an end to the disorders, had confided the decision of the question to the man whom he thought the best informed in his kingdom. The monk of Corbia combatted the doctrine of transubstantiation, maintaining, that in the sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ was not really present under the appearance of bread and wine, and that the faithful received it in the communion spiritually and not materially.

This doctrine, which was opposed to the principles taught by the church, excited the wrath of the fanatics, who maintained that Jesus Christ was not only present in the sacrament of the altar, but still more, that he is partaker of the nature of bread and wine, and like those substances he is subservient to the law of digestion and passes in the excrements; an opinion which has given to these sectaries the names of Sterconarists.

Whilst they were disputing in France as to the real presence of God in the service of the altar, the church of Constantinople was scandalized by the disorders of its chiefs. St. Ignatius had been driven from his See on account of his pride and fanaticism, and the emperor had elevated to the dignity of patriarch the celebrated Photius, who was only a layman.

As the priests murmured at the irregularity of his election, he undertook to have it ratified by the holy father, and sent ambassadors to present his justification at Rome. In his letter to Nicholas, the patriarch rendered the following account of his elevation to the See of Constantinople:—"I advise you, most holy father, that my predecessor renounced the episcopal dignity to retire to a convent, where he has found the rest which his great age and infirmities rendered necessary for him. In order to replace him, the clergy, the metropolitans, and our gracious emperor, have sought me out, impelled by a supernatural force, and without listening to my excuses, without even giving me time to refuse, they constrained me to accept the dignity of patriarch, without any regard to my tears or my despair."

Michael the Third, at the same time, addressed confidential letters to the pope through his ambassadors, offering him large sums to confirm Photius. Nicholas received the envoys of the prince and the patriarch with honour, and accepted the presents, but using circumspection, he evaded a decision of the affair of Ignatius, and promised to send as legates to Constantinople, Rodoalde, bishop of Porto, and Zachary, bishop of Anagnina. They were to convoke a council in the imperial city, on the subject of the worship of images, and to inform themselves judicially as to the case of Photius, but without deciding anything until they should receive new instructions from the court of Rome.

Nicholas replied in these terms to the letter of the emperor: "We cannot give our approval to the ordination of Photius, before knowing exactly how the deposition of Ignatius was accomplished. We therefore wish that he should present himself before a council, and in the presence of our legate, state the reasons which induced him to abandon his people and his pontifical duties; they will then examine if his deposition has been regular, and this affair being terminated, they will decide on the steps to be taken to assure peace to Christendom.

"But first, in order to remove the principal obstacles which separate the Greek and Latin churches, we demand the re-establishment of the jurisdiction of our See over the provinces of the empire, the restitution of the patrimo-

nies of St. Peter in Calabria and Sicily, and also the right to nominate prelates to the bishopric of Syracuse."

When the prelates of the holy father had arrived in Constantinople, they were taken to a palace, by order of the prince, where they were surrounded by all kinds of seduction, and magnificent presents were made to them; and at last, in the midst of feasts and orgies, a promise was extracted from them to conform to the orders of the emperor.

Photius then convoked a council at Constantinople, in the church of the apostles; three hundred and eighteen bishops, the legates of the pope, the magistrates, and a large number of citizens, composed the assembly, over which Michael the Third presided. The provost Blanc was sent to seek Ignatius, who addressed him, saying, "Ignatius, the great and holy council calls you; come and defend yourself against the crimes of which you are accused." The patriarch replied to him, "Tell me if I am to present myself before the assembly in the quality of bishop, priest, or monk?" The provost preserving silence, Ignatius refused to follow him.

The next day the same officer presented himself anew, and said to the prelate, "The envoys of the pope of old Rome, Rodoalde and Zachary, order you to appear in the council without delay, and to declare in their presence the sentiments which your conscience shall dictate to you."

St. Ignatius immediately clothed himself in his patriarchal dress, and went to the synod on foot, followed by a great number of bishops, priests, monks, and laymen. But on the route the patrician John arrested him in the name of the emperor, and ordered him, under penalty of death, to take off his pontifical ornaments, and to clothe himself in the dress of a monk. He then appeared before the council in his monastic habits, and addressing himself to the legates of the pope, demanded from them their letters of credence, and the instructions of the pontiff. They replied that they came to judge his cause, but that they had not brought to him letters, as he was no longer regarded as patriarch, since his deposition had been decreed by the council of his province.

Ignatius replied to the legates, "As you come in the name of the successors of the apostle St. Peter, to decide in conformity with the canons, on my case, you ought, before proceeding to my justification, to drive from my church the canuch Photius; and if you have not this power, do not announce yourselves as my judges, for I will refuse you."

The officers who surrounded the emperor, then approached the patriarch and urged him to give in his resignation; their prayers and entreaties were useless; he was unwilling to renounce his dignity, and the council not being able to subdue his firmness, deposed and anathematized him. The envoys of the pontiff confirmed this sentence, and demanded that he should be conducted to prison; but his captivity was not of long duration.

Photius, fearing a sedition in Constantinople, set him at liberty, and the excommunicated patriarch retired to the palace of Posam, the former residence of his mother. It was in the quiet of this retreat that he wrote a memorial, which he sent to Pope Nicholas. It was carried secretly into Italy, by Theonostus, one of his partizans, who informed the holy father of all the circumstances of this important affair.

The legates, Rodoalde and Zachary, returned to Rome with Leo, the ambassador of the emperor, and bore to the holy father rich presents, the letters of the emperor, those of the new patriarch, and two volumes containing the proceedings of the council which had deposed Ignatius.

The letter of Photius is an historical document of much value, as it contains an explanation of the dogmas which continue to separate the Greek and Latin churches. It is as follows: "Nothing is more precious than the charity which reconciles distant persons, and I attribute to this virtue the deference which I have shown to your opinion, in bearing with the reproaches which your holiness addresses to me, and attributing them not to evil passions, but to an excess of zeal. Thus conforming myself to the precepts of the gospel, which recommend equality among all men, I address to you in all freedom, the defence of my conduct, in order to induce you to commiserate, not blame me.

"I yielded to force when I mounted the patriarchal See; and God, from whom nothing is concealed, knows the violence which I endured. He knows that I have been retained within the walls of a prison as a criminal, that guards have placed their swords at my breast, and that it has been impossible for me to resist the wishes of the prince and his people. I wished to preserve the peace and happiness which I tasted in the midst of the learned men, who assisted me in the study of philosophy, and in spite of myself I have left this tranquil and happy life.

"For I knew, even before I had proved them, the sorrows which the cares of high sacerdotal functions induce. I knew that a bishop should constantly restrain himself before men, and disguise from them the emotions of his soul, as well as those of his face. I knew that he should at all times repress the sentiments of liberty which agitate the people, and govern by fear the emperors who rule them.

"Among my friends, I had no need to place upon my face a mask of deceit. I could manifest among them my joy or my sadness, and loudly declare my sentiments and my thoughts. In a word, I could appear as I am. But now, ecclesiastical greatness condemns me to hypocrisy and deceit, and sometimes even forces me to acts of cruelty. What would I not endure to prevent the simony, the debauchery, and the exactions of the priests?

"I foresaw all the evil which would happen unto me, before accepting the episcopate, and my fears induced me to avoid it; but I have been condemned to lose my body and my soul.

No one has pitied me, and they have refused to believe in the sincerity of my opposition. Thus do not accuse me of a fault of which I am not the author, but the victim; and if the canons, which prohibit the elevation of a layman to the patriarchate, have been violated in my election, let the blame fall upon the true guilty.

"The emperor threatened me with his authority, and I submitted to his will; after having resisted with courage, I accepted with resignation, to avoid a revolution, and I have sacrificed my liberty to my country.

"I am, however, now patriarch, as God has willed, and I declare to your reverence that I will defend the rights of my See, and in the name of all the clergy of Constantinople, I deny the pretended canons, which you quote against my election. Our fathers, from time immemorial, have ordained mere laymen as bishops, and have not supposed that in so doing, they were violating the holy rules of the Eastern church.

"Let each of us preserve religiously the customs of our ancestors. At Rome your priests no longer contract legitimate marriages, and publicly support several concubines; at Constantinople on the other hand, we permit our priests to marry and live in the bonds of holy matrimony. It is not the robe which they wear, nor the length of time passed by men in the hypocrisy of seminaries, which render them worthy of the episcopate; but it is their ability and the purity of their morals. I do not say this in my own defence, as I do not recognize myself but as ignorant and impure; I only wish to recall to your beatitude the examples of Taraisus, my great uncle, of Nicephorus, and St. Ambrose, the glory of our country, who composed sublime works on the religion of Christ.

"You have not condemned St. Nectairus and St. Ambrose, whose ordination was confirmed by a general council, yet these holy persons were only laymen before their election, and had not even been baptized when they were elevated to the episcopal office. I will not speak of Gregory of Nazianzum, the father of theology, nor of the numerous bishops whom the church honours, and whom the Roman clergy have never reproached for having been elected as we were, according to the Eastern custom.

"But in order to satisfy the request of your holiness, and to establish, as much as our power will permit, concord between your See and ours, I have prohibited, in full council, that for the future, any layman or monk should be ordained bishop, without having passed through all the ecclesiastical orders and degrees. We will be always ready to destroy all causes of division between the two churches, but we cannot censure the custom by which we have ourselves been declared patriarch, and which would be a grievous injury to the fathers who have chosen us.

"Would to God that the church of Constantinople had for ever preserved the usages of the Latin church! I should then have

avoided the grief by which I have been overwhelmed, in seeing myself surrounded by impious men, who offend Christ in his images, or who deny his two natures, and blaspheme the fourth council.

"We have excommunicated those guilty priests in the synod at which you assisted by your legates, and we would have followed all the instructions which you gave us, if the emperor had not opposed our will. It is therefore by his orders that we have refused to re-establish your jurisdiction over the churches of Illyria and Syracuse. He is governed in this grave question by territorial limits, which concern the affairs of temporal government, and, notwithstanding all my desire to be agreeable to you, I could not obtain any concession from the prince.

"For myself, I would yield to St. Peter all that belongs to him, and even still yield to him a part of the ancient dependencies of the See which I govern; for I would be under an infinite obligation to him who would lighten my burthen. I am far from denying the rights which belong to any other bishop, and especially to a father such as you, who reclaim them by the voice of holy legates, whose prudence, mildness, and ability, are like to those of the disciples of Jesus Christ.

"We hope that your beatitude will be entirely informed by them of the truth of the events which occurred at our election; we received them with the honours which ambassadors sent by you merited, and to whom we wished to prove all the attachment we have for your holiness; we beseech you to act so towards us, and to listen favourably to our delegates.

"We are delighted that the faithful hasten to come to kiss your feet; but we observe to you that this zeal encourages adulteries, the incestuous ravishers, homicides, and whatsoever crimes are most frequent, since the guilty can free themselves from punishment by a pilgrimage to the holy city."

The letters of the emperor and of Photius, as well as the proceedings of the council of Constantinople, confirmed to the pontiff the treason of his legates. Deeply irritated by their unfaithfulness, he assembled the bishops of the Roman church, and in the presence of Leo, the ambassador of Michael the Third, he declared that the envoys of the Holy See had received no instructions to approve of the deposition of Ignatius, or the election of Photius, and that by virtue of the authority he had received from St. Peter, he disapproved of all that had been done in his name in that assembly, and that he would not consent to ratify the engagements of his legates. Leo immediately quitted the holy city, and bore this reply to the court of the emperor. The Greek church then resolved to separate itself for ever from the Latin.

Some months after this rupture, Rome was scandalized by a new accusation of incest, brought against the deacon Hubert, who had been surprised in the night, in the bedchamber of Queen Thietberge, his sister, the wife of

King Lothaire. Hubert had already incurred ecclesiastical censures during the pontificate of Benedict the Third; but the sudden death of the pontiff had prevented the confirmation of the judgment. In this last case, the queen herself having admitted her crime, had been confined in a convent to await the decision which the bishops of the kingdom should pronounce against her. Fearing, however, the vengeance of Lothaire, she escaped from this retreat, and took refuge with her brother Hubert, in the dominions of Charles the Bald, whose mistress she became. This shameless woman then had the impudence to send envoys to the pope, to complain of the judgment which the French bishops had pronounced against her.

Lothaire, on his side, fearful lest the queen should excite against him the wrath of the holy father, hastened to send to Rome Teutgard, the metropolitan of Treves and Halton, the chief of the clergy of Verdun, with letters of credence from all the bishops of his kingdom, affirming that they had not yet pronounced any sentence against Thietberge, but only had imposed on her a penance, after the public confession which she had made of her crime. They at the same time besought the holy father not to allow himself to be deceived by the tricks of this incestuous queen and her abominable brother, but to read attentively the two letters which the princes Lothaire, and Louis, his uncle, addressed to him through their envoys.

The two kings also complained of Charles the Bald, and besought the holy father to go into Gaul, as his predecessors had done, to maintain the faith of treaties by threatening the prevaricator of the censures of the church. Nicholas was already under the influence of Thietberge, whose beauty or whose presents had seduced all the prelates of the court of Rome; a synod was indeed assembled, but the queen was declared innocent, and the king of Lorraine was condemned to take back his wife under penalty of excommunication!

During the same year a new council was convoked by the popes to try an accusation of adultery, brought against the beautiful Ingeltrude, the daughter of Count Matfrid, and the wife of Count Boson of Lombardy, whose treasures she had stolen before flying with her lover. The unfortunate husband had pardoned his guilty spouse, and had employed all the means of mildness to bring her back to him; but all his advances having been rejected, he addressed himself to the holy father, and besought him to use all his influence to constrain this criminal woman to return to a sense of her duty.

Nicholas, yielding to the entreaties of Boson, assembled at Milan a council, before which Ingeltrude was cited to appear, failing to do which, the assembly, after a fixed time, was to declare her excommunicated. The countess having refused to appear before the synod, was condemned by the pope as an adulteress, and driven from the communion of the faithful.

But the anathema produced no better effect than the exhortations. When the decree of the holy father was presented to her, she threw it into the fire, and laughing, said to the envoys, "If your pope Nicholas is about to assemble synods to make women faithful, and to prevent adultery, I declare to you he will lose his time and his Latin; he had better reform the abominable morals of his clergy, and extirpate sodomy from his own house."

The holy father, rendered furious by the sarcasm of Ingeltrude, wrote to the bishops of Lorraine to reprimand them for their negligence, and to enjoin on them to drive away this bad woman; declaring to them, that if she refused to rejoin her husband, they should excommunicate her a second time, and drive her from their dioceses under penalty of being themselves anathematized and deposed. He addressed at the same time a letter to King Charles the Bald, beseeching him to constrain his nephew Lothaire to send away this criminal female from his dominions, and to employ even the force of arms, if he refused to obey the orders of the Holy See. Ecclesiastical menaces and thunders failed before the obstinacy of Ingeltrude; the beautiful adulteress retired near to the bishop of Cologne, with whom she publicly entered into a guilty connection.

A more important affair for the interests of the court of Rome than that of Ingeltrude, then occupied all the attention of the holy father. John, the metropolitan of Ravenna, a prelate of remarkable firmness, undertook to re-establish the independence of his See, and replaced all the priests, whom he supposed to be creatures of the pope, by young ecclesiastics devoted to his own person.

Anastasius affirms, that the archbishop seized upon the property of the church, usurped the patrimonies of St. Peter, distributed his revenues, deposed, without a canonical judgment, the priests and deacons of his clergy, whom he cast into prison, to constrain them to deny the obedience which they owed to the holy father.

Nicholas cited him three times before a council convened to judge him; but the archbishop having refused to appear before this assembly, or even to be represented, the holy father declared the metropolitan deposed from his See and excommunicated. John addressed reclamations to the emperor, and obtained from him, that French ambassadors should accompany him to Rome to justify his conduct. The protection of the weak monarch was useless. The pope corrupted, by rich presents, the envoys of Louis the Second, and the unfortunate prelate, finding himself at the mercy of his enemies, consented to renew the act of submission of his diocese. He took the oath of fidelity and obedience upon the cross and the gospels, and the next day he went to the church of the Lateran, where he justified himself, by oath, from the crimes of which he had been accused.

The holy father then received him to his communion, permitted him to celebrate mass,

and on the following day he was seated at the council, where Nicholas made a decree in these words: "We command the archbishop John to come every year to Rome, to renew the oath of obedience which he has taken to us, and we prohibit him from ordaining, without authority from our See, the bishops of Emilia, and the suffragans of Ravenna. We also prohibit him from demanding from his priests any thing contrary to the canons or the privileges of our See, and not to take possession of the goods of clergy or laity, at least until they shall have been juridically adjudged to him by the authority of the Roman church." John then obtained permission to return to Ravenna.

But the pontiff, desirous of avenging himself on the emperor, who had protected the metropolitan, feigned to have received from God, in a revelation, an order to call Charles the Bald to the empire, in the place of Louis the Second; and he induced the king of France to seize upon the sceptre of his brother, promising to sanctify the usurpation. This affair was of no consequence at the moment, still, in the proceedings at the coronations of the French monarchs, published by Pithon, it is said, that Pope John the Eighth, a successor of Nicholas, had fortified his decree by the fact that God himself had designated Charles the Bald as emperor, in a vision in which he had appeared to Pope Nicholas.

The separation of Thietberge and Lothaire was not yet terminated, and excited a great scandal in state and church. To put an end to it the prince sent to Rome two lords of his court, instructed to place in the hands of the pope the proceedings of a council of the bishops of Lorraine, in which they had authorized the monarch to repudiate his criminal wife, and to contract a new union with Waldrade. The stupidity of princes was then so great that they dare not undertake any thing without the authority of the court of Rome! In consequence the monarch besought the pontiff to name legates, who should decide upon this grave question with the bishops of his kingdom.

Nicholas replied that he would send delegates to order the convocation of a synod, but that in the meantime he prohibited clergy and laity, no matter what their rank, from making, up to that time, any decision in favour of Waldrade against the queen. Some months after, he deputed to the court of Lorraine, Rodolphe, bishop of Porto, the same ecclesiastic who had been his legate to Constantinople, and John, bishop of Cervia, in the Romagna. He also wrote to the emperor Louis, the German, and to the two kings, uncle and nephew of Lothaire, to send each two bishops of their kingdoms, to represent them in the council which was about to examine into the case of Thietberge.

Nicholas ordered the emperor, Louis the Second, to take measures, that his legates should be in safety in the states of Lothaire, his brother; and in his letters to the bishops

of Gaul and Germany, he besought them to go to Metz, the place fixed on for the council, and incited them against the king, inducing them to punish this monarch severely for his want of respect towards the Holy See.

We remark a most surprising contradiction in the policy of the holy father, who declared himself the protector of an incestuous queen at the very time in which he was excommunicating the adulterous wife of Boson. But the court of Rome had, throughout all Christendom, such a reputation for simony, that it was publicly said, that with money one was always sure of obtaining the protection of the popes. The following adventure gives new force to this reputation for avarice, so justly acquired by the Holy See.

A count of Flanders, named Baldwin, smitten by the charms of Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, had the boldness to carry off this princess from Senlis, and took refuge with her in his estates. Troops were immediately sent after the fugitive, but the count having routed them, was enabled to brave with impunity the French monarch. Charles, doubly irritated by his defeat and the ravishment of his daughter, had then recourse to the pope, who anathematized Baldwin. The terror which the thunders of the church inspired, obliged the ravisher, who had not feared the army of a powerful monarch, to submit immediately to the orders of Nicholas. He went to Rome with his young wife to implore the protection of St. Peter, and having taken care to carry with him large sums and magnificent presents in gold and silver, which he offered to the pope; then, having been admitted to his presence, he cast himself at his feet, and swore to him entire submission and fidelity under every trial. Nicholas, melted by the richness of the presents, immediately took back the anathemas which he had lanced against Baldwin, declared him a son of the church, and even wrote to Charles the Bald to engage him to pardon him.

The holy father, in pleading the cause of the young couple, employed by turns flatteries and menaces; he said to the emperor that Judith had given all her tenderness to her ravisher, and that a separation would render the princess the most wretched of women. He brought forward the disorders which an inflexible rigour might produce, if he drove to despair a powerful lord, who might join his armies to those of the Normans and invade the kingdom of France. He also addressed a touching letter to Ermentrude, the mother of Judith; and finally, by his exhortations, he was enabled to reconcile the two families.

The council convened at Metz, to judge of the matter of King Lothaire, did not assemble at the period which had been designated for its session; the prince fearing a condemnation, wished to gain time to bring over to his cause the envoys of the Holy See; in fact, rich presents and large sums of money entirely changed the views of the legate Rodoalde, who behaved in France as he had done in Constantinople. The friends of the queen

hastened to inform Nicholas of this treason, and the pontiff, wounded in his pride by the culpable condescendence of his delegate, immediately convened the bishops of the neighbouring provinces to judge the traitor Rodoalde, and to nominate another ambassador.

This year was remarkable for the extreme severity of the cold; the Adriatic sea was entirely frozen over, and the merchants on both sides of it, transported their merchandise across it in wagons instead of using vessels.

The council which was convened by the holy father, assembled in the oratory of the palace of the Lateran; they read the proceedings of the synod of Constantinople, and the letters of the emperor Michael; they then brought into the presence of the Italian prelates, the bishop Zachary, the legate who had formerly been sent to Constantinople. He was convicted of simony and prevarication on his own avowal, and confessed that he had consented to the deposition of Ignatius, and communed with Photius, notwithstanding the orders of the pontiff. The council pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against him.

After this, the holy father thus spoke: "In the name of the Holy Trinity, by the authority transmitted to us from the prince of the apostles, having taken cognizance of all the complaints brought against the patriarch Photius, we declare him deposed of his sacerdotal functions, for having sustained the schismatics of Byzantium; for having been ordained bishop by Gregory, bishop of Syracuse, during the life of Ignatius, the legitimate bishop of Constantinople; for having corrupted our envoys, and finally, for having persecuted the orthodox priests who remained attached to our brother Ignatius.

"We have discovered Photius to be guilty of crimes so enormous, that we declare him to be for ever deprived of all the honours of the priesthood, and divested of all clerical functions, by the authority which we hold from Jesus Christ, the apostles St. Peter and Paul, from all the saints, and the six general councils.

"The Holy Spirit pronounces by our mouth a terrible judgment against Photius, and condemns him for ever, no matter what may happen, even at the moment of death, from receiving the body and blood of the Saviour.

"We affirm our brother Ignatius, who has been driven from his See by the violence of the emperor, and despoiled of the episcopal ornaments by the prevarication of our legates, to be the vicar of Christ; that he has never been deposed nor anathematized, and we maintain him in his sacerdotal dignity; we ordain that in future all clergy or laymen who shall dare to oppose him shall be excommunicated, no matter what their rank in church or state. We also command, that the prelates exiled since the unjust expulsion of Ignatius, be re-installed in their Sees." Thus the council of Rome, which had assembled to judge Rodoalde, changed the object of its de-

liberations, and condemned the patriarch of Constantinople and the legate Zachary.

Rodoalde quietly opened the synod of Metz in the name of the pope; none of the prelates of Germany nor Neustria were convened, and all who were there, were from the kingdom of Lothaire. The fathers made a decision favourable to the king; the envoys of the Holy See, gained by the liberality of the prince, despised the instructions they had received from Nicholas, and declared that Lothaire, having repudiated Thietberge, in consequence of the decree of the bishops of his kingdom, was fully justified in his conduct.

The proceedings of the synod were borne to the holy father by Gonthier, metropolitan of Cologne, and Teutgard, archbishop of Treves. These prelates were instructed to have them approved by the clergy of Rome, by availing themselves of the credit of the legates John and Rodoalde. But the pontiff, already advised of the prevarication of his ambassadors, convened a new assembly of bishops to judge Rodoalde. The latter, troubled by the reproaches of his conscience, and fearing a chastisement as terrible as that which had been inflicted on Zachary, his former colleague, fled from the city, during the night, and abandoned even the treasures which he had brought from France. Through the remains of shame, the pope deferred his judgment, not being willing to pronounce a condemnation without hearing the defence of his old favourite.

Teutgard and Gonthier, having presented to Nicholas the proceedings of the synods of Metz and Aix-la-Chapelle, he caused them to be read in public, and demanded from the French metropolitans, if they were willing to maintain them before the bishops of Italy. They replied, that having subscribed to those decisions, they would never deny them. The pontiff kept silence, but a few days after he caused the envoys of Lothaire to be conducted before the council, which was already assembled in the palace of the Lateran, and in their presence, he erased the decrees of the synod of Metz, which he called an assembly of brigands and robbers. He declared the French prelates to be deprived of episcopal power, for having illy judged the cause of Lothaire and his two wives Thietberge and Waldrade, and for having treated with contempt the orders of the Holy See in regard to the sentence pronounced against Ingeltrude, the wife of Count Boson. For the third time Ingeltrude was pronounced infamous and an adulteress, and the holy father lanced against her a terrible anathema. He always, however, promised her pardon for her crimes, if she would consent to come to Rome to demand absolution for them.

At length Nicholas excommunicated all those who did not obey his decrees; he deposed from the episcopate, Haganon, bishop of Bergamus, who had drawn up the proceedings of the synod of Metz, as also John, metropolitan of Ravenna, who notwithstanding his oath, still endeavoured to render himself

independent, and openly conspired against the authority of the Holy See.

Teutgard and Gonthier, did not permit themselves to be intimidated by the pontiff; they hurled back on Nicholas, in full council, his anathemas and his abuse, and to repress his audacious pride, they announced, that they would go at once to the emperor Louis to induce him to chastise the pope, who had dared to insult the ambassadors of King Lothaire.

Louis was so indignant at the arrogance of the holy father, that he resolved to inflict on him marked vengeance; he assembled his troops and marched towards Rome, accompanied by two metropolitans whom he wished to re-install upon their Sees.

The metropolitan of Cologne, the firmest defender of the liberties of the Gallican church, then sent to the bishops of the kingdom of Lothaire, a letter written in his own name, and in that of the primate of Belgium. He thus expresses himself:—"We beseech you my brethren, to supplicate Heaven for us, without troubling yourselves with the harsh tales which the Roman priests will spread against us. For the lord Nicholas, whom they call pope, and who calls himself the apostle of the apostles, and the emperor of all nations, has wished to condemn us; but thanks be to God we have resisted his boldness.

"Visit frequently our king, and say to him, that we will faithfully accomplish the embassy which has been confided to us; encourage him by your conversation and your letters, conciliate all the friends you can, and faithfully preserve the fidelity due to our sovereign, without allowing yourselves to be influenced by a sacrilegious pope."

Gonthier addressed this other letter to the pontiff, "Listen, lord pope; we have been sent by our brethren to you to ask your approval of the judgment we have given, by explaining to you the authorities and the motives which induced our action. After having waited for three weeks for your reply, you have caused us to be conducted into your presence; and when we advanced without fear, the doors of the saloon by which we entered were closed upon us.

"We then found ourselves in the midst of a troop of clergy and laity; and there, without judges, accusers, witnesses, or even an interrogation, you have declared us driven from the church, deposed from our Sees and anathematized, if we should refuse to submit to your tyranny.

"We reject your sentence and treat with contempt your insulting discourse; for we are content with the communion of the whole church, and with the society of our brethren, of which you have shown yourself unworthy through your pride and arrogance.

"You condemn yourself in anathematizing him who shall not observe the apostolic precepts, for you are the first to violate them—you who trample upon sacred canons and the divine laws. . . ."

Such is the language which the cardinal Baronius, the most zealous defender of the Holy See, attributes to Gonthier; but the letter of the archbishop had a still more energetic character. The historian Lesueur, gives it as follows: "Pontiff, you have treated us, and our brethren, contrary to the rights of nations, and the decrees of the church, and thou hast surpassed in thy conduct thy proudest predecessors. Thy council was composed of some inimical monks and priests as debauched and infamous as thyself, and in their presence thou hast dared to pronounce against us a sentence, unjust, rash and opposed to religion, of which thou pretendest to be the chief. to the great scandal of the world.

"Jesus Christ has enriched the church his spouse; he has given to it an imperishable diadem and an eternal sceptre; he has granted to it the power of consecrating saints, of placing them in heaven, and of rendering them immortal. But thou, like a greedy robber, thou hast seized upon all the treasures of the church, thou hast even ravished them from the altar of Jesus Christ; thou murderest Christians; thou snatchest from heaven the valiant and the good, to hurl them into the abyss of hell; thou coverest with honey, the blade of thy sword, and dost not permit the dead to return to life.

"Iniquitous and cruel priest, thou hast not but the vestments of a pontiff and the name of a pastor; for under thy sacred ornaments we perceive the sanguinary wolf which rends the flock.

"Cowardly tyrant, thou bearest the name of the servant of servants, and thou employest treason, gold, and iron, to be the Lord of lords; but according to the doctrine of the apostles, thou art the most infamous of the ministers of the temple of God; thus, thy unbridled love of rule will cast thee into the abyss into which thou wouldst precipitate thy brethren. Dost thou think, thou who born of man, that thou art above a man and that crime is sanctified, because thy hand shall have committed it? No, shameless cockatrice, thou hast become to Christians the venomous serpent which the Jews adored; thou art the dog whom rage pushes on to devour his kind.

"We doubt neither thy venom nor thy bite; we have resolved with our brethren to tear thy sacrilegious decretals, thy impious bulls, and will leave thee to growl forth thy powerless thunders. Thou darest to accuse of impiety those who refuse from love to the faith to submit to thy sacrilegious laws! Thou who castest discord among Christians; thou who violatest evangelical peace, that immortal mark which Christ has placed upon the forehead of his church; thou, execrable pontiff, who spits upon the book of thy God, thou darest to call us impious! How then wilt thou call the clergy which bends before thy power, those unworthy priests vomited forth from hell, and whose forehead is of wax, their heart of steel, and their sides are formed of the wine of Sodom and Gomorrah! Go to, these ministers are well made to

crawl under thy abominable pride, in thy Rome, frightful Babylon, which thou callest the holy city, eternal and infallible! Go to, thy cohort of priests soiled with adulteries, incests, rapes and assassinations, is well worthy to form thy infamous court; for Rome is the residence of demons, and thou, pope, thou art its Satan!?"

Gonthier, Teutgard, John of Ravenna, and a great number of bishops, in whose name this letter was written, circulated copies of it in all the cities of Italy, France, England, and Spain; it even went to Constantinople, where Nicholas was held in execration by the people, the grandees of the clergy; this circumstance still strengthened the Greeks in their desire to remain separate from the Latin church.

Nicholas having learned that Louis the Second was coming to Rome at the head of his army, to render justice to the deposed bishops, commanded a general fast and procession through all the streets, in order to excite the fanaticism of the Romans, and to push them on to revolt; but the citizens, restrained by fear, dared not rise against their sovereign. Then the pope, yielding to necessity, ordered public prayers that God might confound his arch-enemies, and inspire the prince with sentiments favourable to the court of Rome.

On his arrival in the city, Louis established himself with his suite near to the church of St. Peter, and at the moment when the clergy and the people were going to the temple in procession, the soldiers fell upon the fanatical multitude, which immediately took to flight. The crosses were broken and the banners torn; in the midst of the tumult an admirable cross, which had been offered by St. Helena to St. Peter, and which was said to enclose some wood of the true cross, was thrown down into the dirt and trampled upon by an officer.

Nicholas, during this collision, remained concealed in the cellars of the palace of the Lateran, but as he feared discovery, he was conducted during the following night, by the Tiber, to the church of St. Peter, and remained concealed for two entire days in the tomb of the apostles. His trusty friends, however, were at work in the dark, and poison was soon to avenge the pontiff; on the third day the officer who had broken the cross of St. Helena, was suddenly attacked by an unknown illness, his body being covered with black spots. The emperor himself was attacked by a violent fever, which plunged into consternation all those who surrounded him, and particularly the empress.

The Roman clergy proclaimed that these misfortunes were sent by God to punish the guilty who outraged his church; the ignorant and superstitious people exclaimed a miracle, and the empress herself in alarm, secretly sought the pope to beseech him to come to Louis, that God might restore to him health.

After having all the necessary precautions for his safety, Nicholas came before the emperor and had a long conference with him.

This prince, weakened by the sufferings of his sickness, alarmed by the menaces of the holy father, yielded to the solicitations of his wife, and granted all the demands of the pope. Nicholas returned in triumph to the patriarchal palace, and ordered the archbishops of France to quit Rome within three hours, under penalty of being treated as malefactors, and of having their eyes torn out, and their tongue cut off.

Gonthier, in despair at the cowardly abandonment of Louis, sent his brother Hildwyn to place in the hands of the pope an energetic remonstrance against the infamous violence of which the Holy See had made him the victim. Nicholas refused to receive the young Hildwyn; the latter then went armed and followed by his soldiers to the church of St. Peter. The guards who kept this church having endeavoured to prevent his entrance into it, he repelled them with blows of the mace, and several were beaten to death on the spot; he then deposited the protest of Gonthier upon the sepulchre of St. Peter, and sallied from the church sword in hand. During this scene of tumult and carnage, the soldiers of the emperor forced the monasteries, murdered the priests, and violated the nuns on the steps of the altar.

Louis shortly recovered, and quitted Rome with the metropolitans who had accompanied him into that city. Gonthier and Teutgard returned to France.

On his arrival at the metropolis of his See, the archbishop of Cologne, treating with contempt the anathemas of the pope, celebrated divine service, in the presence of his clergy and the faithful; he consecrated the holy oil, administered confirmation, and ordained priests; in fact, he performed all the duties of the episcopate. But Teutgard, yielding to a superstitious terror, abstained from exercising any sacerdotal function. Lothaire himself, soon after, submitted to the orders of the court of Rome, and declared against Gonthier; he refused to attend on mass celebrated by his metropolitan, to commune with him, and dispossessed him of the archbishopric of Cologne to give it to Hugh, his cousin german. The prelate then exclaimed in the bitterness of his soul, "foolish is the man who counts upon the friendship of kings, no matter how great the services rendered them."

Driven on by displeasure against the prince, Gonthier resolved on vengeance, he sent one of his deacons to the holy city to treat with the pontiff, and to induce him to excommunicate in turn the ungrateful monarch, who recompensed his devotion by cowardly perfidy. But fearful of the issue of this enterprize, he decided to plead his cause in person. He took the money which remained in the treasury of the church at Cologne, and went to Rome. Lothaire, advised of the departure and the plans of Gonthier, immediately despatched the bishop Batolde into Italy, to assure the holy father that he would comply with his decision, and even offering to go in person to justify himself before the tomb of the apostle.

To his letters was attached an act of submission from the bishops of Lorraine.

Nicholas replied to them in these terms:—"You affirm that you are submissive to your sovereign, in order to obey the words of the apostle Peter, who said, 'Be subject to the prince, because he is above all mortals in this world.' But you appear to forget that we, as the vicar of Christ, have the right to judge all men; thus, before obeying kings, you owe obedience to us; and if we declare a monarch guilty, you should reject him from your communion until we pardon him.

"We alone have the power to bind and to loose, to absolve Nero, and to condemn him; and Christians cannot, under penalty of excommunication, execute other judgment than ours, which alone is infallible. People are not the judges of their princes; they should obey, without murmuring, the most iniquitous orders; they should bow their foreheads under the chastisements which it pleases kings to inflict on them; for a sovereign can violate the fundamental laws of the state, and seize upon the wealth of the citizens, by imposts or by confiscations; he can even dispose of their lives, without any of his subjects having the right to address to him simple remonstrances. But if we declare a king heretical and sacrilegious—if we drive him from the church, clergy, and laity, whatever their rank, are freed from their oaths of fidelity, and may revolt against his power. . . ." Such was the execrable policy taught by the pontiff Nicholas.

One of the ablest commentators of Tacitus, indignant at the excess of arrogance of the court of Rome, refutes all the maxims of the holy father, and terminates with this reasoning: "When men have consented to recognize kings by oaths of fidelity, they hope to find in the monarch an assured gage of protection and prosperity. But when they have discovered that sovereigns have failed in their mission, have become perjured, do not respect the rights of the nation, they have then returned to the exercise of their liberty, and have punished kings who were become their oppressors."

Arsenes, bishop of Orta, was deputed to carry the letters of the pope to Lothaire. The pontiff threatened him, if he did not at once repudiate the princess Waldrade, to convene a council to pronounce against him a sentence of excommunication. Nicholas at the same time wrote to Charles the Bald, to excite him against the king of Lorraine.—"You say, my lord, that you have induced Lothaire to submit to our decision, and that he has replied to you that he would go to Rome to obtain our judgment upon his marriage. But are you not aware that he has himself already informed us of this design by his ambassadors, and that we have prohibited him from presenting himself before us in the state of sin in which he is? We have waited long enough for his conversion, deferring even unto this time from crushing him beneath our anathema, in order to avoid war and effusion

of blood. A longer patience, however, will render us criminal in the eyes of Christ, and we order you, in the name of religion, to invade his states, burn his cities, and massacre his people, whom we render responsible for their resistance of their bad prince."

The legate arrived at Frankfurt in the month of February, 865, and was received with great honours by King Louis. He then went to Gondreville, near the residence of Lothaire, and, of his own authority, convened the bishops of the kingdom. Arsenes declared to the monarch, in a full synod, that he had to choose between Queen Thietberge and the excommunication of the pope. Through weakness and superstition, the king of Lorraine promised to be reconciled with his wife. The incestuous Thietberge was then recalled to the court, and twelve counts swore in the name of their sovereign, that they regarded her as their legitimate queen.

Waldrade was sent out of the kingdom, and condemned to go to Rome to obtain absolution for her faults. Then the legate published a fourth excommunication against the adulterous spouse of Boson, and placed him in the possession of the territory of Vandœuvre, which the emperor Louis the Easy had formerly given to the Roman church, and which the count Guy had seized upon in the last war.

Arsenes then departed for Italy, accompanied by Waldrade. On the route he was joined by the countess Ingeltrude, who came to cast herself at his feet, and demand absolution from him. The legate could not resist the charms of the beautiful excommunicated. He consented to reconcile her to the church; and the deed of absolution was given to the adulterous wife at a secret audience! She even promised to rejoin him at Augsburg, and to accompany him into Italy; but, under the pretext of going to the house of one of her relatives to obtain equipages and horses, to continue her journey conveniently, she forsook the legate, and returned to France to rejoin one of her lovers at the court of Charles the Bald. Furious at having been the dupe of this artful woman, the prelate exhaled his rage in the letters which he wrote to the prelates of Gaul and Germany, enjoining on them, in the name of the pope, not to receive this adulteress into their dioceses, and not to regard the deed of absolution which she had obtained by criminal means.

Waldrade imitated the example of the beautiful Ingeltrude. She feigned a violent passion for Arsenes, obtained from him a decretal of absolution, and left him on the very night on which she was to fulfil the promise she had made him as the price of his complaisance. Such was the success of the embassy of the holy father.

Nicholas then prepared to send legates to the East; but at the very moment of their departure, Michael, the protopathary of the emperor, entered Italy, bearing a letter to the pontiff from his master, in which that prince threatened to chastise the Holy See, if it did

not immediately revoke the anathema lanced against Photius.

These hostile dispositions changed the ideas of the holy father. He then determined not to send a legation to Constantinople, and only gave to the officer Michael a reply conceived in the following terms:—"Know, prince, that the vicars of Christ are above the judgment of mortals; and that the most powerful sovereigns have no right to punish the crimes of popes, how enormous soever they may be. Your thoughts should be occupied by the efforts which they accomplish for the correction of the church, without disquieting yourself about their actions; for no matter how scandalous or criminal may be the debaucheries of the pontiffs, you should obey them, for they are seated on the chair of St. Peter. And did not Jesus Christ himself, even when condemning the excesses of the scribes and Pharisees, command obedience to them, because they were the interpreters of the law of Moses?"

"You say that, since the sixth council, no pope has received from your court the honour you have done us by addressing a letter to us. This reflection is to the shame of your predecessors and the glory of ours; for, since that period the Greek church has been constantly infected with heresy. The chiefs of the empire being heretics, we should reject them from our communion with horror, and pursue them with our anathemas upon earth and in heaven. We should, to restore concord among Christians, employ the aid of the arms of strange nations to overthrow the odious power of the emperors of the East. This conduct, which you call infamous, was alone worthy of the Holy See.

"You treat the Latin language as a barbarous tongue, because you do not understand it; and yet you lay claim to the title of emperor of the Romans, and call yourself the heir of the old Cæsars, the supreme chief of the state and the church.

"In contempt of the canons, and by the abuse of an usurped authority, you convene an assembly of laymen to judge a bishop, and to be the spectators of his shame. You reverse all the rules of judgment; you submit a superior to the judgment of his inferiors; you seduce his judges by your gold, and you choose his accuser to be his successor upon the episcopal See.

"We have regarded with pity that abominable cabal which you call a council, and which, in your mad pride, you place on an equality with the general council of Nice. We declare, by virtue of the privileges of our church, that this assembly was sacrilegious, impure, and abominable. Cease, then, to oppose our rights, and obey our orders, or else we will, in our turn, raise our power against yours, and will say to the nations—People, cease to bow your heads before your proud masters. Overthrow these impious sovereigns, these sacrilegious kings, who have arrogated to themselves the right of commanding men, and of taking away the liberty of their brethren.

“Fear, then, our wrath, and the thunders of our vengeance; for Jesus Christ has appointed us with his own mouth absolute judges of all men; and kings themselves are submitted to our authority. The power of the church has been consecrated before your reign, and it will subsist after it. Do not hope to alarm us by your threats of ruining our cities and our fields. Your arms will be powerless, and your troops will fly before the forces of our allies.

“Cowardly and vain-glorious emperor, before undertaking the conquest of Italy, drive away the infidels who have ravaged Sicily and Greece, and who have burned the suburbs of Constantinople, your capital! No longer threaten Christians, who call you an heretic, unless you wish to imitate the Jews, who delivered Barabbas, and put to death Jesus Christ.”

After the departure of the envoy, Michael, Nicholas pronounced a new sentence of excommunication against Waldrade, who had returned to the court of Lothaire. He even accused her of having wished to poison Queen Thietberge, and he ordered all the prelates of France and Germany to publish in their dioceses the anathema pronounced against her, and to drive her from the churches.

Aventius, bishop of Metz, immediately wrote to Rome in justification of Lothaire; he thus terminated his letter: “Since the departure of your legate, the king has entertained no criminal relations with Waldrade; he has himself signified to her that she must obey your orders, under penalty of being confined in a monastery. On the other hand, he treats Queen Thietberge with kindness; she assists with him at divine service; she partakes of his table and his bed, and his condescendence to the princess has gone so far as to permit her brother, the deacon Hubert, to be recalled to court. Finally, in all the private conversations which I have had with the prince, I have discovered nothing but entire submission to your counsels and your authority.” This letter of the prelate of Metz contained nothing but falsehoods, for Thietberge, steadily ill-treated by Lothaire, was soon obliged to go to Rome, to ask herself for the dissolution of the marriage.

In the same year, Bagoris, a Bulgarian prince, and a new convert to the Christian faith, sent his son and some lords into Italy, to offer rich presents to St. Peter. The deputies of the monarch were at the same time to consult the pope on religious questions, and to ask from him bishops and priests. This embassy of the Bulgarians gave great joy to the holy father, who saw his authority extending over new people.

By his orders, Paul, bishop of Populania, in Tuscany, and Formosus, bishop of Porto, quitted Italy to go to Bagoris, and carry to him his reply. The letter of the pope contained one hundred and six articles, drawn from the Roman laws and the Institutes of Justinian. Nicholas professes in this recital a singular morality: “You advise us;” he says, to the

Bulgarian king, that “you have caused your subjects to be baptized without their consent, and that you have exposed yourself to so violent a revolt as to have incurred the risk of your life. I glorify you for having maintained your authority by putting to death those wandering sheep who refused to enter the fold; and you not only have not sinned, by showing a holy rigour, but I even congratulate you on having opened the kingdom of heaven to the people submitted to your rule. A king need not fear to command massacres, when these will retain his subjects in obedience, or cause them to submit to the faith of Christ, and God will reward him in this world, and in eternal life, for these murders.”

An infamous policy, which changes a sublime religion into blind fanaticism, and which is sufficient to cause to be execrated all the priests and all the kings of the earth! Religion should be a bond of fraternal union among men, and not serve as a pretext to tyrants to legitimize their cruelties and their brigandages! No—pontiffs and monarchs have no right to constrain people to embrace a belief; and nations submitted to their authority cannot be deprived of the most beautiful, the most admirable of human rights, that of rendering to the Deity the worship which they believe to be the most agreeable to him. The learned Barbeyrac thus expresses his opinion: “A man can never give another an arbitrary thought over his thoughts and life, of which the empire appertains to God alone; and the efforts of violence only serve to make hypocrites. In matters of religion, as in those of policy, kings have no right to constrain their subjects by force of arms, to embrace even the purest of religions or the best of governments.”

The following are additional charitable instructions given by Nicholas to the king of the Bulgarians: “If you have not sinned in massacring your people in the name of Christ, you have committed an enormous crime in persecuting a Greek, who called himself a priest, and who baptized a great number of infidels in your kingdom. It is true that this man was not an ecclesiastic, and that you have wished to punish him for his knavery, by condemning him to have his nose and ears cut off, and to be driven from your kingdom after his punishment; but your zeal in this case was not enlightened, for this man did great good by preaching the morality of Jesus Christ, and by baptizing. I declare, then, to you, that those who have received from him that sacrament, in the name of the Holy Trinity, are canonically baptized, for the excellence of the sacraments does not depend upon the virtue of the ministers of religion. You have grievously sinned by mutilating this Greek, and you will undergo a severe penance therefore, unless you send us a sum of money to purchase forgiveness for your fault.

“As to the customs of the Roman church, of which you desire to be informed, we observe the following: The solemn days of baptism are fixed at the periods of Easter and the Pentecost, but for you, who have not yet been

subjected to the practices of Christianity, you should have no fixed time for the observance of the regenerative sacrament, and you should be considered as those who are in danger of death.

"You say that the Greeks do not permit you to commune without having on girdles, and that they regard it a crime to pray in church, unless the arms are crossed upon the breast. These practices are indifferent among us; we only recommend to the laymen to pray daily at certain hours, as it is recommended to all the faithful to entreat Jesus Christ without ceasing. You must feast on Sunday, and not on Saturday; you should abstain from labour on the days of the festivals of the Holy Virgin, of the twelve apostles, the evangelists, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Stephen the first martyr, and of the saints, whose memory is held in veneration in your country.

"On these days, and during Lent, you should not administer judgment, and you should abstain from flesh during the fast of Lent, on Pentecost, on the Assumption of the Virgin, and on Christmas; you must also fast on Fridays, and the eve of great feasts. On Wednesdays you may eat meat, and it is not necessary to deprive yourselves of baths on that day and on Fridays, as the Greeks recommend. You are at liberty to receive the communion daily in Lent, but you should not hunt, nor gamble, nor enter into light conversation, nor be present at the shows of jugglers during this season of penitence. You must not give feasts, nor assist at marriages, and married people should live in continence. We leave to the disposal of the priests the duty of imposing a penance on those who shall have yielded to the desires of the flesh.

"You may carry on war in Lent, but only to repel an enemy. You are at liberty to eat all kinds of animals, without troubling yourself about the distinction of the old law; and laymen, as well as clergy, can bless the table before eating, by making the sign of the cross. It is the custom of the church not to eat before nine o'clock in the morning, and a Christian should not touch game killed by a Pagan.

"The Roman custom concerning marriages ordains, that the contract and agreements between the spouses should take place after the betrothal; they then make their offerings to the church by the hands of the priest, and receive the nuptial benediction, and the veil for virgins who are now married for the first time; they then place on their heads crowns of flowers, which are preserved in the church. All these ceremonies are not essential to the validity of the marriage, and the consecration of the secular laws is alone rigorously exacted.

"Those who have two wives, should keep the first, and repudiate the second, and do penance for the past. Married people should observance continence on fête days and Sundays only. When a mother nourishes her own child, she can enter the church after her confinement; but she should be driven from it if she confides the nourishment of her child to mercenary women.

"Before declaring war on your enemies, you should assist at the sacrifice of the mass, and make rich offerings to the churches; and we order you to take, as your military ensign, instead of the horse's tail, which serves you for a standard, the cross of Jesus Christ. We also prohibit you from forming any alliance with the infidels; and when you conclude a peace in future, you will swear upon the evangelists, and not upon the sword.

"We can decide upon nothing in relation to the nomination of a patriarch for your country, until after the return of the legates whom we send you. We will, however, give you a bishop, and afterwards will bestow upon him the privileges of an archbishop; he will thus be enabled to establish prelates who can aid him in great affairs, and after his death, we will designate his successor, who can be consecrated without being compelled to come to Rome."

Nicholas, in fact, sent with the Bulgarian ambassadors three legates, who were to go to Constantinople, Donatus bishop of Ostia; Leo, a priest of the order of St. Lawrence; and Marin, a deacon of the Roman church. He sent by them letters for Michael the Third, and the Greek bishops.

In the letter addressed to the emperor, the pontiff thus expresses himself: "You declare that, notwithstanding our anathemas, Photius shall guard the See of Constantinople and the communion of the Eastern church, and that our violence will only aggravate the condition of Ignatius, the deposed patriarch. We think, on the contrary, that the Christians of your empire will not forget the canons of Nice, which prohibit communion with excommunicated, and we trust that a member separated from the body of the faithful will not live many years. We have performed our duty, and our proceedings cannot be censured by you. The judgment of it is from God, and the Holy Spirit having spoken by our mouth, those who have been condemned will remain for ever blasted. Recollect that Simon, the Magician, was beaten down by St. Peter; Acacius, of Constantinople, by Pope Felix, and Anthimus by the pontiff Agapet, in spite of the will of princes.

We have received, during the past year, a writing filled with insults and blasphemies; he who has composed it in your name appears to have dipped his pen in the venom of the serpent, to produce a work the most cruel to our dignity; we exhort you to burn publicly this infamous writing, in order to free yourself from the charge of having subscribed it in vermilion with your own hand. Otherwise know, that in full council, we will anathematize it, and that we will attach it to a stake in the court yard of our palace, and deliver it to the flames, in the presence of the pilgrims of all nations, who come to visit the tomb of St. Peter.

The legates, after having finished their mission in Bulgaria, went towards Constantinople; but as soon as they had set foot on the Greek territory, they were arrested by the sol-

diers, and conducted under the charge of a strong escort, before the prince, without having been allowed to communicate with any one. Michael, having read their letters, fell into a great rage; he ordered one of his officers to strike them in the face, and drove them from his presence. They returned immediately to Bulgaria, where they were received with great distinction. Paul and Formosus converted and baptized a great number of Bulgarians, and the king, enchanted with their preaching, expelled from his kingdom the missionaries of other nations. Bagiris even sent a second embassy to Rome, to ask the pontiff to bestow the title of metropolitan of the Bulgarians on the bishop Formosus.

This success was a feeble compensation to the holy father, who had hoped to excite all the East against the emperor; for Photius, informed of the progress of the Latin clergy in Bulgaria, and having learned that the legates of the pope had cast into the mire the holy oil which had been consecrated by him, resolved to avenge himself on his enemies. He assembled an œcumenical council, over which the emperor Michael, and Basil presided, and at which the legates from the three patriarchal Sees of the East assisted, as well as the senate and a great number of bishops, abbots, and monks. Nicholas, accused before the fathers of crimes and assassinations, was deposed from his pontificate, and anathematized. A sentence of excommunication was also pronounced against those who communed with him.

Photius, who directed the proceedings of the assembly, being desirous of bringing the emperor Louis into his interests, declared him sovereign of Italy, with the title of king, and sent him the proceedings of the council, by legates who carried with them magnificent presents to the princess Ingelberge, his wife. In their letters, the fathers besought the prince to drive from Rome, the infamous Nicholas, whom they called sacrilegious, simoniacal, a murderer, and a sodomite.

The patriarch then sent to the Eastern prelates a circular, in which he thus expressed himself in regard to the Latin church: "Heresies are extinguished, and faith has spread from the imperial city over infidel nations; the Armenians have abandoned the schism of the Jacobites to re-unite themselves to the church, and the Bulgarians renounced Pagan superstitions to embrace the evangelical faith; but soon men, sallying forth from the darkness of the West, come to re-establish the errors of the schismatics, and to corrupt the orthodox purity of the new converts.

"These heretical priests recommend fasts on Saturdays. They cut off the first week in Lent, by permitting food made of milk to be eaten. They condemn the legitimate marriages of the priesthood, and tolerate debauchery and corruption in the clergy. They administer several times the unction of the sacred oil; and finally, in the excess of their impiety, they dare to add new words to the sacred creed, authorized by all the councils.

They affirm that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father alone, but that it proceeds from the Father and the Son. They also admit two principles in the Trinity, and confound the distinction of the Father and Son! An impious doctrine which is contrary to the Gospels, and to all the decisions of the fathers!

"On learning what abominable errors they had spread among the Bulgarians, our entrails were moved, as those of a father who sees his children rent by cruel beasts, and we resolved not to take any repose, until we had snatched those new Christians from the execrable influence of Pope Nicholas. We have then condemned in a council, this minister of Antichrist, as well as all the abominable priests, who aid him in spreading his infamous doctrines. We advise you of all these proceedings, my brethren, that you may concur with us in the execution of the sentence pronounced against the Romans, and with your aid we hope soon to bring back the Bulgarians to the faith which they received from us, and to give them a Greek patriarch.

"We have received from Italy a synodical letter, filled with complaints against the pope. The prelates of that country conjure us not to abandon them to the tyranny of this impure man. We have been already implored by Bishops Basil and Zozimus, and by the venerable Metrophanes, to come to the succour of the church; but for some months past the complaints of the laity and clergy of the West have been more energetic and frequent than ever; all beseech us to hurl from the pontifical throne the Satan who is crowned with a tiara."

Whilst the holy father was being excommunicated at Constantinople, Segilon, bishop of Sens, and Adon, bishop of Vienne came to Rome to place in the hands of Nicholas, the letters of Thietberge, who declared that she renounced, of her own full accord, her royal dignity, and consented to a separation with Lothaire, for the purpose of terminating her days in a holy retreat; she recognized that her marriage with the king should be declared null on account of sterility, and that Waldrade was the legitimate spouse of the prince.

Nicholas made this reply to the queen: "The testimony which you bear for Waldrade, could not be of advantage to this criminal woman; for even although you were no longer in existence, Waldrade shall never be the spouse of Lothaire, because such is our will. We prohibit you from coming near us, not only on account of the insecurity of the journey, but also because it would be criminal to abandon the royal church to the adulteress. Your sterility does not arise from yourself, but from the injustice of the prince, who refuses to fulfil towards you the duties of a husband. Your union cannot be then broken for a fault of which he alone is guilty.

"Do not then labour more for a separation which we will never authorize, how unworthy soever may be the treatment which the king of Lorraine causes you to endure; besides,

it is better to receive death at the hands of another, than to slay your soul; and it is better to suffer a glorious martyrdom for the truth, rather than live by falsehood. We do not receive a confession which is wrested by violence; besides, husbands might oblige their wives by bad treatment to declare that their union is not legitimate, or that they have committed a capital crime, which renders necessary their repudiation.

"We trust Lothaire will never abandon himself to such an excess, for he would expose himself to the danger of losing his crown were he to attempt the life of a queen who is under the protection of the Holy See. If the king, your husband, exacts that you must come to Rome, you must be accompanied by Waldrade, in order that she may submit to the chastisement of her faults. You give, as a motive for separation, your ardent desire to preserve the purity of your body; but our will is, that you receive the embraces of your husband, unless he should make a vow of continence and retire to a monastery."

Nicholas then wrote to the metropolitans of France and Germany, "You are guilty, my brethren, for not having constrained the king of Lorraine to show more condescendence for our will, and whoso among you shall not show more zeal to execute our orders, in regard to Queen Thietberge, will be regarded as a favourer of the adulterer, and will be driven from our communion."

Adventius, of Metz, hastened to inform the bishop of Verdun, of the dispositions of the holy father, in the following letter: "The pope has addressed to me a terrible bull, on the resolution which he has taken against the king our master. If on the eve of the festival of the purification, Lothaire does not quit Waldrade, he orders us to interdict him from entering the church. This decision, which we are constrained to obey, under penalty of deposition, places us in mortal disquiet. We beseech you, then, to find the king, and to represent to him the peril which threatens him.

"We think that the best thing for him to do, would be, to make a journey, two days before the festival of the purification, to Floriquing, with three bishops, to confess his sins with contrition and promise of coercion; he will then swear to submit to the will of the holy father, in the presence of his faithful servants, and we will be able to admit him into the church of St. Arnoul, where he will attend at the celebration of a solemn mass. If he acts otherwise, he will place his crown in peril, and draw on our heads the thunders of Rome."

The partizans of Lothaire feared, and with reason, lest his uncles should take advantage of an excommunication pronounced against him, to seize on his kingdom; and Nicholas, who was aware of the ambition of the family of the Carlovingians, retained the princes of of this race in constant dread, by threats of anathema. The pontiff addressed to the prelates of the kingdom of Charles the Bald, the sentence which he had rendered against the king of Lorraine, and a writing which he had

composed against the Greek emperors, and the patriarch of Constantinople.

"In the midst of all our sufferings," wrote Nicholas, "we endure one more grievous still from the unjust reproaches of the princes Michael and Basil, who, animated by an envious hatred, have dared to accuse us of heresy. The cause of their fury is our refusal to approve of the ordination of the layman Photius, and the protection which we grant to Bagiris, king of the Bulgarians, who asked from us missionaries, and instructions for his people, newly converted to Christianity.

"In their ill-humour at not being able to reduce this nation beneath their laws, the Greek monarchs charge the Roman church with outrages and calumnies, which might be able to avert from us ignorant men, who know not how to make a distinction between the sublime morality of Jesus Christ and the sacrilegious conduct of some priests of our church.

"Photius blames us for fasting on Saturday and condemning the marriages of priests; he accuses us of preventing ecclesiastics from anointing with holy oil, and he maintains that we are Jews, because we bless a lamp upon the altar on the solemn day of Easter; he condemns the habit of shaving the beard, and of consecrating mere deacons, who have not been ordained priests, as bishops. These practices, however, which scandalize the patriarch of Byzantium have been observed for ages in the Latin church, and we cannot change them.

"This proud prelate also arrogates to himself the name of universal bishop, when we alone have the right to this title. But we will preserve it by the grace of God, despite the intrigues and threats of the Greeks . . ."

Whilst the pope was sending this libel into France, grave events were changing the destinies of Constantinople. Basil, tired of the sage remonstrances of Michael, who had drawn this monster from the lowest ranks of his guards, to elevate him to the empire, caused his protector to be assassinated, that he might become the sole ruler of the state.

This horrible crime had excited the just indignation of Photius, and on the day of a solemn festival, Basil having presented himself in the cathedral to receive the communion, the indignant patriarch had repelled him from the holy table, saying to him, "Quit the house of God, infamous usurper, who hast soiled thy hands in the blood of thy benefactor." Irritated at the boldness of the prelate, Basil seized the venerable Photius, deposed him from his See, and recalled Ignatius to Constantinople. But in order to give more lustre to the re-installation of the old patriarch, he wrote to Nicholas, the implacable enemy of Photius, to ask from him authority to convene a general council on this subject.

At the same time Louis, the German, and all the bishops of his kingdom, urged the pontiff to re-instate Teutgard and Gonthier in their Sees. Nicholas demanded, that the guilty, in order to buy off the excommunication pronounced against them, should pay into

his purse large sums, and should make an honourable amende for the pretended crimes that they had committed against the Holy See. These fiery prelates replied, that they would consent to pay the conscience of the pope with gold, but not with their own infamy, and that they refused to gain an archbishopric if they must lose their honour.

By this noble refusal, the churches of Treves and Cologne finding themselves without pastors, the pope wrote to King Louis, that he should present to him ecclesiastics worthy to occupy these important Sees. His letter terminated by complaints against Lothaire. "Your nephew," wrote the pope, "has informed me, that he would come to the tomb of the apostles, without having obtained my authority. He need not try to execute his project, for we will cause the gates of our city to be shut, that it may not be soiled by the presence of an excommunicated person. Before coming to Rome he must humble himself and implore our pardon, and we will that he should accomplish our orders, not by promises, but by actions.

"Thietberge, it is true, has been recalled to court, but it is to see her rival reign; and what avails to this princess the vain title of queen, if she has not the authority of one? Is it not Waldrade, the royal concubine, who braves our anathemas, reigns with Lothaire, and disposes at her caprice of the ranks and offices of the kingdom? It must be that this guilty woman is first handed over to our justice, to be punished for her obstinacy and blindness; then we will authorize Lothaire to come to prostrate himself at our feet."

The pontiff, however, had not the satisfaction of subjugating the king of Lorraine, nor the joy of learning the deposition of Photius. He died on the 13th of November, 867, after a reign of nine years, seven months and twenty-eight days; he was interred near to the porch of the church of St. Peter.

The Roman church has placed Nicholas in the number of the saints, whose memory she honours, admiring his insupportable pride, which she calls apostolic vigour!

Reginon says, that the pope commanded people and kings as if he had been the sovereign of the universe, and Gratian relates a decree in which this abominable prelate makes himself equal with God himself. "It is evident," wrote Nicholas, "that the popes can neither be bound nor unbound by any earthly power, nor even by that of the apostle if he should return upon earth; since Constantine

the Great has recognized that the pontiffs held the place of God upon earth, the divinity not being able to be judged by any living man. We are then infallible, and whatever may be our acts, we are not accountable for them but to ourselves!!!"

In our own age there still exist fanatical writers who sustain this doctrine, and endeavour to induce others to partake of their ridiculous admiration for the popes, by representing them as the vigorous defenders of the cause of the people against kings and emperors. Folly, blindness, or bad faith, for if history shows us the papacy constantly struggling with the temporal power, it also indicates to us, what were the causes of the incessant war between the civil and religious powers. The sovereign pontiffs sought, it is true, to overthrow tyrants, but it was to place themselves in their stead, and all their efforts tended to substitute their own authority for the despotism. Their opposition then was neither useful nor profitable to humanity, and it matters little to the people, whether the altar rules the throne, or the throne the altar, if they are to remain crushed beneath the yoke; it matters little whether their masters are kings or priests, if they are to remain slaves. Alas! the experience of the past shows us, that neither happiness nor tranquillity can remain on earth, so long as the nations shall obey popes or absolute kings. Peace is for them a precious time, which they employ in pressing down the nations; war is more precious still, for it allows them to steal all that has escaped the extortioners.

Formerly in the Roman empire, as in all the countries submitted to despots, life was considered as a gift of so little value to man, that the unfortunate sold themselves to the rich, who bought the execrable right of slaying a fellow man for a small sum of money, to be paid to the wife and children of their victim. Exactions and injustice had become so intolerable, that to avoid them, the citizens fled among the barbarians, where they recovered their liberty. Later, during the middle age, thanks to the system of darkness of the popes, the degradation, misery and slavery of the people, surpassed all that was most horrible in antiquity. Entire nations disappeared from the soil, and were annihilated by iron, water, fire, in the name and by the will of the pontiffs of Rome; and in our own days, have we not seen the papacy make superhuman efforts to arrest the car of civilization, and unite itself with kings to eradicate liberty?

## ADRIAN THE SECOND, ONE HUNDRED AND TENTH POPE.

[A. D. 867.]

*The birth of Adrian—Miracle of the forty pennies—Election of Adrian—Sack of Rome—Lothaire sends ambassadors to the pontiff—He takes off the excommunication of Waldrade—Opposes the divorce of Lothaire and Thietberge—Letters from the emperor Basil to the pope—Council of Rome—Decree against the council of Photius—Eleutherus seduces the affections of the wife and daughter of the pope, and murders them in a phrenzy—Anastasius, the librarian, is excommunicated—the affair of Hincmar of Laon—Journey of Lothaire to Italy—He is admitted to the communion of the pontiff—Death of Lothaire—the pope disposes of crowns—He sends legates to Constantinople—Their interview with the emperor of the East—The Orientals submit to the pope—Scandalous condemnation of Photius—Conferences about the Bulgarians—Return of the legates to Rome—Letter of the archbishop Hincmar to the holy father—Charles the Bald causes molten lead to be poured into the eyes and mouth of his son Carloman—The bishops of France reject the authority of the pontiff—Recantation of the pope—The Bulgarians submit to the church of Constantinople—Death of Adrian.*

ADRIAN was a Roman by birth, the son of the bishop Talarus, of the same family as Popes Stephen the Sixth, and Sergius the Second; the Holy See appertained to him, if we may so speak, by right of inheritance. Admitted when very young into the patriarchal palace of the Lateran, he had been the constant object of the solicitude of the pontiffs. Gregory the Fourth ordained him a subdeacon, and his successor conferred on him the priesthood. In all his sacerdotal functions, the young Adrian displayed great piety, and especially a truly Christian charity. The legends relates, on this subject, a miracle which we will quote :

Adrian had received from pope Sergius forty pennies, as a mark of his satisfaction; but the deacon instead of keeping this sum in his purse, or spending it in his pleasures, like the youth of his age, assembled the poor of his quarter, to distribute it among them. These came in so great numbers, that Adrian was obliged to select the most infirm. In his grief at not being able to solace all their sufferings, he addressed fervent prayers to God and commenced the distribution. The blind and the infirm received each a penny; the aged, the lame, women and children advanced in succession and received each a penny; new poor arrived and others followed after them; they thus succeeded each other from the rising of the sun until night, and the young deacon continued to draw pennies from his purse; finally, after having distributed a prodigious quantity, he filled several coffers for the alms of the following day.

His miraculous multiplication of the forty pennies had so increased the veneration of the Romans for Adrian, that on the death of Pope Leo the Fourth he was chosen, without opposition, to succeed him; he refused this glorious distinction; after the reign of Benedict the Third, the suffrages of the people again elevated him to the pontificate; his resolution was still the same.

Finally, on the death of Nicholas the First, the concurrence of the people, the grandees, and the clergy was so general, that all, by acclamation, chose Adrian to govern the Holy

See, and their urgency on him to accept the tiara was so pressing, that he was induced to consent, notwithstanding his great age, to bear the burthen of the pontifical dignity. Holy personages affirmed that celestial revelations had announced to them the high dignity to which Adrian was called. Some said that he had appeared to them wearing the pallium; others said, that he had been shown to them surrounded by an aureole of fire, wearing the simar and distributing pieces of gold in the church of St. Peter; and several affirmed, that they had seen him on the horse of Pope Nicholas, entering the patriarchal palace.

After the election, the people, the grandees, and the clergy, went to the church of St. Maria Major, where they found Adrian at prayer. They immediately raised him in their arms and bore him in triumph to the palace of the Lateran. This enthronement made in the absence of the commissioners of the emperor Louis, excited the discontent of his court; but the priests alleged as an excuse, that they had been constrained to yield to the urgency of the multitude. The prince, satisfied with the explanations made to him, consented to the consecration of the new pontiff, and confirmed the decree of his election; and not only did he refuse the tribute usually paid at the consecration of new popes, but he even declared that his absence compelled him to restore to the Roman church the domains which had been unjustly taken from it.

Adrian, having made the prayers and vigils usual on the election of a pope, was conducted to St. Peter's and solemnly consecrated by Peter, bishop of Gabii, a city of Palestrina, by Leo of the White Forest, and by Donatus, bishop of Ostia. These three venerable personages were chosen, because the bishop of Albano was dead, and Formosus, bishop of Porto, was then absent from Italy, being occupied in converting the Bulgarians.

When his ordination was finished, the pontiff celebrated a solemn mass, and admitted to his communion Teutgard, the metropolitan of Treves, Zachary, bishop of Arragonia, as well as the priest Anastasius, who had been

excommunicated during the preceding reign. On his return to the patriarchal palace he refused the presents offered him, and replied to those who surrounded him, "My brethren, we should condemn this shameful traffic in money, in which the popes have unfortunately been too much engaged to the disgrace of the Holy See, for we should give gratuitously, that which we have received gratuitously, following the precept of Jesus Christ. Thus, instead of accumulating in our treasury the offerings of the faithful for the purpose of enriching hypocritical priests or debauched monks, we declare to you, that all our revenues shall be spent among the poor of the city."

Scarcely had the consecration of Adrian been achieved, when Lambert, duke of Spolitto, without any declaration of war or previous warning, assembled his soldiery and invaded the city of Rome, which he pillaged. Palaces, houses, monasteries, and churches were sacked, nuns violated, and many young girls of patrician families torn from their parents and led into slavery. God, however, permitted that the author of this depredation should be severely punished, first by the holy father, who declared Lambert excommunicated, and then by the emperor, who conquered the duchy of Spolitto.

Anastasius, the librarian, expresses his opinion on the state of the Roman clergy, in a letter which he wrote to Adon, metropolitan of Vienne, "I announce to you, my brother, very sad news; the holy pope Nicholas has gone to a better life, and has left us in this world much afflicted. Now that he is no more, all those whom he condemned lift up their criminal heads and labour with ardour to destroy that which he had done; we are assured that even the emperor Louis grants them his aid. Warn, then, our brethren of these guilty enterprises, and urge them to defend the memory of the pontiff in such way as you shall judge best to maintain our interests; for if the doings of a pope are broken, what will become of our's?"

"We have a new pope named Adrian, a man venerable for the holiness of his life. He is married to a woman named Stephanía, who rears their young daughter, whose beauty is remarkable. The holy father exhibits great zeal in maintaining the purity of morals, but we do not yet know what will be his mode of governing the church; whether he will superintend all ecclesiastical affairs, or abandon the direction of them to his ministers. He appears to have entire confidence in my uncle Arsenes, your friend, whose devotion to the interests of the Roman clergy has been a little cooled since the unworthy treatment he received from Nicholas. I beseech you, however, by your wise counsels to lead him back to those charitable sentiments, in order that we may be enabled to profit by his credit over the mind of the emperor and the pope; I also beseech all the archbishops of Gaul, if a council is held to anathematize the decrees of Nicholas, not to place themselves in the

ranks of his accusers, but on the contrary, to resist his enemies courageously."

The fears of Anastasius of the condemnation of the proceedings of the infamous Nicholas, were chimerical; for his successor showed himself a faithful imitator of his policy, and manifested the most ardent zeal to maintain the infallibility of the Holy See. He, however, pardoned the prelates who had been deposed and anathematized, and recalled those who were in exile; and at his request, the emperor also freed from prison all the ecclesiastics who had been guilty of the crime of lese-majesty.

Adrian decorated magnificently the church which Nicholas had built in the interior of his palace, and in all his actions he showed so great a deference for the acts of his predecessor, that the Romans called him Adrian the Nicolite. Old priests, however, who were versed in the trickery of the court of Rome, affirmed on the other hand, that the pope adroitly tarnished the preceding reign by the protection which he granted to the victims of the pride and tyranny of Nicholas.

The holy father having invited to a sumptuous dinner in his palace a great number of Greek monks, who had been persecuted by his predecessor, he himself presented to them the ewers and linen for their ablutions, and served to them with his own hands food and drink, which no other pope had ever done before him. During the repast the young clerks sang spiritual songs; and when the monks arose from table, Adrian prostrated himself before them with his face to the earth, and addressed them as follows: "My brethren, pray for the Holy Catholic church, for our son the most Christian emperor Louis, that he may subjugate the Saracens; pray for me and beseech God to give me strength to govern his numerous faithful. Let your prayers rise in remembrance of those who have lived holy lives, and let us all thank Christ together for having given to his church my lord and father, the most holy and most orthodox Pope Nicholas, who has defended it like another Joshua, against its enemies."

The monks of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople, for some time preserved silence; finally, they exclaimed, "God be praised for having given to his people a pastor so respectful as you are towards your predecessor!" and they repeated three times, "Eternal memory to the sovereign pontiff Adrian, whom Jesus Christ has established as universal bishop;" but the holy father perceiving that the Greeks wished to shun rendering homage to the memory of Nicholas, made a sign with his hand and added, "My brethren, I beseech you in the name of Christ, that your praises be addressed to the most holy and orthodox Nicholas. Established by God sovereign pontiff and universal pope; glory to him the new Elias, the new Phineas, worthy of an eternal priesthood, and peace and grace to his followers." This acclamation was repeated three times by the monks, who did not wish to disoblige the holy father,

after having been the object of so honourable a distinction.

Adrian wrote to the metropolitans of France, "We beseech you, my brethren, to re-establish the name of Pope Nicholas in the books and sacred writings of your churches, to name him in the mass, and to order the bishops to conform to our decision on this subject. We exhort you to resist with firmness the Greek princes, who undertake to accuse his memory or reject his decrees; still, we do not wish to be inflexible towards those whom he has condemned, if they will implore our mercy, and consent not to justify themselves by accusing that great pope, who is now before God, and whom no one dared to attack whilst living.

"Be then vigilant and courageous, and instruct the prelates beyond the Alps, that if they reject the decrees of a pontiff, they will destroy the supreme authority of the ministers of the church; all should fear lest their ordinances be despised, when they have attained the power which rules kings."

As soon as Lothaire was apprised of the death of Pope Nicholas, he sent to Rome Adventius, bishop of Metz, and Grimland, his chancellor, as bearers of a letter thus conceived: "Most holy father, I submitted myself to the prince of the apostles, in obeying your predecessor; I followed his paternal advice, and the exhortations of his legates even to the detriment of my own authority; I have not ceased to demand from him, in the name of divine and human laws, the favour of presenting myself before him with my accusers, to justify myself; and yet he has always refused to me permission to visit that Rome of which my ancestors were the protectors.

"We have been edified by seeing the Bulgarians brought by him, to make their adorations at the tomb of St. Peter; but we have suffered the liveliest affliction, when it was declared to us that we were excluded from Rome for ever. We trust you will be less rigorous to us than Pope Nicholas, and that in exchange for our obedience and submission, you will permit us to kiss your feet. We beseech you to send us this authority by our ambassador, or that of the emperor Louis, our brother; informing you that if this step was unsuccessful, our kingdom would incur great risk on account of the condescendence we have shown for your See, and which has taken from us the affection of our people."

Adrian made this reply to the king of Lorraine: "The court of Rome, my lord, will always receive with honour one of the sons of Charlemagne, when he shall come to render it homage; and it will not refuse to listen to his justification, if that is conformable with divine and human justice. You can then present yourself boldly at the tomb of the apostle, if you are innocent of the crime of which you are accused; but it will not be permitted to you to refuse to do penance if you are judged guilty."

For eight months, the emperor Louis, seconded by the troops of Lothaire, had carried on a successful war against the Saracens

of Africa, who ravaged the southwardly part of Italy; thus, Adrian being unable to refuse anything to his powerful protector, granted to him the authority solicited by Lothaire, as well as the absolution of Waldrade. He even wrote to this princess in these terms: "We have been informed by the emperor Louis, of the repentance which you prove for your sins, and of the perseverance with which you shun refalling into the same fault. Now that you detest your errors, we free you from anathema and excommunication; we readmit you into the society of the faithful, and we grant you permission to enter the church to pray, and to eat and speak with other Christians. But be upon your guard for the future, that God may give you in heaven the absolution you receive from us on earth; for if you use dissimulation to obtain the remission of your sins, know, that instead of being unbound, you will be the more bound before him who sees our consciences."

To this letter the pope joined another for the bishops of Germany, to whom he announced the absolution of Waldrade; he thus expresses himself: "Our dear son, the emperor Louis, combats against the enemies of the faith, for the safety of the church, for the increase of our power, and for the deliverance of the faithful of the province of Sannium. The Saracens were already advancing on our territories and preparing to ravage the domains of St. Peter, when he abandoned his repose and his family to expose himself to the dangers of war, and soon the infidel fell beneath his victorious arms, or became converts to Christianity.

"We inform you that in consequence, you should render homage to those who belong to him, as Lothaire; for he who attacks his brother will attack himself. Know then, that the Holy See is strongly united to this valiant prince, and that we are ready to employ for him the powerful arms which God has placed in our hands, through the intercession of St. Peter, as he employs those which Jesus Christ has intrusted to him for the defence of the church."

After all these protestations of the pontiff Adrian, Lothaire, supposing that he would not dare to refuse him anything, sent to Rome his wife Thietberge, to demand herself the dissolution of the marriage. But this prince was deceived in his hopes, and the pope addressed to him the following vehement letter: "The queen, your spouse, has informed us, that her union with you not having been legitimately contracted, she desires to separate herself from your royal person, renounce the world, and consecrate herself to God. This strange resolution has surprised us, and though you have given your consent, we cannot grant ours. Hence it is by our orders, that Queen Thietberge returns to you, to sustain the rights of her marriage. The motives alleged for breaking off your union, shall be examined by our brethren in a council, but until that time we exhort you, not to listen to the evil counsellors, who surround you. We order

you to receive the queen with the affection which is her due, and to grant her in your kingdom an honourable asylum, where she may live in the shade of your royal protection, and finally, to place in her hands the abbeys which you have promised her, that she may be enabled to maintain the dignity of her rank. Those who oppose our decision shall be anathematized, and we will declare you yourself excommunicated, if you refuse to submit to our orders."

In order to assure himself of the execution of his will, the pontiff wrote to Charles the Bald, to beseech him to constrain his nephew to the obedience which was due to the Holy See; and he induced this prince to pledge himself to invade at once the kingdom of Lothaire, if he should separate himself from Thietberge, before their divorce had been canonically ordained by a synod. For this purpose he addressed the following letter to the metropolitan Hincmar: "I have known for a long time your great reputation, my brother, but I am yet more particularly informed of your rare merit by Arsenes, the nuncio of the Holy See, by the bishop Actard, and by our dear son Anastasius, the librarian.

"Their eulogies have inspired in me as much affection as esteem for you, and I hope that you will welcome the testimony of our friendship and confidence, by favouring with all your power the interests of the Holy See, in the affair between King Lothaire and Thietberge his wife. You know how much Popes Benedict and Nicholas were occupied during their reigns with this important cause, and in what manner they have directed it; we have the same views as our predecessors, and will follow up that on which they decided. We exhort you then, not to allow your devotion to the court of Rome to chill, and to speak boldly in our name to kings and powerful persons, in order to prevent them from re-establishing by force or artifice, that which has been destroyed by the ecclesiastical authority."

Euthymius, having been sent as envoy to Italy by the emperor Basil, then brought the news of the deposition of Photius, and of the re-establishment of Ignatius, on the See of Constantinople. Adrian manifested great joy at this change, and ordered that they should celebrate solemn masses in honour of the patriarch. In his reply to Basil, the holy father addressed to him cowardly flatteries; he congratulated him on the abominable parricide which he had committed upon the person of his benefactor, and declared that his reign was a special blessing from God. He compared him to Solomon, and declared that it was by the inspiration of Christ that he assassinated Michael to drive away Photius, and re-instate Ignatius on his See.

Some months after, new ambassadors came to congratulate Adrian on his election, in the name of Basil and Ignatius. The pope received them with great honours, and admitted them into the secret saloon of St. Maria Majora, to confer with them. The envoys brought to him magnificent presents, and the following

letter from the emperor: "On our advent to the throne, having found the church deprived of its legitimate pastor, and submitted to the tyranny of a stranger, we hastened to drive away this man, to recall Ignatius, our father, who had been unworthily oppressed by our predecessor. We however, submit to your approval, that on which we have decided, and we ask from you, how those ought to be treated who have communed with Photius. The bishops and priests who were pledged not to abandon Ignatius, have failed in their oaths; others, led on by the seductions of the usurper or by violence, have consented to be consecrated by the false patriarch; finally, almost all the ecclesiastics have given way by recognizing his authority. We beseech you then, to have pity on them, in order to shun an universal shipwreck in our church."

Ignatius, in his letter, gave the same details, and recognized the primacy of the Holy See and the sovereign authority of the pope.

The ambassadors of Basil then presented to the pontiff a book which had been found among the papers of Photius, and which established the crimes of Nicholas; it also contained the relation of the council held at Constantinople at the time of the condemnation of Ignatius; they besought Adrian to examine this work. He declared, however, that he would do nothing but condemn the author of it the third time; then one of the Greek bishops seized the book and cast it on the ground, exclaiming "Thou hast been cursed at Constantinople, be again cursed at Rome!" He then trampled it under foot and cut it with a sword, adding, "The devil dwells in this work, and has himself spoken by the mouth of the abominable Photius; I declare that the signatures of the emperor, Michael of Basil, and of almost all the bishops of the East have been counterfeited by Satan himself with such skill, that it is impossible to recognize the criminal fraud."

Adrian did not allow so favourable an opportunity to escape of avenging the Holy See of the outrages which Photius had heaped upon it; he ordered his monks to take up the book and to place it in the hands of those who were acquainted with both the Greek and Latin languages, that it might be censured.

After their examination of it, he convened a council, at which the book was solemnly condemned in the presence of the deputies from the East, and at the opening of the synod he thus spoke: "We order that the proceedings of the last cabal held at Constantinople by Photius and the emperor Michael, his guilty protector, be burned and anathematized. We also order, that all the writings published by those two laymen against the Holy See, undergo the same disgrace; and we reject with execration the two cabals which deposed our dear brother, Ignatius.

"Finally, we excommunicate, for the third time, this Photius, already condemned by our predecessor, until he submits himself to the ordinances of Pope Nicholas and to ours, by publicly abjuring his pretensions to the epis-

copy. If he makes thus a proper apology, we will not refuse him lay communion, but he will remain for ever despoiled of the sacred ornaments in which he was clothed by an infamous usurpation.

“As to those who have assisted at the impious assemblies of Photius, if they return to the communion of Ignatius, if they anathematize and burn the copies of the proceedings of the cabal, they shall re-enter the bosom of the church; but he who, having cognizance of our apostolic decree, shall still preserve those cursed copies, shall be for ever excommunicated and deposed. We give this order for the cities of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, as well as for all the faithful of the East; this sentence is not, however, applicable to our son, the emperor Basil, although his name is inserted in the acts of the condemned synod, and we receive him into the number of Catholic emperors.”

This decree was subscribed by forty bishops, and the book, after having been a second time trampled under foot, was then cast into a heated furnace.

The same year a scandalous event troubled the tranquillity of Rome. The bishop Arsenes had a son named Eleutherus, who was admitted into the family of Adrian, which was composed of his wife and young daughter. Eleutherus became violently enamoured of this young girl, who was already affianced to another; he carried her off during the night, and retired with her and her mother to a strong castle in the neighborhood of Pavia. Arsenes, in despair at the boldness of his son, and foreseeing the fatal consequences of the vengeance of Adrian, cast himself at his feet to obtain his approval of the marriage of their children. But all his entreaties were useless; the pontiff remained inflexible; then the venerable Arsenes, who feared, on account of Eleutherus, the wrath of Adrian, resolved to interest, in the defence of his son, a powerful court, which could protect him after his death; he consequently bequeathed a great part of his wealth to the empress Ingelberge, the wife of Louis, on condition that she would furnish troops to his son, in case the pontiff desired to employ violence against him.

Scarcely, however, had the pious bishop closed his eyes in death, when Eleutherus found himself without defence, exposed to the wrath of the pope; his friends were alienated from him; several monks, creatures of the Holy See, came to his retreat to assassinate him; his wife herself yielding to secret influences, endeavoured to escape with her mother; his servants endeavoured to kill him by mingling poison with the water served up at table; finally, the unfortunate man, seeing himself betrayed by all the world, lost his reason, and in a fit of phrenzy, killed his wife, and his mother-in-law, Stephanina. He was immediately arrested. The emperor Louis caused him to be beheaded in the presence of the commissioners of the pope, and his property was confiscated for the benefit of the monarch and of the Holy See. The vengeance

of Adrian was, however, unsatisfied; he convened a council to blacken the memory of Arsenes and Eleutherus, and he even anathematized the librarian Anastasius, because he belonged to this wretched family. The sentence was thus conceived: “All the church of God has known the crimes committed by Anastasius, as well as the decrees passed against him by our predecessors, Leo and Benedict, who despoiled him of his sacerdotal garments.

“Nicholas, seduced by the flatteries of this priest, afterwards consented to re-instate him in his dignity; then, under cover of this protection, Anastasius gave himself up, with impunity, to his robberies; he has pillaged the patriarchal palace; he has carried off the proceedings of the council which condemned him; he has allowed heretical prisoners to escape, to free them from punishment; and finally, he has sown disorder between the princes and the church. It is he who caused the disgrace of Adalgrim, and his calumnies condemned the unfortunate victim to lose his eyes and his tongue; it is he who lent a guilty assistance to the ravisher of our well-beloved daughter, and it is still he whose perverse councils led the execrable Eleutherus to the murder of my wife and child.

In consequence of these things, we ordain, in conformity with the judgment of Popes Leo and Benedict, that Anastasius, the librarian, be deprived of all communion, until he shall justify himself from his crimes before a canonical assembly. Those who shall commune with him, whatever be their rank, shall incur the same penalty; and if he shall fly from Rome, he shall be laden with a perpetual anathema, and without hope of pardon.” Anastasius was arrested at his residence, led before the council, and this sentence publicly made known to him in the church of St. Praxedes, on the 12th of October, 868.

Some time after, Adrian received a letter from Hincmar, bishop of Laon, complaining of a sentence rendered against him by his uncle, Hincmar, the metropolitan of Rheims. This sentence had been induced by his debaucheries and shameful conduct. He had rendered himself odious to the clergy and people of his church by his injustice, his exactions and his violence. He trafficked in the domains of his See, and sold them to powerful lords or to the prince, as had already happened with several abbeyes, which he had sold to the monarch, and which had passed into the hands of a leader named Normand. He not only sought to procure large sums by extortions, but when his courtiers had exhausted his wealth, he recovered, by arms, the property for which he had been paid, and sold it a second time. He even pushed his audacity so far as to drive the lord Normand from the domains sold to King Charles, and he excommunicated him under the pretext that he had seized upon the lands of the diocese of Laon.

Charles, informed of the conduct of Hincmar, cited him before a council convened at

Verbery, in order to hear his justification of the crimes of which he had been accused by a great number of witnesses. Hincmar appeared before the synod, but he had the impudence to load his uncle, who presided over the assembly, with the most outrageous insults; he was then unanimously condemned, and ordered to take off the anathema which he had lanced against Normand, and to restore to him the property which he held through the liberality of his sovereign.

Hincmar refused to conform to this decision, and appealed from the judgment of the prelates of France to the pontiff, as alone possessing the right of judgment in a difference between a king and a bishop. The assembly opposed his appeal, maintaining, with reason, that this step was contrary to the privileges of the Gallican church, and to the canons of the Sixth Council of Carthage; but the wary prelate, well knowing the pride and ambition of the holy father, persisted in his determination, and deputed, secretly, to Rome, a clerk called Celsan, to claim the interference of Adrian.

The latter, having been informed of the decree of the council of Verbery, wrote to the metropolitan of Rheims and to King Charles, that they should permit Hincmar to come on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the apostles, ordering them even to bear the expenses of his journey. The holy father threatened with excommunication the lord Normand, if he did not restore at once the property of the diocese of Laon, which he had usurped, and he denounced the vassals who should sustain him in his criminal enterprise. On the receipt of the letter of the pope, Charles wrote to the stubborn prelate to come immediately to his court, to sign a retraction with his own hand, by which he should recognize his faults, and promise submission to his king and superior, the archbishop of Rheims. Hincmar not only refused a second time to obey the orders of the prince, but he even detached his vassals from the obedience they had sworn to King Charles.

Irritated at this audacity, the monarch sent two prelates, Odon of Beauvais, and Gilbert of Chalons, with troops, to bring him before him, voluntarily or by force, as well as to subdue his vassals, who had taken part in his rebellion. But the prelate finding himself sustained in his resistance by the pontiff of Rome, dared to await the arrival of his troops at the head of his clergy, whom he had assembled in the church of Notre Dame, his cathedral; and there, before the crowd of citizens, holding the cross in one hand, and the Gospels in the other, he mounted the pulpit of his church, and pronounced in a loud voice the following anathema:—"I declare all those excommunicated who shall enter by violence into the holy place, or who shall pass the bounds of our diocese; and in especial do I anathematize Hincmar, my uncle, and King Charles, who dares renew towards the faithful of his kingdom, the persecutions of the cruel Domitian."

The officers of the king, however, made their way into the church, followed by their soldiers. Hincmar then took refuge in the sanctuary with the clergy, called the people to his aid, ordering them to drive from the house of God the hired assassins of a tyrant who defiled it by their abominable presence. The soldiers drew their swords, and wished to carry him by force from the church; but at a bound he sprang upon the altar, embraced the crucifix, and called down upon them, with cries of fury, the malediction of God. These stopped, alarmed; and such was the superstition of the time, that they dared not tear him from the altar, and abandoned their enterprise.

After their departure, Hincmar came out from the church, and returned to his palace, borne in triumph by the clergy. The next day, when their minds were calmer, they thought with dread on the consequences of the wrath of Charles. The priests themselves went to the prelate to declare to him that they should refuse in future to obey his orders until he had given satisfaction to the prince. Transported with fury, he excommunicated all the ecclesiastics of his church, prohibited them from saying mass; from baptizing children, even in the last extremity; of administering the sacrament to the dying, and of burying the dead.

The king put an end to all this violence by sending new troops, who seized upon the bishop, and conducted him to a fortress.

In the midst of all these events, Lothaire was preparing to go into Italy to kiss the feet of the pontiff, and wrote to the emperor to induce that prince to use his influence over Adrian, in order to obtain for him authority to leave Thietberge, and take Waldrade as his legitimate wife. But the superstitious Louis, fearing to break off the good understanding which he had with the pope, refused his assistance to Lothaire, and sent deputies to him to induce him to return to his kingdom. The king of Lorraine, who knew the weak and pusillanimous character of the emperor, however went on and came to Beneventum to find him. His presence gained to his side the empress Ingelberge, who ruled her husband, and she determined herself to accompany him to the monastery of Monte Cassino, where the pontiff was to come by the orders of Louis.

Adrian yielded to the requests of the empress, and consented to receive to his communion King Lothaire, and Gonthier, metropolitan of Cologne. He nevertheless exacted that this latter should sign the following retraction:—"I declare before God and his saints, to you, my Lord Adrian, the sovereign pontiff, as also to the faithful who are submitted to your orders, and to all the assembly of Christians, that I bear humbly the sentence of deposition canonically rendered against me by Pope Nicholas. I affirm that I will never exercise any sacred function, unless you reinstate me, through kindness, in the episcopal dignity; and I swear that I will never excite any scandal against the church of Rome, or its

chief, to whom I renew my oath of submission and absolute obedience, even although his orders shall be contrary to the interests of the king, my master."

Ingelberge then returned to her husband, and the pope took the route to Rome with King Lothaire. The prince, however, could not obtain permission to enter the city on the first day. No member of the clergy came to meet him, and he passed the night at the convent of St. Peter without the walls. On the next day he was only permitted to go with his escort to the sepulchre of St. Peter, to deposit there the rich offerings which he had brought. He was then conducted to the palace destined for him near the church, and where the apartments had not even been prepared for his reception.

Some days after, the holy father caused Lothaire to be informed that he would consent to give him an audience. The prince went immediately to the palace of the Lateran, and prostrated himself at the feet of Adrian, who did not deign to raise him up, and sharply apostrophized him, demanding from him if he had followed exactly the decisions of Pope Nicholas. Lothaire replied that he had observed them as orders sent from heaven; and he took the lords who surrounded him to witness as to his sincerity.—The pontiff then replied: "If your testimony is true, we offer for it solemn thanks to Jesus Christ. Let us go, then, my dear son, to the confessional of St. Peter, where we will immolate a saving sacrifice for the safety of your body and your soul; for you must participate with us in the sacrament of the altar in order to be re-incorporated among the faithful from whom you were separated.

After the sacrifice of the mass, the pope invited Lothaire to approach the holy table, and taking the Eucharist, he said to him: "If you regard yourself innocent of the adultery for which you have been condemned by our predecessor, and if you have formed the resolution never to enter into criminal relations with Waldrade, your concubine, approach boldly and receive the sacrament of eternal salvation. But if you intend to return to your adultery, have not the rashness to receive the communion, lest the heavenly bread, which God has given to the faithful as a remedy for their safety, causes your eternal damnation." Lothaire advanced boldly and received the consecrated host. The holy father then turned to the lords who accompanied the king, and said to them, presenting to them the communion, "If you have not consented to the crime of your master, if you have not communicated with the excommunicated, may the body and blood of Christ procure for you eternal life." Some retired, but the greater number received the communion.

Lothaire accompanied the pope to the palace of the Lateran, where he was admitted to his table. After the repast, the prince offered to the holy father new presents in vases of gold and silver, and received in exchange a lioness, a branch of a palm-tree, and a cane.

The monarch thus explained the allegory of the pope: the lioness represented Waldrade, who was about to be restored to him; the palm was the emblem of his victory; and the rod designated the authority granted to him over obstinate bishops. This rod was only an African plant, the stem of which, strong and light, served to aid old men in their walk, and to schoolmasters to punish their scholars. Lothaire quitted Rome with a joyful heart, expecting to be soon authorized to unite himself with the beautiful Waldrade. But the hatred of the priests followed the monarch. On arriving at Lucea, a violent fever seized him, and he died three days after his interview with Adrian. He was interred, without any pomp, in a small monastery, near the city.

As Lothaire left no legitimate children, the emperor Louis, his brother, was the rightful heir of his kingdom. But fearing the ambition of his uncle, Charles the Bald, that prince dared not claim his succession by force. He brought the pope into his interests, and induced him to write several letters to the lords of the kingdom of Lorraine.

Adrian commanded the prelates, in the name of Christ, to remain faithful to the legitimate heir, and to yield neither to promises nor threats. His letter, addressed to the metropolitans, dukes, and counts of the kingdom of Charles, contained threats of excommunication against those who did not range themselves on the side of the emperor, and exalted the services which he had rendered the church by combatting the Saracens. The pope recalled to the recollection of the French the solemn oaths by which the grandchildren of Charlemagne had bound themselves to observe religiously the agreements which had governed the division between them and their nephews. He added: "Know, bishops, lords and citizens, that whosoever among you shall oppose himself to the pretensions of Louis, whom we declare sovereign of Lorraine, shall be struck by the arms which God has placed in our hands for the defence of this prince." Thus the popes already disposed of empires, and forced the people to endure the slavery of masters whom they chose for them! The orders of the Roman pontiff arrived, however, too late; for immediately on the death of Lothaire, Charles had marched on Metz, and had been crowned king of Lorraine.

Such were the events which were transpiring in France at the time when the legates of the pontiff, and the ambassadors of the emperor Louis landed at Selimbria, a city situated sixty leagues from Byzantium. By the orders of Basil, forty horses from the imperial stables were furnished to them for their equipages, and a service of silver plate for their table. A great many officers came there to meet them, and conducted them to a chateau called Strongile, where they passed the night. The next day, in order to continue on their route to Constantinople, fresh horses were brought to them magnificently caparisoned, and covered with harness of gold, embroidered with precious stones. All the

schools, companies of officers of the palace, the priests wearing glittering copes, and carrying crosses and banners, awaited for them at the gates of the city; and as soon as they had passed the walls, the cortege took up the march, having at its head the librarian Paul, Joseph, the guardian of the sacred vessels, Basil the treasurer, and, finally, all the Syn-celli of the patriarch, carrying candles and torches.

The emperor gave audience to the legates in the gilded saloon; and as soon as they appeared before him, he rose, took with his own hand the letters of the pope and kissed them, bowing himself; he then addressed them as follows:—"I thank the most holy father for the care which he has already taken of our church, which was rent by the schism of the eunuch Photius; we hope, by the aid of God, to put an end to the troubles which still divide the patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops of the East. We wait with impatience for the decision of the church of Rome, our mother; we, therefore, beseech you to hasten your labours to determine upon the measures which shall be necessary to re-establish union and tranquillity in our kingdom."

The envoys of Adrian replied to Basil, "That they had received orders to convene a general council, to bring back concord among the Eastern ecclesiastics; but that they could not receive the Greek bishops into their assembly, until they had subscribed a letter of submission to the Holy See, according to a formula which they brought from the archives of the palace of the Lateran." They then exhibited to the emperor, the patriarch, and the prelates the formulary of these letters; these last promised to make correct copies of them, and to return them to the legates with their names attached.

Three days after, the council re-assembled, and the presidency of it was bestowed on the Latin bishops, which had never before been seen in any general assembly.

Photius, cited to appear before the fathers to reply to the accusations brought against him, presented himself with dignity. He declared that he did not regard himself as culpable for having rejected from the church a parricide, who had murdered his benefactor Michael, and that it was his duty to do so. His defence was calm, notwithstanding the exasperation of his accusers; his eloquence and firmness so shook the convictions of the fathers, that the representatives of the pontiff endeavoured to close the deliberations, from fear of an acquittal. They heaped the grossest insults upon Photius, declared him excommunicated, and ordered the soldiery to drive him from the church with the wood of their lances. Thus, in a few hours, and by the will of an assassin, the clergy of the East found themselves submitted to the authority of the court of Rome. In the end, however, the Greeks refused to recognize the decisions of this council, which they called a sacrilegious and irregular cabal.

The synod had terminated its sessions, when

the Bulgarian ambassadors came to Constantinople to inquire of which See their church was a dependency. The legates of Rome at once decided, "that the Holy See having formerly governed the old and new church of Ephesus, all Thessaly and Dardania, which had since taken the name of Bulgaria, it resulted, that the invasions of the barbarians could not deprive it of its right of jurisdiction, and that Rome should recover it, when these people became Christians. They added, that Bogoris, their king, had already submitted to the authority of the pontiffs, and that Pope Nicholas, at his request, had sent the bishops Paul, Dominick, Leopard, Formosus and Grimoald, as well as a great number of priests and deacons, to teach the faithful of that country; that they had established churches, ordained priests, founded monasteries, catechised the inhabitants, and had in fact taken possession of the whole kingdom in the name of the Holy See. They then declared that the court of Rome, having had the charge of the conduct of the Bulgarians for three years, could not be deprived of its authority over these people."

The clergy of Constantinople, wounded in their dignity, then protested against the pretensions of the legates. "It is not just," said the Greek priests, "that Rome, which has already fallen off from the obedience which it owed to the empire, by making criminal alliances with the Franks, should wish to arrogate to itself a jurisdiction over states, which are snatched from our princes. We, therefore, decide that the country of the Bulgarians, which was in former times under the sway of our emperors and patriarchs, shall now return under the rule of Byzantium."

But the envoys of Rome exclaimed against this declaration, and replied to the observations of the clergy by a bull of prohibition. "We absolutely break and declare void, even as the judgment of the supreme chief of the universal church, the sentence which they shall dare to pronounce, without having been named as judges in the affair of the Bulgarians; and we beseech the patriarch Ignatius, to whom we have granted an absolute authority over the clergy of the East, not to lay claim to jurisdiction over the Bulgarians, and to prohibit his clergy from entering that kingdom, if he does not wish us to deprive him of the rights which the Holy See has granted him over the faithful of the East."

Ignatius, trembling for his authority, immediately sought out the legates, and said to them, "God keep me, my brethren, from undertaking anything against my superior, the pontiff of Rome; I am neither young enough to allow myself to be overtaken by ambition, nor old enough to allow, through weakness, others to do that which I would not do myself."

The emperor, however, whose interests were attacked, was irritated by the cowardice of the patriarch, and addressed to him severe reproaches: but through policy he dissimulated his resentment, and loaded with presents the legates of Adrian. On their departure

from Constantinople, he granted them an escort commanded by Theodosius, his master of the horse; he, in accordance with his instructions, left them at Dyrachium, and a few days afterwards they fell into the power of some pirates, who robbed them of all their treasures and carried them off as prisoners, in order to extract from them rich ransoms; alarmed, however, by the threats of the emperor Louis, they released the legates, who entered Rome on the 22d of December, 870.

Adrian, intoxicated by the triumph which he had obtained in the East, determined to act in France, as he had done in Constantinople. King Charles, without disquieting himself at the threats of the court of Rome, had taken possession of the kingdom of Lothaire. The holy father immediately wrote to him, that he regarded this step as an insult to his authority; he accused him of having violated his oath, and treated with contempt his legates, instead of prostrating himself at their feet, as other sovereigns had done. His letter thus concluded:—"Impious king, we order thee to retire from the kingdom of Lorraine, and to surrender it to the emperor Louis; if thou refusest submission to our will, we will ourselves go into France to excommunicate thee and drive thee from thy wicked throne."

At the same time Adrian wrote to the metropolitan of Rheims, to reprimand him, for not having turned aside the king from his projects of usurpation, and reproached him with having rendered himself guilty, through his weakness, of being a criminal accomplice in the rebellion of the monarch. He ordered him to repair his fault by anathematizing Charles, by not having any communication with him, and by prohibiting all the bishops of Gaul from receiving the usurper in their churches under penalty of deposition and excommunication.

His legates, John and Peter, had secret instructions to excite the ambition of the young son of Charles, and to lead him to revolt against his father. The young Carloman had already, some years before, placed himself at the head of the discontented of the kingdom, and Charles to punish him, had caused him to be ordained a deacon, notwithstanding his resistance and his imprecations, and had confined him in close prison. The legates of Adrian availing themselves of a religious motive, had asked from the monarch pardon for his son, and when the young prince had left his prison, they surrounded him with powerful seductions, and raised his spirit by the hope of a crown. They finally, by their intrigues, determined him to unfold the standard of revolt. The troops were already gained over by the gold of the Holy See, and the day even fixed on which they were to attack the palace to carry off the king, when one of the conspirators revealed the plot. Charles, warned of the treason of his son, arrested him immediately and ordered him to be beheaded. Thinking the punishment too mild, he retracted the sentence of death at the moment when they were conducting the young prince to the

place of execution, and the executioner, by his orders, poured molten lead into his eyes and mouth.

Notwithstanding his just indignation against the Holy See, Charles was compelled to dissimulate with the legates. He sent them, however, from his court, accompanied by his ambassadors, Rusgisilus, the abbot of St. Michael, and a layman named Lothaire. The envoys of the prince were instructed to present to the pontiff a magnificent altar cloth, two crowns of gold enriched with precious stones, and the letters of the archbishop Hincmar.

In his reply to Adrian, Hincmar affirmed, that he had always executed his orders, and that he had even sent to the kings and bishops of the three kingdoms a protest, of which he addressed to him a copy. "The sovereign pontiff prohibits, under penalty of an anathema, the invasion of the states of the king of Lorraine, which belong of hereditary right to the emperor Louis; and if any prelate authorizes this usurpation, he shall no longer be regarded as a pastor, but we pronounce him a mercenary priest, paid for his crime. I, Hincmar, in particular, am ordered to divert princes from this guilty enterprise.

"In contempt, however, of my warning, the sovereigns of Gaul and Germany, have made a treaty concerning the kingdom of Lothaire, of which they call themselves the legitimate successors. They have divided his provinces between them, under the pretext that their people would drive them into terrible and disastrous wars if their agreements were not faithfully executed. Besides, they maintain that kingdoms cannot remain without chiefs, when they are exposed to the invasions of the Pagans, and that in such a case, the people have the liberty of choosing a king, who can defend them against their enemies.

"Thus finding myself placed between the grief of disobeying the Holy See and the fear of seeing Lorraine exposed to the fury of the Pagans, I have not dared to resolve on any thing without the advice of other bishops, and I reserve for the pope the decision of this unfortunate question. Such," added Hincmar, "has been my language. Do not render me then responsible for events which are accomplishing under my very eyes, most holy father, by charging me to direct the clergy and the princes, from my being the ecclesiastic most elevated in dignity at the court of Charles. It is false to say that I am above the other metropolitans of France, since we are all elevated to the same rank.

"You order me to excommunicate the prince if he persists in his ambitious projects, under penalty of being myself driven from the communion of the faithful! I will reply to you what the ecclesiastics and laymen, from whom I could not conceal your orders, said, on reading your letters—No pontiff has ever dared to give like orders to the clergy of Gaul, although our unhappy country has been constantly ravaged by civil wars, be-

tween fathers and children, brothers, uncles and nephews, who disputed in turn a bloody throne; never did your predecessor, whose violence desolated the East and the West, push thus far his anger against Lothaire.

"It is the duty of the popes, to appear themselves before tyrants, to condemn to their faces heretical princes, as the most illustrious of your predecessors practised towards Constantine the Arian, Julian the Apostate, and Maximus the Cruel. If I even had the weakness to separate myself from the communion of the king to obey you, the other prelates would abstain from mine, because Prince Charles has not been judicially convicted of the crime of perjury and usurpation, as must be done in the case even of a mere citizen, before his condemnation.

"Do you not fear lest they should demand of you, what difference exists between the present pontiffs and those who reigned under the Merovingian dynasty? We know that King Pepin was consecrated by Pope Stephen, who came to France to implore his aid; and we have not forgotten that this prince conquered Astolphus the Lombard, not by the thunders of Rome, but by his victorious troops. We will recall to you what Charlemagne did for Pope Adrian the First; and for what services the pontiff Leo gave to him the title of patrician, and the dignity of emperor; we will also tell you for what motives Stephen solemnly consecrated Louis the Good Natured, and through what an infamous policy Gregory excited Lothaire to revolt against his father. Finally, the bishop of Rome should not forget, that the conquest of a kingdom is made by war and victory, and not by the excommunications of a prelate.

"When we exhort the people to dread the power of Rome, to submit to the pontiff, and to send their wealth to the sepulchre of the apostle in order to obtain the protection of God, they reply to us: Defend then by your thunders, the state against the Normans who wish to invade it, and let the Holy See no more implore the succour of our arms to protect it.

"If the pope wishes to preserve the aid of our people, let him no more seek to dispose of thrones; and say to him, that he cannot be at once king and priest. That he cannot impose on us a monarch, nor pretend to subjugate us—we who are Franks, for we will never support the yoke of the slavery of princes or popes, and will follow the precepts of Scripture, combatting without ceasing for liberty, the only heritage which Christ left to the nations when dying on the cross.

"If the holy father excommunicates Christians, who refuse to cringe blindly beneath his authority, he unworthily abuses the apostolic power, and his anathemas have no power in heaven; for God, who is just, has refused to him the power of disposing of temporal kingdoms.

"I have done my best to lead our prelates into sentiments more conformable to your wishes; but all my words have been useless; I ought

not then to be separated from your communion for the sins of others. Your legates are my witnesses, that in the execution of your orders, I have resisted the lords and the king, until they have threatened me, that if I persisted in defending you, they would make me sing alone before the altar of my church, and would take from me all power over the property and persons of my diocese. Threats more terrible still have been made against you, which they will not fail to execute if God permits. Thus I declare to you, after having had sad experience, that neither your anathemas, nor your thunders, will prevent our monarch and his lords from keeping Lorraine, on which they have seized."

This energetic and lengthily argued reply of the metropolitan of Rheims, witnesses that that prelate, instead of seconding Adrian and his bold ambition, was persuading Charles, that in this great question, the royal authority and the liberty of the Gallican church were compromised. Thus, by his counsels, the court of France separated itself from the court of Rome. The pontiff, transported with rage, sent new letters still more violent and audacious than the first.

In the meanwhile, took place the judicial condemnation of Hinemar of Laon, and of young Carloman, who had both appealed to the Holy See.

Adrian wrote immediately to King Charles in these terms: "Execrable prince, not only hast thou committed frightful excesses in usurping the kingdom of thy nephew, but thou even surpassest wild beasts in tearing thine own entrails and mutilating thy son Carloman. We order thee, unnatural father, since thou canst not restore sight and speech to thy innocent son, to re-establish him in his property, his honours and his dignities, until the time in which our legate shall go into thy accursed kingdom, to take, in behalf of this unfortunate, the measures which we shall judge proper. In the mean time, whatever may be the enterprises of Carloman against thee, we prohibit thy lords from taking arms in thy defence, and we enjoin on the bishops not to obey thy orders, under penalty of excommunication and eternal damnation; for God wills that division should reign between the father and the son, to punish thee for the usurpation of the kingdoms of Lorraine and Burgundy. As to the bishop of Laon, we will and order by our apostolic authority, that thou placest him at liberty, in order that he may come to us and obtain the aid of our clemency against all thy iniquities."

The king, irritated by the audacity and insolence of this letter, instructed the metropolitan of Rheims to send his reply to the pope. It is found in the works of Archbishop Hinemar, and Lesueur has translated it as follows: "We will and ordain by apostolic authority . . . say you . . .? Know then that we, the king of France, born of an imperial race, we are not the vicar of a bishop, but the lord of the earth. We are established by God, sovereign over the people, and are armed with a, two-

edged sword, to strike the wicked and defend the good. . . .”

The firmness of the king crushed the pride of the pope, and he endeavoured to retract his offence by this recantation, “Prince Charles, we have been apprised by virtuous persons, that you are the most zealous protector of churches in the world. That there exists not in your immense kingdom any bishopric or monastery, on which you have not heaped wealth, and we know that you honour the See of St. Peter, and that you desire to spread your liberality on his vicar, and to defend him against all his enemies.

“We consequently retract our former decisions, recognizing that you have acted with justice in punishing a guilty son and a prelatial debauchee, and in causing yourself to be declared sovereign of Lorraine and Burgundy. We renew to you the assurance, that we, the clergy, the people, and the nobility of Rome, wait with impatience for the day,

on which you shall be declared king, patriarchian, emperor, and defender of the church. We, however, beseech you to keep this letter a secret from your nephew Louis.”

Whilst the pontifical power was undergoing a check in the West, the Bulgarians in their turn drove away the Roman bishops and priests to submit themselves to the direction of the Greek church, and returned under the rule of the patriarch of Constantinople, from which they have never since separated themselves. With them, they brought in new Christians from the Russian provinces.

Adrian the Second died some time after, in the month of November, 872. This pope, whose hypocrisy and false humility had elevated him to the Holy See, proved himself still more haughty in his pride, more perfidious in his policy, and more insatiable in his ambition, than Pope Nicholas; but we should remember that these vices were those which belonged to a sovereign pontiff of Rome.

## JOHN THE EIGHTH, ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH POPE.

*Election of John the Eighth—The eunuch Dominick raised to the See of Torcella—Death of the emperor Louis—John the Eighth, offers the imperial crown to Charles the Bald—Council of Pavia—Conspiracy against the pope—Council of Pontion—Council of Rome—Ravages of the Saracens in Italy—Death of Charles the Bald—The pope makes a treaty of peace with the Saracens—Counts Albert and Lambert heap outrages on the holy father and strike him on the face—John the Eighth comes into France—Council of Troyes—Coronation of Louis the Bald—Photius remounts the See of Constantinople—John the Eighth, confirms the re-installation of Photius—Council of Constantinople—Affairs of Italy—Charles the Gross is crowned emperor—Death of John the Eighth—Character of the pontiff.*

WHEN the pontiff Adrian died, the emperor was engaged in a war against Adalgisus, duke of Beneventum, who had raised the south of Italy against his authority, and had called in the Greeks to sustain this revolt. After having reduced the rebels, Louis entered Beneventum as a conqueror; the duke cast himself at his feet, made protestation of his innocence, implored the clemency of the monarch, and swore to be ever after his most faithful and submissive subject.

Seduced by protestations of such absolute devotion, the emperor dismissed his army and remained in the palace of Beneventum with the officers of his household. This imprudence was almost fatal to him; the traitor Adalgisus, seeing the troops discharged, formed the project of seizing on the person of the prince. One day when the emperor was making his siesta, the duke entered the palace at the head of a troop of soldiers; but at the noise of the arms Louis awoke, defended himself, and courageously resisted his assailants, until his officers came to his aid. He then took refuge in a tower with his wife, daughter, and all the French; and during three days they repulsed the soldiers of Adalgisus. The latter, despairing of forcing the stronghold in which Louis had shut himself up, determined to employ policy to ob-

tain a new pardon, and the bishop of Beneventum was instructed to obtain from the bigot monarch, inviolable guaranties against the consequences of his vengeance.

The prince consented to all that was demanded of him in the name of religion; he swore upon the sacred relics, as did the empress his wife, the princess his daughter, and all the officers about him, that none of them would pursue, directly nor indirectly, the persecuted Adalgisus to punish him. But once escaped from the danger, the emperor made a compromise with his conscience, and resolved to punish the duke of Beneventum; still, in order to preserve the appearance of honour, he did not make war in person; the empress his wife, took the command of the troops, and marched towards Campania. This campaign was not favourable to the monarch, and he had even renounced the hope of conquering the rebels, when he learned of the death of Adrian and the election of John the Eighth, archdeacon of the Roman church.

The emperor hastened to approve, through his commissioners, of the enthronement of John, who was the godfather of Adalgisus. He besought the new pontiff to go to Capua, under pretext of asking pardon for the guilty, but in reality to reconcile him with the duke. Peace having been concluded, the emperor

returned to his capital, where he died after a reign of twenty years.

Some time before the death of Louis, John held a council at Ravenna, to terminate a violent division, which had taken place between Nisus, duke of Venice, and Peter, patriarch of Grada. The bishopric of Torcella, a city under the jurisdiction of Venice, having become vacant, Duke Nisus had elevated to that See, Dominick, abbot of the monastery of Altino; but the archbishop Peter refused to ordain the new prelate, under pretext that Dominick was unworthy of commanding the faithful, because he had performed upon himself the operation which Origen recommended to his disciples, as the only sure mode of preserving the vow of chastity. The duke of Venice affirmed, on the other hand, that the abbot of Altino, merited for that act alone, to be honoured with the episcopate, and threatened the patriarch of Grada to punish him severely, if he refused any longer to consecrate him.

John the Eighth put an end to the dispute, by deciding that the revenues of the church of Torcella should be granted to the new bishop, but that he should not exercise sacerdotal functions, because the canons prohibited the ordination of eunuchs to the supreme dignity of the church.

At this period, southern Italy, unceasingly exposed to the incursions of the Arabs, had need of a powerful protector, whose arms could repulse the Saracens and other enemies of Rome, as Pepin and Charlemagne had done. But the popes, who aspired to absolute sway in Italy, were unwilling that their defender should reside in the Roman peninsula, and their policy led them to seek an alliance with princes whose states were situated beyond the Alps, and not with the lords of Naples, Beneventum, or Venice.

As a consequence of this policy, John the Eighth, after the death of Louis, resolved to choose Charles the Bald as the protector of the Holy See. He sent a pompous embassy to him, inviting him to come to Rome to receive the imperial crown, which he offered him as a property of which the popes had the entire disposal. The king went in haste to the pontiff. On his arrival, the clergy, magistrates, and schools went to meet him, preceded by banners and crosses. The pope received him on the steps of the church of St. Peter, in the midst of the bishops and high dignitaries of the church; and on the following day, Charles the Bald was crowned emperor, at the tomb of the apostle, in the presence of an immense crowd.

In placing the crown on the brow of the monarch, John said to him, "Do not forget, prince, that the popes have the right to create emperors." Since that time, says Sigonius, the empire was no longer but a fief or benefice of the Holy See, and the duration of the reign of an emperor was counted only from the day on which the pope had confirmed him.

After the ceremony of the consecration, the new emperor and the pontiff went together

from Rome and came to Pavia, where Charles announced Boson, the father of his wife Richilda, to be duke of Lombardy, and imperial commissioner. This nomination was approved of in a council presided over by the holy father. The prelates, in the speech which they made to the king of France, said to him: "My lord, since divine goodness, through the intercession of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the ministry of Pope John, has elevated you to the dignity of emperor, we unanimously select you for our protector, submitting joyfully to your will, and promising to observe faithfully all that you shall order for the utility of the church and our safety."

Maimbourg affirms, that this council was only convened by John the Eighth, for the purpose of rendering it manifest to all the world, that Charles had not become emperor by right of succession, but that he had obtained this dignity by an election. "This example," adds the historian, "should enlighten nations, as to the ambition of kings who only raised themselves above other men by treacherous and base actions, which dishonour their memory for ever." Thus, Charles the Bald, in order to obtain the principal sceptre, against the hereditary rights of the legitimate successors of Charlemagne, yielded to the pontiffs the sovereignty which the emperors exercised over Rome and the provinces of the church, and he declared the Holy See to be an independent state.

The authority of the new emperor was not however, recognized without opposition. Carloman, the oldest son of Louis the German, in the name of his father, to whom the crown reverted by right of succession, maintained an understanding at Rome, and threatened Italy with his arms. Gregory, the nomenclator of the palace of the Lateran, and George, his son-in-law, were the leaders of a formidable conspiracy, which had for its end the punishment of John the Eighth for his cowardly condescendence towards Charles the Bald; but the pope, having been informed of their projects, convened a council to try them. They, finding the pontiff constantly surrounded by his guards, and that it was impossible to seize upon his person, retired with the conspirators, Formosus, bishop of Porto, Stephen, an officer of the pope, Sergius, the leader of the militia, and the bishop Constantine. They seized upon the treasures of the pope during the night, and all left the city by the gate of St. Pancrace.

John was apprised of their flight on the next day, but was not able however, to pursue them, because the Saracens had advanced towards the Tiber, and made incursions up to the very walls of Rome. Not wishing to remain unrevengeed, he excommunicated the rebels, declared them perjured, infamous, and sacrilegious; as having intrigued for the sovereign pontificate, and conspired against his person. He called them thieves and robbers, for having carried off with them the wealth of the Holy See. The assembly ratified the judgment of the pope, and pronounced

against them a sentence of deposition, anathema, and excommunication.

Whilst the pontiff was condemning in Italy the conspirators, who wished to overthrow his authority, and that of Charles the Bald, that prince was holding a synod of bishops in the city of Ponthion, at which he caused them to recognize the supreme authority of the popes over France. The Roman legates named the deacon John, metropolitan of Sens, and Ansegisus, primate of the Gauls and Germany, with the title of vicar of the Holy See in the two provinces. They conferred on this last-named, the power of convening councils, of signifying the decrees of the court of Rome, of judging ecclesiastical causes, of executing the orders of the pope, and they only reserved appeals to Rome in the greater cases.

The prelates of France protested with energy against such an institution, which destroyed all the liberty of the Gallican church; but the emperor maintained the sacrilegious compact which he had made with John; he declared he had a commission to represent the pope in this assembly, and that he would execute his orders. He then commanded a seat to be placed on his right hand, and Ansegisus seated himself by him in his quality of primate.

Hincmar, of Rheims, boldly opposed the will of Charles the Bald. He represented to him that his undertaking was contrary to the canons; that the despotism of the pontiffs should never press its odious tyranny on the soil of France, and finally, observed to him, that a king could not arrogate to himself any right in ecclesiastical assemblies. Notwithstanding the vehemence and the justice of the opposition of the archbishop, who had consecrated Charles king of Lorraine and Burgundy, the new emperor persisted in supporting the execution of the orders of John the Eighth, and confirmed the metropolitan of Sens, and Ansegisus in their new dignities.

At another session, the council gave audience to Gildebert, archbishop of Cologne, and to two counts, ambassadors from Louis the German, who came in the name of their master to reclaim a part of the states of the emperor Louis, relying upon the rights of succession and the treaties which had been concluded between their fathers. The bishop of Foscanella, one of the Roman legates, then informed them of a letter of the holy father, in which he severely blamed King Louis for having entered with arms into the kingdom of King Charles at the period of his coronation. John reprimanded the weakness of the bishops of Germany, who had not dared to resist their king, and who had not hindered him from breaking the sacred order of the pope. He applied to them these words of St. Paul, "You have to combat princes and powers to make the church triumphant."

Then, in the very presence of the ambassadors of Louis, and as if to brave their sovereign, the legates offered to Charles, in the name of John, an imperial sceptre, and a crown of gold, enriched with precious stones; they also brought for the empress bracelets of gold

and stuffs of great price. By an order from the prince, Richilda then entered the assembly, and went to place herself in the highest seat, in order to preside during the rest of the session; but the bishops were so indignant at the boldness of the princess, that they immediately rose from their seats and left the synod, without even saluting the emperor.

Some months after, Louis the German died in his palace at Frankfort; Charles the Bald immediately advanced at the head of his troops to take possession of his kingdom; he was defeated in a great battle, and the young Louis, who had succeeded his father, pursued him even into his kingdom. The disasters of this enterprise prevented the emperor from sending to the pope succour against the Saracens, who desolated Italy, and against the Italian lords themselves, who laid waste the territories of the church, as the following letter of the pontiff teaches us:

"The blood of Christians is spilt through all our provinces," wrote the holy father; "he who escapes fire or sword is led away into perpetual captivity. Cities, towns, and villages, become a prey to the flames; bishops have no longer a place of refuge, but at Rome; their episcopal residences serve as retreats for savage beasts, and they are themselves wanderers, and reduced to beg instead of preaching. Last year we sowed our immense domains; the enemy ravaged them and we have gathered nothing; this year, it has been impossible to labour even in our fields, and a frightful famine threatens the apostolic city.

"Do not believe that our evils only come from the Pagans; Christians are still more cruel than the Arabs; I would speak of some lords, our neighbours, and chiefly of those whom you call marquises or governors of frontiers; they pillage the domains of the church and cause us to die, not by the sword, but by famine; they do not lead people into captivity, but they reduce them to servitude; and their oppression is the cause why we find no one to combat the Saracens.

"Thus, my lord, you alone, after God, are our refuge and our consolation; we beseech you then, in the name of the bishops, priests, and nobles, but above all in the name of our people, to put forth a hand of succour, to the church, your mother, from which you hold not only your crown, but even the faith of Christ, and which has elevated you to the empire, notwithstanding the legitimate rights of your brother."

Carloman, who was declared king of Bavaria, availed himself of the defeat of the armies of his uncle, Charles, to invade Italy, of which he claimed possession, as an heritage that pertained to him. His plan was, to be consecrated emperor, by a general council, and to punish the pontiff, who had disposed in an iniquitous manner of estates which were not under the jurisdiction of the church.

John, fearing the vengeance of the young prince, immediately assembled a council in the palace of the Lateran, to confirm anew the coronation of Charles, by justifying the

conduct of the Holy See. He thus opened the assembly: "According to ancient usage, my brethren, we solemnly elevated Charles to the imperial dignity, by the advice of the bishops, of the ministers of our church, of the senate, and of all the people of Rome, and above all, to accomplish the thought which had been revealed to Pope Nicholas by an heavenly inspiration. The election of Charles, is then legitimate and sacred. It emanates from the will of the people, and the will of God. We therefore declare anathematized him who would condemn it, and we devote him to the execration of men, as the enemy of Christ, and the minister of the devil!"

Behold how the popes used the most sacred names to defend their contemptible interests!

These menaces of the Holy See did not prevent Carloman, from making rapid progress in the Friuli, whilst the Saracens desolated the Campagna of Rome. John, pressed on all sides by powerful enemies, thought of opposing one to the other, by recognizing the king of Bavaria as emperor. But, before undertaking an enterprise, the consequences of which might prove fatal to him, he resolved to write again to Charles, to urge him to hasten to his aid in Italy.

"The remnant of the people of Rome," said he, "is worn down by extreme misery; without the city, all is ravaged and reduced to solitude. Our enemies traverse the river, even to the sea, and come from Tibur to Rome to sack the Sabine and the neighbouring countries. The Arabs have burned the churches and monasteries, massacred the priests and monks, and carried off for their harems, the young boys and the nuns. On the other side, bad Christians achieve our ruin, and Carloman threatens us with his vengeance. Call to your remembrance then, the labours and combats which we have sustained to procure for you the empire, and do not reduce us to despair by leaving us longer a prey to our enemies, lest we should be forced to choose a new protector."

When Charles learned that his nephew had crossed the Alps, he feared some new treachery of the pope's, and in order to prevent it, he passed over into Italy, with the empress, who always accompanied him in his expeditions. He went with all diligence into Lombardy, and met the holy father, who was on a journey to join the king of Bavaria, on the way. Charles, dissimulating his indignation, received John with great honours, and they went together to Pavia, to decide upon the measures to be taken for the pacification of Italy. They were soon apprised, that Prince Carloman, irritated by the perfidy of the pontiff, was advancing by forced marches to blockade them in Pavia, before the troops of his uncle could arrive to defend them.

At this news, a panic fear seized upon the sovereigns. Charles and his wife precipitately quitted Pavia, and took refuge in Tortona; from thence, Richilda pursued her route with the treasures of the prince, even into the Maurienne. The holy father, more frightened

than even his protectors, took in all haste the route to Rome, without forgetting, however, a magnificent crucifix of gold, adorned with precious stones, which the empress had given him for the church of St. Peter.

Carloman, on his side, as cowardly as his uncle, fled on false intelligence, that the emperor was advancing to meet him to give him battle. As appropriate to this triple flight, a cotemporary monk said, "I see in this wonderful event the finger of Providence, which exhibited to nations the cowardice of kings, and dispersed two whole armies, without shedding Christian blood."

John, returned to Rome, was still doubtful as to the issue of the war between the king of France and the sovereign of Bavaria. Let who would be conqueror, he had equally to fear the resentment of both parties, whom he had by turns betrayed. The vengeance of the emperor appearing to him, however, the most imminent, he resolved to avoid it. By his instigation, some French lords, discontented with Charles, formed a conspiracy against him. His physician, the Jew Sedecias, was gained over to their side, and Charles died of poison in the cabin of a peasant, on the 6th of October, 877.

The death of the king of France raised the hopes of Carloman; having no longer a competitor for the imperial dignity, he wrote to the pontiff letters of submission, and claimed from him the heritage of his ancestors. John then saw himself a second time the master and dispenser of the imperial crown; before, however, consecrating the new prince, he wished to profit by circumstances, to assure material advantages to his See; he replied then to the king of Bavaria: "We consent to recognize you as emperor of Italy; but before giving you the crown, we demand that you should pour into the purse of St. Peter all the sums which are in your treasury, in order that you may be worthy to receive the recompense of him, who promised to honour in another world those who honour him in this. We will send you shortly the articles which treat of that which you should grant to the church; we will then address to you a more solemn legation, in order to conduct you to Rome with the honours due to your rank. We will then treat together of the good of the state and the safety of Christian people. Until that time, I beseech you to give no access near to you of infidels, or of such as wish our life, whatever may have been your anterior relation with them; and I conjure you to remit the revenues of the patrimony of St. Peter, which are situated in Bavaria."

Whilst the pope was seeking to re-establish his power over upper Italy, Sergius, duke of Naples, was forming alliances with the Saracens, in contempt of the excommunications which the Holy See had fulminated against him; but he soon proved, that one cannot brave with impunity the vengeance of a priest. John wrote to the bishop Athanasius, the brother of Sergius, to command him in the name of religion, to surprise

the duke during the night, to put out his eyes and send him a prisoner to Rome. The prelate, who aspired to the supreme dignity in Naples, scrupulously obeyed the holy father.

John not only ratified his usurpation, but even bestowed great eulogiums on him, because he had obeyed his brother in God, rather than his brother after the flesh; and as a token of his satisfaction sent him four hundred marks of silver.

After having committed an abominable crime, to punish Sergius, because he had allied himself with the Saracens, the pontiff, strange contradiction of the human mind, not receiving succours from the king of the West, himself treated with the infidels, and engaged to pay them twenty thousand marks of gold annually, to get back the domains of the church. It is true he had no intention of keeping the treaty he had made with the Arabs; he only desired to gain time, to wait for the Greek troops which were about to disembark in Italy.

Basil consented to send succours to the Holy See, under a promise that it would aid him to recover the rights of his predecessors over the Roman peninsula; but these projects were suddenly overthrown by enemies more deadly to the Holy See than the Saracens. The counts Albert son of Bouiface, and Lambert son of Guy, duke of Spoleto, assembling several other lords, who partook of their indignation against the policy of John the Eighth, marched upon Rome at the head of numerous troops, seized the city without striking a blow, and besieged the palace of the Lateran.

The residence of the pontiffs was invaded by a furious soldiery; Lambert himself penetrated into the pontifical apartment, tore the holy father from the place where he had taken refuge, behind the curtains of a window, and shut him up in the saloon of the church of St. Peter. The bishops and priests who wished to resist, were driven from the temple by blows of clubs. The dukes then clothed the pope in sackcloth, and condemned him for several days to a rigorous fast, and inflicted discipline upon him, in order, as they said, that he might obtain from God the remission of his sins. Knowing, however, that it would be impossible for them long to preserve their position, and desiring to place themselves beyond the reach of the implacable vengeance of John, they assembled the people in the cathedral, proclaimed Carloman emperor of Italy, and received in his name the oath of fidelity from all the citizens. After the ceremony they returned to their estates, hoping that the prince who owed to them the imperial crown, would always interpose between them and the pontiff, if the latter should dare to declare war on them.

As soon as the pontiff had recovered his liberty, he caused the treasure of St. Peter to be carried to the palace of the Lateran, covered with sackcloth the tomb of the apostle, closed the doors of the churches, ordered divine service to cease in all the provinces, and sent back the pilgrims who were at Rome. He then as-

sembled a synod, and excommunicated Lambert and the other dukes who had seconded him in his enterprise. His vengeance not being yet satisfied, he resolved to go into Gaul, in order to lead back the French armies into Italy. The duke of Spoleto, informed of the plans of the pope, spread his soldiers on all the routes, in order to arrest his escort. John, however, managed to embark on the Tuscan sea, and went to Genoa; from thence he went to the city of Arles, where he was received with great honours by Boso and his wife, who, in her old age, had returned to her husband.

John, to recompense Boso for his attachment to the Holy See, solemnly consecrated him king of Provence; he then pursued his way to Châlons-sur-Saône, where he passed the night. It is related, that on the next day, at the moment of his departure, as he was informed that the monks had stolen his horses, and that a priest of his train had escaped with his plate, he fell into such a rage, and blasphemed the name of God with such imprecations, that the priests who surrounded him fell on their knees, making the sign of the cross, to drive away the infernal spirit which they supposed had seized upon him. John apostrophized his servants in abominable terms, and fulminated a terrible excommunication against the monks and priest who had robbed him. Finally, when his wrath was appeased, he journeyed on towards the city of Troyes, which he had designated as the place of holding a general council.

Thirty bishops only assisted at this synod. The pontiff pronounced a discourse at the opening, which he had prepared for an immense assembly, and which was addressed to all spiritual and temporal powers. He besought the princes to furnish him with the means of avenging himself on the enemies of the Holy See, and in particular on Lambert, the son of the duke of Spoleto, against whom he had pronounced a perpetual anathema.

The council gave in its adhesion to the wishes of the pontiff in these terms: "Lord and most holy father, we, the bishops of Gaul and Belgium, your servants and disciples, sympathize with the evils which the ministers of the devil have committed against Rome, our holy mother, the mistress of all the churches. We will unanimously follow the judgment which you have pronounced against them, according to the canons, by putting them to death with the sword of the spirit."

The bishop Hincmar, of Laon, then presented a new complaint against his uncle. He thus expressed himself: "The archbishop of Rheims cited me before a synod at Douzi, to answer certain points of which I was accused. As I was preparing to go to the assembly, armed men forced their way into my church, dragged me from the altar, seized upon my property, and dragged me by force to Douzi. King Charles presided over the council. He presented to me a writing, in which I was accused of being perjured, because I had appealed to Rome from an iniquitous judgment, and the archbishop Hincmar,

my uncle, imperiously commanded me to reply to the accusation which the prince brought against me.

"I showed, that by the canons, a priest deprived of his church, and brought by force before his judges, was not compelled to justify himself; and I added that my uncle, being my avowed enemy, I appealed to the Holy See against the injuries he had inflicted on me. I read before the assembly the bulls of Popes Julius and Felix, concerning the appeals of bishops, and prostrating myself to ask the execution of them in my favour, I presented the letters of the pontiff Adrian, who ordered me to come to Rome.

"But King Charles rejected all my entreaties, the orders of the pope were treated with contempt, and the metropolitan of Rheims pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against me. The prelates mourned over this odious injustice; their fears, however, caused them to approve of the decree which the archbishop presented to them, and to which they added these words: 'Saving in all things the judgment of the Holy See.'

"I was then exiled into another province, where I was cast into frightful prisons, where I lived burthened with chains, and finally, after two years of slavery, the executioner tore out my eyes.

"After the death of Charles, the new king set me at liberty, and now I come before you, most holy father, beseeching you to judge me according to the canons, and to punish those who have persecuted me, if I am declared innocent by your justice."

The metropolitan, Hincmar, asked for time to reply to the complaints which his nephew brought against him, after which the council was engaged in making canons to augment the power of the bishops. They decided that all the prelates should unite together to prevent the encroachments of the secular power; that they should not receive excommunicated clerks or laymen, without the consent of him who had pronounced the sentence of anathema.

The bishops of Bourges and Autun, Frotaire and Adalgaire, presented to the pope the will of Charles the Bald, in which that prince declared, that he gave to his son Louis the kingdom of France, to which he added the sword of St. Peter, as a mark of investiture, which proved that the states of Italy and the imperial dignity, were included in this donation. The two prelates demanded in the name of the king, that the pontiff should confirm, by a decree, the donation of the emperor his father. John, on his side, showed a donation from the emperor, of the abbey of St. Denis, which he pretended was signed by Charles the Bald, although the signature was visibly forged, and he demanded the confirmation of it by Louis, if he wished to obtain that of the empire. But this abbey bringing in to the crown large sums, the king was unwilling to surrender it to the Holy See in exchange for an empty title.

Notwithstanding this refusal, Louis the Stammerer bestowed great honours on the holy father, and even wished to receive the crown from his hands, in the presence of the grandees and people, although the ceremony of consecration had been already performed; the preceding year by Hincmar of Rheims.

During the last session of the council, the pope made another address to the bishops and lords: "I desire, my brethren," he said to them, "that you would unite with me in defence of the Roman church, and that you would arm all your vassals, before my departure into Italy. I beseech you then to take prompt and decisive measures for this war." Then addressing himself to the king, he added, "I beseech you, my dear son, to assemble at once your armies for the defence of the Holy See, as your ancestors did, and as your father, the illustrious Charles, has recommended you to do; for you are the vengeful minister of Christ against the wicked, and you carry a sword to protect the popes. Otherwise tremble, lest you draw on yourself a chastisement such as befel the kings of old, who showed indifference in avenging the Holy See; and I adjure you, as well as all the lords and bishops who hear me, to tell me if you consent to sacrifice your property, wives and children, and to die in my defence." The assembly kept a profound silence!

Thus the council of Troyes, on which John the Eighth had founded great hopes, not only did not advance his temporal affairs, but even struck a great blow at the moral influence of the Holy See. The pontiff returned into Italy, having only Prince Boson for his escort, who sought by his care and attention, to induce him to forget the great affront which he had received at the court of France.

During the absence of the pope, the Greek emperor and the patriarch Ignatius, had sent to Rome messengers bearing important letters. On the day succeeding his arrival, John hastened to reply to them. "Prince," he wrote to the emperor Basil, "we send you the prelates Paul and Eugenius, our intimate counsellors, whose hearts are full of right. We have given them our instructions, that they may be enabled to labour successfully in bringing back peace to the churches of your empire. We have also given them secret instructions for Presiam, king of Bulgaria, to whom we beseech you have them conducted with an imposing escort."

In his letter to the patriarch, John thus expresses himself: "We address to you this third canonical admonition by our legates, in order that you may send without delay into Bulgaria, diligent men, who shall traverse the country and bring back to Constantinople all the ecclesiastics whom they may find to have been ordained by you or your suffragans; for we will not permit that the Greek clergy should infect with their errors this new church which we have formed. If you do not execute our orders as soon as they shall reach you, if you do not renounce all jurisdiction over the Bulgarians, you shall be excommu

nicated and deposed from the patriarchal dignity, in which you have been re-installed by our favour." Ignatius did not live long enough to incur the anathema of the Holy See; he died before the arrival of the legates at Byzantium, and Photius remounted the See of that city.

John the Eighth, knowing the influence which this eunuch exercised at the court of Constantinople by his wisdom and his superior abilities, hastened to recognize his installation, notwithstanding the rules of ecclesiastical discipline, in order to obtain the protection of the emperor and aid against the Saracens. He consequently wrote to Basil: "The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, the metropolitans, bishops, priests, and all the ecclesiastics of Constantinople, who are of the ordination of Methodius and Ignatius, having now consented unanimously to the return of Photius, we, like them, receive him as bishop of your capital, a brother and colleague; and desirous of putting an end to all schisms in the church, we relieve him from all the censures pronounced against him, as well as the prelates, clerks and laymen who were under the same censures. We erase the acts of our predecessors, by virtue of the authority given us by Jesus Christ, in the person of the prince of the apostles. Besides, we declare that the legates of Adrian, subscribed to the proceedings of the council which condemned Photius, only out of complaisance for this hypocritical pope, and not in obedience to the commands of justice. We do not, however, confirm the re-installation of the patriarch, but under the formal condition, that he shall never pretend to any right over the province of Bulgaria, which was given up to our See by the emperor Michael."

As soon as Photius had received the approbatory letters from the Holy See, he assembled a council at which four hundred bishops were present, as well as the Roman legates. Popes Nicholas the First and Adrian the Second, were condemned as the authors of all the troubles of the Eastern churches, and their memory was anathematized. It prohibited from adding to the Nicene creed the words "Filioque," an addition which had been decreed by a council held under Ignatius and approved of by the court of Rome. This dogma by turns, admitted and condemned, still remains after several centuries of dispute, one of the fundamental principles of the Christian faith. John thus expresses himself on the subject of this dogma: "We preserve the creed as we have received it from the fathers, without having taken from or added anything thereto. We condemn the priests who have caused scandal in the church by saying 'Filioque,' and not only do we refuse to pronounce these impious words, but we even regard those who have the audacity to join them to the creed, as transgressors against the word of God and corrupters of the morality of the apostles and fathers. We compare them to Judas: like him they wrench the

members of Jesus Christ; for 'Filioque' is the greatest blasphemy we can pronounce against religion."

The pope, having then purchased the aid of the Greeks by a cowardly condescendence towards Photius, set himself to work to break off the treaties between the Italian lords and the Saracens, and wished to elude those which he himself had made with that people. He addressed several letters to Palfar, governor of Amalfi, to whom he had paid ten thousand marks of silver for the defence of the territory of St. Peter. He reproached him with his negligence, and demanded from him the restitution of the sum which he had received, since he did not fulfil his engagements, and refused to declare war on the Arabs. Notwithstanding the claims of the pontiff, the Amalfitins continued to live on a good understanding with the infidel, and refused to restore the money of the Holy See. John declared them excommunicated, giving them only to the end of the year to repent and to avoid the execution of the anathema against them; he pronounced the same penalty against the bishops of Naples and Gaëta, who had made treaties with the Saracens.

The holy father was so governed by fear of the Arabs, that he even sacrificed the interests of religion, in all the measures which appeared favourable to his design of expelling them from Italy. Thus, after having approved of the nomination of Lardulph, bishop of Capua, who had been canonically chosen by the people, he retracted his first decision, and took the part of Pandenulph, a married layman, brother of the governor of that city, who was desirous of obtaining the pontifical See. In vain did Leo, bishop of Theana, and Berthier, abbot of Monte Cassino, go to the pope to beseech him not to confirm such an act of injustice, representing to him, that this scandalous ordination would cause great troubles in Capua, and that the fire of sedition once lighted in that city, would extend rapidly to Rome. All the remonstrances of the bishops were useless. John persisted and confirmed the ordination of Pandenulph, on condition, that the governor would declare war on the Saracens. But this people, who were apprised of the divisions among the citizens of Capua, gave no time to Pandenulph to assemble his troops. They fell suddenly upon the city, ruined the country and retired with a rich booty.

After their departure, the governor of Capua claimed the rule of the city of Gaëta, which belonged to the pope, under the pretext that Docibilis, the governor, was in league with the Saracen, and had informed him of the disorders of Capua. The pontiff then placed this important city in his hands; but his exactions and his cruelties soon excited such discontent, that the inhabitants, in order to deliver themselves from such a tyrant, resolved to go to the Saracens who were encamped near to Agropoli. Conferences were opened and the Arabs immediately approached the city, and pitched their

tents on the heights which commanded Formies.

On the receipt of this intelligence, John perceived the mistake he had made in committing the command of Gaëta to Pandenulph. He immediately recalled Docibilis, who put himself at the head of the troops of the province, freed the city and pursued the Mussulmans even to the coast. At the same time the fleet which the emperor Basil had sent from Constantinople for the defence of the Holy See, having encountered the enemy's vessels, a terrible battle took place and victory remained with the Greeks.

Rome was not yet, however, delivered from the infidels, who occupied all the fortified cities of Campania. John, desirous of placing Italy entirely beyond the reach of their incursions, and of freeing the Holy See from the tyranny of the dukes of Pavia, Beneventum and Spoleto, then resolved to declare as emperor, Charles the First, king of Germany. He consequently wrote to the prince, who yielded to his entreaties and came to Italy, where he was solemnly consecrated emperor. The new protector of the Holy See, showed himself, however, very careless in the defence of the church, and all the flatteries of the pontiff could not induce him to send his armies into Italy.

The court of Rome remained, nevertheless, submissive to the will of the monarch, as appeared in a religious dispute in relation to the nomination of a prelate for the See of Geneva. The emperor had designated as governor of this diocese a clergyman named Optandus;

but Otram, archbishop of Vienne and the subject of King Boson, refused to consecrate the new prelate, who had neither been ordained nor baptized in that church, in accordance with the rules established by the canons, and he consecrated a new bishop to govern the faithful of Geneva. John, informed by Charles the Gross of the resistance of Otram, wrote to that archbishop to come to Rome to justify the irregularity of his conduct, and commanded him, under penalty of excommunication, to approve of Optandus, who had been recognized by the Holy See. The pontiff heaped the most violent reproaches on the venerable prelate; he accused him of having received money for the election of his protégé, and joining ingratitude to baseness, he called King Boson, whom he had himself crowned as a recompense for his services and submission, an usurper. The archbishop treated with contempt the threats of the pontiff, and instead of obeying his orders, he seized Optandus and confined him in close prison.

Some time after, John the Eighth died, and was buried on the 18th of December, 882.

The annals of the abbey of Fulda, relate that this pope was poisoned by the relatives of a Roman lady, whose husband he had carried off to become his minion, and be used in his monstrous debaucheries. The conspirators, seeing that the poison did not act with sufficient energy, penetrated into his apartments during the night, and broke in his head by blows with a hammer. "A death worthy of this execrable pontiff," adds Cardinal Baronius.

## MARTIN THE SECOND, ONE HUNDRED AND TWELFTH POPE.

[A. D. 882.]

*Simoniacal election of Martin the Second—Photius condemned—The pallium sent to Foulk—The pope sells the king of England a piece of the true cross—He re-instals the bishop Formosus, deposed by Pope John—Death of Martin.*

AFTER the death of the sodomite, John the Eighth, the faction of the counts of Toscanella was all powerful in Rome. Galliesien Falisque, a Frenchman by birth, bought the papacy from them, and by aid of their troops was recognized as the sovereign pontiff. He was enthroned under the name of Marin or Martin the Second.

The new pope proved to be as depraved in his morals, as treacherous in his policy, and as proud in his conduct as his predecessor, John the Eighth, whose decrees he, however, wished to erase, as being opposed to divine and human justice.

Papebroch relates, that before being elevated to the pontificate, Galliesien had been bishop in partibus among a people who were slaves, and that he had been sent to Constantinople by Adrian the Second, as legate, to

assist at the council which condemned Photius; thus he always showed himself the enemy of this patriarch, and as soon as he reached the Holy See, he anathematized him anew, and renewed the schism between the churches of the West and the East.

Like his predecessors, he sought to create in France a powerful party, to obtain aid against the Saracens and the other enemies of Rome, and for this end he sent the pallium to Foulk, the successor of Hincmar, a very influential prelate. The same policy led him to seek the aid of Alfred the Great, king of England, to whom he sold a piece of wood, which he affirmed to be of the true cross, "a treasure more precious, wrote the pontiff, than all the riches of the world." Martin, however, consented to receive a sum of money, for which he diminished the tribute, which

the English paid at Rome for the education of the children who were destined to form the clergy of Great Britain. He did not bound his ambitious views by seeking allies in remote provinces; he also endeavoured to re-attach to the Holy See, the dukes and bishops of Italy, whom the violence of his predecessor had alienated. He conciliated the dukes of Beneventum and Spoleto, and re-installed Formosus, bishop of Porto, in his dignity, branding the excommunication which John

the Eighth had pronounced against him, as criminal and impious.

Martin, however, did not long enjoy the favourable results of his policy; he died in 884, after a reign of a year and five months, in the sufferings of an horrible malady caused by the dissoluteness of his morals; "God permitting, says Platinus, that those who are elevated to the sovereign power by crime, should have a deplorable end; a just chastisement for their guilty ambition."

## ADRIAN THE THIRD, ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 884.]

*Election of Adrian the Third—Letter of Photius on the dogma "Filioque"—Disorders of the Roman church—Scandalous decree of the pope—He declares that the imperial crown belongs to the pontiffs, who are the dispensers of it—Opinion of Sigonius on the pretensions of the pope—Schism of the Greeks—Death of Adrian.*

THE same faction which had elevated Martin to the pontificate, sold the chair of St. Peter anew to the deacon Adrian. This pope was a Roman by birth, and the son of a priest named Benedict. His ordination, according to Baronius, took place on the first Sunday in March, in the year 844.

He was scarcely seated on the pontifical throne, when he made a decree condemnatory of the council of Constantinople, over which Photius had presided, and put in force the decree of the assembly which had anathematized that prelate, and in which they had approved of, as orthodox, the profession of the Nicene faith, with the addition of the words "Filioque," before rejected by John the Eighth.

Photius, being informed that the Latin priests chanted the creed, increased by the addition of these words, which then constituted an heresy, wrote a violent letter against the pontiff, and discussed the creed with a winning logic, demonstrating that the Holy Spirit only proceeds from the Father, and strengthening his opinion by the authority of Leo the Third, who had caused the silver buckler to be suspended in the church of St. Peter, on which was engraven the creed, without the addition of "Filioque." He finally concluded by showing that the Roman church had always shown about this article of faith, the same sentiments as the Sees of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, which persecuted those who held this doctrine as rebellious children, whom the church should condemn.

At this period, the priests of the holy city were abandoned to the most unbridled licentiousness; they lived publicly with courtezans, and kept houses of debauchery, in which men disputed with women the wages of impurity. Incest, robbery, assassination, were employed by turns to arrive at dignities in church and state. The popes arrogated to themselves a

sovereign power over all the thrones of the earth, and Adrian, in the intoxication of his pride, dared to make a decree which authorized the pontiffs to nominate as emperors of Italy, the princes who should be judged most worthy of it by the court of Rome.

The conduct of the holy father ended in exciting the wrath of Charles the Fat, who resolved to pass the Alps and chastise the insolence and audacity of the Roman priests; but important wars calling for his presence in Austria, he was obliged to instruct his generals to reduce the provinces which the ordinances of the pope had excited against the imperial authority. The hope of the pontiff, in publishing these decrees, had been, not only to aggrandize his rule, but to insure for ever, the preponderance of the church over all the princes of Italy. "It was thus," says Maimburg, "that this province was immediately filled with disorder and desolation. It was miserably torn by usurpers and tyrants unworthy of the name of emperor, and from the reign of Charles the Fat to that of Otho the Great, it became the prey of all the wicked. The people, overwhelmed in ignorance and shame, cruelly expiated their baseness and murdered each other like gladiators, to please criminal popes or insensate kings."

Adrian the Third, by his pride, also lost to the Roman church, its authority over the East. Photius entirely separated himself from the Latin clergy, and commenced the schism which still exists between the churches of the East and the West.

Basil addressed vehement letters to the pope, reproaching his ambition; but they did not reach him, for he died on the 2d of July, 885, before the arrival of the ambassadors from Constantinople.

This pontiff was interred in the abbey of Nonantula, and the church honours him as a saint!

During the short period of his reign, the

Saracens made irruptions into the territories of Beneventum, Rome, and Spoleto, where they committed great ravages, partly through hatred of the Christian religion, and partly to avenge the defeats they had suffered during preceding pontificates. Sangdam, who was the generalissimo of the Mussulman forces, was very bitter against the churches and the monasteries. The rich convent of St. Vincent of Volturna, was attacked by the Arabs and carried by assault, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the religious; and when they became masters of it, they put to death all the monks, seized upon the treasure, the chalices, the holy pyxes, the shrines of the relics, set fire to the edifice, and, by the light of its burning, afforded his troops the spectacle of a frightful orgy, during which, his officers profaned the objects of Christian worship, drinking and eating from the chalices and perfumed boxes, and using censers of gold to adore Sangdam, as if he were a god. The celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, almost suffered a like fate. The Saracens in one of their inroads, fell upon the province of Gariglian, and surprised the little abbey of Monte Cassino, where St. Benedict had been interred, before the religious had time to place it in a state of defence. All the brothers were mercilessly massacred; the heaps of corn piled up in the cellars, as well as the tuns of wine, and all the precious objects, became equally the prey of the Mussulman. The great convent alone escaped their rapacity, thanks to the height of the walls and the bastions; but the great church, situated on the side of the mountain, and in which were found incalculable riches, extorted by the monks from people and kings, was pillaged from top to bottom, profaned in all ways, and finally given up to the flames, so that there did not remain one stone upon another. The Mussulmen then retired into the southern provinces of Italy, and gave to the monks time to repair their disasters and recover an hundred fold the losses they had suffered.

## STEPHEN THE SIXTH, ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 885.]

*Education of Stephen the Sixth—He is chosen pope—His liberality on coming to the throne—Miracle of the holy water and the grasshoppers—Letter from the pontiff to the emperor Basil—Photius renounces the See of Constantinople—Letters of Foulk to the pope—Guy is declared king of Italy—Letter of the pope to Foulk—Death of Stephen the Sixth.*

STEPHEN was a Roman by birth, and the son of a patrician named Adrian. He was educated under the charge of Zachary, bishop of Anagina and librarian of the Holy See. Pope Adrian ordained him subdeacon, and attached him to his person; he afterwards became a favourite of the pontiff Martin, who ordained him a priest.

When the funeral rites of Adrian the Third were over, the clergy, lords, and people having assembled to proceed to an election, unanimously cried out, that they chose for pope, the priest Stephen, whose piety alone could deliver them from the grasshoppers, the drought, and the famine which desolated the city and country of Rome. The people went immediately to the residence of the pontiff, broke open the doors, and carried him off, notwithstanding his resistance, to conduct him to his church of the Four Crowns, where he was proclaimed sovereign pontiff; after which, he was borne in triumph to the palace of the Lateran. "During the progress of the procession," say the chronicles, "God manifested his joy at the elevation of his servant; there fell an abundant rain, which destroyed a great part of the insects which desolated the fields, and brought back hope into the hearts of the Romans!"

Some days after his consecration, Stephen, accompanied by the bishops, the commissioners of the emperor, and the members of the

senate, visited with the greatest care, the interior of the palace of the Lateran, to prove by authentic testimony, the state in which the patriarchal palace was when he took possession of it, and if there remained any money, to distribute it to the unfortunate. They discovered that the store rooms had been pillaged, so that there did not remain enough household utensils for the necessities of the pope. They found the treasury of the church entirely empty, as well as the granary and cellars, and they learned by irrefutable testimony, that the money of St. Peter had been dissipated to the last penny by the unworthy predecessors of Stephen.

In his distress at not being able to bestow any largesses on the clergy, the militia, and, above all, the poor, who were dying of misery, the pontiff had recourse to his rich patrimony. He sold his numerous domains, and distributed the money arising from them to the unfortunate; he attached to his person the ablest and most virtuous men, and daily admitted to his table, orphans, whom he reared as if they had been his own children.

His unchangeable charity soon exhausted all his resources; famine and drought continued to desolate Rome, and the grasshoppers, whose numbers had at first diminished, frightfully increased. Stephen then published an ordinance to excite the cultivators to the de-

struction of these insects, promising twenty silver pennies to all who should bring him a bushel of grasshoppers. The decree not being able to arrest the disasters of the scourge, the pontiff went to the oratory of St. Gregory; he prostrated himself before the altar and prayed for an entire day, shedding many tears; finally towards night, he rose up as if inspired by God, and advancing to an immense reservoir containing holy water, he blessed it anew, and ordered the sexton of the church to distribute some of this water to every Roman, enjoining on the people to sprinkle with it the grain and the vines infested by the grasshoppers; the miraculous water every where destroyed the insects! The news of this prodigy spread quickly, through all the country, and the inhabitants came in crowds to obtain the water consecrated by the pontiff.

Towards the end of the year 885, Stephen received the letters which the emperor Basil addressed to Pope Adrian. This prince severely reproached the holy father, and threatened to punish his audacity if he should persist in wishing to govern the churches of the East. Stephen replied in these terms: "God has given to princes the power of governing temporal things, as he has given to us, by the authority of St. Peter, the power of governing spiritual things. Sovereigns have the right to repress a rebellious people, to cover the land and sea with their soldiers, to massacre men who refuse to recognize their rule, or obey the laws which they make for the interests of their crown. To us, it appertains to teach the people, that they ought to endure the tyranny of kings, the horrors of famine, even death itself, in order to obtain eternal life. The ministry which Christ has confided to us is as high above yours, as heaven is above the earth, and you cannot be the judge of the sacred mission which we have received from God.

"We do not pretend, in addressing this language to you, to detract from your dignity, nor censure your actions, but we are forced to speak thus in our own defence, and that of the pontiff Martin.

"We learn with joy, that you have destined one of your sons for the priesthood. We beseech you to re-establish the concord between your court and ours, to send a fleet sufficiently armed, to cruise upon the coasts of Italy from the month of April to that of September, and a numerous garrison, which can defend our walls against the incursions of the Saracens.

"We do not speak of the misery of our people, for it is so great that we are even destitute of oil to light our church."

This letter did not arrive at Constantinople until the year 886, after the death of the emperor Basil, to whom had succeeded his son Leo, called the Philosopher. But a strange revolution had already taken place in the Eastern church. The new prince, a personal enemy of Photius, constrained him to retire to a monastery, in order to bestow the patriarchal

See on his own brother, Stephen the Syncellus. The latter wrote to the pope synodical letters, containing vehement declarations against Photius, "the unworthy patriarch," he said, "whom the justice of the prince had driven from the church which he soiled with his crimes."

The holy father replied to him, "It is not astonishing if the eunuch who has so long enjoyed the cross of Christ, is finally driven from the temple, and we partake of the laudable sentiments which you manifest against this execrable layman. We shall not know how yet to confirm your election, as we find the letters of the emperor entirely different from yours. It says that Photius renounced in writing, and of his own accord, the episcopal dignity, in order to embrace a solitary life. If his determination is voluntary, we shall not be able to recognize you as the legitimate bishop; for there exists, according to the canons, a great difference between renouncing a See and being regularly deposed from it.

"We are then in uncertainty as to what has transpired in Constantinople, and we cannot make any decision in this important affair without more certain information. In order to give an equitable judgment, it is necessary that the two parties should present themselves before us by their envoys; we will then pronounce, in the presence of our clergy, the sentence with which God shall inspire us. The Roman church is the model of the other churches, and its decrees should exist eternally."

Stephen, though occupying himself with the disputes of the Orientals, did not lose sight of the West, and laid his plans to extend his sway over the clergy of France. He wrote to Foulk, archbishop of Rheims, to confirm him in his archiepiscopal dignity, and condole with him in the afflictions which the Normans caused him, who for eight years had ravaged the north of Gaul, and descended even to the environs of Rheims and Paris.

Foulk, in his reply, renews his oath of obedience to the Holy See, and devotion to the holy father and all his family, and particularly to Guy, duke of Spoleto, whom the pope had adopted as his son. Finally, after having thanked Stephen for his confirmation of his title to the archbishopric of Rheims, he besought him to command the metropolitans of Sens and Rouen to excommunicate Duke Ermenfroy, who had seized upon a monastery founded by Rampon, the brother of Foulk.

In the following year, the emperor Charles the Fat being dead, the clergy assembled, in conformity with the decree of Adrian the Second, and proceeded to the election of a new monarch. One part of the ecclesiastics recognized as king, Berenger, the son of Everard, duke of Friuli, and another elevated to the throne Guy, the son of Lambert, duke of Spoleto. This latter, aided by the credit and the money of the pope, had the advantage in the wars brought about by this double election, and Berenger, to escape the vengeance

of his competitor, took refuge with Arnold, the sovereign of Germany.

After the death of Charles the Fat, France was parcelled out into several portions, and the chiefs of these small kingdoms, desirous of extending their sway, covered with wars and disasters the powerful empire of Charlemagne.

Boson, who had re-established the kingdom of Provence, under the name of the kingdom of Burgundy, was dead, and had left his crown to his son, aged nine years; but the lords and bishops having refused to recognize the young prince as their sovereign, Bernoin, the metropolitan of Vienne, went himself to Rome to represent to the pope the miserable state of the Gauls, which had no prince sufficiently powerful to restrain the ambitious in their duty and drive off the Normans from the provinces which they ravaged. The pope, touched by the eloquent pleading of the archbishop, consented to crown the young Louis as king of Cisalpine Gaul; and he immediately wrote to the French prelates, that it was his will, that they should declare the heir of the throne of Burgundy, sovereign of all Gaul. The bishops Aurelian of Lyons, Rostaing of Arles, Arnold of Embrun, Bernoin of Vienne, as well as a great number of other prelates, assembled at Valens, and by order of the pontiff, chose and consecrated King Louis, the son of Boson, and Ermengarde, the daughter of the emperor Louis the Second, although this prince was but ten years old; the regency was confided to Richard, duke of Burgundy, the uncle of the young prince.

The troubles which divided Gaul had thrown into confusion the political as well as ecclesiastical affairs, and discord reigned in church and state. For ten years the See of Langres was in deplorable anarchy. After the death of Isaac, its last titular, one party had chosen the deacon Teutbold, and another had named Egilon or Geilon, abbot of Noirmontiers, who, driven from his convent by the Normans, had established himself with his monks in the monastery of Tournus. The latter was consecrated bishop by Aurelian, the metropolitan of Lyons, notwithstanding the opposition of his competitor, and he maintained himself in his diocese until 888, the period of his death. The party of Teutbold then rallied, and proclaimed that deacon bishop of Langres; but another party opposed his nomination, and the venerable Argrim obtained the bishopric, with the approbation of the archbishop Aurelian.

Teutbold, furious at this double check, went to Rome to obtain from the pontiff the confirmation of his nomination to the bishopric of Langres; but Stephen behaved in this affair with laudable moderation. He sent back the deacon to his superior, the metropolitan of Lyons, who was to consecrate him immediately, if his election had been really canonical; at the same time, he prohibited Aurelian from ordaining another bishop for the See of Langres without the previous authority of the Holy See, if the nomination of Teutbold should prove to have been irregular. The pope in-

structed the bishop of Sinigaille, his legate, to inform the archbishop of Lyons of his decision; but the latter refused to follow the instructions of the court of Rome, maintaining that the pope had no right to interfere in the affairs of his diocese. Teutbold then returned to Italy with the decree of his election, and besought the holy father to approve it. Stephen, notwithstanding the insubordination of Aurelian, did not dare to undertake any thing adverse to the rights of the church of Lyons; he wrote anew to the metropolitan to consecrate the deacon Teutbold, or to inform him of the causes of his refusal to do so. The archbishop did not condescend to reply to the pope, but went on, ordaining Argrim bishop of Langres, and put him in possession of his diocese.

The pontiff then addressed the following letter to Foulk of Rheims, "Having received, by authority from St. Peter, power to govern all the churches, and knowing that, according to the canons, he cannot be counted in the number of bishops who has been neither chosen by the clergy nor desired by the people; moved also by the urgent entreaty of the ecclesiastics and citizens of Langres, we have consecrated as chief of their clergy the deacon Teutbold. We then order you, immediately on the receipt of our letters, to go to that city, and place the prelate whom we have appointed, in possession of the bishopric. You will declare at the same time to all the bishops of Gaul, that we have taken this church into our particular care, to punish the metropolitan of Lyons for the tyranny he would exercise over the city of Langres."

Foulk, entirely occupied by the intrigues of Count Eudes, who had been declared king of France, did not execute the orders of the Holy See. He replied, some months after, to excuse himself for not having accomplished the wishes of the court of Rome, that his sovereign, Eudes, had counselled him to defer the execution of it until after the return of his ambassadors from the court of Rome. "Still," added he, "the prince, in whose presence we read your letters, manifested an extreme joy at your determination to preserve the rights and privileges of all the churches inviolably. We also beseech you, most holy father, to address to us in writing your decision upon this question, 'Can our suffragan bishops consecrate a king, or exercise any like prerogative without our authority?'"

This question sufficiently indicated the secret desires of the archbishop of Rheims, who wished to overthrow Eudes, and elevate Guy, his relative, to the throne of France. Besides, the count of Paris was not consecrated king by Foulk, nor any of his suffragans, but by Vautier, the metropolitan of Sens. In his reply, the pontiff caused it to be understood, that the sentiments of the Holy See were opposed to the ambitious views of the archbishop.

Stephen died on the 7th of August, 891, after a reign of six years. We can praise his liberality towards the poor, and his exactitude

in fulfilling the duties of the pontificate, but we must with Heydegger, severely blame the pride of a pope who elevated himself to the same degree of audacity and ambition as his predecessor. We quote, to fortify our opinion, a decree which we find in Gratian, "We must always and invariably bear in mind, that the Roman church has ordained one faith."

Notwithstanding this maxim, the pontiffs have constantly shown themselves in contradiction with their predecessors. After the death of one infallible pope, his successor as infallible himself, accused him of error, schism, idolatry, and anathematized his acts; to be in his turn pronounced by his successor an heretic, a simoniac and an idolater.

## FORMOSUS THE FIRST, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 891.]

*History of Formosus before his pontificate—Irregularity of his election—Letter of Stylien, bishop of Neocæsarea—Reply of Formosus—Disorders in France—Coronation of Charles the Simple—Guy and Lambert emperors—Siege of Rome by Arnold—Arnold crowned emperor by the pope—The new monarch is poisoned—Death of the pontiff.*

FORMOSUS, while legate in Bulgaria, had accumulated immense wealth, by extorting enormous sums from the rude people of that province, thanks to superstition and ignorance.

On his return to Rome he was deposed from the episcopate by John the Eighth, not for the crime of extortion, but for having been accused of having conspired against the life of this pontiff, and the authority of Charles the Bald. It is supposed that the true motive of his condemnation was the opposition he made to the infamous pontiff, in an effort to arrest the disorders of the court of Rome. John employed ecclesiastical censures to extract from this prelate an oath never to return to the episcopate, nor to inhabit the holy city; but Pope Martin freed him from his oath, and re-instated him in his honours and dignities.

After the death of Stephen the Sixth, the faction of the duke of Spoleto, chose Formosus for sovereign pontiff, although he was already bishop of Porto. The party of the count of Toscanella opposed this election, under the pretext that it was contrary to the canons, which prohibited ecclesiastics from abandoning one See to occupy another; and they elevated to the pontificate the priest Sergius, who had no other merit, but an immense fortune. But Guy, king of Italy, having declared for Formosus, he was enthroned in the palace of the Lateran, with the usual ceremonies, notwithstanding the opposition of his enemies, who did not cease to trouble Rome by frequent seditions during the entire duration of his reign.

Some time after his elevation, Formosus received a deputation from Constantinople, which was charged to inform the Holy See of the affair of Photius, as Stephen the Sixth had ordered. A metropolitan and an officer of the emperor were the envoys of the deposed patriarch, and several prelates presented themselves in the name of Stephen the Syncellus. These last placed in the hands of the pontiff a letter from Stylian, bishop of Neocæsarea, and the favourite of the young pontiff. "Most holy father," wrote he, "you

affirm that you have found contradiction between the letter of the emperor and ours. Those who wrote that Photius had renounced the patriarchate, are ecclesiastics who recognized him as a legitimate bishop; but we who have never perceived in this lay eunuch, the least trace of the priesthood, in accordance with the judgment of Popes Nicholas and Adrian, and the decrees of the œcumenical council of Constantinople, we could not write that he had renounced the episcopate. Thus we were much surprised in reading at the commencement of your letter, that Photius was rejected from the church by the authority of Jesus Christ, and by the termination, in which you pledge yourself to judge him as if he were a legitimate bishop.

"We claim your indulgence for those who have recognized this lay eunuch as a bishop, and we ask you to send circular letters to the patriarch of the East, that they may exercise the same charity towards those who have approved of the election of the infamous Photius."

The holy father replied to Stephen the Syncellus, "You ask our pity for the guilty, my brother, and you do not name those for whom you implore it. If it is for a layman, he merits it; if for a priest, you forget that Photius, by ordaining ecclesiastics, could only transmit to them the anathema of his own condemnation, since he has never had the sacerdotal power.

"Our church, soiled by his abominable contact, should be purified by a very severe repentance, if our piety did not listen to the councils of mildness and humanity. It is then necessary, in order to determine the measures which should be taken in this deplorable matter, that you should follow the advice of our legates, the bishops Romain, Landulph of Capua, Theophylactus, the metropolitan of Aneyra, and the deacon Peter, in whom we have placed our confidence. You will convene a synod, at which they will assist, and you will renew in their presence the sentence pronounced against Photius, in order that his

condemnation should be perpetual and irrevocable. You will excommunicate and banish for ever from the ranks of the clergy, the ecclesiastics ordained, promising to them, however, to grant them lay communion, if they shall present to you a writing subscribed with their own hands, in which they shall recognize themselves as guilty, and shall implore pardon for their fault."

About the same time Foulk, the metropolitan of Rheims, wrote to the pope to congratulate him. He testified the joy which he felt in seeing one of the members of his family occupying the chair of St. Peter, adding, that he regarded this event as a striking exemplification of the protection which God granted to the church.

Foulk then represented to the holy father, that several bishops of Gaul demanded the pallium without any claims, and in contempt of the authority of their metropolitan. He complained at seeing that such an honour was granted to them too easily; and to shun the renewal of this abuse, he besought him, in the name of Christianity, not to grant this high distinction except upon general request, in writing, from the archbishops of a province.

In his reply, the pope besought his relative, and the other prelates of Gaul and Germany, to have compassion on the evils of the Roman church, and to aid it with their treasures, to prevent its being ruined by the prodigality of the Italian clergy and the incursions of the infidels. He added, that Rome had ceased for a long time to find any support from the Greek empire, which was incessantly troubled by dangerous heresies, and desolated by new schisms. "In order to decide upon the measures which we should take to re-establish peace in the church," said he, "we have resolved to assemble an œcumenical council in our city, on the first of March, in the year 893; and we order you to come without delay to this synod, to prepare the questions which we shall submit to the learning of the prelates of the assembly. We inform you that we have crowned as emperor of the West, Guy, duke of Spoleto, your relative and ours, whose authority contributed to strengthen our election. We propose also to crown his son Lambert, whom we have adopted as our own."

The legates who bore the letters of the pontiff to the metropolitan of Rheims, convened a council at Vienne by the order of the Holy See. The fathers of that assembly passed several canons against usurpations of the domains of the clergy; against the murders, mutilations, and outrages of which the laity were guilty towards the ecclesiastics. They prohibited seculars from disposing of churches without the consent of the bishops, from receiving a right of investiture over prelates, and from falsifying the deeds of donations which were made to monasteries.

At the beginning of the following year, Foulk, whose hatred for Eudes had even increased since an interview at which his pride had been humbled by that prince, convoked a synod at Rheims, and proclaimed as king

of France, the young Charles, the son of Louis the Stammerer, who was only fourteen years old. The new monarch was crowned by the bishops and lords who were discontented with Eudes. The metropolitan of Rheims immediately informed the pope of the consecration of Charles the Simple.

Formosus, faithful to the policy of his predecessors, endeavoured to produce discord among the French princes, in order to exercise a supreme authority over them, and obtain from their ambition all the advantages which the interests of the Holy See demanded. He wrote to Eudes, prohibiting him from attacking the person or property of the young Charles, until the period of the return of Archbishop Foulk, who had gone to Rome to confer with him on this grave question; and at the same time he ordered the prelates of Gaul to urge upon King Eudes the suspension of hostilities against the son of Louis the Stammerer. He sent, at the same time, to the youthful king a letter of congratulation and a holy cake.

Arnold, sovereign of Germany, informed of the coronation of Charles the Simple, and of the aid granted him by the pope, sent an envoy to the holy father, to complain that he had consecrated a monarch without his authority, and in defiance of the just rights which he had over the whole empire of the Gauls. He threatened to invade France and Italy, and exterminate the people, priests, and princes of those kingdoms, if the court of Rome did not do justice to his complaint. Formosus gave an evasive answer to the envoys of Arnold. He wrote to him, that he owed it to himself to protect the young monarch, who was his relative, and that he ought to defend him against the usurper Eudes, instead of carrying pillage and murder into his estates. He finally finished, by threatening him with the thunders of the church, if he invaded the kingdom of Charles the Simple.

Formosus informed Foulk of the letter which he had written to Arnold, and replied to the metropolitan on the subject of the troubles which were agitating France. He commanded him also to excommunicate Richard, Manasses, and Rampon, who had torn from his See the bishop Teutbold, had cast him into prison after putting out his eyes, and who had finally dared to depose from the episcopate the metropolitan of Sens, as a punishment for having reproached them with their cruelties.

The pope then had some difficulty with the emperor Guy, in relation to a domain which the prince wished to take away from the duchy of Rome, and Formosus, who had until now manifested an inviolable attachment for the prince, his relative, turned against him, declared him deprived of the throne, and named as emperor, Berenger, duke of Friuli. This lord, who was engaged in a war with the Hungarians, having refused aid to the holy father, Formosus, in order to place himself beyond the reach of the vengeance of the dukes of Spoleto, who threatened Rome with

their arms, called Arnold into Italy, promising to give him the empire.

The ambitious king of Germany immediately passed the Alps at the head of a numerous army, and marched right on Rome; but the faction of Sergius, aided by the authority of Lambert, was in power in the city, and they refused to open the gates to the German soldiers. Arnold attacked the city Leonine, which, being garrisoned by veteran troops, offered him an active resistance. His army was repulsed, after leaving a great number of dead on the field. Still the siege was continued, and the prince built entrenchments around it.

A singular event soon rendered him master of the city. Whilst the soldiers were occupied in digging ditches, a rabbit started from its burrow, and ran frightened into the midst of the workmen. The latter pursued it with shouts up to the walls of Rome. The citizens who guarded the ramparts, thinking that the assault was commenced, abandoned their posts, and immediately spread the alarm through all quarters of the city. Arnold having been informed of this panic, judged the moment to be favourable. He advanced with

his army, scaled the walls, and took possession of Rome, without striking a blow. He then went to the church of St. Peter, where the pope crowned him emperor.

At the entreaty of Formosus, and under pretence of punishing the outrage committed to religion by the factious, the new emperor put to death the principal citizens of the holy city.

These cruelties called for the vengeance of the people! A generous citizen resolved to deliver the nation from this tyrant. He clothed himself in the royal livery, became admitted among the valets of Arnold, and administered to him a poisoned drink, which rendered him dull and paralytic, slowly consumed his bowels, and caused him to die after three years of horrible sufferings, and almost entirely eaten up by worms.

Formosus did not long enjoy his triumph over Lambert. He died at the age of eighty years, after having put to death, in his quarrels, one half of the population of Rome. He was interred on the 7th of April, 896. Mabilon affirms that this pontiff was a model of all Christian virtues; that he had never committed an excess at the table, and that his whole life was passed in virginal continence.

## BONIFACE THE SIXTH, ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 896.]

*Election of Boniface—Cardinal Baronius calls him an infamous wretch—Uncertainty among historians as to his expulsion from the Holy See—Versions of his death.*

THE funeral rites of Formosus were not yet over, when already the party of Sergius had again seized upon the power in Rome, and was occupied in placing on the throne of St. Peter a pope of its choice.

Boniface, a Tuscan by birth, and the son of Adrian, showed himself one of the most ardent competitors. Protected by Lambert, whose creature he was, he scattered his gold with a bountiful hand among the people. He was prodigal of promises to the grandees and clergy, and was proclaimed pope, though he had been driven from the diaconate for the crimes of adultery and murder. He was enthroned under the name of Boniface the Sixth.

He did not, however, remain for a long time the possessor of the Holy See. Stephen, bishop of Anagnia, who was also intriguing for the chair of St. Peter, caused him to be poisoned. Such is the version of the most reliable historians in regard to Boniface the Sixth.

Cardinal Baronius, who calls him an infamous wretch, affirms that he died of gout, a cruel malady, caused by his excesses at the table. Be the cause of his death what it might, after a reign of fifteen days, he left the Holy See to a priest, who was worthy to cover his head with the dishonoured tiara of the pontiffs of Rome.

This prince will call himself the prince of princes, the Lord of lords, the king of bishops, the judge of all mortals. His flatterers will maintain that, by virtue of the plenitude of his power, he can change the nature of things; make right wrong, wrong right, under the pretext that he is above and beyond the right, because he is the cause of causes. They will affirm that we cannot seek for the origin of his power, maintaining that it is absurd to wish to assign a cause to the first cause, and that no one, without being heretical and damned, can say to him, "Why do you so?"

The courtiers and flatterers of this priest will push their baseness so far as to proclaim that his will and his caprices are in the place of laws; that all mortals should bend in the dust, humiliate themselves before him, and blindly obey whatever he commands. They will even establish as a principle and article of faith, that the pope is infallible; that he can neither sin nor be deceived; that all which is done in his name, emanates from the will of God; that his order should be considered as the orders of the Divinity, whose place he holds upon earth; and finally, that he is God himself.

## STEPHEN THE SEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 897.]

*Scandalous election of Stephen—The new pontiff causes the dead body of Formosus to be brought before a council—Sacriligious condemnation of the dead—The ordinations of Formosus declared null by Stephen the Seventh—Death of the pontiff—Character of the ninth century, called by the historians the age of ignorance.*

PLATINUS relates, that in the ninth century the pontificate had become the object of all ambition, the aim of all intrigues, and that it was bought with gold or with blood. Stephen the Seventh, the most adroit and corrupt of the claimants, was declared bishop of Rome. He was the son of a priest named John, and a courtesan. He did not disgrace his origin; and in the whole course of his reign he showed himself to be debauched, vindictive and cruel.

He was scarcely seated on the throne, when he trampled divine and human laws beneath his feet. With the rage of a demon, he caused the dead body of his predecessor, Formosus, to be exhumed, to punish him for having usurped the supreme dignity to his detriment. By his orders, the Latin bishops assembled in council, and there, in the midst of the convention, the dead body of Formosus was placed in the pontifical seat, the tiara on its head, the pastoral baton in its hand, and clothed with the sacerdotal ornaments; then an advocate was given to it to defend it! Shocking derision!

Stephen interrogated Formosus in these terms:—"Bishop of Porto, why hast thou pushed thy ambition so far as to usurp the See of Rome, in defiance of the sacred canons, which forbade this infamous action?" The advocate who answered for Formosus, confessed himself guilty of the greatest crimes.

The holy father then pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against the bishop of Porto; and having approached the pontifical seat, he gave a blow to the dead body which made it roll down at his feet. He himself then despoiled it of all the sacerdotal vestments, cut off three fingers from the right hand, and finally ordered the executioner to cut off the head, and cast the dead body into the Tiber.

Luitprand affirms, that some fishermen having found these sacred remains upon the banks of the stream, carried them secretly to the church of St. Peter, and that the images of the saints before which they passed, all bowed before the relics of Formosus. If we put faith in miracles, as the church orders us, we must confess that paintings and statues have entirely lost the custom of politeness.

The cardinal Baronius, the defender of the infallibility of the Holy See, by one of those contradictions of which he offers us so many examples, after having blackened the memory of Boniface, has wished to justify the conduct of Stephen. He contends that the condemna-

tion of Stephen was not contrary to the Christian faith, nor heterodox; but the venerable Crantz testifies, in the most energetic terms, his indignation against the adorer of the popes. "How does Baronius dare to sustain an action so horrible and so execrable as an emanation from an infallible being? Is it possible that the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, could animate the sacriligious pontiffs who governed Rome; those infamous priests, who were drunkards, madmen, furious, robbers, and murderers? No; it is repugnant to the reason of man to believe that God could have chosen as his representatives in this world, monsters who dishonour humanity."

After having mutilated the dead body of Formosus, Stephen introduced into the convention all the ecclesiastics whom that pontiff had ordained. Their consecration was declared null, and they were ordained anew. Arnold was deposed from the dignity of emperor, and Lambert, Duke of Spoleto, was declared emperor of the West.

But this abominable priest soon received chastisement for all his crimes. A conspiracy was formed against him; he was hurled from his throne and plunged into a prison, and finally strangled with the shreds of his dalmatics, on the 2d of May, 897.

Stephen the Seventh was so ignorant, that he scarcely knew how to sign his name: he was ignorant of even the first elements of religion; and his depravity was pushed to such an excess, that he even surpassed John the Eighth in his monstrous debaucheries.

Baronius, notwithstanding his devotion to the Holy See, avows that the ninth century was a time of desolation for the church. "Never," says he, "had divisions, civil wars, the persecutions of pagans, heretics, and schismatics caused it to suffer so much as the monsters who installed themselves on the throne of Christ by simony and murders. The Roman church was transformed into a shameless courtesan, covered with silks and precious stones, which publicly prostituted itself for gold; the palace of the Lateran was become a disgraceful tavern, in which ecclesiastics of all nations disputed with harlots the price of infamy.

"Never did priests, and especially popes, commit so many adulteries, rapes, incests, robberies, and murders; and never was the ignorance of the clergy so great, as during this deplorable period. Christ was then assuredly sleeping a profound sleep in the bottom of his

vessel, whilst the winds buffeted it on all sides, and covered it with the waves of the sea. And, what was more unfortunate still, the disciples of the Lord slept more profoundly than he, and could not awaken him either by their cries or their clamours. Thus the tempest of abomination fastened itself on the church, and offered to the inspection of men the most horrid spectacle! The canons of councils, the

creed of the apostles, the faith of Nice, the old traditions, the sacred rites, were buried in the abyss of oblivion, and the most unbridled dissoluteness, ferocious despotism, and insatiable ambition usurped their place. Who could call legitimate pontiffs the intruders who seated themselves on the chair of the apostles, and what must have been the cardinals selected by such monsters?''

## THE TENTH CENTURY.

### ROMANUS, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH POPE.

*Election of Romanus—Reflections on the popes—Character of the tenth century—The thirty pontiffs of that century denounced by all historians—Reign and death of Romanus.*

AFTER the death of Stephen the Sixth, Romanus Galleus was elected to the Holy See. On the day succeeding his election he erased the decrees which his predecessor had made against Formosus, for it appears as if the popes of that period were driven on by an infernal spirit, which induced them to efface from the memory of men the actions of their predecessors.

This principle of obscurity is the basis of the spirit of the church, and the priests have always wished to destroy the past, in order to govern the present, and lord it over the future. Platinus affirms, that envy and fear alone have driven on the clergy to put out the lights of information; and that pontiffs, defiled with every vice, have plunged men into the shades of ignorance, to prevent the recital of their crimes from being transmitted to posterity.

In fact, the tenth century is the most fertile in disasters and calamities! Monsters, unworthy of the name of man, governed empires. Never was ignorance so profound; and the cardinal Baronius himself exclaims—"The tenth century should be called the age of iron, on account of the innumerable evils with

which it was filled; the age of lead, on account of the tyranny of popes and kings, and the age of obscurity, on account of the sterility of literature and science!''

Before arriving at the history of this deplorable period, we should warn our readers, that scandals and abominations will fill the reigns of the Roman pontiffs; that the churches of Christ will become places of prostitution; that courtezans will dispose of the keys of Heaven; that bishops and popes will prostrate themselves at their knees; and that, during more than two centuries, incestuous and pedantic priests will soil the steps of the altar! Finally, fifty pontiffs, apostates, murderers and wantons are about to occupy the chair of St. Peter!

And nature, as if she wished to leave a strange remembrance of that period, gave birth to a monster with the head of a lion, and a human body. Platinus, Genebrard, Stella, Baronius, in their writings, call the pontiffs of that age simoniacal priests, magicians, sodomites, tyrants, robbers, and assassins.

Romanus preserved his rank among those execrable popes, though he only occupied the Holy See for four months.

### THEODORE THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 898.]

*Election of Theodore—He recalls the bishops who had been ordained by Formosus—His death, after a pontificate of twenty days—Nicholas the Mystic.*

THE successor of Romanus was called Theodore. He was born at Rome, and was the son of Photius. His first act of authority was to recall the bishops who had been driven from their sees by Stephen. He reinstated the priests who had been ordained by Formosus, in the exercise of their sacerdotal functions,

and encouraged the interests of the seditious, in order to elevate the sovereignty of Rome above the crown of France. After a reign of twenty days, death arrested the execution of his ambitious projects.

Some authors affirm that he was sober, chaste, and liberal to the poor; but a pontificate

so soon terminated does not permit us to pass a serious judgment on the character of Theodore.

The See of Constantinople being vacant, Nicholas, the secretary of the emperor Leo the philosopher, was elevated to the dignity of patriarch, in recompense for the submission which he had constantly shown to his master in the exercise of his charge. A powerful motive determined the prince to make this choice. Up to this time he had no heir, though he had been married three times. His third wife being dead, he had married a fourth, but secretly, as fourth marriages were prohibited in the Greek church, and he had himself ordained by an express decree, that the penalties inflicted by the canons on this subject, should be punctually executed.

His fourth wife, named Zoe, having, however, given birth to a son, the interests of his dynasty demanded that his marriage should

be declared legitimate, and he counted upon the compliance of Nicholas the mystic, in arranging this affair. He soon learned that he had done wrong in placing his hopes on the new prelate; for the latter, who found himself elevated to the highest dignity of the empire, and who had nothing more to expect from his sovereign, declared, that he not only did not approve of the marriage of Leo and Zoe, but that he would refuse to baptize the son of this criminal union, unless the emperor would bind himself by oath to dismiss the mother. The prince, fearful of some outbreak among the clergy and people, resolved to elude the decision of Nicholas. He obeyed the patriarch, exiled his wife, and had his son baptized; but three days afterwards he recalled Zoe to his court, caused her to be recognized as empress, and publicly celebrated his marriage without employing the ministry of the priests.

## JOHN THE NINTH, ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 898.]

*John the Ninth and Sergius dispute the pontifical chair—John re-instates the memory of Formosus—Council of Rome—The pope condemns the council before which Pope Stephen brought the dead body of Formosus—John orders a levy of tithes—Re-installation of Argrim, bishop of Langres—Letters from the bishops of Bavaria—The pontiff extends the influence of the Holy See over the kingdoms of Spain—Louis, king of Provence, is proclaimed emperor of Italy—Death of John the Ninth—Fanaticism of the converters.*

AFTER the death of Theodore, the Romans were divided in the choice of a new pontiff. The priest Sergius, who had for a long time been occupied in intriguing for the episcopal throne, was chosen by a minority, but the opposing cabal gave the papacy to the son of Rampaldus, John the Ninth, born at Tibur, and drove his competitor from the city of Rome. Sergius then retired into Tuscany, under the protection of the marquis Adalbert.

John, remaining sole master of the power, undertook to re-instate the memory of Formosus, and, notwithstanding the clamours of the people, he erased the decrees of the infamous Stephen. This act of equity exasperated the clergy. The priests placed themselves at the head of an infuriate multitude, and besieged the pontiff in his palace; but after some sharp combats, victory remained with John the Ninth.

The emperor Arnold, having left Italy in 896, and Guy having died the same year, Berenger, duke of Friuli, found himself the most powerful of the Italian lords. He constrained the pope to bestow on him the imperial crown, but scarcely had he left Rome, when the pontiff called in Lambert, the son of Guy, to consecrate him emperor of the West.

To give a more imposing character to his decisions, the holy father convoked a council at Rome, and in the presence of the bishops, read a long article upon the misfortunes of Christianity, indicating the means to be taken to bring back peace to the church.

After the reading of this, the fathers declared that as they had no business to occupy themselves with temporal affairs, they should proceed; but the bishop of Aneza, who had been gained by the pope, maintained on the contrary, that they should deliberate during the session, on the propositions contained in the memorial. The bishop of Albano, he of Turin, and several others sustained the motion, and called for the reading of the proceedings of the council which had been held under Theodore.

They declared that it was permitted by the canons to re-instate the memory of a pope unjustly condemned, and to take back the property of which he had been despoiled, and in consequence thereof, the decrees of the council at which the dead body of Formosus had been accused of perjury, were submitted to the convention, and his accusers, Peter, Pascal, and Sylvester were excommunicated. These last requested that the sentence of their judgment should be put off until the next day. John the Ninth yielded to their entreaties, and in the mean time, their presents softened the severity of the pontiff, who consented to receive them into the bosom of the church, on condition that they should implore his pity.

The twelve articles decreed by the fathers, were then published, the following is their substance: "We entirely reject the council held by the pontiff Stephen, and we condemn as baneful to religion, the convention by which

the dead body of Formosus was torn from its sepulchre, judged, and dragged through the streets of Rome; a sacrilegious act, until that time unknown among Christians. . . . The bishops who assisted at this judgment, having implored our pardon, and protested that fear alone forced them into this horrible synod, we have used indulgence in their behalf; but we prohibit the pontiffs, our successors, from hindering in future, liberty of deliberation, and from doing any violence to the clergy.

"The mortal remains of Formosus shall be transferred from the church of Porto, to the Holy Apostolic See, on account of his merit; but the honours which we render to our predecessors, must not establish a precedent against the canons, which prohibit inhumations in the pontifical church.

"We also prohibit clergy, who shall have been deposed in a council, and who shall not have been canonically re-instated, from being promoted to a higher station, as was done in the election of Boniface, previously deposed from the subdeaconate, and then from the priesthood. If any one shall dare to contravene this rule, we declare him labouring under the anathema of the Holy See.

"We also condemn re-ordinations and baptisms.

"The unction of the holy oil which was given to our spiritual son, the emperor Lambert, is confirmed; but we deprive of all virtue that which Berenger forced from us.

"The proceedings of the conventions which we have censured shall be burned; Sergius, Benedict, and Marin can no longer be regarded as ecclesiastics, unless they live in penitence. We declare them separated from the communion of the faithful, as well as all those who violated the sepulchre of Formosus, and who dragged his dead body into the Tiber.

"The holy Roman church suffers great violence on the death of a pope. Disorders attend the elections which are made to the insult of the emperor, and without waiting, as the canons ordain, the presence of the imperial commissioners. We order that in future, the pontiffs be elected in a convention of the bishops, at the request of the senate and the people, and under the auspices of the prince; and we prohibit the exaction from him of oaths which usage shall not have consecrated.

"The times have introduced a detestable custom. On the death of a pontiff, the patriarchal palace is pillaged, and the pillage extends through the whole city; episcopal mansions even are treated in the same way on the death of bishops. It is our will that this custom should cease. Ecclesiastical censures and the indignation of the emperor, will punish those who shall brave our prohibition.

"We also condemn the usage of selling secular justice; if, for example, prostitutes are found in a house belonging to a priest, judges or their officers drag them from it with scandal, and maltreat them until they are ransomed by their masters, in order to acquire the right of prostitution. . . ."

This custom was perhaps the remains of

an ancient usage, abolished by the emperor Theodosius, and which served as a punishment for women taken in adultery. Besides, we know that the Roman dames had permission to prostitute themselves, provided they declared before the edile, that they wished to become courtezans: those, however, who had as a grandfather, father, or husband, a Roman knight, could not avail themselves of this permission.

The council of Rome being terminated, John the Ninth went to Ravenna, where he presided over a new assembly of bishops, under the protection of the emperor Lambert.

We report one of the decrees which was made in relation to Peter's pence, always an important matter with the clergy. "If any one refuses to submit to the canons and capitularies of the emperors, Charlemagne, Louis, and Lothaire his son, in matters concerning the tithes, he shall be driven out from the communion of the faithful."

Lambert bound himself by oath to preserve the privileges of the clergy, and promised to punish the brigands and incendiaries who desolated the territory of the pontiff.

John was also occupied with the affair of Argrim, the bishop of Langres, who had been ordained by the archbishop of Lyons, and was afterwards deposed by the monarch. The pope, solicited by the French clergy, appeared to desire this re-installation, and he wrote with his own hand to King Charles to obtain it.

During the same year, (900,) the emperor Arnold died; the nobles of Germany then assembled at Forcheim, and recognized as their king the young Louis, his son, who was but seven years old. The bishops informed the pontiff of it by a letter written in the name of Halten, archbishop of Mayence, and signed by all his suffragans. Some passages of this letter are remarkable:—"We hesitated for some time, in the choice of a prince," said they; "but we feared lest the kingdom should soon be divided by factions; we, therefore, with one voice, have brought to the throne the descendant of our kings.

"By this election we have maintained the ancient custom, in accordance with which, the Frank kings always come of the same race. If we have acted without waiting for your sacred orders, it is because the Pagans, who live between us, stop our ambassadors; we beseech you now to confirm that which we have done. . . ."

"Our brothers, the bishops of Bavaria, have asked from us assistance against the Moravians; they complain of having been falsely accused of maintaining relations with idolatry, and they beseech us to implore your benediction upon them, and to ask from you aid to repress the insolence of the Slavi."

The bishops of Bavaria also wrote to the pope several letters, which bear at their head the names of Thomas, archbishop of Saltzburg, and some other prelates; they afford to us an exact knowledge of the manners of the times, the spirit of the clergy, and the barbarity of the people. "We cannot believe," they wrote,

"that there emanates from the Holy See any thought or any action contrary to Divine justice; still our enemies daily proclaim it, and offer to furnish us with irrefutable proofs of it. The Moravians affirm that through the means of money, they have obtained from you the nomination of the archbishop John, and the bishops Daniel and Benedict. Since that time, these people, who had always been under our authority, in their spiritual and temporal affairs, refuse to be governed by us. Our courts can no longer exercise their jurisdiction in that country, and the tribute heretofore collected without difficulty, is no longer brought to our cities. The Moravians are even estranged from Christianity, and their boldness has increased to such an extent, that they dare to make war on us, and compel us to conceal ourselves within our walls.

"The Slavian bishops, who have free access to your legates, have brought calumnies against us, and have accused us of being divided in our interests and thoughts, from the Germans and French. Let your holiness be careful not to be surprised by these bad Christians. Our young king, is, on the contrary, the worthy successor of his ancestors, and wishes to be the zealous protector of the Roman church. It is false that we have made an alliance with the Hungarians, to the prejudice of religion, or that we have taken oaths, swearing by the wolf or the dog, and that we have submitted to abominable ceremonies.

"God, who knows all things, would receive the oath of our innocence, if we were before you, who occupy his place on the earth. It is true that the Hungarians persecute without relaxation the people of the remote provinces, and that we have been compelled to buy the quiet of our brethren, not by giving to them gold, but by furnishing to them clothing and linen.

"The Moravians alone are guilty of the crimes which they impute to us, for they have placed in their ranks a great number of Hungarians, and after having shaved their heads to disguise them, have sent them against us with their soldiers. Our country has been ravaged, and men massacred; those who have been spared have been thrown into dungeons and finished their lives by famine; the dwellings of noblemen and women had been given to the flames, and all the churches have been sacked. Pannonia, which is a Christian province, has been devastated three times by their ferocious bands, and the bishops whom you have sent to us, will tell you, how many days they have traversed the country, finding it a desert. Heaven is our witness of all the efforts we have made to obtain peace from the Hungarians, when they invaded Italy; and twice the Moravians accuse us of having paid these barbarous hordes, which is the most execrable calumny our enemies have been able to invent. We have even offered to forget the past and to exchange our prisoners, in order to be able to defend the property of the Holy See; but they have refused, in order to prevent us from giving this brilliant proof of our submission."

This letter terminates in these words: "I, Theodmar, archbishop, who have charge of the patrimony of St. Peter, and who levy upon the people the tithes which you have ordered, have not been able, from the hindrance of the Pagans, as yet to bring or to send to you the money which is due to you; but by the grace of God, as soon as Italy is delivered, the days shall not accumulate, before it is placed in your hands."

John the Ninth, after the example of his predecessors, interfered in the affairs of the Eastern church; but the interests of Christianity occupied less of his attention than his own private ambitious views. The popes have always concealed their pretensions under the specious pretext of the glory of the church, and the people have not known how to guard against the system of hypocrisy pursued by the court of Rome, not to allow themselves to be seduced by the deceitful appearances of exterior piety.

On examining attentively the letter which the sovereign pontiff addressed to Stylien, bishop of Neocesarea, we will discover his purpose in bestowing so great eulogiums on this bishop, who had steadily opposed the schism of Photius. "We wish," wrote John the Ninth, "that the decrees of the popes should remain inviolable; and it is, therefore, that we reject Stephen, Anthony, Ignatius, and Photius from our communion, and we grant it to those who observe this rule."

Alphonso the Third, who reigned over a part of Spain, having fortified the city of Oviedo, his capital, engaged in building a magnificent church in honor of St. James of Compostella. When the work was done, he sent to Rome an embassy composed of two priests Severus and Sinderedus, and a layman named Rinaldo, to obtain from the pontiff the consecration of his new cathedral. John consented to erect the church of Oviedo into a metropolitan See, and he authorized the king to hold a council. His letter concluded thus, "We are afflicted like you, by the presence of Pagans, and we combat day and night with them. With this religious interest, we shall ask from your clemency, good Arabian horses and arms . . ."

In accordance with the authority granted by the holy father, Alphonso dedicated the church of St. James of Compostella, with great solemnity, and he held, on the 29th of November following, a synod to nominate an archbishop to the See of Tarragona. This convention chose the abbot Cæsar, but the metropolitan of Narbonne having opposed his installation, Cæsar appealed to the pontifical See, and his election was canonically confirmed.

In the year 900, Louis, the son of Boson, the king of Provence, was called into Italy a second time by the Roman lords, and brought with him a numerous army. John the Ninth granted to him the title of king of Italy and emperor of the West, but with the promise that this prince would preserve to the apostolic chair, the privileges which the kings of France had granted to the pontiffs of Rome.

According to the opinion of historians, John the Ninth died towards the year 900, without having, says Platinus, done any thing which was worthy of memory. We will add, that he excited the religious quarrels which had been for a long time quieted; that he pur-

chased the conversion of the Normans with the treasures of the people, and that he never forgot the dues of the church. Le Sueur and Cardinal Baronius eulogize him by saying, that he was the best of the bad popes.

## BENEDICT THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 901.]

*Hideous picture of the corruption of the pontiffs—Election of Benedict—The priests abandon themselves to all kinds of debauchery—The churches become places of prostitution—Death of the pope.*

IT is certain that the vacancy in the Holy See, after the death of John, was not of long duration; still it would be difficult to fix its time. The new pontiff was a Roman, the son of Mumolus and of noble birth. Some authors speak of his love for the public good, and of his liberality towards the poor; but Platinus assures us, that in these unfortunate times, in which reason and virtue were entirely banished from the church, it was not possible to find a pontiff worthy to fill the chair of St. Peter.

This historian thus expresses himself on this deplorable falling away from apostolical purity. "The majesty of the sovereign pontificate was established," he says, "by the holiness of morals, and the purity of Christian doctrine, two things which are acquired by great labour and without the aid of riches. But scarcely was luxury introduced into the temple of God, when the priests, abandoning the regularity of their lives, delivered themselves up to pleasure, and went to sleep in the arms of corruption. Finally, the chair of humility and chastity, became the end of all ambition, the recompense of all crimes, the refuge of all abominations."

What must we think of the infallibility of the popes, on reading these accusations of irreproachable veracity? And shall we be able to believe that the apostolical succession of the bishops of Rome has always been blessed by God?

As soon as Benedict was seated on the Holy See, he received a deputation sent by Argrim, who was not yet re-installed in the bishopric of Langres. This prelate explained to the pope, that after the death of Geilon, he had been elected by the clergy and the people, and canonically consecrated by his metropolitan, Aurelian, archbishop of Lyons, assisted by his suffragans and by Bernonin, primate of Vienne; he added, that after having governed his church for ten years and three months, a faction had driven him from it during the reign of the emperor Guy, and that in his absence, great disorders had been introduced into the diocese. That for a long

time, they had no longer consecrated the holy oil; that children remained without confirmation, and that the episcopal functions were no longer exercised in his province.

Benedict, not wishing to decide of his own private authority, on an affair so important, assembled a council in the palace of the Lateran, at which it was decided that Argrim should be maintained in the See of Langres, and that a letter should be addressed to the bishops of Gaul, to the king and the lords, to confirm the consecration that the prelate had already received from Pope Formosus. After many vicissitudes, the holy bishop was finally enabled to govern his people until 911, the period at which he became a monk.

Soon after, towards the end of the year 903, death struck the head of the Latin church.

The speech of Edgar, the King of England, to the bishops of his kingdom, will give us an exact picture of the disorders of the pontiffs. "We see in Rome but debauchery, dissolution, drunkenness, and impurity," said the monarch; "the houses of the priests have become the shameful retreats of prostitutes, jugglers, and sodomites; they gamble by night and day in the residence of the pope. Bacchanalian songs, lascivious dances, and the debauchery of a Messalina, have taken the place of fasting and prayers. Is it then thus, infamous priests, that you dissipate the patrimony of the poor, the alms of princes, or rather the price of the blood of Christ?" This precious document has been preserved for us, by Aled, abbot of Rhiensal.

Stella also addresses severe reproaches to the bishops of the tenth century; he accuses them of having opened to the monks, the colleges which belonged to the priests, and of having given them the means of enlarging their treasures, and increasing their formidable influence over the people.

This epoch, he adds, gave birth to no heresy, because the impious could conceal themselves in the depths of a cloister, where they led with impunity a licentious life, abandoning themselves to all kinds of debauchery. Religion was no longer practised in any place

on the earth; the sacraments were not administered; holy things were forgotten; and priests and people, lords and kings, were all addicted to magic: iniquity was at its height.

Glabert Rudolphe, who assisted at the saturnalia of this impious age, thus expresses himself in his biblical language: "The ancient Leviathan conceived the hope, that the overflowing of the waters of the Jordan would fill his stream; I would say that the multitude of baptized Christians are precipitating themselves into hell, through avarice, impurity, crime, and falsehood." In fact, corruption,

cupidity, violence and cruelty, had been pushed to such a degree among the priests—thanks to the example of the heads of the church—that it was no longer possible to distinguish ecclesiastics from secular lords. All were abandoned, without shame, to an unbridled ambition, an insatiable avarice; they gave themselves up to the enjoyment of luxury and pleasure, or to the charms of the table, and expended in their orgies with courtezans the money of the poor and of the altar. Society, thanks to them, soon found itself plunged in the most profound brutishness, and the most frightful corruption.

## LEO THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 903.]

*Sergius still disputes the See of Rome—Election of Leo—Christopher drives off the new pontiff—Death of Leo—Death of Alfred the Great.*

AFTER the death of Benedict the Fourth, the marquisses of Tuscany made new efforts to place their relative, Sergius, on the pontifical throne. They failed in their efforts, and the Romans, from their hatred of the unworthy minister whom they wished to impose on them, hastened to choose a venerable priest, who was enthroned under the name of Leo the Fifth.

This holy man being incapable of governing the church, could not maintain himself in power, and was soon overthrown by an ambitious person named Christopher, whom he had brought up in his own house.

This monster dethroned his benefactor, and cast him into a prison, where he caused him to be strangled. This cruelty confirms the sentence of Theocritus: "If you cherish wolves, they will eat you."

Whilst the Roman church was given up to the most deplorable anarchy, King Alfred the Great was achieving his glorious reign, and left to his son, Edward the First, the monarchy of Great Britain, which his grandfather and father had bequeathed to him. All his historians agree in passing the greatest eulogies on this prince, and in calling him the regenerator of England. He established at Oxford the schools, which were the origin of the celebrated university of that city; he paid attention to his marine, and the internal administration of the kingdom; he published a collection of laws which served, at a later

period, for the basis of a code of equity, and of British legislation. He was an ardent protector of the arts and sciences, and called around him learned strangers to aid him in plucking his people from the barbarism in which they were plunged. He wrote himself, and translated into Saxon for the use of his subjects, the ecclesiastical history of Bede, the pastoral of St. Gregory, and the consolations of Boëce; but he carefully guarded against constraining the consciences of men, and placed all his glory in converting them through the example of his virtues.

Voltaire has said of him: "I do not know that there was ever on earth a prince more worthy of the respect of posterity than Alfred the Great; history reproaches him with neither faults nor weaknesses, and places him in the ranks of heroes who were useful to the human race; that is to say, it counts him among the extraordinary men, who have aided their cotemporaries to come forth from a state of barbarism." To this eulogy of the illustrious writer we will add, that the English sovereign was really greater than Charlemagne, the regenerator of letters in France, because he contented himself with being the father of his people, whilst the French monarch wished to add to the real titles which he had to the admiration of posterity, those of a conqueror, the founder of despotism in the West, and the protector of the popes.

## CHRISTOPHER THE FIRST, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 904.]

*Christopher seizes on the Holy See—Sergius in his turn overthrows the new pontiff, who is finally condemned to die by starvation.*

WE cannot place political ambition and its train of assassination, poisoning, and massacre in a parallel with religious ambition, for the atrocity of the crimes which they have caused, and the greatness of the evils they have drawn upon the people. In the one, brute force plays the principal part; in the other, craft and treason come to the aid of material force.

Despots are content with ruling over people and of robbing them of their wealth, and their power stops with the repression of visible acts. Death is a refuge always ready, always assured against tyranny. But it is not so with religious authority; the priests wish to oppress in this world, and to pursue their victims even beyond the tomb. They wish to reign over the thoughts, to govern the convictions, to arrogate to themselves the power of commanding souls; and they exact that men, whether living or dead, should submit to their detestable omnipotence.

The history of the church at this period is full of facts which demonstrate how ardent is this thirst for power among ecclesiastics, and to what excesses they will go to satisfy their ambition. When a priest has fixed upon an end, and that end is authority, all the means of arriving at it are proper. If he meets with

obstacles, he tramples on them or breaks them down; justice, honour, morality, are for him words of no value; good faith is duperly, the devotedness of madness, and probity a crime. Relatives, friends, men or women, he sacrifices all; deceives or corrupts all who surround him.

It was by putting openly into practice these abominable doctrines, that Christopher the Roman elevated himself to the Holy See; but the means which gave him power were employed by the infamous Sergius, who had for a long time aspired to the apostolic chair, to overthrow him.

Christopher was torn from the apostolic chair and confined in a monastery. Afterwards, as his ambition and his menaces quieted his successor, he was taken from the sacred asylum of the cloister, and plunged into a horrid dungeon, in which he was condemned to die of famine.

In the midst of all these revolutions in the palace, the ambitious and usurping maxims of the court of Rome still pursued their way, and became, according to circumstances, more and more exacting. Thus we shall see the sacred influence of the See of Rome fortifying itself by political influence, in order to strengthen that immense net in which it will enclose people and kings.

## SERGIUS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 905.]

*The enthronement of Sergius—He re-instates the memory of Stephen, and declares Formosus an infamous and sacrilegious pontiff—Reflections of the cardinal Baronius—Adulteries of Pope Sergius with the infamous courtesan Marozia—Church of Constantinople—Founding the abbey of Cluny—Church of Bremen—Death of Sergius—Reflections on the shameful vices of the pontiffs.*

THE ambitious Sergius, at length master of the pontifical chair, the object of his desire, no longer placed a rein on his vices. After the death of Theodore the Second, he had been already once nominated as pope, and was then driven from the Holy See. After seven years of exile, the faction which had placed the tiara on his brow recalled him to Rome, in order that he might a second time employ the intrigues and means of corruption which were usual in order to seize on the throne of the church.

With Sergius, the vindictive spirit of the priest, the lubricity of the monk, and the violence of the fanatic, were placed on the throne of St. Peter. This pope, regarding John the Ninth and the three popes who had preceded him as usurpers, erased all their acts, and spoke out against the memory of Formosus.

In a council composed of his slaves, he approved of the proceedings of Stephen the Seventh. He caused the body of that pontiff to be transferred into the apostolic residence, in contempt of the canons, and he engraved

on his tomb a laudatory and lying epitaph. Formosus, on the other hand, was solemnly declared to be a sacrilegious pope, and his memory was anathematized.

Cardinal Baronius, whose pen has too often flattered the Holy See, is indignant at this strange scandal. "He is a wretch," says he, "worthy of the rope and of fire: the brazen bull of Phalaris, with his sides heated by the flames, could not have caused this execrable monster to suffer the punishments which he merited. It is impossible to believe that such a pope was a lawful one."

Sergius, however, sustained by the arms of Adalbert, marquis of Tuscany, and supported by Charles the Simple, who hated the party of Formosus, reigned in Rome, and caused his enemies to tremble.

The holy city was then governed by a famous courtesan, named Theodora, who had been put in possession of the castle of the city by Adalbert, marquis of Tuscany, her paramour. She had two daughters, whose debaucheries even surpassed those of their mother. The eldest, named Marozia, of a wondrous beauty, became in her turn the mistress of Adalbert, and had by him a son named Alberic. She then surrendered herself to Pope Sergius, and from this infamous connection sprang the children whom we shall see become popes in their turn, and who will continue these monstrous incests with their mother Marozia for three generations.

The last marriage of the emperor, Leo the Philosopher, had incurred the blame of the clergy, and caused a great division in the Eastern church, in consequence of the obstinacy of the patriarch Nicholas, who, condemning third and fourth marriages, wished to prohibit the monarch from entering the churches. The prince at first condescended to entreat the patriarch to withdraw this prohibition; but at length, tired of entreaties, he resolved to punish his temerity. Nicholas was driven from his See and sent into exile, and Enthy-mius, the Syncellus, a man of rare piety, consecrated in his stead.

To render this change regular, the emperor wrote to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and to Pope Sergius, and requested them to examine into the canonical validity of his marriage. They, intimidated by the firmness of Leo, sent legates to Constantinople to instruct the people, that the marriage of the prince was not condemnable by the Christian religion, and that the canons were only obligatory on the private citizens.

At the same period, Gaul saw built the abbey of Cluny, which has given so many great men to France, and some pontiffs to the Holy See. The founder of this celebrated monastery was Count William, duke of Aquitaine and Berri, the son of Bernard, count of Auvergne, and the grandson of another Bernard, count of Poitiers. He had married Ingelberge, the daughter of Boson, king of Provence, and the sister of the emperor Louis. He had since been deprived of his estates, and the usurper had caused his eyes to be put out.

William himself explains the motive of this pious action in the charter which established this foundation: "Wishing to employ usefully for the safety of my soul, the earthly goods which God has given me, I do not believe that I could better do so, than by drawing on myself the benedictions of the poor, and I have founded, at my own expense a community of monks. Desiring that this work should last, I declare in the name of God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that I give to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, the territory of Cluny, situated in the county of Macon, on the river Garonne. The chapel dedicated to the virgin and to St. Peter, as well as its dependencies, will form a part of the donation, and that, for the repose of Monseigneur, the king Eudes, and for that of my relatives and servants.

"They shall build at Cluny, a monastery, to assemble together the brethren who shall live according to the laborious rule of St. Benedict. This place of refuge consecrated to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, shall be for ever an asylum for those, who, being poor, will only bring with them good will. The monks and all the property shall be placed under the sovereign rule of the abbot Bernon. After his death the power of choosing an abbot of the same order shall return to the brethren, without we or any other authority being able to prevent a regular election.

"The monks however, shall pay every five years, ten golden pennies to the Holy See, to obtain the protection of the apostles and pontiff. They shall perform daily labours of mercy towards the poor, strangers, and pilgrims, and from this moment they shall not be in subjection, neither to us, nor our relatives, nor the king, nor any earthly power. The counts, bishops, and even the popes (I conjure them by the name of God, of the saints and by the day of judgment) shall never seize on the property of these servants of Christ; and they shall not be able to sell, diminish, exchange, or bestow in fief the lands of this convent."

Terrible maledictions and a fine of an hundred pounds of gold were to punish those who should dare to act against the tenor of these charters. The deed of donation was deposited in the cathedral of Bruges, in 910. It was subscribed by William, by the metropolitan, and by bishops Atton and Adalard; the princess Ingelberge and several lords affixed their seals to it.

Bernon, the first abbot of Cluny, was descended from one of the noblest families of Burgundy, had already founded, with his own wealth, the monastery of Gignis, in the diocese of Lyons, and had reformed that of Baume, near to Lons-le-Saunier; he placed in his new community but twelve monks; later, he increased the number to sixty, and gave them a great number of domestics to serve them.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the monks of Cluny still possessed seigniorial lands in the provinces; they had a college in which were taught the humanities and philosophy; they possessed a magnificent

church, in which divine service was celebrated with the same ceremonies as at St. Peter's, at Rome. The memory of St. Hugh was held in great veneration in this monastery, and the ashes of this abbot were placed behind the high altar, where hung a lamp, which they said, had the marvellous privilege of constantly burning without the oil being ever exhausted.

Whilst they were labouring at the foundation of the abbey of Cluny, the venerable Adalger, archbishop of Hamburg, came to the holy father to ask that bishop Hoger, of Nouvelle-Corbie, might be permitted to aid him in his episcopal functions. But the pontiff, Sergius, brutally refused this authority and paid no regard to the complaints and entreaties of the old man. He went still further,

and erased the decrees made by Formosus in favour of his diocese; he renewed the privileges of the church of Bremen, and confirmed those which Popes Gregory and Nicholas had granted to St. Anscaire and St. Rembert, and finally, he imposed on him, five neighbouring bishops, as assessors, to aid him in the government of the faithful.

We cannot fix with exact certainty, the period at which the infamous Sergius disappeared from the earth; still, whether he lost the patriarchal throne with his life, or whether he was driven from the apostolical chair by his successor, and still continued his disgraceful intercourse with Marozia, every thing leads us to believe that in 910 Christianity was freed from this monster.

## ANASTASIUS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 910.]

*Election of Anastasius—Letter of the patriarch Nicholas to the pope—Fourth marriage of the emperor Leo—Death of Anastasius, the Third.*

ANASTASIUS the Third, the son of Lucian, was born at Rome; the events of his pontificate are in part unknown; we only know that he exhibited great submission to Berenger, who took the title of emperor and king of Italy, and that at the request of this prince, he permitted the archbishop of Pavia, to seat himself under a dais, to ride a white hackney at great ceremonies, and to have a cross carried before him. He even pursued his deference to the orders of Berenger so far as to seat this prelate at his left hand at the councils and in the sacred chapel.

Like his predecessors, he built churches, repaired the deanery of St. Adrian, and solemnly consecrated a magnificent altar which he built with his own hand.

It is believed that it was to this pontiff, that Nicholas, the patriarch of Constantinople, sent a letter, in which he relates the persecution he suffered on the occasion of the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo. This letter is remarkable as exhibiting the predominance of the Western over the Eastern church. Nicholas complains bitterly of the harshness of the legates of the last pontiff. "These priests appear to have come from Rome only to declare war on us," said he: "instead of carefully informing themselves in regard to the matter which was submitted to their investigation, and of reporting upon it to their spiritual chief, they have condemned those who have incurred the indignation of the prince, by refusing to authorize an act of incontinence. These two or three men, claiming for themselves primacy in the church, have caused their scandalous decision to be approved by the bishops of the West. They have sold to

the emperor a pretended dispensation, as if by dispensations, we could violate the canons and authorize debauchery.

"Under any circumstances the church cannot permit one to remain in the sin into which he has fallen. It only proposes to imitate the mercy of God, by extending a hand to the sinner to lift him up. Your legates maintain that it was a question of a lawful union, and not of concubinage; and they call an impure connection with a fourth female, a marriage. Why then do the canons exclude from the communion those who fall into this fault? Why do they treat it as a brutal incontinence, exceeding the bounds of humanity? They have, however, dared to avow that such was the usage among the Romans. Is that an eulogy or a blame of the Holy See? Is it true that you permit a man to take a fourth, or fifth, or a sixth wife, and so on to infinity, even to the tomb? You will quote in vain this language of the apostle: 'It is better to marry than to burn.' It is not for you that this was written, as it is said that second marriages are only permitted to women on account of their weakness, which condemns them to obey."

Nicholas cites several passages from the holy books in favour of his opinions, and after having established that princes, in matters of sin, have no privileges above other men, he adds: "I did not say this to oblige you to condemn the memory of the emperor, and that of Sergius your predecessor; both have already gone before the tribunal of the sovereign judge. Leo, however, before his death, recognized his fault, with tears; he asked for pardon from God, and I prayed with him; for

at the time of his death, he had recalled me from exile, and had restored to me the government of my clergy and people. I do not ask, holy father, but the punishment of those who remain, and who have caused me so many troubles; it is your duty to grant it to me; your dignity and the honour of the See of Rome demand it. We also beseech you, and the prince who reigns over the empire sends you his master of the palace, to beseech you to punish our enemies."

The obscure life of Anastasius the Third, has not excited the attention of the historians of these deplorable times. He undertook nothing against the memory of those who had occupied the apostolical chair before him, and his reign is not distinguished by great crimes. He died in 912, after a pontificate of two years and some months.

Whilst Christendom was plunged in the shades of darkness and ignorance, the followers of Mahomet were advancing in civilization and science. Abderane the Third, surnamed the protector of the worship of the true God, the eighth caliph of Spain, of the race of the Omniades, was seated on the throne of Cordova, and caused the arts, industry and commerce to flourish among the Arab inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula. Numerous workmen, directed by skilful metallurgists and lapidaries, explored the rich mines of gold and rubies, lying near Malaga and

Beja; agriculturists raised the silk-worm in the fertile countries of Cordova and Grenada, and artizans fabricated brilliant tissues, which other people bought by their weight in gold. In vain did the Catholic kings of Leon and the counts of Castile, endeavour to trouble the tranquillity of the kingdom of Abderane; they were defeated by him in twenty-two pitched battles.

Abderane was, beyond all contradiction, the greatest prince of the tenth century; he founded a medical school, which was then the only one in Europe; he established academies for the study of the abstract sciences; thanks to his intelligent direction, the arts were carried to such a degree of perfection, that attempts have been made to call in question the existence of the masterpieces of architecture and sculpture with which he embellished the city of Cordova. Still, notwithstanding the splendour which surrounded his throne, the caliph was not happy. He has himself avowed it in a book of maxims he wrote for his successor. "Riches, honours, pleasures, I have enjoyed all. I have exhausted all. All that men desire has been prodigally granted to me by Heaven. Yet in the long space of apparent tranquillity, I have counted the number of days in which I was happy. This number amounts to fourteen. Mortals, appreciate greatness, the world, and life."

## LANDO, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 912.]

*Election of Lando—Obscurity of his pontificate—His death—Conversion of Rollo, the leader of the Normans.*

THE successor of the pontiff Anastasius was the deacon Lando, a Roman by birth, and the son of a priest named Anastasius.

The actions of this pope have remained in the most profound oblivion. Platinus, following an ancient author, says that he employed his authority and his mediation to prevent Berenger and Rodolph, the son of Count Guy, from making war and disputing for the imperial crown. He died after a pontificate of six months and two days.

During this ephemeral reign, an event of great importance to the church took place in Gaul. Rollo, one the fierce leaders of the Normans, to whom Charles the Simple, in order to purchase peace, had given in marriage the princess Gisella, and for a dowry the country comprised between the Epse and the sea of Brittany, as also Neustria, received the regenerating water of baptism. The new Christian, urged on by Francon, archbishop

of Rouen, caused his counts, knights, and army also, to be baptized. Rollo was then compelled, in order to put an end to the rapine which characterized these hordes of barbarians, to make such terrible ordinances against robbers, that one dared not to pick up on the highway an article which had been lost. The chronicles even relate that the duke, wishing to try in what manner his orders were respected, suspended a gold bracelet from a branch of a tree in the midst of the country, and that it remained there three entire years, without man, woman, or child daring to touch it.

Rollo was not only an object of salutary fear to the robbers of his own states, but he was so dreaded beyond them, that the pirates who, before his installation in Neustria, infested its coasts, and made incursions even into the interior of the country, dared no longer show themselves, and the Normans were now compelled to respect the soil of France.

## JOHN THE TENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 912.]

*Election of John the Tenth—His amours with Theodora—He is driven from the See of Ravenna—He combats the Arabs at the head of his army—Hypocrisy of John—Re-union of the churches of the East and West—Decree in relation to marriages—The young Hugh is consecrated, at the age of five years, archbishop of Rheims—Revolution in Italy—Incestuous marriages in the family of Marozia—Death of John, who is strangled by the orders of Marozia.*

John the Tenth, a clerk of Ravenna, succeeded the pontiff Lando. He was a Roman by birth—the son of a nun and a priest. His beauty caused him to be remarked by Theodora, the mistress of Pope Sergius, who became violently enamoured of him. The ambitious youth yielded to the passion of Theodora, and thus prepared the way of arriving at the sovereign pontificate.

His mistress, who was all-powerful at Rome, caused him first to be named to the bishopric of Bologna; but before he was consecrated, the prelate of Ravenna having died, he was chosen archbishop of that city. At last Theodora, fearful of the infidelity of her lover, if he remained in an archbishopric remote from Rome, caused him to be ordained pope on the death of Lando.

Platinus, an historian always correct in his assertions, says, that previous to this last election, John had been ignominiously driven from his See by the people of Ravenna, for his scandals and his crimes.

At the commencement of his pontificate he united with the two brothers Landulph and Atenuph, princes of Capua, and marched with them against the Saracens, who were encamped in the country of Garillan. John the Tenth, a soldier rather than a pope, with his casque on his head and his sword by his side, took the command of the troops, fought a great battle with the Arabs, and drove them entirely from the provinces which they occupied. Berenger seconded the pontiff in his warlike projects, and in return John crowned him emperor, although he had been already consecrated by Stephen the Sixth.

The holy father sent into Spain a legate, charged, in his name, with performing his devotions before the body of the blessed St. James of Compostello. In his letters to Bishop Sisenard, the hypocritical John enjoins on him to burn incense upon the shrine of the holy apostle, and to pray day and night for the remission of his sins.

Ordogne the Second, who then reigned in Spain, received the legate of the pope with distinction, and heaped rich presents on him for his master, notwithstanding the diversity of opinion between the Spanish and Latin clergy, with regard to the mosarabic ritual used through the whole peninsula.

The priests of Constantinople had been divided into two factions, having at their head the patriarchs, Nicholas and Euthymius.—

After the death of Euthymius, they re-united, and put an end to the schism which had been caused by the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo. The decree which re-established peace in the Eastern church, thus terminates:—"From this year, the 6428th since the birth of the world, we prohibit every man, clerk, prince, or layman, from contracting a fourth marriage. If any one is bold enough to dare to contravene our command, he shall remain deprived of ecclesiastical sacraments, and the entrance into the holy place shall be closed against him, so long as he shall persevere in his abominable liens.

"The fathers, it is true, authorize third marriages, but as a disgraceful weakness of man. From this time, all who at the age of forty years shall marry a third time, and shall not have had children, shall remain deprived of the communion for five years, and they shall only receive it once at Easter, as having been purified by the continence of Lent. Those who have had children, shall have no excuse for a third union. Those, however, who at the age of thirty years, having had children, shall espouse a third wife, shall remain excommunicated for one hundred and fifteen days. They shall be permitted to receive the communion at Easter, at the Assumption of our Lady, and at Christmas, on account of the abstinence preceding these solemn festivals. Those who have not had children, shall remain submissive to the repentance at present observed.

"First and second marriages, although permitted, should not be the result of a bad cause: as rape, anterior debaucheries—under penalty, for the guilty, of not being admitted to the communion until after they have performed the penance for fornication. This penance lasted for seven years, and cannot be moderated but at the moment of death." This last decree was to be read every year in the month of July, from the pulpit of the cathedral of Constantinople.

The synodical letter was carried to the Holy See by the orders of the emperor, as we learn from a letter of the patriarch Nicholas, in which he thus expresses himself: "You know, holy father, the afflictions we have endured for fifteen years; but when our hopes were at the lowest, Jesus Christ came to appease this violent tempest. We write to you to re-establish the concord which has been interrupted by the difficulty of the times; to ask you to hear us, and to decide with you on

this fourth marriage, which has caused so much scandal, and which we have only tolerated through an extreme indulgence for the person of the prince, and through fear lest his anger should draw down greater evils on the church.

"They will, from this day, re-commence reading your name with ours in the sacred records, and we will enjoy a profound peace. The emperor earnestly beseeches you for it, by Basil, his ambassador, with whom we have sent the priest Euloges.

"You will also send to us legates, that we may be enabled to decide with them what can be justly modified in the decrees which we submit to you."

Towards the same period, John the Tenth received complaints from the clergy of Tongres, against Herman, the archbishop of Cologne, who had nominated Hildwyn as bishop of their city, although King Charles the Simple had given the See of it to the abbot of Prom. Herman was sharply reprimanded by the pontiff for having ordained Hildwyn without the authority of the king. "We should not," says he, "establish bishops in any diocese, without the consent of the king." Herman and Hildwyn were ordered to Rome, to be judged according to the canons; but as they refused to appear, Hildwyn was excommunicated. The abbot of Prom gained his cause, and was ordained by the pope, who gave him the pallium, an honour which none of his predecessors had obtained before him. This affair, however, was not definitely decided until 922.

Heve, metropolitan of Rheims, having died this year, Robert, the son of Robert the Strong, who had been proclaimed king of France, in the place of Charles the Simple, caused the archdeacon Suelph to be consecrated as archbishop. He, finding himself firmly seated on his See, sent to Rome to demand the consecration of his election, and authority to bear the pallium, which he received in the following year.

After an episcopate of three years and five days, Seulphe died from poison administered by the partizans of Herbert, count of Vermandois, who was intriguing to obtain the property of the bishopric. As soon as the titular was dead, the count sent for Abbon of Soissons and Bovon, bishop of Chalons, to treat with them for the vacant chair. The people and

clergy, threatened with the spectacle of the property of their church being divided and given to strangers, declared on his side, and the count caused them to elect as archbishop, his fifth son, named Hugh, who was only five years old. The bishops Abbon and Bovon were sent as ambassadors to King Ralph; who, through their counsels, approved of the ordination of this child, and intrusted to his father the administration of the episcopate. Nothing was wanting to this act of religious scandal but to obtain the approbation of the Roman pontiff. John the Tenth, more occupied with his lusts and debauchery than with the affairs of Christianity, confirmed all that had been done, and appointed Abbon to exercise sacerdotal functions in the diocese of Rheims, until the majority of the infant archbishop.

Italy was then the theatre of one of those revolutions which so often stained with blood the middle ages. The Lombards having driven away Rudolph, king of Burgundy, called to the throne Hugh, count of Arles, the son of Count Thibaut and of Bertha, the daughter of King Lothaire. Hugh reigned twenty years; he was brave, skilful, liberal, and the protector of letters; but his good qualities were tarnished by the horrible depravity of his morals. His kingdom embraced the ancient provinces of the Lombards, without including the city of Rome, of which the possession remained with Guy, his uterine brother, by means of the incestuous marriage which he had contracted with the shameless Marozia.

This execrable woman, after this public scandal, became tired of her husband, and entered into a sacrilegious commerce with John the Tenth; joining cruelty to luxury, she became jealous of the pontiff, and to revenge herself on him for his intercourse with her mother and sister, she resolved to assassinate him, and forced her husband to execute the crime. The infamous satellites, commanded by Guy and Marozia, forced the palace of the Lateran, murdered the brother of the pope, bound him with cords, and cast him into prison, where they strangled him beneath mattresses, towards the end of the year 928. A death worthy of such a pope!

John the Tenth was ambitious, avaricious, an apostate, destitute of shame, faith, and honour, and sacrificed every thing to his passions; he held the Holy See about sixteen years, to the disgrace of humanity.

## LEO THE SIXTH, ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 928.]

*Reflections of historians in regard to Leo the Sixth—Uncertainty as to his reign—Death of the pope.*

LEO the Sixth, if we credit Baronius and Papebroch, was a Roman, and the son of the treasurer Christopher; he was regularly cho-

sen in 928. His modesty, the integrity of his morals, the care which he had for religion, the tranquillity which he established at Rome,

the pacification of Italy, and the expulsion of the barbarians who ravaged it, would be so many beautiful actions with which we ought to credit him, if we were enabled to establish them upon authentic testimony. But the

usages of the court of Rome in these times of corruption, induce us to believe that this pontiff lived like his predecessors. He died after a pontificate of six months and some days.

## STEPHEN THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 929.]

*Uncertainty as to the pontificate of Stephen the Eighth.*

STEPHEN was the son of Theudemond, and a Roman by birth. Although he possessed the Holy See for two years and six months, all the actions of his pontificate remain in the most profound oblivion. His mildness and probity were laudable, if we are to believe several religious writers; his death is placed in 931.

According to some ecclesiastics, Stephen the Seventh exhibited great severity in regard to the morals of the clergy; but this assertion, which they do not sustain by any testimony, cannot be conscientiously admitted; and the more so, as it was during his reign, that this singular proposition, made by the Roman canonists appeared: "that laymen cannot accuse a priest of adultery, even if they should surprise him in the very act with their wives, or their daughters, and they should believe that he was only blessing them more intimately."

Besides, it was impossible for a pope to interdict concubinary marriages to ecclesiastics, since priestesses and deaconesses were then authorized in the church, as is proved by an order of Telasperian, bishop of Luca, in which that prelate declared that he granted

to priest Romuald and Ratperga, his wife and priestess, the direction of the church, the convent, and the hospital of San Quirico de Capanneli in the valley of the Arno. An authentic act also testifies that at their death, they bequeathed to the church all the property they possessed in the states of Luca and Pisa.

In France as well as in Italy, the custom of concubinary marriages between priests and priestesses was so common that the Chronicle of Maus speaks of a bishop named Segenfried, who espoused a young deaconess, although he was already very old.

The disorders and scandals were then pushed to such an excess that the cardinal Damian, in one of his works, blames the culpable tolerance of the Holy See; he says, "that he is astonished that the pope permits hands consecrated to handle the bread of angels, to be soiled in the lascivious and impure attachments of women." He adds, "that concubines espoused by priests, are the marrow of the devil, the virus of intelligences, the prison of drunkards, the gynæceum of the old enemy," and adds many other names unnecessary to repeat.

## JOHN THE ELEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 931.]

*Birth of John the Eleventh—Chosen bishop of Rome at eighteen—Incest of the young pontiff with Marozia, his mother—She poisons her husband Guy—Her incestuous marriage with Hugh—Rathier, bishop of Verona—Alberic, the eldest son of Marozia, seizes upon Rome, and confines his brother, Pope John, in prison—His incest with his mother—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Stephen, the patricianess Marozia, mistress of John the Tenth, availed herself of the absolute power which she exercised in Rome, to cause her young son Octavian, whom she had by Pope Sergius, to be ordained pontiff. His criminal birth, and his youth, did not prevent the Roman clergy from placing the sacred tiara on the head of a child of eighteen. It is true that Marozia knew how to pay for votes by caresses and presents.

This abominable woman, who was then in

all the splendour of her beauty, wished to assure her rule over the mind of the young pope, by becoming his mistress, and she abandoned herself to incestuous amours with her son! Then, (eternal disgrace to the Holy See,) was seen on the chair of St. Peter, a pope, who left the shameless arms of his mother to appear in the holiest ceremonies of religion, and priests on their knees before a Messalina, who surpassed in her debauchery the most shameless courtizans of Rome and Lesbos.

Marozia, soon fearing the irresolution and

weakness of character of her son, wished to assure to herself a more powerful protector. She poisoned her husband, Guy, and offered her hand and the principality of Rome to King Hugh, his half brother. This prince had the baseness to consent to this sacrilegious alliance.

Before his marriage, Hugh had given the See of Verona to Bishop Hildwyn, who had retired to his court, after having been driven from the bishopric of Tongres, by Richer. A monk, named Rathier, one of the most learned men of that age, had declared himself a partizan of the new prelate, and had followed him to the court of the prince, under the promise of succeeding to the bishopric of Verona, as soon as his friend should be elevated to higher dignities. Hildwyn, having soon after been nominated as archbishop of Milan, Rathier hastened to Rome to demand the pallium; but on his return, Hugh, who had changed his mind, opposed his election. The urgent solicitations of the grandes of the kingdom, joined to those of Hildwyn and the sovereign pontiff, compelled him, however, to receive the new prelate. Rathier had the mitre, but the king continued to persecute him, and excited a powerful hatred against him among the clergy.

By his marriage with Marozia, Hugh believed his power firmly fixed, and beyond the reach of all revolutions; he no longer took any pains to conceal the indignation he felt towards Alberic, the incestuous offspring of his wife, and the marquis Adalbert, who partook with John the Eleventh in the monstrous caresses of their mother. Upon one occasion he was so far carried away as to strike the young prince on his face. Alberic, exasperated at this outrage, put himself at the head of a party of malcontents, assembled the people of Rome, and, at the head of some troops, attacked the castle of San Angelo. Hugh, surprised by the sudden attack, with difficulty escaped from his enemies, and was obliged to save himself beyond the ramparts.

Alberic, master of the castle, caused himself to be proclaimed duke of the Romans, and he confined in a close prison his brother, Pope John. Marozia still commanded in the holy city with the new patrician, her son, and from their criminal intercourse sprang a child, whom we shall see hereafter occupying, in his turn, the pontifical throne, and prolonging the

incests of this abominable family, even to the third generation.

During his captivity, John the Eleventh sent apostolical letters to the emperor of Constantinople, to confirm the election of one of the sons of the admiral Romanus Lecapenus, who had been promoted to the patriarchal See of that city, at the age of five years. His holiness granted, besides, to this infant, the use of the pallium, in perpetuity; a favour unknown, and which none of the prelates of the East had ever enjoyed. Some of his friends have endeavoured to excuse the conduct of the pontiff, by maintaining that even before his imprisonment, John the Eleventh had never freely exercised his ministry; his mother Marozia, having seized on the supreme authority, and that the sceptre of the popes had been turned into a distaff. A singular justification, which is not adapted to elevate the throne of the apostle in the eyes of the faithful.

Besides, that which was passing in Italy at this period, was neither stranger nor more scandalous than the infamies which were taking place in other countries. Every where there reigned the same disorders, the same anarchy in church and state. The feudal system elevated itself, threatening kings and people. The lords declared themselves independent, and united with the bishops to free themselves from the yoke of their suzerains, and to subjugate the provinces. Heresy, impiety, debauchery, poisoning, robbery, incendiarism, and murder followed in their train and covered Europe with disasters from the Bosphorus to the Baltic, and from the extremity of Portugal to the Ural mountains.

We must not then be astonished, in the midst of the frightful convulsions which agitated all kingdoms, at seeing courtezans command in Rome, occupy the part of the Holy Spirit, dispose of the Holy See at their pleasure, and place upon it the fruit of their adulteries and incests.

John the Eleventh, enervated by the excesses of the table and by debauchery, lived in debility until 936, when death came to put an end to the harsh captivity which his brother had imposed upon him. For a long time this degraded pontiff did not leave his prison, unless surrounded by the satellites of Alberic, and only to celebrate divine service in the great solemnities.

## LEO THE SEVENTH, ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 936.]

*Election of Leo—The abbot Odon at Rome—Letter from the pope to the prelates of Bavaria—Marriage of priests—Death of Leo.*

LEO THE SEVENTH was consecrated in 936; historians represent him as a servant of God, who, far from seeking dignities, was elevated to the Holy See in despite of himself.

After his ordination, he continued to live with great wisdom; affable, zealous, agreeable in his conversation, his piety was always exemplary, and he applied himself uncea-

singly to meditations on heavenly things. Such is the portrait which his contemporary Frodoart has left us.

Alberic was still the master of Rome, and rejected the proposals of Hugh, who desired to return to his principality. The pope, wishing to reconcile these two princes, brought into Italy, Odon, the abbot of Cluny, who had before enjoyed great credit with the king. This pious abbot succeeded in bringing about a peace between them, and Hugh consented to give his daughter in marriage to the patrician Alberic, as a sign of his pardon.

During his stay at Rome, the abbot of Cluny exhibited a humility so truly Christian, and a charity so inexhaustible, that the clergy, moved by his fervent and sincere piety, besought him to re-establish the monastery of St. Paul, with the severity of the primitive rule. That cloister thence became his residence.

Alberic had conceived so profound a respect, and so lively an admiration for Odon, that the holy abbot having been one day rudely pushed by a peasant who did not know him, the prince condemned him to lose his two hands, which sentence was at once put into execution by the executioner.

About this time, Gerard, archbishop of Lorea, whose See was afterwards transferred to Salzburg, came to consult Leo on several abuses, which prevailed in Bavaria and the neighbouring provinces. He relates that he quitted Rome, edified by the conduct of the head of the church. The holy father sent by him a letter, which was addressed to the kings, dukes, and prelates of Salzburg, Ratisbonne, and some other Sees. Leo replied to all the questions put to him by Gerard in the name of the clergy and grandees of those countries.

We quote some passages from the letters of the prelates and the pontiff: "Should we inflict perance on those who have put to death divines, enchantresses, sorcerers, and all other abettors of magical practices?" wrote the Bavarians.

Pontifical wisdom thus resolved this difficulty:—"Although the ancient law demands the life of the guilty who are abandoned to the abominable practices of magic, ecclesiastical judgment preserves them to lead them to repentance. If, however, hardened sinners refuse to submit, they become subject to human laws, which cannot be executed too rigorously against them."

Should we say, "Dominus Vobiscum, or Pax Vobis." To this question Leo made this ambiguous reply, "You should follow the usage of the Roman church, which employs 'Pax Vobis' on Sundays and fête days, except at times of fasting, and 'Dominus Vobiscum' on ordinary days."

Leo prohibited them from saying the Lord's prayer for the blessing which precedes the repast; this prayer, in his opinion, should be reserved for divine service. He strongly opposed the marriage of priests. "The archbishop Gerard," he says, "relates to us a deplorable disorder. Priests publicly marry and even wish that their children should be promoted to sacred orders! You will see how these unions are blamed by the council of Nice, which prohibits ecclesiastics from even lodging with women, whatever may be their age. That of Neocæsarea orders prelates even to depose clergymen who have married. We wish these decrees to be executed with the utmost rigour. The children, however, shall not bear the iniquity of their fathers.

"Rural bishops shall not consecrate temples, nor ordain priests, nor administer confirmation.

"We prohibit the faithful from espousing their god-mother or god-daughter; and those who being relatives in the third or fourth degree, have married without a knowledge of their relationship, should submit to penance."

At the close of his letter, the pontiff ordered the clergy to obey Gerard as his vicar; and he commanded Eberhard, the duke of Bavaria, to aid him with the strong hand, if the people refused to submit to his authority.

During this last year, the Arabs, who had established themselves in Lombardy, sought to extend their conquests, and laid siege to Genoa. They carried it by assault, massacred all the inhabitants, except the women and children, whom they reduced to slavery, and carried off from the churches the riches which the superstition of the people had accumulated in them. From Genoa they went as far as the city of Agauna, which they burned, as well as the famous monastery of St. Maurice. They then made themselves masters of all the roads which led to Rome, and attacked the caravans of pilgrims who came to pay their devotions at the tomb of the apostles.

Leo, seeing the revenues of the Holy See diminishing in consequence of the tactics of the Arabs, decided to enter into an arrangement with them, and sent to them skillful priests, who showed to them, that it was their interest to allow the fanatics who crowded to Rome, to go to the tomb of Saint Peter, and to constrain them only to pay for a right of passage.

The reign of Leo the Ninth has been very sterile in events, as historians have preserved a profound silence in regard to the actions of this pope. He died in 939, after a pontificate of three years and some months, and was interred in the church of St. Peter.

## STEPHEN THE NINTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 940.]

*The election of Stephen—The Romans mutilate him—Hugh, archbishop of Rheims—Death of Stephen the Ninth.*

THE exaltation of Stephen the Ninth, who was a German by birth, is fixed at the year 940. He was elevated to the Holy See by the assistance of King Hugh, and a faction which was devoted to the emperor Otho. But this election having been made without the consent of Prince Alberic, he incited the Romans against the holy father. As the conclusion of an outbreak, the people stormed the patriarchal palace, and tore the pontiff from his throne. The soldiers gashed his face with such barbarity, that the unfortunate man appeared no more in public, even in the most solemn ceremonials.

Some years afterwards, the archbishop of Rheims, Artaud, having been deposed by a council held at Soissons, Hugh, the son of Count Herbert, was ordained in his place. As soon as he was enthroned, he sent deputies to the pope to ask the pallium from him; his ambassadors returned, bearing the authority from the Holy See, but accompanied by a legate named Damasus, who bore letters destined for the lords of France and Burgundy, to

force them to recognize the authority of King Louis. Stephen threatened them with ecclesiastical thunders, if they did not obey his orders before Christmas, and if they continued the war.

The chiefs of the clergy of Rheims then besought Count Herbert to intercede with Count Hugh, that he would consent to a treaty of alliance with Louis, in order that they might be freed from the excommunication with which they were threatened.

During the same year, (942,) St. Odon came to Rome for the third time, to establish the basis of a durable peace, between Hugh and his son-in-law, the patrician Alberic, whose ambition created ceaseless wars which stained Italy with blood. The abbot of Cluny also undertook the reformation of the monastery of St. Elias, at Suppenton, near to Nepi, where he placed one of his disciples, named Theodart, as abbot. Stephen died in 943, after a pontificate of three years and four months, without having achieved any thing remarkable.

## MARTIN THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 943.]

*Election of Martin—His devotion—Obscurity of his history—His quarrel with Simon, bishop of Capua—His death.*

SOME days after the death of Stephen, the patrician Alberic, caused a pope to be elected, whom historians call Martin the Second, or Martin the Third.

It is related of him, that during the three years and a half of his pontificate, he applied himself to nothing but the duties of religion and monastic practices. In consequence thereof, the priests of Rome exhibited a great contempt for this pontiff. They said of him, "That Christianity had never had such a pope; and that the reign of a man who understood the art of increasing the possessions of the Holy See, and of causing the money of the people to flow into his purse, was of more advantage to them."

In accordance with this reasoning it follows, that the greatness and majesty of the church require a chief who does not possess the virtues of an apostle, but the talents of a skilful

diplomatist. The clergy wish a pontiff who has the courage to damn himself, in order to increase his wealth and estates; they ask that the popes should sacrifice themselves for the Christian republic, as Curtius and Decius did for the pagan.

Martin the Third, scrupulous and a bigot, allowed the temporal power, which was necessary for the maintenance of the spiritual, to weaken in his hands; hence he has come down to posterity with the reputation of having been a bad pope.

Martin granted, however, great privileges to several dioceses, and we are assured that he wrote a very remarkable letter to Sicon, bishop of Capua, an ignorant man, and a shameless and debauched priest. The holy father strongly reproached this prelate for having given, as a fief, to his deacon, a church which his predecessors had granted to the

Benedictine monks, for the purpose of establishing a monastery. He imperiously commanded him to transform this church and its dependencies, without delay, into a convent, which should be declared independent of the See of Capua, and should remain under the

direction of the monks of the order of St. Benedict. He also prohibited him from maintaining any intercourse with the young deacon, who passed for his minion, under penalty of being deposed and excommunicated.

Martin the Third died in the year 946.

## AGAPET THE SECOND, THE ONE-HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 946.]

*Enthronement of Agapet—Profound ignorance of the popes—Council of Engelheim—Agapet calls Otho into Italy—Death of the pope.*

AGAPET the Second, was a Roman by birth, he was chosen, like his predecessor, by the faction of Alberic. This ambitious patrician, desirous of pursuing his credit and maintaining his authority in Rome, was unwilling to elevate to the Holy See but weak pontiffs, who were ignorant and incapable of governing temporal affairs. He was, however, deceived in the new head of the church, whom he caused to be enthroned in 946.

The division between the principal lords of Italy was at its height, and the authority of King Hugh, had much diminished, since Otho the Great, and Herman, duke of Suabia, had sent succours to Berenger to re-establish his power in the Roman peninsula. Agapet endeavoured to reconcile Alberic and King Hugh, without foreseeing what would be the result of his negotiations.

The first action of the pope was to establish his political rule over the churches of the empire. For this purpose he sent Marin, bishop of Bormazo, in Tuscany, as a legate to Otho, to assemble a general council. This convention, composed of French and German prelates, was held at Ingelheim, in the church of St. Remi, on the 7th of June, 948, in the presence of Kings Otho and Louis. Marin presided over it. Notwithstanding the opposition of the synod, the legate re-established

in his episcopal dignity Artaud, the former bishop of Rheims, who had been removed from his see by Hugh, count of Paris.

About the same time, Hadumar, abbot of Fulda, made a pilgrimage to Rome to inform Agapet of the strife which existed between Herold and Gerard, the archbishops of Salisbury and Lorca or Laureac, who both laid claim to being the metropolitans of all Pannonia. The pope wrote a letter to them, in which he declared that the church of Laureac had been the metropolitan church of all Pannonia, prior to the irruptions of the Huns, but that the ravages of these barbarians had caused the metropolitan to transfer his See to another city; and that, since that period, Salisbury had been erected into an archbishopric; that, in consequence thereof, they occupied lawfully their respective Sees, and that both prelates should preserve their rank and their diocese. He decided that jurisdiction over western Pannonia belonged to Herold, and that the eastern part, with the country of the Avari and Moravians, belonged to Gerard.

After having aided the interests of Berenger for two years, Agapet discovered that kings who are too powerful become the tyrants of the people. He then called the emperor Otho into Italy; but before the arrival of that prince he was taken suddenly ill, and died in 956.

## JOHN THE TWELFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 956.]

*Octavian, the incestuous son of Alberic and Marozia, is elevated to the pontifical See—Revolts in Rome—Monstrous incests of Marozia and the young pope—History of Theophylactus, patriarch of Constantinople, aged sixteen years—Debauchery, scandal, and desolation of the churches of the East and West—Wars excited by Pope John—Otho is recalled into Italy—He is crowned emperor—Magdeburg erected into a metropolitian See—John revolts against the emperor—The Romans bring infamous accusations against the pope—He sends ambassadors to Otho—The emperor enters Italy—the pope flies—Council of Rome—Cardinals and bishops accuse the pope of horrible crimes—The emperor orders him to appear before a council—Deposition of Pope John.*

THE confusion which reigned in the political government of Italy was daily increased by the rivalries of kings and emperors: the same strife, the same divisions, soon shone forth in the government of the church.

In every city, bishops and abbots chosen by one prince, were soon overthrown by other competitors, sustained by a new master. There existed no hierarchy in the church; inferiors condemned their superiors, and frequently mere laymen seized upon the benefices, and were created prelates by their own authority. It was thus that the young Octavian, the son of the patrician Alberic, himself the son and lover of Marozia, became pope.

According to some authors, the new head of the church had attained but twelve years; others affirm that he was eighteen; all agree that he was of a very tender age, and that the infamous Marozia had already, by a double incest, initiated him into the most shameful debaucheries. Intrigues, promises, and presents, acquired for the young Octavian the pontifical throne; and, immediately after his elevation, he dropped his own name and took that of John the Twelfth.

His reign, commenced under sacrilegious auspices, will finish by a disgraceful fall! Baronius draws the portrait of the infant pope in very strong terms. He calls him an abortion, and represents him as an actor who appeared upon a theatre, wearing the tiara, and engaged to play the part of the pontiff.

At the same period, and as if Providence was desirous of exhibiting to men all the horror with which their crimes had inspired the Deity, the See of Constantinople was occupied by Theophylactus, a patriarch of sixteen years, who ruled over the corrupted clergy of the Greek church. This ambitious youth, sustained by a powerful female, had been consecrated in the presence of the legates of the Roman pontiff, and in accordance with a decree of election made by a cabal of infamous priests.

Theophylactus, elevated to the highest dignity of the church, at an age in which the passions are in all their effervescence, abandoned himself to the most criminal and disgraceful actions. He consecrated neither priests, deacons, abbots, nor prelates, except

for money, which he soon dissipated with his minions and courtizans. Passionately fond of the chase, he had collected in his stables more than three thousand dogs, and almost two thousand horses, which he fed on pine-apples, pistachio nuts, hazle nuts, dates, raisins and figs steeped in generous wines, and perfumed with the sweetest odours.

It is related of him, that whilst celebrating divine service on a Holy Thursday, one of his grooms came to inform him that a favourite mare had foaled. The patriarch immediately suspended the august ceremony to go to the stables, dressed in his pontifical robes, leaving the people in stupor and astonishment. It is affirmed, that in order to render religious ceremonies more attractive, he thought of admitting into the churches, actresses and courtizans, who should perform lascivious dances to the sound of music.

Theophylactus finally met with a dreadful fall whilst hunting, and in consequence of it, expectorated blood. Notwithstanding his disease, he was unwilling to abandon his mode of life, and died of exhaustion.

Maimburg says of John the Tenth, "After his exaltation, Octavian changed his name, but not his morals; for it is certain that there have never been priests who dishonoured the pontifical title by all kinds of vices and crimes more than he did. God, however, permitted that his death should be as painful and unfortunate as his existence was shameful and deplorable."

Octavian united in his own hands spiritual power and temporal authority, or rather weighed down Italy under a double tyranny which he could exercise without fear, being sustained by the satellites of his family. He formed the project of seizing upon the dutchy of Spoleto, and he marched at the head of an army against Pandulph, prince of Capua; but the latter having been succeeded by Gisulph, prince of Salerno, John was forced to retreat and to sue for peace.

Berenger, no less ambitious than the holy father, wished to extend his dominion over the people, and to treat the citizens of Rome as the serfs of his domains. He became so odious that the pope was compelled to send two legates, John, a cardinal deacon, and



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Pope John the XII<sup>th</sup>



Azon, an officer of the church, to beseech Otho to come and free the Italian provinces from their tyrant. The venerable Valbert, archbishop of Milan, also prostrated himself before the prince, claiming his protection against Berenger and his son Adalbert, who had driven him from his See in contempt of divine and human laws, in order to bestow it on Manasseh, archbishop of Arles. At almost the same moment the titulary of Arno, addressed like complaints to the king, against the violence of Berenger.

For twenty years Otho the Great had reigned gloriously over Germany; he had conquered the Slavi and Bohemians; he had subjugated revolted provinces, pacified Germany, and re-conquered all the kingdom of Lorraine, and was at last enjoying in profound peace the fruit of his numerous victories. But as ambition is an insatiable passion with kings, he sacrificed the repose of his people to the desire of possessing a greater empire. He assembled, with all speed, a powerful army, and invaded Lombardy. All bent before him; the deputies of the people, the lords and the chiefs of the clergy, having assembled in Milan, declared Berenger and his son stripped of all their rights; Otho was proclaimed king of Italy, and received, according to usage, the iron crown and sceptre; he then directed his steps towards Rome. His march was a true triumph. John the Twelfth, however, exacted from him, that before entering the Christian capital, he should take a solemn oath, that he should preserve in safety, the life and dignity of the pontiff, and should take no resolution to his detriment; that he would maintain all the privileges of the Roman church, and even restore to the Holy See all the domains which had been taken from it by its enemies.

Otho was received in Rome with extraordinary pomp. The entire population poured forth to meet him with cries of joy. The pope crowned him emperor, and swore on the body of the holy apostle Peter, never to renounce his obedience, nor to give any succour to Berenger, nor his son. The citizens, the priests, and the lords, took the same oath. The new head of the empire of the West then restored to the church all the territory of which it had been deprived by the deposed princes. He made to the sovereign pontiff in particular magnificent presents of gold and precious stones. He confirmed to the Holy See, by an authentic deed, the immense donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, comprising Rome, its dutely and dependencies, several cities in Tuscany, the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, the dutchies of Spoleto and Beneventum, the isle of Corsica, the patrimony of Sicily, and several other places in Lombardy and Campania. "If God puts them in our power," he adds with a wise restriction. This donation was copied word for word from that of Louis the Good-natured. Otho annexed to it Rieti, Amiterne, and five other cities of the kingdom which he came to conquer. At the end of this deed was placed this important and remarkable

clause:—"Saving our own power, and that of our son and descendants."

They were then engaged with the election of John the Twelfth, which had never been done canonically. The clergy and nobility pledged themselves to make it regular, but on condition that the pontiff should publicly pledge himself, in the presence of the commissioners of the emperor, to preserve the rights of the citizens. The administration of justice was also regulated. It was agreed that the delegates of the Holy See, and of the empire, should make a yearly report of the causes which should be judged by the dukes or prelates. Abuses were to be laid before the pope, who had the liberty of immediately correcting them, or of permitting them to be corrected by the imperial commissioners.—This clause shows that Otho the Great reserved to himself definite sovereignty and jurisdiction over all the cities and provinces which he had given to the apostolic chair. This diploma is dated on the 13th of February, 962. The original, written in letters of gold, was kept in the archives of the church.

The emperor obtained the erection of Magdeburg into a metropolitan See; and in the bull which was issued in regard to it, it is said: "Otho has represented to us that after having conquered the Slavi, he has converted them to Christianity. Therefore, in order not to expose these people to the danger of relapsing into idolatry, by depriving them of a director, and to preserve them in our holy religion, we order that the monastery of Magdeburg, located in Saxony upon the Elbe, and the nearest to these nations, be erected into an episcopal See, that it may govern them through its suffragans.

"In execution of a vow made by the prince in a battle against the Hungarians, it is also our will, that the monastery of Mersbourg be erected into an episcopal See, but under the direction of that of Magdeburg, because a single prelate cannot govern such large provinces. It is also our will that the quit-rents and rate tithes of all the people, who have been baptized through the means of the emperor, or by the care of his successors, may be divided among the bishoprics which we shall erect; and we order the bishops of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, and Salzburg, to protect with all their power these new churches. Finally, when God, through the zeal of Otho the Great, or his descendants, shall have brought into our communion the adjoining Slavi, it is our will that new prelates, ordained by the metropolitan of Magdeburg, be established in the country." This bull, drawn upon the 14th of February, 962, was not executed until six years afterwards.

Although Pope John appeared then very well disposed to favour the emperor, he soon forgot his protestations of fidelity, through fear lest the prince would not be content with an imaginary title, and would be desirous to exercise his authority in Rome, as the Greek or Gallic sovereigns had formerly done. The traitor John sent ambassadors to the son of

Berenger, who had taken refuge among the Saracens, to induce him to raise the standard of revolt, promising him, upon the Evangelists, that the Holy See would second him in his enterprises against Otho.

The emperor having been informed of this negotiation, was surprised and angry. He however hoped that the young pontiff might be brought back to more favourable sentiments, through the counsels of men of sense, and he sent some old officers of his court to protest to the senate of Rome against this infraction of the treaty which the holy father had committed.

The Italian lords, indignant at being compelled to bow beneath the yoke of a sacrilegious pope who filled Rome with his debaucheries and dissipation, made this reply to the prince: "John the Twelfth hates Otho for the same reason that the devil hates his Creator. You, my lord, seek to please God, and desire the good of the church and the state; the pope, on the other hand, blinded by a criminal passion, which he has conceived for the widow of his vassal, Rainer, has granted to her the government of several cities, and the direction of several convents; and to heighten the scandal, he has paid for his infamous pleasures with the golden crosses and chalices of the church of St. Peter.

"One of his concubines, Stephenette, died before our very eyes, in the palace of the Lateran, in giving birth to a son, whom she declared was the pontiff's. The sacred residence of the popes has become, under the reign of John, a frightful brothel, the refuge of prostitutes. Neither Roman nor strange females dare any longer to visit the churches, for this monster causes wives, widows, and virgins to be carried off from the very steps of the altar! Rich dresses, or tattered rags, beauty or homeliness, all alike are used to gratify his execrable debaucheries! The temples of the apostles are falling into ruins, the rain of Heaven inundates the sacred table, and the roofs even threaten to bury the faithful beneath them. Such are the reasons why Adalbert is more agreeable to the pope than the emperor."

Notwithstanding these terrible accusations of the Romans, Otho dared not yet punish the revolt of the pontiff; he contented himself with besieging Montefeltro, into which Berenger had thrown himself.

John immediately sent to him as deputies, an officer of his court, named Leo, and Demetrius, one of the principal citizens of Rome; he promised to correct his faults, which arose, he said, from his extreme youth; he complained, at the same time, that the emperor had not kept his promise, by compelling the people to take the oath of fidelity to his own person, and not to the Holy See; he also blamed him for retaining at his court Bishop Leo, and John, a cardinal deacon, two priests of his church.

Otho replied to the holy father: "It is true, that I promised to surrender to the apostolic chair, all the territory of St. Peter which

should fall into my power, and it is for the purpose of religiously performing my promises that I desire to drive Berenger from his fortress. As to the prelates Leo and John, whom you accuse me as retaining prisoners, I assure you they were arrested when on their way to Constantinople, to confer with my enemies. They had with them Zacheus, an ignorant and deceitful man, whom you have made a bishop, as well as the Bulgarian Salec, your favourite and minion, who were both going among the Hungarians to excite them against us. An unworthy treason, which I would not have believed, had I not seen with my own eyes the letters sealed with lead, bearing your name, and signed with your own hand."

Otho, however, determined to send to Rome Landohard and Luitprand, the bishops of Munster and Cremona, with the deputies of the pontiff. They were received at the palace of the Lateran, with every demonstration of the most sincere friendship; but eight days afterwards, John sent them back with the bishops John and Benedict, and the treason was consummated.

Adalbert entered the holy city with all the splendour of a triumph, and took possession of the ancient palace of the patricians. On learning this new perfidy of the pope, Otho resolved to execute a signal vengeance, and marched on Rome to the assistance of his partizans, who had seized on the castle of St. Paul. On his approach, the pope and Adalbert fled, carrying with them the treasures of St. Peter. The emperor found the population of Rome divided into two camps; the vagabonds, robbers and bandits sustained the pontiff; the honourable citizens and the people had declared for him. The presence of his army changed the aspect of things; all swore an inviolable fidelity to the prince, and pledged themselves never to choose a pontiff, without his consent or that of his son.

Three days after the arrival of Otho, the Italian and German prelates, the nobility, and the clergy, and people of Rome, addressed a request to him, beseeching him to convoke a council, to remedy the infinite disorders and evils which the church endured. Otho yielded to their supplications, and held a convention, at which were present about forty bishops, thirteen cardinal priests, three deacons, several monks, and a large number of citizens. When silence was proclaimed, the emperor summoned the pontiff, John the Twelfth, in a loud voice; and as no one replied for him, he demanded the reasons which prevented the holy father from appearing before that august assembly.

A bishop then spoke—"We are surprised, my lord, that you ask that of which the people of even the remote country of India are not ignorant; the crimes of John the Twelfth have been committed by this execrable pontiff, who glories in his infamy, in the face of day." The emperor then asked if the accusations had been framed in a more precise manner. All the bishops and cardinals immediately rose spontaneously, and one after

another spoke against the pope, accusing him of being guilty of horrible impiety; of blasphemy, sacrilege, profanation, adultery, rape, incest, sodomy, poisoning, and murder.

Peter, a cardinal priest, declared that he had seen him celebrate mass, when drunk; John, bishop of Narni, said he had ordained a deacon in a stable; Jerome, a cardinal deacon, affirmed, that at the conclusion of an orgy, he had led a courtesan into the temple and committed adultery with her on the very steps of the altar; and finally, a long memorial was read, in which all the crimes of John the Twelfth, were set forth: "The holy father was accused of having sold the episcopate; of having ordained children of a tender age priests and bishops; of having been publicly guilty of monstrous incests with his aunt and his mother Marozia; of having dissipated the patrimony of the poor with the courtezans Rainier, Stephenette, Anne, and her niece; of having transformed the sacred palace into a place of prostitution; of having put out the eyes of Benedict, his spiritual father, who died under the hands of the executioner; of having caused the subdeacon John to be put to death in his presence, after having mutilated him of his virility, and, would to God," added the prelates, "that he had performed on himself this cruel operation! Finally, he was accused of having traversed the streets of Rome with a sword by his side, a casque on his head, and clothed with a cuirass, and of having kept a pack of dogs and horses for the chase." The reading of this memorial being finished, his old cronies, clergy and laymen, declared that the pontiff drank toasts to the health of the devil; that when playing at dice he invoked the aid of Jupiter, and that in his orgies he called himself the priest of Venus; they affirmed also, that he kept neither matins nor canonical hours, and that he never made the sign of the cross.

As the Romans did not understand the Saxon which Otho spoke, he addressed the assembly through Luitprand, the bishop of Cremona. "It sometimes happens, as we know from our own experience, that men who are elevated to dignities, are calumniated by the envious; do not be astonished, if I am distrustful on hearing the horrible accusation which has been read by the deacon Benedict. I therefore conjure you, by the name of God, whom we cannot deceive, by that of the holy mother, and by the body of the holy Apostle Peter, in whose presence we are assembled, I beseech you to lay nothing to the charge of the pontiff John the Twelfth, of which he is not truly guilty, and which has not been seen by men worthy of credit."

The clergy, nobility, and people of Rome exclaimed, "If Pope John has not committed the abominations which the deacon Benedict has read, and others still more horrible, may St. Peter not deliver us from our sins! May we remain for ever laden with anathemas, and may the Lord place us on his left hand at the day of the last judgment!" There came into the council, soldiers of the prince, who de-

clared that they had seen the holy father, his sword in his hand, and his casque on his head, escorting his courtezans, and preceded by ears bearing away candelabras, crucifixes, chalice, and the consecrated cruets and censers. The emperor replied.—"Every soldier of my army is an unexceptionable witness; I believe all, and besides, do I not myself know that John has become guilty of perjury towards us, by his alliance with Adalbert? We will, however, hear his defence before condemning him."

The prince sent him this letter: "We have come to Rome, most holy father, for the service of God, and when we demanded from the priests the cause of your absence, they brought against you horrible accusations. Clergy and laity have alike accused you of sacrilege, extortions, homicides, and abominable incests. They have declared that you drank wine to the love of the devil, and that you have invoked in your orgies the gods who presided over the debaucheries of the Pagans. We pray you to come at once to justify yourself before us; and if you fear the violence of the people, we swear that we will cause your person to be respected, and that nothing shall be done against you contrary to the canons."

The pontiff having read this letter, contented himself with the following reply, which he addressed to the council: "I learn that you wish to choose another pope; if you persist in this design, I excommunicate you in the name of the all-powerful God; so that you have no power to go into an election, nor to celebrate mass." And priests have been insensate enough to be willing to re-establish the memory of John the Twelfth, and to maintain, that after having fulminated his bull of excommunication, this execrable head of the church could not be deposed from the pontificate!!!

The convention, whose power fanatics pretend to contest, judged, however, that it could overthrow from the chair of St. Peter, the monster who profaned it; but before the rendering of the sentence, he was cited to appear before the council. The following is the synodical letter, which was addressed to him: "Most holy father, you have not yet replied to the emperor Otho, and you have not sent deputies to explain your defence. Are you willing to give us the motives for so doing. We consent to recognize your authority, if you come among us to justify yourself; but if you refuse to give us lawful excuses, we will despise your excommunication, and will hurl it back on you; for Judas had received equally with the other apostles, the authority to bind and loose; but after his crime, he could only bind himself."

Adrian, a cardinal priest, was charged to carry this second citation, which remained like the first, without a reply; the fathers then assembled the third time, and Otho opened the session in the following discourse: "We have waited for John to put our charges against him in form; as we now know that he will not come, we beseech you to examine into his conduct. Whilst he was oppressed

by Berenger and Adalbert, our rebellious subjects, he sent deputies into Saxony, beseeching us, in the name of God, to come and deliver Italy and the church from the two tyrants who desolated them. You know what I did. Forgetful, however, of the fidelity which he had sworn in this very place, he brought to Rome the traitor Adalbert; he revolted against my troops, and the minister of peace became the captain of war, clothed with his cuirass and his casque. Let the council pronounce its judgment! I have finished."

A bishop replied in the name of all: "We declare, my lord, that for a great evil, there must be an extraordinary remedy. If this execrable pontiff only injured himself, we should tolerate him! But as his frightful example perverts all Christendom, we beseech you, O magnanimous emperor, to drive this monster from the holy Roman church, and to place in his stead a man who sets an example of wisdom and virtue."

The prince replied: "Be it so."

Such was the decree which deposed John the Twelfth, from the pontifical See, in the year 963.

Several ecclesiastical authors maintain, that a pope could not lose his sovereign authority, how great soever may be his crimes; to think the contrary, they say, is the most culpable of heresies. But admitting to the letter the

vice-deity of the pontiffs, who will be willing to believe for a moment, that God confided the care of his church to a man like John the Twelfth, who was worthy of being the rival of Heliogabalus? Do not the most robust faith, and the blindest fanaticism, revolt from the idea of such a morality? What! a robber, a murderer, an incestuous person, worthily to represent Christ upon the pontifical throne! Can he excommunicate the victims of his infamous crimes, since religion wills, commands so? We will avow that this execrable doctrine shocks our mind; it is repugnant to the most depraved conscience!

When one sees such monsters as John the Twelfth, seated on the apostolical chair, it is impossible to believe that the divine spirit is incarnate in the pontiffs; for it would then be, that humanity would reject Christianity itself as an anti-social religion, as its fundamental dogma would repose upon the most profound immorality. Vainly do the cardinal Baronius, Platinus, Father Maimbourg, and the greater part of ecclesiastical historians avow that the church was then governed by unworthy popes. This confession is not sufficient to justify the institution of the papacy; on the contrary, it condemns it, since it corroborates this truth, that men elected and consecrated pontiffs, have surpassed in their dissoluteness all that was most hideous in the material doctrines of paganism.

## LEO THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 963.]

*Election of Leo the Eighth—Conspiracy against Otho—The Romans attack the German guards—The conspiracy conquered—The generosity of Otho.*

AFTER the deposition of John, the bishops having assembled anew in council, chose as pontiff, the venerable Leo, a man of approved merit and virtue. The emperor assented to this election which was made in the midst of the acclamations of the assembly.

The new pope was a Roman by birth; he was conducted by the cardinals to the palace of the Lateran in pomp, according to custom, to undergo the trial of the pierced chair; he was then ordained in the church of St. Peter, the clergy, nobles, and people, taking an oath of fidelity to him.

His election being completed, order was every where restored; and Otho, believing that he had nothing more to fear from the Romans, who had received him with such great demonstrations of respect, nor from John the Twelfth, who had lost all his authority in the holy city, determined, as a measure of relief to the citizens, to send his army into winter quarters in Ombria, and only to retain about himself a few troops who formed his

body guard. But he soon discovered how little he could rely on the fidelity of the priests; for those very persons who had implored his aid against Berenger, were the first to conspire against his person.

John the Twelfth, seconded by the partizans whom he had preserved in the city, excited discontent among the people; spread abroad writings, accusing the council which had deposed him, of having been guilty of an outrageous heresy, of having contemned the ecclesiastical law, of having reversed the decisions of the fathers, of having violated the canons contrary to all justice, and finally, of having trampled under foot all laws, human and divine. To himself alone, he said, it appertained to convoke lawfully the clergy, the nobles, and the people of Rome; to God alone pertained the power of judging a pope, how abominable soever he might be, as the synod of Sinuessa held during the reign of Pope Marcellinus, and that of the Italian and ultra-mountain prelates held in the church of

St. Peter, under Charlemagne, hast decided. He called Leo the Eighth, an anti-pope; the emperor a perjured tyrant, and he devoted them both to the execration of men, as well as the bishops, cardinals, deacons, priests and lords who had assisted at that sacrilegious assembly. He gave permission to the faithful to fall upon them and strike them with the sword, or put them to death by poison in accordance with the authority granted by St. Peter to him, John the Twelfth, the true pontiff, canonically chosen, ordained, consecrated, and enthroned by all the faithful. He warned the Romans, that God had stricken the execrable Otho with blindness, who had placed himself in their hands with a handful of soldiers; he commanded them to besiege him in his palace, to massacre him without pity.

In order to give more force to their declamations, the agents of the pope were prodigal of gold to the ecclesiastics, and promised that on his return, John would divide with them the gold which he had carried off in his retreat. Secret hatred, disappointed ambition, and above all, the insatiable avarice of the clergy, induced a large number of priests to unite with the conspiracy. The populace, led on by fanaticism, seconded their projects of rebellion, and on the 2d of January, 964, on a signal given by the bells of the churches, the clergy assembled in arms, and marched in order of battle towards the bridge of the castle to surprise the emperor.

Informed of the revolt by the noise of the seditious, Otho advanced to meet them at the head of his faithful Germans, and seized upon the entrance to the bridge, where he arrested the Romans. After a slight resistance, the priests became alarmed, and fled in such disorder, that a panic spread among the rebels. In their endeavours to escape, they fell one upon another and remained exposed without defence to the fury of the soldiers.

Fortunately Leo the Eighth left the palace at the very moment and arrested the carnage; on the next day, the generous Otho granted to him the pardon of the guilty, on condition that the Romans would give him an hundred hostages, chosen from among the most influential persons of the city, and that they should take a new oath of allegiance to him.

At the same time, he learned the news that the castle Monte Felto, the last fortress of Berenger, after a long and disastrous siege, had been compelled to surrender at discretion. Berenger was sent a prisoner into Germany, where he died eight days afterwards. His fall was a just punishment for the violence which he had wished to exercise towards the princess Adelaide, widow of Lothaire, count of Paris and duke of France, to force her to marry his son. Adelaide, to free herself from his persecutions, had placed herself under the protection of Otho the Great, and he, through a condemnable ambition, not only consented to protect her, but even married her, although he knew perfectly well that she had been defiled by the embraces of Hugh, the father of Lothaire, before her marriage, and even since her widowhood. After all, it is but of little consequence to a king whether he espouses a courtesan or not, provided she has provinces for her dowry! Otho took her for his wife, because, independently of the great property he acquired by her, his marriage with her furnished to him a pretext for laying claim to several French and Italian dutchies, which she claimed as the heritage of her first husband.

Otho, regarding Italy as entirely pacified, prepared to set out to join his army in Umbria, and restored the hostages to the Romans, hoping by this act of clemency to attach to himself the affections of the clergy. But he had scarcely passed the walls of the city, when a conspiracy was already on foot against the prince and pontiff.

## JOHN THE TWELFTH REINSTATED BY A REVOLT.

[A. D. 964.]

*The Roman women organize a new revolt against the emperor—John a second time usurps the Holy See—Cabal of the pontiff—His cruelties—He is surprised in adultery, and slain in the arms of his mistress—Reflections on his debauchery.*

THE adulteresses and courtezans of Rome impatiently desired the re-installation of John the Twelfth upon the Holy See. They went about among the taverns, distributed bountifully their gold, abandoned themselves to disgusting orgies with vagabonds and bandits, in order to augment the number of the partisans of John the Twelfth. They were soon enabled to form an army out of the vagabonds of Italy, and this infamous pope returned in triumph to Rome through the Dorean gates, whilst the venerable Leo secretly escaped be-

yond the ramparts, in order to shun the vengeance of his cruel competitor.

John the Twelfth was scarcely installed in the palace of the Lateran, when he called together a council, and the same prelates who proscribed him, gave utterance to new acclamations before the body of the apostle St. Peter.

The pope, surrounded by bacchantes with dishevelled hair and his hideous satellites, rose from his seat and pronounced the following discourse: "You know my dear brethren,

that I was torn from the Holy See by the violence of the emperor; the synod also which you held during my absence, and in contempt of ecclesiastical customs and canons, should be at once anathematized; you cannot recognize as your temporal ruler, him who presided over that impious assembly, nor as your spiritual guide, him whom you elected pope."

All these shameless priests replied, "We committed a prostitution in favour of the adulterer and usurper Leo."

"Do you wish to condemn him?" inquired the pontiff. "We do," replied the priests.

John added: "Can prelates ordained by us, ordain in our pontifical palace? And what do you think of the bishop Sicon, whom we consecrated with our own hands, and who has ordained Leo one of the officers of our court, neophyte, leader, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, priest, and finally, without putting him to any proof, and contrary to all the orders of the fathers, has dared to consecrate him to our episcopal See? What do you think of the conduct of Benedict, bishop of Porto, and of Gregory, of Albano, who blessed the usurper?"

The assembly replied, "Let them be sought out and brought before us; if they are discovered before the expiration of our third sitting, they shall be condemned with the anti-pope, in order that for the future, none of the officers, neophytes, judges, or public penitents shall be rash enough to aspire to the highest honour in the church."

The pontiff then pronounced the sentence of condemnation against Leo the Eighth. He declared him deposed from all sacerdotal honours, and from every clerical function, with a threat of a perpetual anathema, if he should endeavour to re-enter the sacred city. He then caused the prelates, who had been ordained during the pontificate of Leo, to appear before him, clothed in their copes and stoles of priests, and wrote upon a parchment which was given to them, "My father having nothing himself, could not lawfully give me any thing." After this they were degraded and replaced in the rank which they held before the usurpation of Leo.

On the next day, the second of the sitting, Benedict of Porto, and Gregory of Albano,

who had been seized in their palaces, were brought before the fathers. They were each of them compelled to read these words: "I, whilst my father was living, consecrated in his place, Leo an officer of the court, a neophyte and a perjured man; I did it in opposition to all the ordinances of the fathers and the customs of the church."

John then continued: "As for those who have aided the neophyte with money to purchase the grace of God, we condemn them to lose their rank in the church, if they are priests or deacons, and we excommunicate them if they are monks or laymen. We ordain, that for the future, the inferior shall never take away the rank of a superior. We prohibit monks from leaving the places in which they have renounced the world, and we pronounce against the guilty the penalty of excommunication."

The council coincided in all the wishes of the pope. On the next day, the third of the session, Sicon was condemned for contumacy, and the prelates who had been degraded during the preceding sittings, were re-instated in their sees in consideration of their submission. The pontiff, to justify the irregularity of this action, quoted the example of Stephen the Third, who had been degraded and re-elected by the bishops named by Constantine. Thus terminated this saturnalia.

The holy father then caused them to cut off the right hand of the cardinal deacon John, and the tongue and nose of Azon, and two fingers of his right hand.

John the Twelfth did not long survive this new triumph. He was surprised one night by a Roman lord, in the arms of his wife, and the husband, in his rage, struck him so violently on the head, that he fractured his skull. The holy father was then carried senseless to the patriarchal palace, and died eight days afterwards, on the 20th of March, 964. The priests spread a rumor that John had been fighting with the devil.

This abominable priest soiled the chair of St. Peter for nine entire years, and deserved to be called the most wicked of all the popes. Platinius, however, says, that there have been popes even more wicked than John the Twelfth.

## BENEDICT THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 964.]

*Election of Benedict the Fifth—Otho returns to Rome—Siege of the holy city—Famine in Rome—Exile and death of Benedict.*

WELL persuaded that having drawn the sword against a prince, we must cast away the scabbard, the Romans persisted in their revolt, and in contempt of the oath of fidelity which they had taken to the emperor, elevated to the Holy See, Benedict, a cardinal

deacon of the church. An immense concourse of people assisted at this election, and all swore to defend the pontiff against the power of Otho, or to die with arms in their hands.

Benedict the Fifth, a Roman by birth, and a man very commendable for his knowledge and his virtues, was enthroned without obstacle, the emperor being occupied for the moment with the siege of Camerino.

But, as soon as he was apprised of the revolt of the Romans, Otho quickly raised the blockade, and marched with banners displayed, and without stopping, until he arrived beneath the walls of the holy city, or rather of that frightful Babylon of the Apocalypse. His troops invested it on all sides, intercepted the communications, and prevented any one from leaving the place.

Encouraged by Benedict, the people coura-

geously sustained the rigours of a siege, and combatted valiantly in defence of their fire-sides. It is related that the pope himself, clothed in his pontifical habit, with a battle axe in his hands, mounted the ramparts, and from the top of the walls lanced anathemas upon the assailants, and beat back the enemy who mounted to the assault. Otho, on his side, pressed the siege with vigour, and famine soon desolated Rome. The people then discovered their courage diminishing with their strength. The city surrendered at discretion and opened its gates to Otho and Leo the Eighth, on the 23d of June, 964.

Benedict was exiled to Hamburg, where he died of chagrin, and thus was finished all the trouble of which the infamous John the Twelfth was the author.

## LEO THE EIGHTH REINSTATED BY THE EMPEROR OTHO.

[A. D. 964.]

*The council of Rome—Ceremonies for the deposition of Benedict—Decree in favour of the emperor—Reflections on the servility of the pope towards the emperor—Leo permits the bishops of Bavaria to marry—His death.*

BECOME master of Rome, Otho forced the citizens a second time to recognize Leo the Eighth as their pope.

The pontiff immediately convoked a council, composed of the Roman, Italian, and German lords and bishops, in the palace of the Lateran. Benedict the Fifth, clothed in his pontifical habit, was brought before the prelates who had consecrated him; and the archdeacon, Cardinal Benedict, one of those apostates who had three times broken their oaths, dared to insult him in his misfortune, by demanding from him by what authority and right he had clothed himself in the pontifical habit during the life of the venerable Leo. "Dost thou not remember, usurper," added the unworthy archdeacon, "that thou united with us in choosing for our head, the venerable Leo, after having rejected the abominable John from the church? Canst thou deny the oath taken by thee to the emperor here present? Reply: hast thou sworn that never wouldst thou and the other Romans elect and ordain a pontiff without the consent of the magnanimous Otho, or of the king his son?"

Benedict grew pale whilst listening to these questions, put in a threatening tone; the fear of a terrible punishment seized on his soul; he fell on his knees in the midst of the council, and exclaimed in a lamentable tone: "Pardon me, my brethren; I have sinned; have mercy upon me." The prince, moved by the sight, besought the assembly to make no effort against his life; he only asked that they should interrogate him upon the accusations of simony and rebellion.

The unfortunate pope, his mind troubled

through terror, fell upon his knees, demanding pardon from the emperor, Leo the Eighth, and the bishops; finally, in the midst of his sobs, he acknowledged himself guilty; he laid down his pallium, and held out with a trembling hand, the rod or pastoral baton which they had placed in it. Leo took it, broke it into several pieces, and showed it to the people; he then made the accused extend himself on the earth, and took off his cope and stole, exclaiming: "We deprive the usurper of the Holy See of the pontificate and priesthood; and we only grant him his life, through regard to the sovereign who has replaced us on our throne."

After this judgment, Benedict was driven from the council. They were then occupied in making a decree, by which the holy father, the clergy, and the people confirmed to Otho and his descendants, the right of choosing their successors in the kingdom of Italy; of making pontiffs, and of giving an investiture to prelates. They finally decided, that in future no election of pope, bishop, or patrician could be made without the consent of the emperor.

In this deed, the holy father excused himself by the example of Pope Adrian, who had granted to Charlemagne, with the dignity of patrician, the ordination of the Holy See, and the right of nominating to vacant prelateships. The right of investiture became, in after ages, the subject of long contests between the temporal sovereigns and the spiritual heads of the church, who reclaimed the freedom of elections. It is, however, certain, that even before the time of Charlemagne, the consent of the Greek emperors was necessary for the or-

dination of the bishops of Rome, as all historians attest. After the reign of Otho the Great, the elections were not precisely taken away from the people and the clergy, but were subject to the control of the emperor. When a prelate died, his cross and ring were carried to the prince, who bestowed them on him who should take possession of the benefice; the new titular could not be consecrated by his metropolitan, until after he had gone through this formality. The other ecclesiastical offices were conferred by the bishops of the diocese, unless the prince wished to present one of his favourites; and it was even sufficient for kings to recommend one of their subjects, that by virtue of this recommendation he might be provided for on the first vacancy. Thus did the emperors of the West, and particularly the three Othos.

Notwithstanding numerous incontestable precedents, the cardinal Baronius has undertaken to prove the falsity of the two acts of Adrian the First and Leo the Eighth; he declaimed with much bitterness against the monk Sigebert, whom he accused of fabricating these pieces, to favour the emperor Henry the

Fourth, whose party he sustained against Sergius the Seventh. If we wished to refute the writings of Baronius, it would be sufficient to observe, that the reasons with which he combats the authenticity of the act of Adrian, are completely erroneous. He maintains, that in one of his capitularies, Charlemagne leaves to the clergy and the people the free election of their bishops; but this capitulary attributed to the great emperor, is, on the contrary, that of his son Louis the Good Natured, as the learned and conscientious Father Simon has proved in the second volume of his Councils. The act of Adrian, cited more than an hundred and forty years after a decree made by Leo on the same subject, is still found in Gratian, although the writings of that historian were corrected and falsified by Gregory the Thirteenth.

Leo the Eighth, having no longer a competitor, governed the church for a year and four months longer; he died in the beginning of April, 965. During his reign, the court of Rome authorized the bishops of Bavaria to marry; a remarkable fact, which has since been kept in the back ground by all the adorers of the Holy See.

## JOHN THE THIRTEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 965.]

*Enthronement of John the Thirteenth—Revolt of the Romans—The pontiff is driven from his See—He assassinates Count Rofredus, one of his enemies—Otho returns into Italy—Punishment of the rebels—A miracle in Poland—History of the conversion of the Poles—Fanaticism of King Miecizlas—Roman priests invade Poland and subjugate it to the Holy See—Conversion of the Hungarians—Two women change the religion of Poland and Hungary—Council of Ravenna—Metropolitan church of Magdeburg—Bishopric of Prague—Pilgrimage of Mlada, the virgin of Bohemia—The pope sends legates to Constantinople—Contempt of the Greeks for John the Thirteenth—The emperor Nicephorus creates new archbishops in Italy—Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury—Christening of Bells—Death of John the Thirteenth.*

OTHO the Great, not having been able to gain the affections of the Romans by mildness, caused them to fear his always victorious arms; thus, after the death of Leo the Eighth, they dared not proceed to a new election, without the permission of the emperor. They accordingly deputed to him Azon and Marin, bishop of Sutri, to intreat him to name a pontiff. The prince received the envoys with honour, and satisfied with the deference shown him, permitted the Romans to raise to the pontifical See, a man of their choice, exacting, however, that the election should take place in the presence of his commissioners, Oger and Linzon, bishops of Spire and Almona. The bishop of Narni was elevated with one accord to the Holy See, and was consecrated under the name of John the Thirteenth; he was a Roman, and the son of a bishop, also named John.

From the very commencement of his reign, the new pope treated the very first citizens

with so much haughtiness, that he drew upon himself their enmity, and was driven from Rome.

This fact is related in different ways by authors; some affirm that Rofredus, count of Campania, and the prefect Peter, seconded by the chiefs of the corporations, arrested the pontiff, confined him in the castle of St. Angelo, and from thence sent him to Capua, where he passed eleven months in exile; but Maimbourg, after having eulogized the irreproachable conduct and purity of morals of John the Thirteenth, assures us that the governor of Rome, the principal magistrates, and the tribunes of the people, or the captains of quarters, wished to draw the pope into a revolt against the sovereign authority, and that on his refusal to join them, he was driven from the city, and constrained to take refuge with count Pandulph, his friend, who dwelt at Capua.

Soon after, the holy father employed some

bandits of Calabria, who assassinated Count Rofredus, his avowed enemy, and whom the Romans had made their leader. The death of the consul, and the defeat of Adalbert, whose troops were cut in pieces on the banks of the Po, by Burchard, a lieutenant of Otho the Great, gave the finishing blow to the rebellion.

The Romans having lost their leaders, and being unable any longer to count upon Adalbert or the Lombards, were seized with terror at the news of the approach of the emperor, who passed the Alps with the intention of punishing them severely for their revolt; they hastened to recall John the Thirteenth, and to re-instate him on the pontifical throne, hoping that he would place himself between them and the wrath of the sovereign; but they were deceived in their calculation.

Otho, on his entrance into Italy, seized the bishop of Placenza, and the Lombard lords, who had declared themselves for Adalbert, and sent them prisoners into Germany; he then advanced towards the holy city, where they were celebrating the festival of Christmas. All the citizens were in consternation and affright, for the emperor, justly irritated at their perfidy, had declared that he would refuse them a new pardon. In fact, after the festival was concluded, he hung a dozen of the principal citizens, and abandoned the prefect Peter to the pontiff.

John, instead of interceding for his people, yielded to all his rage against the unfortunate victim who had been given up to him. He cut off the nose and lips of the unfortunate prefect, and caused him to be fastened by his hair to the horse of the equestrian statue of Constantine. By the orders of the pontiff, the executioners defiled his face with human excrements; he was then stripped of his garments and placed backwards on an ass, having small bells attached to its head and sides. In this state, he was led on and whipped by the public executioners through all the streets of the city, and cast, all bloody as he was, into an horrible dungeon. John the Thirteenth, then caused the dead body of the count Rofredus, whom he had caused to be assassinated, to be disinterred, as well as that of Stephen, the keeper of the robes. They were trampled under foot in the public place, drawn through the mire, and finally cast into the common sewer.

The cruelties of the head of the church alarmed Otho, who put an end to these bloody executions. The prince only exacted that the Romans should submit to laws capable of constraining them to obedience. For this purpose, he made new decrees to replace the capitularies of Charlemagne, and the ordinances of the emperor of the Franks gave way to a severe and martial legislation.

Whilst Italy was groaning beneath the despotism of the popes, unfortunate Poland was opening the gates of its cities to the priests who had gained the confidence of Mieczislas, the duke of those countries. It is said that this prince was born blind, but that when he

was seven years old, and his head was shaved, in accordance with the customs of that people, he suddenly obtained his sight. His mother, transported with joy at so extraordinary an event, immediately conducted the child into the saloon in which the lords of the province were assembled. These, astonished by such a prodigy, sent to seek out the most renowned soothsayers, who declared that during the reign of Mieczislas, Poland would be illuminated by a great light.

The reigning duke bestowed great care on the education of his son, who succeeded him in the year 964. Notwithstanding the predictions of the soothsayers, the commencement of this reign did not answer the expectations which had been conceived of it. The new duke was defeated in all his wars with his neighbours and, moreover, he neglected the administration of public affairs, and passed all his days in feasting, and his nights in the arms of his concubines. As the prince, weakened by excess, was threatened with impotency, he published through all his states, that those who should point out to him the means of having an heir, should be generously rewarded. Immediately some priests, who were already scattered through Poland, hastened to his court, presented themselves to him as magicians, and assured him, that he would certainly have a son, if he would abjure paganism, dismiss the courtizans who crowded his palace, and espouse a Christian wife. The German princes, whose states adjoined his, sustained these monks with all their credit, and soon after, Mieczislas, superstitious, as are all ignorant people, sent an embassy to Boleslas, the king or duke of Bohemia, to ask from him in marriage, his daughter Dambrawea.

This monarch replied to the ambassadors, that it was impossible for him to accept the proposals of their master, because Christians could not ally themselves with idolaters; but that if he would consent to be baptized, and to introduce the religion of Christ into his kingdom, the princess should be cheerfully given to him. Mieczislas yielded to the wishes of Boleslas, and even before his marriage, permitted the Roman missionaries to preach the Gospel to his people; he however deferred his conversion until after his union with the beautiful Dambrawea, who had the glory of converting him to Christianity.

The duke soon became an ardent propagator of the new faith; he burned all the shrines of the false gods, confiscated the property of the unfortunates who remained attached to their ancient belief, and even burned some of them. The pope, who had brought about by his intrigues, this happy conversion, hastened to send legates into Poland, to subjugate the new people to his See. He named two archbishops, one at Gnesna, the other at Cracow; he established seven bishoprics, several collegiate churches and abbeys, and filled the country with monks and priests. All these begging slaves were commissioned to levy upon these countries an extraordinary tenth

part for the Holy See. The fanatical Mieczislas adhered to the orders of the pontiff, and even assigned large tracts of land for the support of the new churches. Dambrowca gave the necessary vases and ornaments for divine service. The fanaticism of the prince, on one side, and the avarice of the clergy on the other, soon despoiled the nobility and people in favour of the court of Rome.

At the same time, Gaïsa, or Geïsa, prince of Hungary, having heard of the beauty of Adelaide, the sister of Mieczislas, became enamoured of her, from the portrait he had seen of her, and sent to ask her in marriage. The request of the monarch was agreed to, and soon the young wife, as ardent for religion as the duke, her brother, persecuted her husband, to induce him to abandon paganism. At first, the prince resisted her requests, but finally, worn out by her entreaties, or rather yielding to her threats, he consented to be baptized, and the Gospel enlightened Hungary. Thus the beauty of two women, effected in a few days, what popes and emperors for eight centuries had been unable to achieve.

After having established his authority in Rome on a durable foundation, the emperor Otho, accompanied by the sovereign pontiff, set out to visit the principal cities of Tuscany and Romagna, as far as Ravenna. When they arrived in this last city, they convoked a council, at which were assembled several bishops of Italy, Germany, and Gaul. The convention met in the church of St. Severus.

The fathers confirmed the judgment rendered against Herold, the archbishop of Salzburg, who had been deposed by the preceding popes, and condemned to have his eyes put out. This unworthy priest had despoiled the churches to enrich his mistresses. He had given the treasures of the poor to pagans to buy their protection; he had conspired with idolaters against the emperor, and had revolted against his rule; and finally, he had placed himself at the head of a troop of brigands, who laid cities under contribution, and massacred travellers.

An holy bishop, named Frederick, had been elevated in his place by the lords of Bavaria, and the clergy of the province; but as Herold, though blind and deposed, continued to say mass, and carry the pallium, John the Thirteenth was obliged, in order to give validity to the election of the new prelate, to excommunicate a second time all the adherents of the condemned. They then occupied themselves with erecting Magdeburg into a metropolitan See, or rather with confirming that which had been done in 962. They also ruled several points which interested the Roman church, and finally, Otho confirmed the donation which had already been made to the Holy See of the city and exarchate of Ravenna.

The emperor, desirous of assuring the conversion of the Slavi, which was his own work, and at the same time perform an act of clemency, brought out of the monastery of Weissenburg a dependancy of the diocese of

Spire, the prince Adalbert, his old enemy, whom he had confined there, and nominated him to the See of Magdeburg.

Adalbert then came to Rome to seek the pallium. The holy father not only granted it to him, authorizing him to have the government of the abbey of Weissenburg, but conferred on him several important privileges. He made him primate of Germany, and elevated him in dignity to the same rank as the metropolitans of Cologne, Mayence and Treves. He conferred on him the right of sitting among the cardinal bishops of Rome, and the power of ordaining twelve priests, seven deacons, and twenty-four cardinals, according to the custom of the Latin church. Finally, he made him metropolitan of all the nations of the Slavi, beyond the rivers Elbe and Sale, and permitted him to found bishoprics in the cities of Cisi, Misi, Mersburg, Brandenburg, Havelburg, and Posnam, declaring all those bishops to be suffragans of Adalbert.

John the Thirteenth placed all these decrees, in form, in a synod. He then sent the new prelate to take possession of his See.—Guy, bishop of St. Rufinus, and the librarian of the Roman church, and the cardinal Benedict, were designated to enthrone him in his See. The people, clergy, and principal citizens of Magdeburg, received their metropolitan with submission, and confirmed his election.

About the same time, Boleslas, the duke of Bohemia, died, leaving as the successor to his kingdom, a young son, whose mildness and virtue caused him to be surnamed the Good, the better to distinguish him from the vices and ferocity of his father, who had been called Boleslas the Cruel. The new duke of Bohemia was a sincere Christian. He protected strangers, and solaced the unfortunate as much as the odious priests who had invaded his kingdom permitted him.

During his reign, his sister Mlada, surnamed the Virgin of Bohemia, made a pilgrimage to Rome. The sovereign pontiff, rendering homage to the purity and great knowledge of this princess, blessed her, consecrated her an abbess, and changed her name to that of Mary. He gave to her the rule of St. Benedict, the pastoral baton, and letters for the duke of Bohemia. "Your sister," he wrote to Boleslas, "has asked our consent for the erection of a bishopric in your principality. We return thanks to God, who thus permits his church to extend itself among all nations. We consent that the church of the Martyrs, St. Vitus and Veneslas, should be erected into an episcopal See, and we permit the church of St. George to become a convent for nuns, submissive to the rules of St. Benedict, and intrusted to the government of our dear daughter Mary.

"I however, blame you for having followed until this time, the ritual of the Bulgarians, or Russians, and for having employed the idiom of the Slavi in your prayers. In future I desire you to take for a bishop one who is ac-

quainted with Latin literature, and who is capable of guiding our faithful of the church of Bohemia.<sup>77</sup>

In order to conform with this bull, the duke hastened to choose as bishop of Prague, a Saxon monk named Ditmar, who was consecrated by the metropolitan of Mayence, and enthroned amid the acclamations of the people and the ecclesiastics.

In the year 968, the young Otho, who had been already associated in the empire, was crowned emperor of Italy by John the Thirteenth; and at the request of Otho the Great, the pontiff sent nuncios to Constantinople, to ask for him in marriage, the daughter of Nicephorus Phocas. But, as the pope in his letters, gave to Otho the title of emperor of the Romans, and called Nicephorus but emperor of the Greeks, the latter rejected the request, and replied to the holy father: "How great is your insolence, barbarian priest, who dares thus to treat the sovereign of the world? How is it that the sea has not swallowed up the vessel, and the ambassadors who carry such a blasphemy? Our fear now is, that we shall not be able to find a punishment sufficiently terrible to punish your insolent nuncios, those boors, those miserable slaves, covered with sacerdotal rags; and if we consent not to put them to death, it is because we should regard ourselves as defiled, if our hands shed such abject blood."<sup>78</sup>

The envoys of the Western church were cast into prison, until the emperor should make known his decisions. But Luitprand, who had been deputed by his sovereign on the same business, finally obtained an audience of the patrician Christopher, and asked for mercy to the legates.

This eunuch said to him: "You should not think ill of it, that we retain those bad priests in prison, that we may punish the insolence of the bishop of Rome, (if indeed we may thus qualify a man who has declared himself the protector of the son of Alberic, the apostate, adulterer, sacrilegious and incestuous,) him whom you call John the Thirteenth, and who has dared to address to our master, letters in which he calls him the emperor of the Greeks! The insolence of your pope equals his ignorance; he does not know then that when the magnanimous Constantine transferred the imperial throne to Byzantium, he carried with him all the senate and nobility, and left at Rome only slaves, fishermen, cooks, and the obscure populace."<sup>79</sup>

Luitprand replied: "The pontiff, John the Thirteenth, instead of wishing to offend Nicephorus Phocas, thought that he was bestowing on him an agreeable title; for the Greek emperors having renounced the manners, garb, and language of the Latins, he supposed that the name of emperor of the Romans would displease him; but in future, he will change the address of his letters."<sup>80</sup>

This skilful reply tempered the indignation of the Greeks. Nicephorus and his brother, themselves replied to the emperor Otho. The officer having the superintendance of the pa-

lace, was instructed to write to the pope, threatening him with severe punishment, if he did not correct himself. They were unwilling even that the poor nuncios of the Holy See should be the bearers of this reply, and it was intrusted to Luitprand, who informs us of all these particulars, in the narrative which he has left of his embassy to Constantinople.

The emperor of the East then ordered the patriarch to erect Otranto into a primacy, and no longer to permit them to celebrate divine service in the Roman language in Apulia and Calabria, because, so he said in his decree, all the Latin bishops are simoniacs, adulterers, and apostates. Upon the express request of the prince, Polyeuetus sent to the bishop of Otranto, letters, in which he declared him a metropolitan, with power to consecrate bishops to the Sees of Turcico, Gravina, Tricarico and Acirentola. On his part, John the Thirteenth made two archbishoprics in the southern part of Italy, which, until now, had never had any other metropolitan See than the city of Rome.

Capua became a superior See, which was confided to John, the brother of Prince Pandulph, and Beneventum, in consideration that the body of St. Bartholomew reposed there, or rather on the recommendation of Pandulph, who was also the lord of that city, became an archiepiscopal See, which was submitted to the authority of Pandulph himself. John sent the pallium to him, and granted to him the right of choosing ten suffragans, on the express condition that his successors should come to be consecrated by the pope. A council held at Rome in the year 969, passed these decrees, and the bull which promulgated the election was subscribed by the pontiff, the emperor, and twenty-three bishops.

The chroniclers relate a singular miracle performed on one of the lords in the train of Prince Otho, who was possessed of a devil. This unfortunate man, in his paroxysms of fury, tore his face and bit his arms and hands with his teeth; the emperor, deeply grieved by the state of his favourite, ordered that the demoniac should be presented to the pontiff, in order that he might place around his neck the famous chain of St. Peter. The pope placed several chains in succession upon the possessed, which were made like that of St. Peter's, which produced no effect; but as soon as the true one touched him, a thick smoke issued from the body of the demoniac, frightful cries were heard in the air, and the demon was driven from his residence. Thierry, bishop of Metz, who was one of the witnesses of the miracle, was so enthusiastically impressed with the power of the apostolic chain, that he cast himself upon the young lord, seized the relic, and swore he would never surrender it unless they cut off his arm. The holy father, who had directed all this jugglery, consented to leave with the prelate the rings of it, which he held in his hand, in order to put himself beyond the reach of unfavourable

interpretations, if the same miracle were not produced with the rings as with the entire chain.

At this period, the venerable Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, had censured one of the most powerful lords of England, and had excommunicated him on account of his marriage with a relative. The king himself could not moderate the severity of the prelate, who declared the favourite of the king excluded from the communion of the faithful, until he should renounce his criminal union. They then had recourse to the sovereign pontiff, who sold the apostolic letters, which enjoined on the English prelate to receive the earl into the church, and to admit him to the holy table; but the obstinate Dunstan replied, "When I see the sinner repent I will obey the pope; until then, no man, no matter what his dignity, shall prevent me from keeping the law of God." It would appear that the supreme power of binding and loosing, or the pontifical infallibility, was not admitted by the metropolitan of Canterbury, and the earl was obliged to separate from his wife, in order to obtain re-admission to the church.

John the Thirteenth introduced the singu-

lar custom of blessing or baptizing bells. It is pretended that this usage was anterior to his reign, but we find no trace of it before him. It is then certain that the church owes to him this abuse of the most august of its sacraments, as the inscription on the great bell of St. John in the Lateran, to which he gave his name, irrefutably testifies.

According to some legends, this bell, after having been baptized, acquired the spiritual virtue of putting demons to flight when they seized upon the bodies of the faithful. A monk of Monte Cassino affirms, that he was a witness of one of these singular exorcisms. "It was at the time of afternoon prayers," he says, in his legend, "a young girl was conducted by her mother to the church, and as they commenced mounting the steps of the porch, the bell sounded to call the Romans to prayer. I saw this poor girl then fall into horrid convulsions, and I perceived the spirit of darkness escape from the extremity of her garments, under the form of a newly born infant, which suddenly disappeared."

John the Thirteenth, died on the 6th of September, in the year 972, after having occupied the pontifical chair almost seven years.

## BENEDICT THE SIXTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 973.]

*Death of the emperor Otho—Troubles at Rome—Crescentius endeavours to re-establish the former freedom—Benedict opposes the designs of the conspirators—Tragical death of the pope.*

HISTORIANS fix the date of the death of the emperor Otho, on the 7th of May, 973. He had assisted at matins and mass on the same day, but at vespers, after the Magnificat, he fell, struck with a fit of apoplexy. The lords, who surrounded him, immediately hastened to his assistance; it was, however, too late; the emperor had already entered eternity.

Otho reigned twenty-six years as king of Germany, and eleven years as emperor of Italy. Endowed with incredible activity, and great military talents, he joined to these qualities a consummate prudence and wisdom, which recalled the recollection of the illustrious Charlemagne. Like him, he held in his hands the destinies of Italy, and Rome had been conquered by his always victorious armies. Scarcely had he descended to the tomb, when ambition of all kinds exhibited itself in the holy city; but the party of Centius or Crescentius, soon ruled all the others, because he rallied round his flag the friends to the liberty of the people.

This courageous man had conceived the generous thought of re-establishing the old Roman republic. He summoned the citizens to arms and deliberated with them over the measures necessary to be taken to execute

their noble project. All recognized the necessity of overthrowing the new pontiff, who was the creature of the emperor, and that the people might regard themselves as freed from the oath of fidelity which they had taken, they decided to put him to death. In consequence of this, Crescentius, at the head of a troop of soldiers, forced the pontifical palace, seized the person of the pope, led him into the court-yard of the palace and strangled him.

Benedict the Sixth was a Roman by birth, and the son of Hildebrand. His morals were infamous, and several writers assure us, that his tragical death, which followed a few days after his pompous elevation, was a just punishment for all the crimes of his life.

They highly applaud the republican Crescentius for having delivered Rome from a bad pope. Besides, this bloody execution could not have been approved of as lawful, unless it could be justified by the necessity in which the Roman people found themselves of freeing themselves from a pontiff who wished to exercise an odious tyranny over the holy city. We must also take into account the barbarity of that period, in which violent means were considered the most natural if

they would insure the success of an enterprise. Notwithstanding this act of severe justice, Crescentius is none the less entitled to the admiration and gratitude of posterity for the patriotic sentiments which actuated him, and for the divine plan which he had formed of freeing Rome from the oppression of kings and popes.

## BONIFACE THE SEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 973.]

*One of the assassins of Benedict the Sixth named pope—Ambitious and cruel character of the new pontiff—He is driven from Rome—He sells the treasures of the church—He takes refuge at Constantinople—He returns to Italy.*

ON the very spot on which Benedict was strangled, in the midst of the cries of death and the noise of arms, a priest, the execrable Francon, dared to proclaim himself sovereign pontiff of Rome. The new pope first trampled under foot the dead body of his predecessor, he then hastened to the palace of the Lateran and placed the tiara on his criminal forehead; he was enthroned under the name of Boniface the Seventh.

Francon was of the basest origin, being the son of a courtesan and a deacon named Ferrutius. Ambitious, vindictive, and cruel, his life had been one long succession of infamies. It was he who advised the conspirators to assassinate Benedict the Sixth, and he dared to cause himself to be consecrated in his place. He did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of his crimes. The leaders of another party, the counts of Tuscanella, who were also ambitious of possessing the sovereign power in Rome, as the marquesses of Tuscany, their relatives, had before done, declared a furious war against him, and pursued him with so much bitterness, that he was obliged to flee

from Rome to escape the poignards of assassins. But before quitting the holy city, Boniface seized the treasures of the church of St. Peter; then flying like a robber, he soon reached the sea side, and embarked for Constantinople.

In the East, his gold and his promises gained to his views the courtiers of Zimisces, who by their counsels determined this prince to take up arms against Otho the Second. The Greeks made a descent on Apulia and Calabria, which they conquered, while the emperor was engaged in an unfortunate war against King Lothaire.

Boniface, in order to pay the expenses of his table, and support his mistresses, publicly sold in the streets of Constantinople, the sacred ornaments, the holy pyxes, the perfume boxes, the chandeliers, and even the crucifixes. Finally, after several months of scandalous and impious conduct, he dared to return into Italy, in the train of the Greek troops, and we shall soon see him employing simony, and murder, in order to remount the pontifical throne.

## DOMNUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 974.]

*Election of Domnus the Second—Obscurity about his pontificate—Mayeul, abbot of Cluny, refuses the papacy—Corruption of the clergy—The opinion of the bishop of Verona of the ecclesiastics of that period—Uncertainty as to the death of Domnus.*

AFTER the flight of Boniface the Seventh, the party of the counts of Tuscanella placed on the Holy See the priest Domnus, a Roman by birth. This pope, it is true, did nothing remarkable; but it is also true, that we cannot reproach him with disgraceful actions; and for this period of corruption, the silence of authors must pass for an eulogy on the sovereign pontiffs. Several writers place Domnus before Benedict; others, between Benedict

and the Sixth and Boniface the Seventh; and some do not even count him among the popes. We suppose that he only governed the church a short time, and that he performed no important act during his pontificate.

Before the election of Domnus, St. Mayeul, abbot of Cluny, refused the apostolical throne, which was offered him by the emperor Otho the Second, and the empress Adelaide, the mother of that prince; an example of humility

truly Christian, and which one admires the more, inasmuch as it so rarely presents itself in the history of the church.

It is related, that on returning from a pilgrimage to Rome, Mayeul and all his companions were attacked by some Saracens, who took them all prisoners, and loaded them with chains. The holy abbot was treated with great severity, and confined in a frightful grotto, with irons to his feet; he only looked for death, and addressed ardent prayers to Heaven, when he had a vision, in which an angel appeared to him, who predicted to him a speedy deliverance. The next day, on rising, his chains fell off, as if by a miracle, and he left the grotto. The barbarians, astonished at this prodigy, dared no longer to maltreat him, and contented themselves with keeping him among them until he had paid his ransom, which they had fixed at a thousand pounds of silver.

Mayeul hastened to send a messenger to his convent of Cluny, with the following letter: "To my lords and brethren of Cluny, Mayeul, unfortunate and a captive. The torments of Belial have surrounded me, the pains of death have enveloped me. Now, then, send if you please, the ransom for me and those who are with me." This letter having been carried to Cluny, produced extreme affliction among the monks. They sold all the ornaments of the church, collected together all the treasures of the community, and finally got together the enormous sum of a thousand pounds of silver. The holy abbot was then freed, as well as all those who were taken with him.

But the Saracens were soon punished for the sacrilege they had committed in touching the anointed of the Lord. William, duke of Arles, excited by the hopes of booty, pursued the infidels, routed them, and seized on the money which they had received. The duke preserved the treasure, and only sent back to the monastery the books of the abbot.

It was some months after this event, that the emperor Otho and the empress Adelaide brought St. Mayeul to their court, and besought him to accept the pontifical tiara.

The man of God asked for one day for reflection; and having prayed, a divine revelation fortified him in the resolution to refuse this supreme honour. He replied to those who urged him to accept it: "I know that I am wanting in the qualities necessary for so high a mission. To represent God upon earth, to be infallible like him, is not in the power of so weak a sinner as I am. I should live poor and humble; besides, how can I rule those Roman prelates from whose manners I am as far removed as from their country? My abbey is already a burthen too heavy for me."

The clergy then was much more corrupt than in our days. The following is the opinion entertained by Rathier, bishop of Verona, of the ecclesiastics: "When I was transferred to the bishopric of Liege, a bishop blamed this translation as reprehensible and punishable

by the canons, whilst he himself was abandoned to excess in drinking, and passed his nights in orgies with women; during the day, he followed the chase, and never appeared in his church.

"I have seen two metropolitans dispute at the end of a debauch at table; the one reproached the other for his quarrelsome disposition and the murders which he had committed; the other retorted on the former in his turn, for having poisoned the husbands, and kept three women at once. Of these two prelates, the one had committed adultery before his ordination, the other, after his consecration, had embraced three women.

"But we should not be surprised at finding no one worthy of the prelature; for if a man who is a perjurer, a drunkard, and addicted to prostitutes, is placed upon the apostolical throne, how can we carry complaints before his tribunal? The popes dare not condemn those whose sentiments are in conformity with their own. Behold then where comes the contempt in which the laws of the church, and even the Gospel itself is held! How can we consider it useful to observe ecclesiastical rules, when we see the pontiffs violating the holiest precepts of the Saviour?

"The bishops and archbishops traverse the public places with their hunting dogs; conducting their concubines, and striking their servants with blows of clubs, and when their treasury is empty, they sell absolutions in public, and add hypocrisy to the ignoble scandal of their debauchery. Should we then be astonished that the people are no longer touched by the teachings of Holy Scripture, when they see the ministers of God acting thus contrary to the morality of Christ?

"The people ridicule excommunications, because we do not fear them ourselves, although we do not cease to merit them for our shamelessness, our incontinence, and our disgraceful excesses. Of all Christian nations ours possesses the most immodest prelates, from the use which they make of spiced ragouts and prepared wines. In Italy, one is called a priest as soon as he has shaved his beard and the crown of his head, and then they murmur in the church some prayers, with the intention of pleasing the women rather than God."

Rathier made useless efforts to correct the priests of his diocese. All the ecclesiastics kept openly in their houses, women of pleasure, or young Neapolitans, the disgrace of humanity; and when the holy prelate wished to invoke the laws of the emperor and the canons of the church to oblige them to send away these prostitutes and abominable men, they represented to him, that poverty was the sole cause of the shameful commerce which they maintained. In fact, the prelate of Verona having taken an exact cognizance of the state of the revenues of the clergy of his See, discovered that their bad division prevented them from being sufficient for the wants of the priests. Those who rendered the least services received considerable sums,

and the infirm ecclesiastics would not admit their reclamations, "I waited for the death of my predecessor," replied the great dignitaries to them, "to enjoy that which I now have; do you also wait for mine."

Rathier wished to execute the canons, but they opposed the custom to him. Then, the pious prelate, in his holy wrath exclaimed, "I have received from the synods the power of correcting that which is done contrary to the rules of the fathers, and yet I cannot reform any abuse. I do not see among you, but bigamists, concubine keepers, seditious persons, perjurers, apostates, usurers, sodomites and drunkards. Your children are all bastards, and your depravity is the cause of the ruin of my people.

"How can I punish a layman for the crime of adultery, perjury, or robbery, when I am compelled to tolerate ignorance and depravity among my ecclesiastics? You do not even know the creed of the apostles; but to make up for it, you understand perfectly what usury, prostitution and sodomy can produce."

These quotations give but a feeble idea of the frightful disorders, and inconceivable degradation of the clergy of the tenth century.

Nothing certain is known of the death of Domnus. Was he dethroned by his successor and sent into exile? This version is probable. Or did he finish his days in the honours of the pontificate? We know not. Be it as it may, he disappeared from the Holy See, and from history, towards the year 974.

## BENEDICT THE SEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 974.]

*Benedict chosen pontiff by the counts of Tuscanella—Irregular election of Gisler, archbishop of Magdeburg—Otho the Second marches on Rome at the head of his army—Cruel feast of the emperor—He fights the Greeks—Is wounded by a poisoned arrow—His flight—The death of Pope Benedict.*

ALTHOUGH Boniface had returned into Italy, and was engaged in re-assembling his partizans in order to mount upon the throne of the church, he was unable yet to overcome his competitor, Benedict, bishop of Sutri, who was proclaimed sovereign pontiff, by the party of the counts of Tuscanella. All the leaders of party had yielded, or been banished from Rome. Violent seditions, however, broke out from time to time in the holy city, and threatened the precarious power of Benedict the Seventh.

The new pope, having obtained the confirmation of his election from the emperor, took energetic measures against the rebellious priests, and drove the seditious, and the agents of Boniface entirely from Rome.

During his reign, Benedict remained shut up in the palace of the Lateran, with his relatives, the counts of Tuscanella; and we are induced to believe that his morals were similar to those of the clergy of that period.—History, however, preserves an indulgent silence in regard to debaucheries which did not attract the attention of the people.

After the death of St. Adalbert, the metropolitan of Magdeburg, Gisler, who had been before deposed from the chair of Mersburg, asked the vacant See from the emperor, as a recompense for his services. The prince granted it to him, with the reservation, however, that the translation of the new archbishop should be canonically authorized by Benedict the Seventh.

The pontiff, knowing that Gisler did not occupy the bishopric since the See of Mers-

burg had been taken from him by Hildebrand, dared not confirm this new election without the approval of the clergy of Rome. A synod was consequently convoked to decide the question; but the judges, gained over by the gold of the prelate, pronounced, contrary to all law and usage, that Gisler could take possession of the diocese of Magdeburg.

In the following year, Otho, on the news that the Greeks had made a descent into Apulia and Calabria, which they had seized, resolved to pass the Alps and drive from Italy these allies of the unworthy Boniface. He concluded, promptly, an advantageous peace with Lothaire, and invaded Lombardy at the head of numerous troops. After having chastised the seditious lords, and re-established his authority over the cities of Lombardy, the emperor went to Rome, under the pretext of assisting at the festival of Christmas, but in reality to succour the pope, who feared the vicinity of the Greeks and the intrigues of Boniface.

Otho, recollecting that the emperor, his father, had never been able to tame the Romans, but through terror, determined to follow the same example; and, in accordance with the advice of the holy father, he prepared at the Vatican a sumptuous entertainment, to which he invited the grandees of Rome, the magistrates, and the deputies of the neighbouring cities. Otho at first laboured to inspire his guests with joy. Perfumed wines were poured out in profusion; exquisite dishes succeeded each other, without interruption, on the table, and the brightest gaiety shone

on every face. Then, upon a signal from the prince, a troop of soldiers suddenly entered the festive hall, with their drawn swords in their hands, and three guards placed themselves behind each guest. A spectacle so strange filled their hearts with fright, and the dread increased when an officer of the palace, displaying a long list, called out in a loud voice the unfortunate men who were destined for the executioner. Sixty victims were led from the banquet-hall, and pitilessly massacred.

During this butchery, Otho and the pope preserved the same amenity in their words and gestures. They pledged their guests in the best wines, and pointed out to them the most delicious dishes. But the frightful image of death was before all eyes, and their faces remained icy with terror. At length the horrible banquet was concluded.

This Machiavelian cruelty produced terrible consequences to the emperor. After having levied new troops in Rome and Beneventum, to strengthen his army, he entered Apulia, which submitted to him without resistance. Elated by success, he penetrated without opposition into Calabria; but he was there stopped by the Greeks and Arabs, who had concentrated all their forces in the interior of the province, and who advanced to meet him. The two armies met at Basentello, a village situated on the sea shore, and the battle commenced. Scarcely, however, was the signal for combat given, when the

Italians, and especially the people of Beneventum and Rome, took to flight, in order to avenge themselves for the massacre of their fellow citizens at the banquet of the Vatican. The disorder spread in the ranks of the Germans, who were stationed behind the van of the battle; the Greeks and Arabs surrounded them without difficulty, and all the old German bands were cut to pieces.

Otho only escaped death by a disgraceful flight; he cast himself into a fisherman's boat, which he found by chance; and, as he endeavoured to gain the deep sea, he was wounded by a poisoned arrow, which, it is said, Boniface the Seventh, who fought with the Saracens, himself shot at him. He died, in consequence of his wound, a year after this bloody defeat.

Benedict the Seventh did not survive the prince a long time; he was struck, beyond doubt, by the same hand that had stricken down the emperor, and the pontifical throne became vacant on the 16th of July, 984.

Some ecclesiastical writers have eulogized Benedict; but, historians whose authority is incontestable, assure us, that during his reign, simony and debauchery were held in honour in the holy city, and that they even sold the right to seats in the churches, from whence has arisen the traffic in chairs in the churches, which has been perpetuated to our own time, and still brings in immense revenues to the clergy.

## JOHN THE FOURTEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 984.]

*Election of John the Fourteenth—Return of Boniface to Italy—He subsidizes partizans in Rome—John the Fourteenth arrested and confined in the castle of St. Angelo—His death—Opinions of historians about John the Fourteenth*

Six days after the death of Benedict, the bishop of Pavia, whom the emperor Otho the Second had made the chancellor of Italy, was chosen pope, and enthroned under the name of John the Fourteenth. But Boniface, who was in the environs of Rome, supposing that it would be easy to overthrow the new pontiff before he was firmly seated on his See, sent his emissaries everywhere, distributing money to his partizans, and finally got together a troop of bandits, who proclaimed him absolute master of the city.

John the Fourteenth was arrested in the palace of the Lateran, and cast into the dungeon of St. Angelo. Boniface then deposed him; and, after four months of confinement, he condemned the unfortunate man to perish of hunger. By the order of the usurper, the dead body of John was even exposed on the drawbridge of the fortress, that no one might have doubts about his death, and to intimidate

the partizans he might still have, or who were attached to the emperor.

Maimburg, in the first book of his history of the fall of the empire, says, that truth should lead us to judge favourably of a man who was not convicted of any crime; and his opinion is, that John the Fourteenth had great virtues and eminent qualities for these times of ignorance.

Platinus, on the other hand thinks, that the incapacity and tyranny of the pontiff had alienated from him the greater part of the citizens, and that it was the hope of being enabled easily to overthrow, from the Holy See, a despot who had caused himself to be execrated by all the citizens, during a reign of eighteen months, which determined Boniface the Seventh to return to Rome. Besides, if John the Fourteenth had been really virtuous and disinterested, it is probable he would have refused the papacy, for he could not

have been ignorant how difficult it was to reconcile the duties of the Christian with the exigencies of this fatal dignity, especially at a period in which the popes were sovereign masters, absolute despots, and pretended to command the Christians of all kingdoms, to dispose, at their caprice, of their property, their persons and their belief; to regulate the mind and the will of all men, in order that all should labour and produce for them alone.

## BONIFACE THE SEVENTH RE-INSTALLED BY A PARRICIDE.

*Re-installment of Boniface—His crimes and debaucheries—His death—His dead body is cut by swords and daggers, and dragged through the streets of Rome—John the Roman chosen pope—The church does not count him among the supreme pontiffs.*

THE cruel Boniface, whom ancient authors call through derision Maliface, after having put to death Pope John, remounted the pontifical throne. He no longer preserved any measures in his conduct. Murders, judicial assassinations, poisonings, succeeded each other without interruption in the holy city. Friends and enemies had alike to fear his vengeance; the one because they had opposed his pretensions, the other because their services were to be paid. Even the neutral were condemned to death for not having taken sides.

Whilst blood was flowing in a flood through the streets of Rome, the walls of the palace of the Lateran were re-echoing the obscene songs of his courtizans or minions, until finally, after an abominable reign of eleven months, at the conclusion of a horrible debauch, Boniface the Seventh died suddenly, from an attack of apoplexy, according to some; or from the effects of a very violent poison, according to others.

This news spread through Rome, excited transports of joy; all the inhabitants, the lords and the priests crowded to St. Peter's; they tore the dead body of the pope from its coffin, disfigured it with blows of the sword and dagger, and, finally, the hideous corpse was despoiled of its shroud and dragged through the mire to the place at which stood the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, where it was hung up by the feet. During the night some priests detached it, and buried it in haste without the city, to prevent its being cast into the common sewers.

The calm being re-established, John, the son of Robert, and a Roman by birth, was chosen pontiff. He occupied the Holy See for four months, and died towards the end of the year 985, before having been consecrated. It is on this account that the church does not reckon him in the number of the popes.

## JOHN THE FIFTEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 986.]

*Election and consecration of John the Fifteenth—His character—Crescentius wishes to re-establish the Roman republic—He seizes on the tower of Adrian—The pope flies from Rome—He demands aid from Otho the Third—The Romans recall John the Fifteenth—Affair of Arnold of Rheims—Complaints of King Hugh against Arnold—Letter from the suffragans of Rheims against their archbishop—Violent conduct of the pope—Writings of Gerbert against him—Letter from King Hugh to the pope—John the Fifteenth obstinately maintains Arnold in the See of Rheims—Council of Mouson—Speech of Gerbert—He is excommunicated by the pope—Arnold re-installed in his archbishopric—Reflections on this scandalous affair—Strange particulars of Adalbert of Prague—Signal miracle—Canonization of St. Udalric—Death of John the Fifteenth.*

JOHN, the son of Robert, being dead, another pontiff, named John, was chosen, who was the fifteenth of that name. He was a Roman by birth, the son of a priest named Leo; he was consecrated on the 23d of April, 986. In the course of his reign the new pope showed great courage, or rather an unmeasured ambition, which enabled him to surmount all obstacles and all difficulties in maintaining the rights of the Holy See.

Scarcely was he enthroned, when Crescentius, one of the principal lords of Italy, who then filled the place of consul, excited a revolt in the holy city, for the purpose of replacing the absolute and tyrannical government of the pontiffs by a new republic. Having assembled his partizans beyond the Tiber, he distributed arms, harangued the people, and attacked the strong tower of Adrian, which he seized without striking a blow. This tower

was for a long time called the castle of Crescentius, in memory of this event, and in the end changed its name for that of the castle of St. Angelo.

John the Fifteenth, fearful that Crescentius should inflict on him the same treatment which he had done to his predecessor, escaped from Rome and retired into Tuscany, from whence he wrote to Otho the Third, beseeching him to come to the aid of the Holy See. The proposals of the pope were favourably received, and the prince immediately commenced assembling his troops. The revolted, who apprehended with reason the arrival of the German troops, whose entrance into Rome had already been signalized by bloody executions, sought to appease the pontiff, and proposed to recognize his sovereign authority, if he would consent to return to the holy city, unaccompanied by strange troops.

John eagerly accepted the offer; he, however, exacted hostages for his personal safety, and took all the means he could to guard against a new rebellion. The inhabitants gave him a pompous reception, and Crescentius himself was obliged to quit the city and abandon his generous projects.

At this period Charles, duke of Lorraine, was at war with Hugh Capet, the usurper of the crown of France, and the first king of the infamous race of the Capetians; the archbishop of Rheims, Adalberon, died, and Hugh hoping to gain the friendship of Charles, and to bring about skilfully an advantageous peace, gave the vacant archiepiscopal See to the natural brother of his enemy. But his policy was at fault; for as soon as Arnold was seated firmly in his See, he surrendered the city of Rheims to his brother, and took up arms against Hugh.

To arrest the baneful consequences which such a treason might have, the king resolved to take a terrible vengeance; before, however, undertaking anything, he wrote to the pope to inform him that a council of French bishops was about to assemble to judge the metropolitan Arnold. But Herbert the Third, count of Vermandois, and the brother-in-law of Duke Charles, had already been beforehand at the court of Rome, and the pontiff was gained to the side of Arnold, when the ambassadors arrived in the holy city.

The suffragans of Rheims wrote at the same time to the Holy See, to testify the horror with which the treason of their superior inspired them. They thus expressed themselves: "Although Arnold is a son of the church of Laon, it is none the less true that he drove away the former prelate, to establish himself in the episcopal See. He then seized upon the temporal power in the diocese of Rheims, and has sold us to his brother, in contempt of the oaths which he took upon the altar, under the pretext that oaths can only bind subjects, not sovereigns. Finally, since his consecration, the faithful of the diocese have been deprived of directors, and die without receiving confirmation or the episcopal blessing.

"We beseech you then most holy father to

condemn him whom we have all condemned, and we trust you will aid, with your supreme authority, the deposition of this traitor and apostate."

This letter evidently demonstrates that the suffragans of Rheims did not suppose that the pope had the right to judge this cause at Rome, to which the parties had not appealed, and that thus it appertained to them alone to pronounce a decision on the very spot on which the guilty man had committed the fault.

The deputies of the king and clergy of France were very badly received at the court of Rome. John the Fifteenth, who had sold his protection to the count of Vermandois, irritated that the envoy of Hugh Capet had not made him any present—refused even to hear them. Vainly did the commissioners go three times to the palace of the Lateran and remain three days without the gate to obtain a reply to their letters; the pontiff remained inflexible, and they were obliged to return to France, without having obtained an audience.

No matter what entreaties or menaces were made to the pope, for eighteen months he obstinately preserved an absolute silence on the affair of Arnold. Finally, King Hugh obtained possession of Laon, to which Duke Charles and his brother had retired. He caused the latter to be conducted to the city of Rheims, in order that he might reply to the French prelates as to the crimes of which he was accused.

Gerbert has left us a very detailed account of what took place in this assembly. At the first sitting, the authority of the council, and the authority which the king of France had to convoke it, were canonically established; at the second sitting, Arnold was convicted of the crime of lese-majesty. This unworthy prelate, in order to save his life, then plead guilty, and declared that he renounced the episcopal power. By this avowal he solemnly approved of the decision of the fathers, and the power of their tribunal; he restored to the king his ring and pastoral baton, and despoiled himself of other marks of his dignity, that they might be given to his successor; he then read with a loud voice, in the presence of the bishops, the act of renunciation, which had been formed upon the model of that of Ebbon. This declared in substance, that he acknowledged himself unworthy of the episcopate, that he renounced all ecclesiastical dignities, and asked that another bishop should be elected in his place; he finally finished by swearing upon the consecrated host, never to call in question the authority of the council which judged him.

In this synod, the bishop of Orleans, who was also named Arnold, expressed his opinion on the authority of the popes, in very energetic terms. We report a part of his speech upon pontifical infallibility.

"We believe, my brethren, we should always honour the Roman church, in memory of St. Peter, and we do not pretend to place ourselves in opposition to the pope. We, however, owe an equal obedience to the

council of Nice, and the rules laid down by the fathers. We should consequently distrust the silence of the pope and his new ordinances, in order that his ambition or cupidity may not prejudice the ancient canons, which should always remain in force.

“Have we attained the privileges of the court of Rome by assembling regularly? No. If the pope is commendable for his intelligence and his virtues, we have no censure to fear. If, on the contrary, the holy father suffers himself to err through ignorance or passion, we should not listen to him. We have seen upon the throne of the apostle a Leo and a Gregory, pontiffs admirable for their wisdom and science, and yet the bishops of Africa opposed the vaunting pretensions of the court of Rome, because they foresaw the evils under which we now suffer.

“In fact, Rome has much degenerated! After having given shining lights to Christianity, it now spreads abroad the profound darkness which is extending over future generations. Have we not seen John the Twelfth plunged in ignoble pleasures, conspire against the emperor, cut off the nose, right hand, and tongue of the deacon John, and massacre the first citizens of Rome? Boniface the Seventh, that infamous parricide, that dishonest robber, that trafficker in indulgences, did he not reign under our very eyes? Could God have ordained prelates distinguished for their knowledge and their wisdom, to remain in submission to such monsters! No! we should repel the pretensions of these execrable pontiffs, covered with shame and soiled with all iniquity.

“We must, however, avow that we are ourselves the cause of this scandal; for if the See of the Latin church, before resplendent, is now covered with shame and ignominy, it is because we have sacrificed the interests of religion to our dignity and grandeur. It is because we have placed in the first rank, him who deserves to be in the last! Do you not know that the man whom you place upon a throne will allow himself to be beguiled by honours and flatteries, and will become a demon in the temple of Christ? You have made the popes too powerful, and they have become corrupt.

“Some prelates of this solemn assembly can bear witness, that in Belgium and Germany, where the clergy are poor, priests are yet to be found who are worthy of governing the people. It is there that we must seek for bishops capable of judging wisely erring ecclesiastics; and not at Rome, where the balance of justice does not incline but under the weight of gold; where study is proscribed and ignorance crowned.

“The proud Gelasius said, that the Roman pontiff should govern the whole world, and that mortals had no right to demand an account from him of the least of his actions. Who, then, gives us a pope whose equity is infallible? Can one believe that the Holy Spirit suddenly inspires him whom we elevate to the pontificate, and that he refuses his

light to the other bishops who have been named? Has not Gregory written to the contrary, that bishops were all equal, so long as they fulfilled the duties of a Christian?

“If the arms of the barbarians prevent us from going to the holy city, or if the pontiff should be subjected to the oppression of a tyrant, would we then be obliged to hold no more assemblies, and would the prelates of all the kingdoms be constrained to condemn their princes, to execute the orders of an enemy who held the supreme See? The council of Nice commands us to hold ecclesiastical assemblies twice a year, without speaking at all of the pope; and the apostle commands us not to listen even to an angel who would wish to oppose the words of Scripture.

“Let us follow, then, these sacred laws, and ask for nothing from that Rome which is abandoned to every vice, and which God will soon engulf in a sea of sulphur and brimstone. Since the fall of the empire, it has lost the churches of Alexandria and Antioch, those of Asia and Africa. Soon Europe will escape from it; the interior of Spain no longer recognizes its judgments; Italy and Germany despise the popes. Let Gaul cease to submit to the disgraceful yoke of Rome, and then will be accomplished that revolt of the nations of which the Scriptures speak.” Some historians attribute this speech to Gerbert himself, which would give still more force to these memorable words, since that prelate, who afterwards filled the Holy See, never retracted any of his numerous works.

Fleury, in his ecclesiastical history, avows, that this writing contained terrible and deserved accusations, and that it contains nothing which was not then, or is not now, of public notoriety.

Arnold of Orleans wished to maintain the liberty of the clergy against the unjust tyranny of the pontiffs; and we should approve the sage firmness of that prelate, who was respectable by his age, his morals, and his learning. He said with reason, that a corrupt pope could not judge correctly of the faith. And what Christian will maintain that God dictates the decisions of a wretch crowned with a tiara? The worthy bishop elevates the decisions of councils above the decrees of the Holy See. He declares that a pontiff who is ignorant and without charity, is an anti-Christ. Is not that the doctrine of the first teachers of the church, and of conscientious men who have always courageously expressed the indignation with which the frightful disorders of Rome, or of the monsters who occupied the apostolic throne, inspired them?

Should we then be astonished that all Europe finally rose against priests who committed murders to obtain the papacy, and who soiled the chair of St. Peter, by adultery, incest, robbery and assassination?

After the deposition of Arnold, the deacon Gerbert was chosen and consecrated metropolitan of Rheims. But John the Fifteenth, under pretext that the bishops of France had surpassed the bounds of their authority, held

a synod, and annulled the ordination made by the clergy. He interdicted all the prelates who had assisted at this judgment, and Gerbert himself, who had consented to his own ordination.

Exasperated at the court of Rome, the new prelate publicly tore the bull of the pontiff to pieces, and prohibited his clergy from observing the interdict lanced against his diocese. Seguin, archbishop of Sens, wrote as follows on this subject: "Our adversaries maintain that we should wait for the decision of Rome to depose Arnold. But how can they prove that the judgment of this prelate should be preferable to that of God?"

"I say now, if the pope sins against his brother, he should be regarded as a pagan and a publican; for the higher the rank, the more baneful the fall. If John the Fifteenth believes us unworthy of his communion, because none of us is willing to judge in opposition to the Scriptures, he can separate himself from us; but the bulls which he shall lance, cannot separate us from the apostolical communion, nor deprive us of eternal life.

"Should we not apply to prelates canonically assembled in a synod, that which St. Gregory said: 'The flock should fear the sentence of the shepherd, be it just or unjust.' The bishops are not the flock—they are the shepherds themselves. We have not then been legitimately excommunicated for a crime, which we have not confessed, and of which we could not be convicted; and it is wrong to treat us as rebels, since we have never shunned nor infringed the authority of councils.

"We ought not, from our weakness, to furnish our enemies with occasion to raise unjust pretensions against our privileges; for if the popes permit themselves to be corrupted by money, favor or fear, no one can longer exercise episcopal functions, without sustaining himself at the court of Rome by condemnable means. The common law of ecclesiastics is to be found in the Scriptures, the canons, and the decrees of the Holy See, which are equitable. He who shall wander from these laws through contempt, shall be judged by the canons; but those who observe them, should remain in peace. Be careful, therefore, how you abstain from celebrating the holy mysteries, lest you render yourself guilty towards God."

Gerbert wrote to several bishops of France against the sovereign pontiff. He said to Vilderode: "The pope cannot say we have denied his jurisdiction, since for eighteen months he has not replied to our letters, nor our deputies; besides, his silence on the new constitutions cannot prejudice established laws. You, then, who desire to preserve towards your king the fidelity which you promised him, and do not think of betraying neither your people nor your clergy, I beseech you to show yourselves favourable to those who obey God rather than man.

"Do not believe that Arnold is not amenable but to the sovereign pontiffs; for, after his confession, our synod, following the council

of Nice, could not avoid deposing him, even although his confession had been false. The pardon which he obtained from Hugh, is vainly alleged in favour of the guilty. The power of kings does not extend over souls; it is to us that belongs the power of binding and loosing, that is to say, of imposing spiritual punishments, such as deposition and excommunication."

Hugh Capet, on his part, addressed a letter to John the Fifteenth on the same subject. "We have written to you, most holy father, my bishops and I, by the archdeacon of Rheims, to explain to you the affair of Arnold. We again beseech you to do us justice, and to believe our royal word. We have done nothing against your holiness; and if you wish that that should be clearly established in your presence, you can come to Grenoble, a city situated on the frontiers of Italy and Gaul, where the popes, your predecessors, have frequently come to confer with the kings of France. If you prefer to enter our kingdom, we will receive you with honour, and will treat you with all the attention due to your character during your sojourn, and at your departure."

As respectful as was the letter of the prince, the holy father received it with insulting disdain. They could not obtain from him the approval of that which was done at Rheims, nor the revocation of the sentence of interdict which he had pronounced. He was unwilling to go to France, and contented himself with sending in his place, as legate, Leo, the abbot of St. Boniface at Rome, with orders to assemble a convention of bishops to depose Gerbert and re-install the traitor Arnold in his diocese. John wished in this way to punish the prelates of Gaul, who had refused to assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle or in his pontifical palace.

On his arrival in France, Leo convoked a council for the 2d of June, 996, in the city of Mouson, in accordance with the instructions he had received from the pontiff. The metropolitan of Verdun opened the sitting in the Gallic language. He explained at length the subjects which were to be examined, and then laid before the assembly a bull sealed with lead, and spoke upon it; after which Gerbert rose and said,

"My brethren, I have unceasingly prayed for the moment when I could justify myself before an assembly of bishops. Now, that God has granted me the grace to stand before those to whom I have confided the care of my safety, I will explain, in a few words, the aim of my actions.

"After the death of the emperor Otho the Second, I resolved not to quit the service of my spiritual father, Adalberon. Since then that prelate, in the presence of several illustrious persons, designated me, without my knowledge, as his successor to the See of Rheims. The gold, and the intrigues of Arnold, however, prevented my election, and he was preferred to me; I submitted to this bishop and served him faithfully up to the time of his

revolt against my prince. I then renounced, in an authentic writing, the friendship which he offered me, and I abandoned him with his accomplices, without any other desire than that of not participating in his crimes.

"Arnold was pursued by the prince, and finally condemned for contumacy, according to the laws of the church. As nothing more was necessary to deprive him of his See, in accordance with the laws of the kingdom, the grandees and chiefs of the clergy earnestly urged me to take the direction of the diocese. I did it with regret, well knowing the evils which threatened me.

"Such, before Christ, was the plainness of my conduct. I am accused of having betrayed my superior; of having led him to prison, and of having usurped his See! Was he my master, to whom I had never taken an oath? And after I left this rebel, was not every thing at an end between us? I was even ignorant where he had taken refuge; how then could I give him up? Besides, in the presence of creditable witnesses, I besought King Hugh not to retain him in prison on my account, and if you judge to-day according to my humility, it will little concern me whether Arnold or another was named archbishop of Rheims."

This discourse being finished, Gerbert gave a copy of it to the legate who presided over the synod. The prelates then left the assembly and counselled with Duke Godfrey; it was decided that Gerbert should send, as ambassador to King Hugh, the monk John, one of the train of the abbot Leo, in order to obtain from that prince authority to convoke a new council at Rheims, and prohibited him, in the name of the pontiff, from celebrating divine service until after the decision of the synod.

Gerbert represented to them, in vain, that no prelate, patriarch, nor pope, had the power to excommunicate an ecclesiastic, without having convicted him of fault, by his own confession, or the testimony of witnesses; that they could not reproach him with any thing; that he was even the only bishop of the Gauls who had come to Mouson, and finally, he declared, that as he was not sensible of guilt, he should not cease to celebrate the holy mysteries because he could not resolve to condemn himself.

Notwithstanding his protest, a new council assembled at Rheims, but Gerbert seeing that the legate Leo had a powerful party, and learning that King Hugh, at the beginning of his reign, could not break with the court of Rome, regarded his condemnation as certain, refused to appear before it, in which he was supported by Queen Adelaide. That which he had foreseen happened. Notwithstanding the active opposition of those who had deposed Arnold, that prelate was re-installed in the dignity of metropolitan. Gerbert was deposed, and the synod declared that it would not have been able to proceed legitimately in this cause without the consent of the pope. Thus the well-calculated obstinacy gave the last blow to the liberties of the Gallican church,

and from that period subjected its priests to the censures of the court of Rome.

John the Fifteenth skillfully availed himself of the weakness of the new-born monarchy to confirm the absolute authority of the Holy See over the French clergy. Notwithstanding, however, the sentence which was passed by the council, Arnold remained a prisoner during all the life of King Hugh, and Gerbert ruled the diocese of Rheims. We shall see the consequences of this struggle under another pontificate.

In the midst of these troubles, St. Adalbert of Prague came to Rome to consult with the pope, as to the conduct he should pursue towards his ungovernable people. The pious bishop had resolved to quit his diocese, on account of the scandal caused by the ecclesiastics, who entertained several women at once, and were publicly abandoned to the slave trade. John approved of his determination, induced him to hand over to him all the treasures which he had brought away, and advised him to make the journey to Jerusalem. But St. Adalbert was detained by a violent sickness, at Monte Cassino, and did not make his long pilgrimage. After his recovery he returned to the holy city, and Leo, abbot of St. Alexis, received him, alter several proofs, into his monastery, where he assumed the dress, on the Holy Thursday of 994.

As the disorders increased in the church of Prague, during the absence of Adalbert, Boleslas, duke of Bohemia, wrote to Villegisus, archbishop of Mayence, to reclaim for him from the pontiff, the pious cenobite, who edified the people by his example.

The pope replied, that he must convoke a council to decide, whether a monk could break his vows. After a grave discussion, the fathers consented that the former prelate of Prague should be restored to his diocese, provided the faithful would pay a good contribution to the holy father.

The chroniclers relate, that at the same period, Foulk, count of Anjou, built a church which was remarkable for the beauty of the architecture, and the grandeur of the building; but when the monument was finished the metropolitan of Tours would not dedicate it. This refusal compelled the count to make a journey to Rome, and John the Fifteenth consented to send a prelate with him, who should consecrate it, without the participation of the archbishop of Tours.

The cardinal Peter, who was designated by the pontiff, travelled with Foulk. On his arrival in Anjou, he convoked all the clergy to the dedication of the new temple. The prelates of France opposed his design, and prohibited all ecclesiastics from assisting at the ceremony; they accused the pontiff of sacrilege, avarice, and simony; they declared those excommunicated and deposed from the priesthood who should dare to concur in this enterprise, done in contempt of the decisions of the councils and the fathers, by assisting at an act of jurisdiction within the diocese of a bishop without his consent.

Notwithstanding this violent opposition, the Roman ambassador went on and commenced the ceremony, but at the very moment of the dedication, the church suddenly fell in upon the cardinal! A signal mark of the justice of God, adds the legendary, who thus punished the pride and tyranny of the sovereign pontiff.

Some authors attribute to John the Fifteenth, the custom of canonizing the saints, in imitation of the pagan apotheoses, who elevated great men to the rank of gods, demi-gods or heroes. It was, in truth, during his reign, on the 30th of January, 993, that the first council which proceeded to the canonization of a saint was convoked in the palace of the Lateran. The bishop of Augsburg, who was intrusted with making the funeral prayer of the new inhabitant of the skies, rose in the midst of the assembly, and read the life and miracles of the great Udalric, the former occupant of his See; this legend had been written by the priest Gerard, one of the disciples of the saint. When the reading was finished it was decreed that the memory of Udalric should, for the future, be honoured by a solemn festival, in order to follow this precept of the evangelist, "Whoso receiveth you, receiveth me." The bull which was published on this occasion is to be found in the collection of Roman Bulls.

During the latter part of the month of April, 996, the pope was attacked with a violent fever, and carried to the tomb the hatred of the people, and the contempt of the clergy.

In order to paint the character of John the Fifteenth, it is only necessary to repeat with the author of the life of St. Abbon, that this learned abbot of Fleury having gone to Rome, with a retinue suitable to his dignity, did not find the holy father such as he should have been, but that he was horrified at finding him full of avarice and ready to sell every thing. He accuses him of having pillaged the state and church; of having ravaged the temples and religious houses to enrich his mistresses and minions. He also attributes to his reign the origin of that frightful nepotism which has so long desolated Italy.

We should know, before we put confidence in the accusations of the holy abbot, that he was one of the most important persons of that period, and had acquired a great reputation for holiness. Before becoming abbot of his monastery, he had made several journeys to England, and had contracted an intimacy with St. Oswald, the archbishop of York, and the venerable St. Dunstan. On his return to France, Oibold, abbot of Fleury, when dying, designated Abbon as his successor; his election was, however, violently opposed by some debauched monks who wished to elevate to the abbot's place, a wretch soiled with every crime. Fortunately right and justice triumphed over intrigue, and Abbon was solemnly recognized as abbot of the monastery of Fleury, which he governed with great wisdom until his death.

## GREGORY THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 996.]

*Bruno, the nephew of the emperor, chosen pope, and ordained under the name of Gregory the Fifth—His character—Otho the Third quits Rome and returns to his kingdom—Crescentius becomes master of the holy city—Gregory the Fifth driven from his See, and takes refuge in Tuscany.*

OTHO THE THIRD was at the head of his army in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, when John the Fifteenth died. The senate and principal dignitaries of Rome, immediately sent ambassadors to him, to receive his orders in relation to the election of a pontiff. The emperor then chose from among the ecclesiastics of his chapel, the young Bruno, the son of his sister Judith and of Otho of Saxony, marquis of Verona, and presented him to the deputies as the pope whose nomination would be most acceptable to him.

Bruno was happily endowed by nature; he possessed some knowledge of belles lettres, and spoke the German, the pure Latin, and the vulgar idiom, that is to say, the languages used in the tenth century in Gaul, Germany, and the States of the Church. From his infancy he had been consecrated to God, and honoured the priesthood by his virtues. Not-

withstanding his distaste for greatness, he yielded to the requests of his uncle, who wished to raise him to the pontifical throne. Villegisus, the metropolitan of Mayence, and the bishop Adebaldus, were intrusted to conduct him to the holy city, where he was enthroned under the name of Gregory the Fifth. But the exercise of power soon changed the good qualities of Bruno into vices.

Otho shortly after went to Rome, to be solemnly consecrated emperor of Italy by his nephew; this ceremony finished, the prince assembled the senate and principal citizens to deliberate upon the propriety of exiling the turbulent Crescentius, who had oppressed the Holy See during the preceding reign; but the new pontiff being desirous of augmenting his popularity, by an act of indulgence, interceded with his uncle in favour of the accused, and at the same time, obtained an assurance

from him, that he would not disturb his tranquillity.

At the same time, Herlouin, bishop of Cambrai, went to Rome to obtain the confirmation of his bishopric, which could not be done by his metropolitan, on account of the strife between Arnold and Gerbert, which left the church of Rheims without a director. The pope consecrated the prelate, and even gave him a bull of excommunication, to prevent the French lords from pillaging the goods of his diocese.

Otho the Third, thinking that he had established his sway over Italy on a solid basis, repassed the Alps and returned to his kingdom; but Crescentius had not abandoned his project of recovering the liberty of Rome. After the departure of the emperor, he raised the standard of revolt, drove out the strangers from the city, and was proclaimed consul of the Roman republic. Gregory was deprived of his wealth and dignity, and was constrained to take refuge in Tuscany, from whence he afterwards passed into Lombardy.

## JOHN THE SIXTEENTH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 997.]

*The anti-pope Philagathus seizes on the Holy See—Remarkable history of John the Sixteenth—Character of the anti-pope—Gregory the Fifth takes refuge in Pavia, and excommunicates Crescentius and his adherents—The bishops of Italy, Germany, and Gaul excommunicate John the Sixteenth—The emperor comes into Italy—Cruelties exercised towards the anti-pope and Crescentius—Gregory the Fifth and Otho re-enter Rome—Different opinions as to the punishment of the anti-pope—St. Nil makes a journey to Rome to obtain the liberty of John the Sixteenth.*

CRESSENTIUS having become the consul of the Roman republic, raised to the pontifical throne one of his partizans, who was enthroned under the name of John the Sixteenth. This new pope was born at Rossano, in Calabria, and was called Philagathus. His parents were Greeks, and of a low condition.

In his youth he had embraced the monastic life. He had afterwards obtained a place at the court of Otho the Second, and had insinuated himself into the good graces of the prince, by the aid of the empress Theophania, to whose debaucheries he had become the purveyor. Philagathus had been at first supported from pity. He had from this the address to place himself among the most skilful courtiers, and maintained his credit until the death of the emperor. Ambitious, violent, and depraved, he employed all the resources of his vicious mind to arrive at the highest dignities. During the minority of Otho the Third, he obtained the See of Placenza, with the title of archbishop. He was also ambassador to Constantinople, when one of the daughters of the emperor of the East was demanded in marriage for that young prince. These different successes exalted his vanity, and he finally aspired to the sovereign power.

On his return to Rome, in 997, he joined the party of the people, and became, through ambition, one of the most ardent defenders of the republic. Crescentius then proclaimed him pontiff.

Gregory the Fifth, who had taken refuge at Pavia, held a great council, in which he excommunicated Crescentius and his partizans. John the Sixteenth was also condemned by the bishops of Germany, Italy and Gaul.

As soon as Otho was apprised of the revolt

of the Romans, he assembled new troops, confided the government of Germany to his aunt, Matilda, abbess of Quedleberg, and returned into Italy.

On the approach of the German troops, the anti-pope fled like a coward from the holy city, whilst Crescentius threw himself into the castle of St. Angelo, to resist the oppressor of his country.

Authors are not agreed as to the punishment or death of John the Sixteenth. Some maintain that the priests arrested him, put out his eyes, cut off his nose and ears, and that the unfortunate man finally died in consequence of this bloody treatment in the interior of Germany, whither Otho had exiled him.—Others assure us, that it was the prince himself who mutilated him, and condemned him to be precipitated from the top of the great tower of Adrian.

Some chroniclers relate, that St. Nil, the fellow countryman of the anti-pope, wrote to him exhorting him to renounce the glories of this world, with which he should be satiated, to return to the quiet of a monastic life. They add that Philagathus, touched by the exhortations of the pious cenobite, was preparing to abandon the tiara, when these fatal events happened. According to their version, he was publicly whipped, mutilated with horrible cruelty, and cast into prison by the orders of Gregory the Fifth. St. Nil having heard of these acts of barbarity, was filled with grief, and resolved to make a journey to Rome notwithstanding his extreme old age, and his constant sickness, to obtain a mitigation of the cruel treatment exercised towards the unfortunate Philagathus.

Gregory and the emperor met the holy father three miles from Rome, each taking him

by the hand, conducted him in this manner to the palace of the Lateran, and seated him between them, overwhelming him with marks of deference. The venerable old man groaned in secret at all these honours, but endured them in hopes of more readily pleasing his illustrious hosts. "Most holy father, and you, most powerful emperor," he exclaimed, "I beseech you to treat me as the greatest sinner among men. Allow me to prostrate myself at your feet, and honour your supreme dignity, that you may listen favourably to my entreaties for the unfortunate mutilated whom you have cast into prison. I beseech you to restore him to me, as the consolation of my last days. I will take him with me to our monastery, and we will weep together over our faults and our sins."

This touching request drew tears from the eyes of all the assistants. The pope and emperor alone remained immovable. Otho however replied: "We will do as you wish, my father, if you consent to remain with us."

The government of the monastery of Athanasius, which was remote from the noise of the city, and had for a long time been appropriated to Greek monks, was offered to him; he accepted it in order to serve the unfortunate John. But sacerdotal hatred was not yet assuaged, and Gregory the Fifth, in order to augment the sufferings of the anti-pope caused him to be conducted through the streets of Rome, mounted backwards upon an ass, holding the tail in his hand, and clothed in the shreds of his pontifical ornaments.

The venerable St. Nil then wrote to the sovereign pontiff and to the prince, to complain of this excessive harshness. "You have granted to me the liberty of this blind man," he said to them, "and yet you now are augmenting his misfortunes. It is not him whom you are really punishing, it is I myself, or rather it is Jesus Christ. Know then, if you have no pity on this unfortunate who is in your hands, your heavenly Father will have no pity on you." The holy father could not obtain the pardon of John the Sixteenth, and was obliged to return alone to his old monastery.

The retreat of St. Nil was situated near Gaëta, in a retired spot, desert and remote from all habitations. He had chosen this rustic solitude, that his monks might abandon themselves solely to poverty, prayer, meditation, and the reading of holy books: "for," said he "convents, which are too rich, soon pervert

the morals of our brethren, and contribute to the relaxation of religious discipline."

Otho professed so great respect for St. Nil, that a few months after these events, when returning from Mont Gargan, whither he had been to receive the submission of the chief of that country, he wished to visit this venerable abbot. He humbly confessed to him all the faults of his life, and shed a flood of tears as a mark of contrition for the cruelties which he had permitted the pope to exercise.

The punishment of Crescentius is also related in different ways. Some say that this generous republican having thrown himself into the tower of Adrian, resisted the forces of the emperor for several months; at length seeing his soldiers decimated by famine, or the sword of his enemies, he devoted himself for the safety of all, and came in the garb of a suppliant, to cast himself at the feet of Otho and implore his clemency.

This cruel prince was unwilling even to receive him, and replied to those who raised a voice in his defence, "Do you wish that the consul of the Romans, this fierce republican, who degrades emperors and dethrones popes, to be content with our Saxon huts, whither you would permit him to go? No, no, I will not suffer him to abase himself in my presence. Let him be re-conducted to his castle, where we will soon render him the honours which are his due."

Crescentius then returned to his fortress, where he defended himself with the greatest courage; at length the castle, stripped of its defenders, was carried by assault. All who were found in it were put to the sword, and the brave Crescentius was thrown from the summit of the tower which afterwards bore his name.

Other historians relate a part of the facts which we have given as to the death of the anti-pope in connection with that of his. Moreri maintains that Crescentius was simply beheaded, and that his dead body was dragged through the mire and hung to a very high tree. It is difficult to judge among those different versions, for the annals of that portion of the middle age have passed through so many hands interested in altering them, that it is almost impossible to discover the truth in texts covered with interpolations and errors; and there is no fact in the history of the church during the century, which has not been embroidered according to the caprices of the imagination of cotemporary authors.

## RE-INSTALLATION OF GREGORY THE FIFTH.

[A. D. 997.]

*Re-installation of Gregory the Fifth—The electors of the empire attributed to this pope—Second journey of St. Abbon to Rome—Reinstalment of Arnold on the See of Rheims—Gerbert named archbishop of Ravenna—Council of Rome—Re-installation of the bishop of Mersburg—Deposition of Stephen, bishop of Puy in Velay—Excommunication of King Robert and his wife Bertha—Superstition of the age—Death of the pope.*

WHATEVER may have been the nature of the punishment inflicted on the anti-pope Philagathus, it is certain that he was driven from the throne of St. Peter in the year 977, and that Gregory the Fifth immediately re-assumed the exercise of the pontifical authority. The pope, desirous of favouring the ambition of his uncle, and of avenging himself on the Romans, made a decree, which transferred to the Germans the right of choosing the emperor, a privilege which the Italians had always possessed until that period. This power was conceded to the archbishops of Mayence and Treves, and Cologne, and to three secular princes, the Count-palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, who formed the first electoral college. But this is the most obscure fact in the history of Germany, and that on which Protestants and Catholics have written with the most partiality and violence.

James Lampadius, a German juriconsult, does not recognize either Gregory the Fifth, or Otho the Third, as the founders of this institution, which he attributes to Frederick the Second. Otho of Frising assures us, that before the time of Gregory the Seventh, who occasioned such great trouble in the order of succession in Germany, the emperors were chosen by the states, that is the diets. According to Trithemus, William, count of Holland, was the first who received the iron crown and sceptre from the seven electors. John Frederick Bockleman puts forth an analogous opinion, and, according to him, the origin of the Septemvirate electoral college dates from the election of Count Adolphus of Nassau. Finally, Maimbourg affirms, with reason, that all that has been written about Otho and Gregory, in relation to the right of choosing electors, can be charged with uncertainty and errors.

After the death of Hugh Capet, King Robert, his son and successor, espoused his cousin Bertha, the widow of Eudes, count of Blois and Chartres, notwithstanding the canons of the church, which prohibited alliances between relations. The prince, in order to arrest ecclesiastical censures, hastened to offer large sums of money to the holy father; but as the policy of the emperor Otho was opposed to the conclusion of this marriage, the sovereign pontiff remained intractable, and threatened to place the kingdom of France under an interdict, if the king did not at once leave his cousin. The superstitious Robert, alarmed at the consequences of this excommunication,

immediately sent Abbon of Fleury into Italy to allay the storm. This latter went to Spolitto, where the pope then was, and was received with great honours by him; but instead of pleading the cause of the king, he occupied himself with his own private interests. Abbon received from the young pope a magnificent chasuble, as a testimony of his high esteem; and Gregory then made a decree, by which he conceded to the monastery of Fleury the privilege of being independent of the bishop of the diocese, and of not being placed under interdict, even when all the rest of Gaul was.

On his return to France, Abbon obtained from the king the re-installation of Arnold on the chair of Rheims, and gave to the new archbishop the pallium which he had received from the hands of the holy father. In his letters to Gregory, he rendered an account of the fidelity with which he had executed the orders of the court of Rome, and he besought the pontiff to engage Arnold to occupy himself more with his duties, in order to re-assemble his clergy, which was dispersed, and to cause the property which had been lost during the vacancy of the Holy See to be restored to his church.

Gerbert, abandoned by Robert the Second, and despoiled of his dignities by the unjust sentence of the pope, went to the emperor, who made him metropolitan of Ravenna. The sovereign pontiff who had pursued Gerbert in order to abase the crown of France, hastened to confirm the election of the learned prelate. He even sent him the pallium, and a letter in which he renewed all the ancient privileges of that metropolitan See, and also granted him authority over the Sees of Montefelto and Plaicenza.

During this year the holy father convoked a council at Rome, which was opened in the presence of the emperor: twenty-eight bishops assembled under the presidency of the pope. It was occupied with the re-establishment of the bishopric of Mersburg, which had been suppressed by Otho the Second; it was then engaged with the condemnation of King Robert and his cousin, which was the principal cause of its assembling. The council made eight decrees against the king. The first was, that the prince should immediately separate himself from his cousin, whom he had married in opposition to the laws of the church, and condemned him for seven years to the public penance which the fathers prescribed for this crime. A like excommunication was launched

against Bertha; against Archambaud, archbishop of Tours, who had pronounced the nuptial benediction, and finally all the priests who had assisted at this ceremony, were suspended from their functions until they should come to beg pardon of the Holy See.

The council also deposed Stephen, bishop of Puy in Velay, who had been consecrated by Guy, his uncle and predecessor, without the consent of the clergy and laity, and who had been ordained by two prelates, strangers in the province. King Robert was expressly prohibited from granting his protection to the deposed prelate, and he was enjoined to take measures to sustain the new election which the people and ecclesiastics of that diocese were about to make.

Robert, notwithstanding the threats and prohibitions of Rome, having desired to maintain Stephen on the See of Puy in Velay, and to continue his intimate relations with his wife Queen Bertha, they were both solemnly excommunicated. Gregory the Fifth, placed the kingdom of France under an interdict; divine service ceased through all its provinces; the sacraments were unadministered, and the dead remained unburied. • The superstition of this period was so great, that no one dared to approach the king. Two servants handed to him from the end of a pole, the dishes destined for his table, and cast into the fire all the vessels with which he was served. Father Damian relates, that during this excommunication, Robert and Bertha produced a monster, which had the head and neck of a goose. Finally, after three years of suffering, the king was compelled to obey the pope and repudiate his cousin!

Robert was a feeble, pusillanimous prince; he discovered, in the end, that he owed all his misfortunes to St. Abbon, who, instead of soliciting at Rome the confirmation of the mar-

riage of his sovereign, was occupied with his private interests, without disquieting himself concerning the misfortunes of the kingdom. Thus Gregory the Fifth, during a reign of two years and nine months, committed an irreparable evil to Italy, by taking away from it the election of the emperors, threw Spain into commotion, and laid the foundation for great disasters to France by abasing royalty, and submitting it to the sacerdotal power. He finally died on the 18th of February, 999.

For the purpose of extending his sway over Spain, Gregory had censured Bertrand the Second, the sovereign of the kingdom of Leon. This prince, who had reigned since 982, had drawn upon himself the hatred of the clergy by his arrest of Gondestus, bishop of Oveido, and of Athaulph, bishop of Compostello, both accused of enormous crimes. His love for justice became fatal to him; for several priests whom he had driven from his court on account of their connection with the acts charged upon the prelates, took refuge with Issem, king of Cordova. In consequence of their advice, Mahommed Almanzor, the prime minister of that sovereign, undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Bertrand, and these renegadoes conducted their enemies even up to the walls of Leon, which was taken by assault and reduced to ashes. The city of Astorga underwent the same fate. The churches were ravaged, the monasteries burned, the nuns violated and murdered. For several years this unfortunate country was reduced to such a state of misery, that entire provinces became vast deserts. But Garcia the Trembler, king of Navarre, and Garcia Fernandez, count of Castile, having come to the assistance of the states of Leon, gained a signal victory over the Arabs, drove them back even to Cordova, and re-established peace and prosperity in the kingdom of Leon.

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## THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

### SYLVESTER THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH POPE.

*Strange genealogy of the new pontiff—His true origin—His education among the Moors of Spain—The introduction of algebra into France attributed to him—He takes the side of King Hugh—Makes a clock for Magdeburg—Is accused of magic—History of the brazen head—The Androide, or man made by the sorcerer Albert the Great—Sylvester confirms the re-installation of his enemy Arnold—He increases the riches of the church—Revolt of the Romans against Otho—The emperor besieged in his palace—His death—Great scandal in the church in relation to the jurisdiction of a convent of girls—Council of Rome—Cruelties of Sylvester—Ridiculous stories about his death—History of his dead body—Reflections on the eleventh century.*

Bsoivius assures us, that the pontiff Sylvester the Second was born in Guyenne, and that he was descended from a king of Argos, named Temenus, who was himself of the race of Hercules, and the chief of the Heraclidæ in the expedition in which they reconquered the

Peloponnesus, a period which coincides with that at which the Bible fixes the birth of the prophet Samuel. If this genealogy were true, the pope would have had Jupiter for his ancestor, and this vicar of the God of the Christians would have descended directly from an

adultery committed by the father of the pagan gods.

Some authors, doubtless more correct, maintain that he was born in Auvergne, and that his parents were poor mountaineers, who placed him at Aurillac, in the monastery of St. Gerald, where he was educated from charity. His name was Gerbert. His progress was very rapid, and the young pupil soon outstripped even his professors. The abbot Gerald, of St. Serein, who felt a friendship for him, sent him into Spain, to Borel, count of Barcelona, who confided him to the care of bishop Haiton, to teach him mathematics.

Gerbert frequented assiduously the Arab academies, where he learned algebra, astrology, and alchymy. In a journey which Count Borel and Bishop Haiton made to Rome, they took their protégé with them, and presented him to Otho the Second. During the following year, Gerbert had a conference, in the presence of the prince, with the Saxon Otric, who was then renowned for his immense learning. All the remarkable men of Germany, Gaul, and Italy were present at this species of scientific congress, when he obtained the place of preceptor to the son of the emperor. To reward his care, Otho afterwards gave him the celebrated abbey of Bobio, founded by St. Colombon. This gift was approved by the clergy and the people, and confirmed by the sovereign pontiff. Unfortunately the great wealth of this monastery had been alienated by libelatical concessions, by the usurpations of the neighbouring lords, and, above all, by the dilapidations of the bishop of Pavia, who was afterwards elevated to the papacy under the name of John the Fourteenth. Gerbert was obliged to bestow all his care on the management of the property of the convent, in order to repair the malversations of his predecessors.

After the death of Otho the Second, Italy remained delivered over to the oppression of several tyrants, to whom each church would have been compelled to submit, if the bishops had not levied troops to resist them by force of arms. Gerbert, in order to avoid witnessing so afflicting a spectacle, quitted his abbey and came to Rheims, to the metropolitan Adalberon, who entertained a strong affection for him. He, however, remained always attached to Otho the Third, and maintained the interests of the young emperor against the enterprises of the duke of Bavaria and King Lothaire. The letters which he wrote to the prelates of Liege, Metz, Treves, and Mayence, show that the court of Germany had not, at that period, a more zealous partizan than he.

Notwithstanding the active part he took in political affairs, Gerbert continued to cultivate the sciences, and undertook the direction of the school of Rheims. King Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, pursued his studies under this illustrious teacher. There is still extant a letter written by Adalberon to the empress Theophania, asking for a diocese for Gerbert.

This proceeding had not a favourable result. The abbot of Bobio afterwards claimed the See of Rheims, under the pretext that the metropolitan before his death had chosen him to govern this church. Arnold was preferred to him; Gerbert remained, nevertheless, attached to the See of Rheims; he even, from regard for the new archbishop, took the part of Charles, duke of Lorraine, for the purpose of sustaining the legitimate heir of the crown of France against the usurper Hugh.

When, however, Capet was established on the throne, Gerbert secretly solicited from him the archbishopric of Rheims, betrayed Arnold, and finally obtained the order to replace his metropolitan. This scandalous affair occupied the entire reign of John the Fifteenth, and was only terminated during that of Gregory the Fifth.

On the arrival to the throne of Robert the Second, the son of Hugh, Arnold was re-installed in his See, and Gerbert was obliged to retire to the emperor Otho the Third, who elevated him to the archbishopric of Ravenna. A year afterwards, he was chosen pope under the name of Sylvester the Second. The surprising fortune of this mountaineer came from his extreme finesse, his duplicity, and the art which he had of insinuating himself into the good graces of the great. His knowledge of chemistry caused him to be accused of magic, and several ecclesiastical authors maintain, that he only arrived at the See of St. Peter through the assistance of the devil, from whom he had bought the pontifical tiara. They thus relate the fact: "Gerbert," they say, "had made, under propitious constellations, a head of brass, in which he forced the anti-christ to dwell. Once in his prison, the devil was enchained by magical formularies, which the Arabs had taught him, and he tormented the spirit of evil until he spoke by the mouth of this brazen monster. Those who were stationed near the oratory of the pope had frequently heard the devil say to him: 'I cannot bear this any longer; I grant you all that you ask of me.'"

Yesses states that Henry of Velleine, Robert of Lincoln, and Roger Bacon, had similar heads; and if we can believe Naude in his apology for great men, that Albert the Great had made an entire man who revealed to him the present, the past, and the future. He had employed, they said, thirty years of his life in framing it, under divers aspects of the constellations; the eyes, for example, had been made when the sun entered the sign of the zodiac which ruled the alloyage of metals. It was the same with the head, the neck, the shoulders, the waist, the thighs, the legs, and for all the other parts of the body, which he had made in accordance with the times in which the planets which corresponded with them appeared. This figure was since called the Androides of Albert; and St. Thomas Aquinas broke it, because, as he assures us, it stunned him with the continual noise of its prophecies.

Sylvester was also very skilful in the mechanic arts; the invention of clocks with

pendulums is attributed to him; he constructed several of them with his own hand, and particularly that of the cathedral of Magdeburg, which marked the seasons, the days, the months, the hours, and the lunar phases; he made algebra a common study, and was a great lover of old books, which he sought for in Spain, Italy, Gaul, Belgium, and Germany, and even in the ancient capital of the Eastern empire. He wrote several treatises on rhetoric and medicine, and was constantly occupied with astrology, or rather astronomy, and constructed several spheres, which he proudly called his best works.

Soon after his elevation to the pontifical throne, Gerbert definitely re-established Arnold in the archbishopric of Rheims, although that prelate had earnestly pursued him, and compelled him to take refuge in France. This act of greatness of soul was inspired rather by skillful policy than by true generosity. In his letter to Arnold, he said to him that it was the privilege of the Supreme See to pardon guilty ecclesiastics; and that the metropolitan of Rheims, although deposed for grave subjects, yet not having been condemned by the court of Rome, could be replaced in his former condition, through the goodness of Sylvester.

This pontiff augmented prodigiously the domains of the church; he received from Otho the Third, his old pupil, the city of Verceil, the country which was dependant on it, and the country of Saint-Agatha, with the right of government and justice in these provinces. On his entreaty, the emperor confirmed the privileges which had been granted to the chair of St. Peter, by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Good Natured.

It was at the commencement of his reign, that Sylvester granted to St. Stephen, king of Hungary, the royal crown, with the privilege of transmitting it to all his successors; he even wished the cross to be borne before the prince, and named him as his perpetual legate to reward him for his apostolic conduct in converting the greatest part of his people to the Christian faith.

Otho was then in Poland, where he had conferred the title of king on Duke Boleslas; but he was soon recalled into Italy to combat the Romans, who had revolted against his generals. The emperor entered the country; retook Capua from the Saracens, distributed his army through the cities of Campania, and entered victorious into Rome, followed by his choicest troops. But the day after his installation in the castle of St. Angelo, the people having assembled, flew to arms, and besieged him in his palace with such vigour, that he would have been forced to surrender, if Hugh, marquis of Etruria, and Henry, duke of Bavaria, the prefects of the city, had not afforded him the means of leaving it, by parleying with the rebels. Otho, delivered from the peril, caused all his troops to advance, invaded Rome a second time, and punished the authors of the sedition, with extreme rigour. The prince died some time after these events, having been poisoned by the widow of Crescen-

tius, whose daughter he had violated. The pope Sylvester was with him in his last moments.

At the beginning of the following year, (1001,) Bernard, bishop of Hildesheim came to ask for justice from Gerbert, against the metropolitan of his church. He complained to the pontiff that Villegisus had seized upon a convent of girls, which did not belong to his administration. This monastery, called Gandesem, had always recognized the bishop of Hildesheim as its diocesan, until the day on which Sophia, the daughter of the emperor Otho the Second, at the very moment of taking the veil, refused from pride to pronounce her vows between the hands of an ecclesiastic who did not wear the pallium. The princess exacted, that the archbishop of Mayence, should perform the ceremonies; Bernard having opposed it, the empress Theophania, besought him at least to permit Villegisus to be associated with him, and then was seen for the first time two prelates clothed in their episcopal ornaments, seated on each side of the same altar. The bishop, however, demanded from the prince, who was present, if he engaged to ratify the engagement of his sister, although it had taken place irregularly; he summoned the princess to submit herself to him and his successors, declaring that his metropolitan had no rights in that church.

Sophia, who regarded herself as the sister of the emperor, rather than a nun, left the monastery without the permission of the abbess, and lived at the court of Germany, where she abandoned herself to amorous intrigues. Bernard then warned her to return to her convent; but she, treating his remonstrances with contempt, placed herself under the protection of Villegisus, affirming that it was from him she had received the veil, and not from the prelate of Hildesheim.

The scandal of her amours and accouchements, however, compelled the emperor to cause her to return to the abbey of Gandesem. Furious then against the prelate whom she regarded as the author of her disgrace, she spread disorder among the nuns, and excited them to revolt; and at length, on the day of a solemn dedication, they refused him permission to enter the monastery, and called upon the archbishop of Mayence to perform the ceremony. Villegisus was stopped on his journey by his suffragans, who besought him not to infringe the canons of the church; and Henry, duke of Bavaria, urged Bernard to protest at once to the emperor and the court of Rome against the pretensions of the nuns.

Sylvester the Second, wishing to bring back peace to the church, assembled a council, at which all the laity and clergy who were elevated in dignity assisted. After the benediction of the holy father and the reading of the Bible, the floor was granted to Bernard, who accused his metropolitan of having held a synod in the monastery of Gandesem, in contempt of the rules which placed the nuns under his jurisdiction. The pontiff demanded

from the assembly, if they could consider as regular, the convocation of a synod by the archbishop of Mayence in an abbey which was a dependancy of the bishop of Hildesheim. The fathers all replied at once, that the synod was irregular, and that they should reject, in accordance with the canons, the decisions made by it. The pope then arose and pronounced the judgment, "By the authority of the apostles and fathers, we erase all that has been done by Villegisus and his accomplices, in the diocese of our brother Bernard during his absence." He gave the pastoral baton to this prelate, and said to him, "I restore to you my brother, and confirm you in the possession of Gandesem and its dependancies, and prohibit any one, be he who he may, from causing you the least trouble or harm."

The archbishop of Mayence was written to, and a legate was named to preside over an assembly to be held in Saxony, before which that prelate was to make his defence. The council was convoked for the year 1001, and Frederick, a cardinal priest of the Roman church, a Saxon by birth, was chosen to represent the sovereign pontiff. The cardinal went to Germany with a pompous embassy, and followed by a crowd of domestics clothed in liveries shining with gold, to show that he represented the head of Christianity.

The convention assembled at Polden, on the 22d of July, 1001. Villegisus, sustained by the prelates of his party, at first excited a great uproar in the council; but the envoy of Sylvester the Second, a man of remarkable firmness, appeased the murmurs, re-established silence, and made the accused himself read the letter which the holy father had addressed to him. The reading being finished, Frederick addressed the bishops who were present, asking their advice; the metropolitan of Hamburg declared in favour of Bernard, and of the decree made by the sovereign pontiff. Scarcely had he finished speaking, when the doors of the church were opened and the synod was entered by laymen with arms in their hands, crying out "death to the diocesan of Hildesheim, and to the envoy of the court of Rome." Notwithstanding the imminence of the danger, neither of them was alarmed. They harangued the disturbers, and showed them numerous troops without the church who were ready to strike those who dared to draw the sword in the temple of God.

This firmness arrested the factious. The sitting, however, was finished for that day. On the next day the convention assembled anew, but Villegisus did not appear, notwithstanding the formal assurance he had given the evening before; and they learned that he had left Polden during the night. The legate having summoned him several times in full council, suspended him from all ecclesiastical functions as contumacious, and ordered him to appear before the synod which was to be held in the palace of the Lateran, towards Christmas. On their side, the emperor and

Gerbert, indignant at the scandal which had taken place in Polden, commanded all the bishops of Germany who had taken part in this affair, to appear before them, not only to assist at the assembly convoked by the cardinal Frederick, but even to bring with them at their own expense the vassals of their diocese, who should follow their sovereign to the wars.

Several assemblies were still occupied with this quarrel between Villegisus and Bernard; it finished by wearing itself out, rather from the effects of time, than from the authority of the pope and councils.

During the following year Sylvester the Second convoked a synod in the palace of the Lateran, to judge another scene of scandal which took place in Italy. The chancellor, according to custom, opened the session, by addressing himself to the holy father, "My lord, your abbot of St. Peter near Perouse, presents complaints to this synod against Bishop Conon, who has rendered himself guilty of violence and sacrilege by tearing him from the altar of your monastery, and by driving him from the abbey. He assures you that the buildings of the convents have been pillaged, and that the bishop has seized upon all the riches of your monks."

Conon replied, "His holiness has intrusted to me the See of Perouse, and made me swear that I would not abandon its rights. This convent belongs to my diocese, and the pope cannot claim a particular privilege to examine juridically into this dispute." The fathers, however, declared that this church appertained to the sovereign pontiff. The prelate, to shun a more severe chastisement, consented to renounce the monastery of St. Peter, in favour of the apostolical throne, and gave the kiss of peace to his accuser.

Gerbert was vain, ambitious, treacherous, and cruel; authors relate as an evidence of his cruelty, that Guy, viscount of Limoges, having been cited to the court of Rome, by Grimoard, who accused him of having retained him a prisoner, to compel him to abandon to him the enjoyment of the abbey of Brantome, was condemned by Sylvester to be torn in pieces by two wild horses; and he even ordered, that before the punishment, Guy should be surrendered to the bishop of Angouleme, to undergo the torture by fire. But the latter, moved by the entreaties of Guy, consented to forget the violence of which he had been the victim, and both fled into France to shun the resentment of the pope.

After a pontificate of four years and a half, Gerbert died, at a very advanced age. His obsequies were performed with all the pomp which was due to the sovereign pontiff of the church. His elegy has been engraved upon his sepulchre by one of his successors.

After his death, however, the accusations of magic were renewed against him; some chroniclers gravely affirm, that Sylvester brought from Seville with him an abominable book, containing cabalistic formularies, with which he forced Lucifer to obey him, and the spirit of darkness promised the pontiff to guarantee

him against death, until the day in which he should celebrate mass in the church of Jerusalem. Sylvester, they add, hoped to live for ever, because he had formed the resolution never to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and continued to abandon himself to the most condemnable witchcraft of all kinds; but he soon proved that the promises of the devil are always fallacious and perfidious. One day when the holy father was celebrating divine service in the church of the Holy Cross, called also the church of Jerusalem, the devil suddenly appeared to him on the altar, and seizing the golden figure of Christ, which decorated the chapel, struck him so violent a blow with it, that he died in a few hours.

Before dying, Sylvester confessed to his cardinals that he had devoted himself to the devil; he recommended to them to place his body upon a car drawn by white horses, and to inter it in the place at which the coursers should stop of themselves. This order was punctually executed, and the car having stopped before the church of the Lateran, his remains were there deposited with the accustomed pomp. For a long time after, they staid at Rome, that, on the evening of the death of the pontiffs, they heard the bones of Sylvester the Second clash in his tomb, and the stone of his sepulchre was covered with a bloody sweat.

Six centuries and a half had flown by since the death of this pope, when the church of the Lateran was re-constructed. His coffin, which was of marble, was opened, and the body was found clothed in the pontifical robes; the tiara upon the head, and the arms crossed. Sylvester appeared to be still living, and spread around an odorous perfume; but as

soon as a ray of light struck him, an infernal flame escaped from his body, and all was reduced to ashes. There remained nothing but a cross of silver and the pastoral ring.

From that time the tomb ceased to present the same prodigies. The subterranean and lugubrious noises which had frightened the faithful, were no longer heard, nor were traces of blood perceived on the marble of the Mausoleum. The priests did not hesitate to explain this change as an effect of sorcery, or as caused by the disappearance of the devil, who for six hundred years watched over the body of the holy father. An ecclesiastical historian, Muratori, who wrote to defend the memory of Sylvester, gravely affirms that this miracle should not surprise us, as several tombs of saints, which formerly exuded oil or manna, no longer offered in his time the same prodigies. This singular remark was made by Muratori in 1740; that is, scarcely an hundred years since.

The character of the eleventh century is remarkable for a mixture of gross superstition and horrible debauchery. So great were the ignorance and depravity, that it was imagined that the reign of antichrist was approaching, and they interpreted the strange phenomena of nature as presages of the accomplishment of the words of the Apocalypse in relation to the end of the world. The auguries and sorceries practised even by the clergy, had replaced the sacraments and the ecclesiastical ceremonies. Finally, there existed neither virtue nor piety in the world; and Berenger says, "that the church was a collection of proud, impious, and wicked men, and that the apostolic chair had become a seat for demons!"

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## JOHN THE SEVENTEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1004.]

*Bishop Sicco succeeds Sylvester the Second—Uncertainty as to his origin and actions—Duration of his reign—His death—The heresy of Vilgard.*

THE bishop Sicco succeeded Sylvester the Second. The circumstances of his election remain completely unknown. We only know that he was enthroned by the name of John the Seventeenth. Platinus assures us that the family of this pontiff was in the very lowest orders of society. Father Pagi, on the other hand, affirms that it was of the most illustrious. The same uncertainty exists as to the character and actions of Sicco. Some authors maintain that he was cruel, vindictive, greedy of honours and riches; others pronounce a pompous eulogy upon him. It is difficult to form a correct opinion among such contradictory statements; and the best founded that we can give is, that he occupied the

Holy See about five months. He died at the commencement of the year 1004.

During his pontificate, a monk named Lentard, endeavoured to pass himself off as a prophet, to seduce the simple, and extort money from them. He related, that one day, being asleep in the country, he had a miraculous revelation, in which he saw a flock of bees, who entered his body from the rear, and passed out by his mouth, making a great noise; and that he was ordered to do things impossible to men. On awakening, he went to Chalons, assembled the people, and announcing himself as inspired by God, created so powerful a party, that they wished to place him on the See of that city. But Gebouin,

who was then bishop of Chalons, demanded to be confronted with this impudent monk, who in despair precipitated himself into a well.

Another fanatic, named Vilgard, gave birth to a singular heresy, which consisted in re-

garding the three poets, Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal, as prophets, whose dogmas we should follow to obtain eternal life.

The holy father ordered the bishops of Italy to exterminate those unfortunate fools by fire and sword, wherever they found them.

## JOHN THE EIGHTEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1004.]

*Election of John the Eighteenth—Erection of the church of Bamberg into a bishopric—Council of Rome—Death of John the Eighteenth—Vacancy in the Holy See.*

FASAN was chosen by the clergy, the grandees, and the people, as the most worthy to occupy the chair of St. Peter, and he was ordained on the 19th of March, 1004, under the name of John the Eighteenth. This pope was of Roman origin; his whole reign was passed in disgraceful effeminacy, infamy, and debauchery.

The only remarkable event of his pontificate, was the erection of Bamberg, or Babenburg, in Franconia, into a bishopric. King Henry, who had for a long time desired to establish a See in this small city, built a magnificent church, which he enriched with all the sacred ornaments and vases necessary for divine service. As it was situated in the diocese of Virsburg, Henry offered to the bishop in exchange for this church and its dependencies, a large sum of money. The latter readily accepted the offers of the prince, and exacted besides that he should be made a metropolitan, and have for his suffragan the ecclesiastic who should be elevated to the See of Bamberg.

Henry having accepted these conditions, his chaplains, Alberic and Louis, were intrusted with obtaining from the holy father the confirmation of his title of metropolitan. John the Eighteenth profited by this ridiculous fantasy of the king. He demanded one hundred pounds of gold, and two hundred pounds of silver, for the rights of the Holy See. He then convoked a council at Rome, and ordered that the new church erected into a bishopric, should be dedicated to St. Peter, and should remain under the particular protection of the pontifical See, although submitted to the archbishop of Mayence, its metropolitan.

Fasan died on the 18th of July, 1009, after having occupied the pontifical throne for five years and four months.

At this period, the Greek clergy was not yet separated from the Latin clergy, and they continued to read at Constantinople the name of John the Eighteenth, in the sacred writings, as well as that of the patriarch.

The Holy See remained vacant for twenty-four days after the death of the pope.

## SERGIUS THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1009.]

*The bishop of Albano enthroned by the name of Sergius the Fourth—His origin and character—Duration of his pontificate—His death and epitaph.*

PETER, bishop of Albano, was chosen pontiff, and succeeded John, under the name of Sergius the Fourth. He was the son of a priest named Martin, and a Roman by birth. Platinus and Ciaconius agree in representing him as a man of great piety and exemplary morals; charitable to the poor, clement to the guilty, of a perfect goodness and extreme prudence. He turned all his thoughts towards heaven, and governed the church with integrity and wisdom; he was in fact the only priest of his

time, worthy from his virtues, of occupying the throne of St. Peter. He undertook great reforms among the clergy of Rome, and had even formed a plan to drive the Arabs from Sicily, from whence these people made irruptions into Italy; but the short duration of his pontificate did not permit him to accomplish designs useful to Christianity.

During his reign, Libentius, archbishop of Hamburg, and Bernaire, bishop of Verden, excited a new difficulty about a parish church

which this latter claimed for his diocese, and on which Libentius had seized under the pretext, that it had served as a place of refuge for St. Anscaire, the first apostle of that country, during a persecution. St. Anscaire had in truth built an oratory in which were deposited the relics of the martyrs and the offerings of the common people rendered the possession of it very advantageous. The love of money was then the true motive for this scandalous quarrel. The metropolitan of Hamburg, to put an end to the affair, sent as his deputy to Rome the deacon Odon, bearing rich

presents for Sergius. The pope then decided the question in his favour, in honour, as he said, of the memory of St. Anscaire.

The holy father finally died in 1012, after having occupied the Holy See for two years and some months, if we can believe Sigebert, Gemblours, and Marianus Scotus. According to Cæsar Rapson, he was interred near the oratory of St. Thomas. His epitaph informs us, that he distributed clothing and food to the poor, and that he was regarded as one of the lights of the church.

## BENEDICT THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1012.]

*The bishop of Porto chosen pope and enthroned by the name of Benedict the Eighth—He is execrated by the Romans—The anti-pope Gregory—The faction of Benedict, at first victorious, is then driven from the city—He takes refuge in Germany with Henry the Second—His return to Rome—Coronation of the emperor—He confirms the election of his brother Arnold to the archbishopric of Ravenna—Benedict the Eighth defeats the Saracens—Bull against the Jews—Origin of the Norman sway in Italy—Journey of the pontiff to Germany—Council of Pavia—Benedict complains of the licentious lives of the clergy—Pilgrimage of Robert, king of France, to Rome—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Sergius, the bishop of Porto, the son of Gregory, count of Tusculum, was chosen sovereign pontiff, by the faction of the marquisses of Tuscanella in Etruria, his relatives, who during a century had already seated so many wretches on the throne of St. Peter. He took the name of Benedict the Eighth. The Romans, who execrated this pontiff, on account of his vices, conspired against his authority. A powerful party was soon formed among the clergy, who proclaimed another pope under the name of Gregory.

Benedict, however, still remained master of the palace of the Lateran; Gregory then courageously placed himself at the head of the people, drove the pontiff from the city, and forced him to seek refuge in Germany with Henry the Second. That prince declared against the anti-pope, threatened with his wrath the citizens who refused to recognize his protégé as the sovereign pontiff, and even gave him troops who conducted him back into Lombardy. The Romans, alarmed at the preparations which were making for war against them, and fearful of a new invasion, determined to send deputies to Benedict, to beseech him to return to his palace of the Lateran. Gregory was in his turn driven from the city, and left the tiara to his competitor, who seated himself anew in the chair of St. Peter.

Some days after they heard the news of a victory gained by Henry over the army of a pretender to the empire, named Ardouin and the prince soon came to Rome in person to be consecrated by the pontiff. This ceremony took place at the beginning of the year 1014. Henry entered the church, accompa-

nied by twelve senators, of whom six had their beards shaved in the Roman fashion, and six wore long moustachios after the German. He held by the hand the beautiful Cunegonda, his wife. The pope waited for the procession on the threshold of the temple; he asked the emperor if he would consent to be named defender of the church, and swear fidelity to him and his successors. Henry took the oath in a loud voice; Benedict then permitted him to enter the sanctuary, solemnly crowned him, and suspended before the altar of St. Peter, the diadem which he wore during the ceremony. Cunegonda was also crowned empress.

The holy father then presented to the emperor a golden apple surrounded by two circles of precious stones, which crossed each other and was surmounted by a golden crucifix. The apple represented the world, the cross was the symbol of religion, the precious stones portrayed the virtues of the monarch. Henry, on receiving it exclaimed, "I understand, holy father, that you wish to teach me how to govern my actions and my people. I accept the pledge which binds me to God and the world, and I will intrust the sacred deposit to those who have trampled under foot the pomps of the world in order to follow the standard of Christ." He sent this precious stone to the convent of Cluny, which, at this period, was esteemed the most regular of all the monasteries, and which had been already honoured by his munificence.

After the ceremony of the consecration, a sumptuous feast was prepared in the palace of the Lateran, and the pontiff entertained the



*Del. et Sculp. à V. Roussin No. 100, rue de la Harpe.*

Pope Benedict VIII.



emperor and empress of the West at supper. The donations which had been made to the Holy See from the time of Charlemagne to that of Otho the Third, were confirmed and augmented by Henry, who, however, reserved to himself, as his predecessors had done, the sovereign power over Rome, and the right of sending commissioners to receive the complaints of the people and administer justice. He re-established the independence of the pontifical elections, and made a decree permitting the Romans to consecrate a pope canonically elected, before they had taken the oath of fidelity to the empire.

During his sojourn in Rome, the emperor, whilst assisting at divine service, remarked that the Nicene creed was not chanted after the Gospels. He was shocked at it, and demanded from the holy father, why the Roman priests celebrated mass in a different way from those of Gaul, Germany, and Italy. The impudent Benedict replied, that the supreme church having never been infected with heresy had no need of declaring its faith; and besides, that divine wisdom commanded us not to enclose our belief in words, because men discussed or interpreted them at their will. This reply was audacious and false, adds the venerable Bernon, abbot of Richenou, who was present at the interview between the pope and the sovereign.

The emperor caused the election of his brother Arnold to the See of Ravenna to be confirmed, to the prejudice of Adalbert, whom he even wished to degrade as an usurper of that diocese. He, however, yielded to the just representations of the clergy, and gave to the prelate, as an indemnity, the See of Aricia.

Henry had hardly left Italy, when the Saracens made an inroad on the shores of Tuscany, took the city of Luna by assault, drove off its inhabitants, and made themselves masters of all the country. When this news reached Rome, the pope ordered all the bishops to assemble, and, placing himself at their head, marched to meet the Arabs, trusting, said authors, to the aid of God and the courage of his troops. His dispositions for battle were made with consummate skill. He prepared a large number of barges which he placed between the enemy's vessels and the shore, which were to prevent the Arabs from receiving re-inforcements when the signal for the attack was given.

They combatted for three days. The Christians, though frequently repulsed by the Saracens, yet animated by the example of the pontiff, who charged at their head, ended by gaining the victory; the ranks of the barbarians bent before their efforts; almost all the infidels were killed, and their number was so great, that it was impossible to count the dead. The booty was divided on the field of battle. The pope received, for his share, the wife of the Saracen leader, who had been made prisoner, and who was of a marvellous beauty; but the cruel Benedict cut off her head with his own hand; himself despoiled the dead body, tearing from it a crescent of gold, and

the precious stones which ornamented her turban, and gave her corpse to his soldiers.

The pontiff then put off his warlike equipments, dressed himself in his sacerdotal garments, and celebrated a solemn mass, to thank Christ for this memorable victory. On the next day the Arab chief, exasperated by the loss of his army and the cruel death of his wife, sent one of his officers to the Christian camp; he laid at the feet of the pontiff a bag-full of chesnuts, and announced to him, that the number of Saracens who would come to Italy to avenge the death of their brethren, would surpass the number of the chesnuts. The warlike pontiff then caused them to bring a small bag of millet, and, handing it to the ambassador, thus spoke to him: "Say to your master, that if he returns a second time to the territory of St. Peter, he will find as many soldiers to defend it as I send him grains of millet."

A new act of cruelty on the part of Benedict is related at this period. An earthquake had been felt at Rome on the holy Friday after the adoration of the cross; the pope, having learned that the Jews were at the time celebrating religious ceremonies in their synagogue, ordered them all to be beheaded. These unfortunate persons were at once given up to the executioner, and after their punishment, adds the historian, the fury of the winds subsided, and the earth suffered no more from the horrible tremblings which shook the holy city!

It is generally supposed, that it was about the end of the year 1016, that a Norman lord named Ralph took refuge at Rome, to escape the vengeance of Duke Richard, whose daughter he had seduced. The sovereign pontiff was then threatened by the imperial governor of the Greek provinces, with a war of extermination if he refused to pay a considerable tribute; and already, joining actions to threats, had invaded a part of the province of Beneventum, which belonged to the apostolic throne. On one side, the avarice of the pope prevented him from consenting to pay the tribute exacted; on the other, the cowardice of the Romans left him no hope of opposing the incursions of the enemy.

In this extremity, Benedict besought Ralph to take the command of the troops of the church; and he, at the head of the Italians, took the field, marched upon Beneventum, and gained several signal victories over the army of Basil. The rumour of his exploits soon spread even to Normandy, and a multitude of the warriors of that province, abandoned their county, taking with them their wives and children, and joined Ralph, who incorporated them in his army.

Such was the beginning of the Norman sway in the Roman peninsula. Ralph, however, after a series of battles, in which he was always conqueror, perceived that his countrymen, decimated by the enemy, were reduced to some thousands of soldiers. He then resolved to pass the mountains, and go to Henry the Second, to ask for re-inforcements from him

Benedict the Eighth accompanied him into Germany for the same end, and to accelerate the succours which the emperor had promised him against the Greeks. The holy father celebrated the festival of Easter at Bamberg, and, on the following Sunday, consecrated the church of St. Stephen, which the prince then offered to the Roman church. He also gave to him the city of Bamberg, and its dependencies, joining to them an annual tribute of a white horse, richly caparisoned, and of a purse of a hundred marks of silver.

The pope then returned to his estates, to assist at a council which he had convoked at Pavia, and whose proceedings have been preserved by historians. At the opening of the synod Benedict read a long discourse, in which he strongly censured the licentious lives of the clergy; he accused the priests of dissipating in orgies the property they had received by the liberality of kings, and of employing the revenues of their churches in the support of their prostitutes, or to enrich their bastards. He invoked against them the canons of Nice, which recommended to ecclesiastics to preserve continence, and prohibited them from living with concubines; finally, he recalled to their remembrance the decrees of St. Siricius and St. Leo, who condemned the marriages of priests and even of sub-deacons.

The holy father called all the children of priests bastards; and maintained that children born of a free woman and of a clergyman, a serf of the church, should inherit the condition of their father. Some bishops wished to oppose to him this passage of St. Paul: "That every one should marry to shun fornication." He then broke out into violent language against the concubine-keepers who dared to oppose his decisions. He replied, that the apostle had not intended to apply this command to priests, but to laymen; and that those who should maintain this heresy should be excommunicated, as the followers of Jovinian had been by their fathers.

Benedict made a decree, divided into seven articles, to prohibit ecclesiastics from having wife or concubine; he extended it to all the clergy, regular and secular, without exception; he declared that the children of ecclesiastics should be regarded as serfs, and should belong to the dioceses, although their mothers were free women. He anathematized the judges who should render them their liberty; he prohibited, under penalty of stripes and imprisonment, any serf of the church from making any acquisitions in the name of a freeman, until the bishop had given him all the rights of one. Henry the Second, at the entreaty of Benedict, confirmed these different decrees by an ordinance, also divided into seven articles, and added the penalty of temporal punishments to the spiritual pains, in order to assure their execution.

The emperor, who had come into Italy with his troops to oppose the invasions of the Greeks, united his army to the intrepid bands of the Normans, who were already commencing to form a kingdom on the shores of the Adriatic. The Greeks were defeated in every encounter; Ralph retook from them all the places they had occupied in Campania; he drove them from Apulia, enclosed them in a corner of Calabria, and finally finished by driving them entirely out of Italy. Robert the Second, king of France, accompanied by Enguerrand, abbot of Saint Niquier, and several ecclesiastical dignitaries, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and was admitted to kiss the feet of the pope. We are ignorant of the precise period at which the prince accomplished this pious journey.

After a reign of twelve years, the pope died in the palace of the Lateran, at the beginning of the year 1024, and was interred in the church of St. Peter.

A great number of authors gravely relate the numerous apparitions of Benedict the Eighth. Platinus assures us that a prelate saw the ghost of the holy father, robed in his pontifical ornaments, and mounted on a black horse. The bishop having asked the phantom which way he was going, the pontiff seized him forcibly by the arm, and lifting him from the earth, bore him to a place in which was concealed treasures, which he ordered him to distribute to the poor, to allay the sufferings he was enduring in another life as a punishment for his rapine.

Sigebert and Petrus Damnianus also affirm that the pope appeared to his successor, and besought his prayers to moderate the fires of purgatory, in which he was condemned to remain a thousand years on account of his crimes.

Vincent de Beauvais, the reader to the king St. Louis, who lived two hundred years later, relates with simplicity, that the decree which condemned Benedict was conditional; and that a monk of Cluny had a revelation in which the Holy Virgin announced to him, that the pope would be freed from his pains by their prayers, and the merits of St. Odillon their abbot; that the monks then redoubled their austerities, and obtained his deliverance; that the dead pontiff came himself to thank them one day when they were praying in church; that he apprised them of his happy release from the flames of Etna, and painted to them the sublime joys which he tasted in the heavenly Jerusalem. This passage, from the pious Vincent of Beauvais, leads us to suppose that the place chosen for purgatory, is the island of Sicily.

How ridiculous soever these fables are, they show us that Benedict the Eighth, should be placed among those pontiffs who have scandalized the church by their extortions, debaucheries and crimes.

## JOHN THE NINETEENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1024.]

*Scandalous election of John—The patriarch of Constantinople offers to sell him the title of Pope of the East—Invention of the gamut by the monk Guy of Arezzo—Letter from the famous musician—Coronation of the emperor Conrad the Second—Complaints of Canute, king of England, of the council of Limoges on the sale of absolutions—John the Nineteenth driven from Rome—Brought back by Conrad—His death.*

JOHN was elevated to the Holy See by the faction of his brother Alberic, count of Tuscanella and Segni. He succeeded his brother, Benedict the Eighth, under the name of John the Nineteenth. Some authors maintain, that before being named pontiff, he already occupied the See of Porto; but historians, whose testimony is the most entitled to credit, maintain on the contrary that he was a mere layman. Thus, the freedom of election which the pious Henry had restored, served but to favour the intrigues of the Roman lords, and to consolidate the power of the patricians.

As soon as this new exaltation was known at Constantinople, the patriarch sent ambassadors to Rome to propose to the holy father to sell him the title of pope of the Greek church. The deputies, bearing rich presents, were favourably received by John, and the bargain was on the point of being concluded, when the noise of it spread abroad, and clamours rose from all parts of Christendom, which forced the pontiff to forbear concluding such a scandal.

Guy, a monk of Arezzo, lived at this period and invented the gamut; it is related, that struck by the difficulties which the methods of teaching the music for religious singing presented, he imagined the notation of sounds and composed a new system of music in connection with Michael, a monk of Pomposia, who laboured with him in this discovery.

We give a letter of the celebrated monk, in which he describes an interview he had with the pope: "I hope, he wrote to his friend, that those who shall come after us, will pray for the remission of our sins; for they will be enabled to learn from us in a single year, that which they could not have acquired before under ten years of hard study. Pope John, who now governs the Roman church, having heard of our school, and of the manner in which our antiphonal teaches children in a few hours, chants which were unknown to them, has sent me messengers instructed to bring me to him. I went to Rome with Gregory, the abbot of Milan, and Peter, prevost of the canons of Arezzo, a very learned man for our times. His holiness received me joyfully, and kept me a long time perusing our method, which he regarded as wonderful. The pontiff studied the rules, and was unwilling to terminate the audience, without having learned from the antiphonal a verse,

which he had never heard sung. Unfortunately my health did not permit me to remain in Rome, because in those maritime or marshy places, the heat of the summer would have killed me. I then returned to my convent from which I shall repair at the beginning of the winter, in order to explain our work more at length to the holy father."

After the death of Henry the Second, his son Conrad succeeded him, and came to the pontifical city, in the year 1027. John the Nineteenth, in order to ingratiate himself with the monarch, went to meet him at Lake Como, and proclaimed him emperor in the church of St. Peter; the queen Gisella, his wife, was crowned empress at the same time. Rodolph, the king of Burgundy, the uncle of Gisella, assisted at this ceremony, as did also Canute, king of England and Denmark, who had come to Rome to complain of the enormous contributions which the Holy See levied on the pilgrims of his kingdom. The English prince also protested against the tribute which his archbishops were compelled to pay, when they asked for the pallium.

Some time after a synod of French bishops was held at Limoges, who reformed the judgments of the pope, and prohibited the court of Rome from selling absolution to the excommunicated to the insult of their bishops. Eujelric, a canon of Paris, thus spoke in the convention. "You know, my brethren, that the venerable Stephen, bishop of Clermont, had anathematized Ponce, count of Auvergne, for having deserted his lawful wife and married the wife of another. In his just indignation he refused to pardon this lord, until he amended his wrongs; but the guilty man dared to present himself at Rome, and bought absolution from the holy father himself. When we were advised of this act of simony, we addressed strong reproaches to the pontiff. He declared to us that he had been taken by surprise, and that he would have rejected Ponce from the church, had he known all the circumstances of the affair. I declare then to you, my brethren, chiefs of dioceses, that the popes have no right to oppose our decisions, and that they cannot but approve them and lend them the aid of their authority."

The synod was then occupied with measures to put an end to the disorders of the kingdom, for since the reign of Louis the good-natured, the sovereign authority was no longer re-

spected in the provinces which composed the empire of Charlemagne. In France, Germany, and Italy, each lord administered justice with arms in his hands, and the dukes, marquises, and counts, made terrible wars among themselves. Cities were abandoned to pillage, the inhabitants were mercilessly put to death; and cultivators of the soil, citizens, merchants, and even serfs, were treated as wild beasts by the nobles and kings. The clergy themselves were no longer respected. Their riches having excited the cupidity of the lords, the monasteries were sacked, the nuns violated, and the churches burned.

To the disasters of these wars of extermination were added the horrors of famine; men devoured each other, and a large number of unfortunates were condemned to be burned for having eaten human flesh. During three years that the scourge lasted, the living were not sufficiently numerous to bury the dead, and they piled up the dead bodies in charnel houses.

Notwithstanding these public calamities, the nobles, like hideous vultures, tore down the cities, and disputed for the dead bodies to despoil them.

Finally, at the council of Limoges, the fathers determined to strike a great blow, and to use even the authority of God to arrest the disorders. A solemn sitting was announced through all the provinces, and the faithful were invited to the council. At the opening of the sitting, after the usual prayers, a bishop rose and addressed the crowd, which pressed into an immense hall: "I am about to announce to you," he said, "great news, my brethren; Jesus Christ himself has sent me letters from heaven, to order me to re-establish peace on earth. I propose to submit them to a commission for examination, who can then inform you of the will of God." Ten bishops were designated for this important verification; they, after having studied the letter which was presented to them, declared upon

the holy host, that it was really from Jesus Christ. The council, in consequence, thereof, ordered that this letter should be sent to all the churches of Christendom, and that men of all ranks should be obliged to conform to the instructions which it contained. These instructions were ridiculous and obscene. They prohibited the faithful from having connection with their wives, except on certain days; they recommended to them to fast on Fridays on bread and water, and to abstain from flesh on Saturdays. They prohibited them from taking up arms to avenge themselves on an enemy, or to seize upon the property of monasteries; they permitted men to play with the nuns, but not to violate them. . . . . In every diocese the faithful were sworn upon the Bible, religiously to observe these precepts, under penalty of excommunication, confiscation of property, and privation of sepulchral rites. Such was, according to Baudry, bishop of Noyon, the origin of the holy truce.

The assembly at Limoges was also occupied by several rules to arrest the political ambition of the court of Rome, and to free the goods of the French clergy from the cupidity of the pontiff, by maintaining the liberties of the Gallican church.

John the Nineteenth, by his debauchery, exactions, and tyranny, at length rendered himself so odious to the Romans, that a conspiracy was formed against his life; but as he never went out unless surrounded by his satellites, the conspirators resolved to take up arms; they assembled in the public places, excited the people and besieged the palace of the Lateran. The holy father escaped from Rome, and took refuge in Germany with Conrad the Second, who in the end, established him by force of arms, and punished the seditious.

This pontiff, say the old chroniclers, reconquered his throne at the point of the sword. He died on the 8th of November, 1033, after a reign of nine years and some months.

## BENEDICT THE NINTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1033.]

*Simoniacal election of the nephew of John the Nineteenth, who is ordained at the age of twelve years—The emperor Conrad holds a parliament at Pavia—Insolence of the bishop of Milan—Disturbances in Poland—Prince Casimir freed from his vows, and crowned king of Poland—Benedict driven from Rome.*

AFTER the death of John the Nineteenth, the faction of the marquises and counts of Tuscanella endeavoured to place one of the members of their family on the Holy See. Intrigues, money, and threats, procured the election of Theophylactus, nephew of the two preceding popes, and the son of Alberic, count of Tusculum. He was enthroned at the age of twelve, under the name of Benedict the Ninth.

This pontiff soiled the chair of St. Peter with so many crimes and debaucheries, that Cardinal Benno accuses him of having employed witchcraft and enchantments, and of having given to his mistresses love-philters, which rendered them desperately enamoured of his person. He affirms, that he sacrificed to demons, and assisted at the assemblies of magicians, in the woods at night.

Some years after the exaltation of Benedict, the emperor Conrad made a new descent into Lombardy, to subdue the lords, who had taken up arms against his authority; he went to Pavia, where he held a parliament, for the purpose of interrogating in person, Heribert, archbishop of Milan, concerning the extortions with which he was charged. But the proud prelate dared to make this insolent reply to the prince: "Whatsoever I have found in the domains of St. Ambrose, or whatsoever I have acquired, be it in what way it is, I shall take care of during my life, and will not surrender the least of it."

The emperor, in his indignation, ordered him to be arrested and confined to the charge of Poppin, archbishop of Aquileia, and of Conrad, duke of Carinthia, who were to conduct him to Placenza. When he arrived in this last city, the archbishop claimed the assistance of a monk to aid him in his devotions. His request was granted; but one night, whilst the monk slept, he took his garments, deceived the guards by his disguise, and escaped to Milan, where he resisted, for a whole year, the troops sent against him.

Heribert, not content with lanching excommunications against the emperor, stirred up the bishops of the adjoining dioceses, and by means of his intrigues, succeeded in forming a vast conspiracy, whose aim was to displace Conrad from his throne, and elevate in his place, Otho, the count of Upper Burgundy. The plan having been discovered, the bishops of Verceil, Cremona, and Placenza, were arrested and conducted beyond the Alps, into the prisons of the empire. Heribert, still shut up in Milan, and beyond the reach of the prince, was unwilling to listen to any terms of accommodation which the holy father made him. Benedict finally deposed him from his See and anathematized him. Conrad gave his bishopric to a noble named Ambrose, and a baron of the same diocese; but he could not put his protégé in possession of his church; the excommunicated archbishop maintained himself in it in defiance of the emperor, and seized on the domains which Ambrose possessed about the city.

Conrad was soon compelled even to suspend the operations of the siege, to succour the pontiff who had been driven from Rome, on account of his depredations. This prince, who had, from motives of policy, declared himself the protector of the counts of Tuscanella, led back the young pope, who had then attained his eighteenth year, in triumph to the holy city.

Events were transpiring in Poland; King Miecizlas died, and Richenza, his widow, had incurred universal hatred by endeavouring to weigh down the people beneath the yoke of a despotic government. The virtuous citizens of the kingdom addressed sage remonstrances to her, advising her to change her conduct and mode of government. Richenza having despised their warnings, they refused all obedience to her; the people took up arms, seized upon the palace, and drove away this

proud queen in disgrace. But she carried with her the royal treasures and the crown jewels, and retired with her son Casimir, into Germany, from whence she intrigued to return. The young prince traversed Hungary, and went to France to visit the celebrated abbey of Cluny; the holiness of its inhabitants so impressed his mind, that he resolved to dedicate himself to God. He was admitted into the abbey, and pronounced his vows in the name of Charles.

Poland was entirely abandoned to the disorders which the ambition of neighbouring princes excited in the provinces; the Christian religion was abandoned; bands of peasants, led by nobles, ravaged the country, and devastated the churches, and, finally, Bretislaus, duke of Bohemia, under pretext of protecting the priests, entered upon the Polish territories and seized upon the most important cities of the country; amongst others, of Gnesna, which was the capital. This prince laying aside all shame, proceeded, with the bishop of Prague, who accompanied him in his expeditions, to pillage the churches. They carried off from the cathedral of Gnesna, a golden crucifix weighing three hundred pounds, three valuable tables enriched with precious stones, and even the body of St. Adalbert; but we are assured, that the clergy, deceiving their sacrilegious greediness, placed in stead of the reliques of the martyr, those of St. Gudence his brother.

To put an end to these depredations, Stephen, the metropolitan of that See, sent a deputation to the sovereign pontiff, who cited the guilty to appear at the court of Rome. They immediately sent ambassadors, who explained to the pope that their intention was to do homage to the memory of the holy martyr Adalbert, and that they had exercised a legitimate right of conquest in seizing upon his remains. They strengthened their reasonings, by a large sum of money, and Theophylactus declared that they were innocent of the crimes with which they were charged.

The Poles, worn out by anarchy and the evils it carries in its train, assembled in a general diet to remedy the disasters. After having deliberated at length, the assembly determined to send an embassy to the young Casimir, to offer him the crown. For this purpose they chose several deputies, who went to France and obtained permission from St. Odillon, the superior of the monastery, to visit the prince. They thus spoke to him: "We come, prince, in the name of the lords and of all the nobility of Poland, to beseech you to have pity upon that kingdom, to remount its throne and free it from its enemies." Casimir replied to them: "That he belonged no longer to the world, and could not even listen to them without the permission of his abbot. The deputies then addressed the same request to St. Odillon; who, considering that he had not the power to free a professed monk and ordained deacon from his vows, sent them to the holy father.

Benedict at first refused to restore Casimir

to his people; gold and presents, little by little, overcame his resistance, and, finally, the promise of an annual tribute obtained for the prince, not only permission to leave his monastery and return to his dignities, but even to marry. An author affirms, that this tribute was levied with great rigour, not on the nobles or clergy, but on the unfortunate people, who have been obliged, ever since that

period, to cut their hair behind their ears in the fashion of the monks. Casimir married a Russian princess, and his reign commenced in 1004.

The pope Theophylactus became daily more odious to the Romans, until finally, after twelve years of rapine, murders, rapes, and robberies, the people drove him from the holy city.

## SYLVESTER THE THIRD, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1004.]

*John, bishop of Sabine, buys the pontifical throne and reigns three months—Benedict the Ninth returns with an army—The people rise against him a second time—He sells the tiara to a priest named John.*

AFTER the expulsion of Benedict the Ninth, the bishop of Sabine, one of those who had disputed for the chair of St. Peter with Theophylactus, spent his money among the people, promised dignities and offices to the clergy, and obtained the papacy on the day succeeding Christmas, 1044. He was ordained under the name of Sylvester the Third, and his reign lasted three months.

Benedict the Ninth, by the assistance of the counts of Tuscanella, his relatives, levied armed bands, which traversed the country of Rome, insulted the citizens, and devastated the farms. To put an end to the incendiarisms and murders of these brigands, the holy city was compelled to open its gates to the unworthy pontiff, who remounted the apostolic throne.

But his debaucheries and exactions soon excited a new revolt, and to avoid the effects of the indignation of the people, he resolved to abandon the government of the church.

He, however, judged that it would be unworthy of him to lay down the pontificate without drawing important advantages from it, and he sold his tiara for fifteen thousand pounds of gold to a priest named John; he then retired to the palace of the count of Tusculum, his father.

In the midst of this universal depravity, a holy monk, Peter Damien, raised his voice to endeavour to lead back men to the sentiments of virtue. This religious had at first professed human literature with great success; but, guided by an heavenly inspiration, he had quitted the vanities of the world to give himself up to the study of science, in the silence of the cloister. From beneath the frock of the monk, this philosopher gave useful advice to popes and kings; sought to enlighten the people, and prepared the germs of that formidable revolution which was to go on increasing until it should one day overthrow the powerful of the earth.

## JOHN THE TWENTIETH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1045.]

*John consecrated by Benedict—Shameful conduct of the trio—Their debaucheries and crimes—They sell the pontificate to a fourth pope.*

BENEDICT consecrated the priest to whom he had sold the tiara, and enthroned him under the name of John the Twentieth. But Sylvester the Third, who had acquired the papacy by an equally criminal simony, wished to reclaim his rights to the throne of the apostle. He entered Rome, seized upon the Vatican, and defended himself courageously against the troops of the anti-pope, his competitor.

Benedict, on his side, having dissipated the price of his infamous bargain, conceived the project of retaking the chair of St. Peter, to sell it a second time. He levied new bands

of soldiers, re-entered the palace of the Lateran by force, and drove away the pontiff whom he had himself established. Thus were seen in Rome three popes; one holding his See in St. John the Lateran, another at St. Peter's, and the third, at St. Maria Majora: Jesus Christ had three vicars, Benedict the Ninth, Sylvester the Third, and John the Twentieth! and, as if the disgrace had not yet reached its height, these priests made an abominable compact among themselves, to divide the spoils of the people, and the patrimony of the poor.

Cotemporary authors affirm, that those three demons, unchained from hell, assembled each night in monstrous orgies with their minions, and filled Rome with adultery, robbery and murder; finally, when they had exhausted the treasures of St. Peter, they put up the apostolical throne, for the fourth time, at auction.

## GREGORY THE SIXTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1045.]

*Simoniacal election of John Gratian—He is enthroned under the name of Gregory the Sixth—Contradictory opinions in relation to him—Council of Pavia—Gregory convicted of simony and deposed.*

A RICH Roman priest, named John Gratian, offered the highest price to the three execrable anti-popes. They gave him the preference; the bargain was concluded on the very altar of Christ itself, and they consecrated John by the name of Gregory the Sixth.

Several ecclesiastical writers have glorified this unworthy priest, for having overthrown this monstrous trinity, but though the monk Glaber exalts the virtues and the piety of Gregory, we must own that the moving spring of his conduct did not arise from the spirit of the apostolic doctrine, but from the immoderate desire of possessing the tiara. From the beginning of his reign, Gratian knew that he must cause the scandal of his election to be forgotten by his hypocrisy; he therefore applied himself to govern the church with the appearance of moderation, and reformed some abuses. But soon finding himself absolute master in Rome, he joined cruelty to avarice; put to death by torture, the most opulent citizens, for the purpose of confiscating their property. He soon repaired by his exactions the sacrifices he had been obliged to make in order to purchase the tiara.

Unhappy Italy, ruined by its pontiffs, saw the number of robbers increase with the pub-

lic misery; the roads were infested by them; pilgrims dared no longer traverse its provinces, except in large bands; the cities even were filled with assassins, who murdered citizens upon the very altars, and carried off by force, the offerings which were deposited on the tomb of the apostles.

Gregory wished to arrest the sacrileges which diminished his income, and published a decree prohibiting people from stealing the property of the church; but his bull having no favourable result, he tried the thunders of excommunication. This violent measure did but irritate the guilty; a meeting was held near the patriarchal palace, and threats of death to Gregory were heard. The holy father then sent his troops, and shut up the rebels in the church of St. Peter, where a frightful massacre took place.

These bloody executions were disapproved of, even by the clergy, who refused any longer to obey the pope. The cardinals and principal prelates of Italy addressed their complaints to Henry the Black, who went immediately into Lombardy and convoked a council to judge the pontiff. Gregory was convicted of having bought the apostolic throne, and condemned, after a reign of seventy months, to be deposed.

## CLEMENT THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1046.]

*Degradation of the Roman clergy—Election of Sudiger, bishop of Bamberg—He is ordained by the name of Clement the Second—His birth and character—Council of Rome—The fathers regulate the right of precedence among the Italian prelates—Letter of Father Damian to the pope—Death of Clement the Second.*

AFTER the deposition of Gregory the Sixth, the Holy See was declared vacant. Henry the Black went to Rome, and having convoked the clergy, the senate, and the chiefs of the corporations, in the church of St. Peter, he ordered them to proceed immediately to the

election of a sovereign pontiff. The prince commanded the assembly of bishops to designate to him a Roman priest worthy to occupy the apostolic chair; they replied that in sorrow of heart, they must avow that the clergy of the Holy See were so degraded, that

they did not know a single priest worthy to be elevated to the chair of St. Peter. The emperor himself then designated as pope, the venerable Sudiger, bishop of Bamberg, who was consecrated by the name of Clement the Second.

Sudiger was a Saxon, and the chancellor of the emperor; merit alone had elevated him to the dignity of a bishop; and his humility was such, that they were obliged to use violence in order to array him in the pontifical garments. After his ordination, he convoked a council, at which the prince assisted, for the purpose of regulating the right of precedence among the Italian bishops, and to prevent the ridiculous disputes of rivalry.

On the opening of the first session, the archbishop of Milan had not arrived; the patriarch of Aquileia placed himself on the right of the pope, leaving the seat of the emperor, which was placed immediately by the side of the holy father, vacant: the metropolitan of Ravenna seated himself on the left of Clement the Second. Humphrey, the new chancellor of Henry the Black, the titular of the See of Milan, entered in his turn, and, finding the first place occupied, he seated himself on the imperial seat, which was at the right of the pontiff. The bishops of Ravenna and Aquileia immediately exclaimed against it, claiming the same honour for themselves. Humphrey produced a catalogue of bishops who had assisted at a council held by Symmachus, and in which the metropolitan of Milan was inscribed in the first place. His adversaries also cited a decree of the successor of Symmachus, importing that the prelate of Ravenna had yielded the precedence for that time only, and that it should not be regarded as a precedent for the future; whereas, he should occupy the seat on the right of the pope unless the emperor was present at the synod, in which case, he should seat himself on the left of the holy father. On his side, the patriarch of Aquileia exhibited a privilege of Pope John the Nineteenth, which granted to him the precedence on the right. The assembly gravely deliberated on this ridiculous question, and the precedence was granted to the church of Ravenna.

At the same council, it was decided that priests who had been simoniacally ordained,

might, nevertheless, exercise the sacerdotal functions, after a suspension of forty days, and the payment of a fine to the Holy See.

Henry left Rome and went to Apulia, accompanied by Clement the Second, whom he constrained to excommunicate the citizens of Beneventum, who refused to open the gates of their city to him. Arrived at Salerno, they published a bull on the 21st of March, 1047, in which he gave to Prince Gaimar authority to transfer John, bishop of Pestane, to the archiepiscopal See of Salerno, with authority to ordain seven suffragans in the adjoining cities.

During his sojourn in Italy, the emperor had invited Peter Damien to go to Rome to aid the pope with his counsels, but he excused himself with humility, and wrote to the holy father: "The prince has ordered me several times to come to you, to give an account of the scandalous conduct of our clergy; he has even confided to my care a letter which he has addressed to you, and of which I beseech you to take cognizance. I do not wish to lose my time in traversing the provinces, in order to be a witness of the abominations of bishops, priests, and monks, for it is of no service to us to proclaim, that the Holy See has emerged from darkness into light, if we remain always in darkness.

"Of what advantage is it to have provisions in the granaries, if the poor die of famine? What avails a good sword, if one knows not how to draw it from the scabbard? Have we not seen that prelate who is called the robber of Hano, even him who had been excommunicated by false popes, as well as him of Ossimo, and others besides, who were laden with unheard-of crimes, return, however, from the holy city, covered with honours? Our hope is now changed into sadness; we had thought that you would be the redeemer of Israel, and you deceive our expectations, by selling justice in the temple of Christ."

Henry the Black, knowing the hatred of the Romans towards popes who were chosen by the German princes, was unwilling to leave his protégé exposed to the vengeance of his enemies. He took him back with him into Saxony, where Clement died soon after, on the 19th of October, 1047, having held the pontifical See nine months and a half. He was buried at Bamberg.

## BENEDICT THE NINTH, REMOUNTS THE HOLY SEE FOR THE FOURTH TIME.

[A. D. 1047.]

*Gregory the Sixth dies in exile—Commencement of Hildebrand—The Romans demand a pope—Benedict the Ninth seizes the Holy See for the fourth time—Is again forced to renounce it.*

BEFORE his departure from Rome, the emperor had exiled Gregory the Sixth into Ger- many, to prevent him from undertaking anything against Clement. We are ignorant

what became of him in this strange land. He most probably died at the period at which his disciple Hildebrand retired to the monastery of Cluny, of which he afterwards became the abbot. This monk, foiled in his ambition, wished to avenge himself on Henry, by publicly censuring the council of Sutri, which had granted to that prince the power to expel a pontiff.

After the death of Clement the Second, the Romans, however, who were bound by a solemn oath not to choose a pope, without the consent of the emperor, rejected the counsels of Hildebrand, and sent into Germany an embassy, instructed to obtain the confirmation of the celebrated Halinard, archbishop of Lyons, as the sovereign pontiff.

During the absence of the ambassadors, Benedict the Ninth, the perjurer, the adulterer, the incestuous and the bederast, as the abbot of Fons-Avellano, calls him, left the city of Pesaro, where he had taken refuge, returned to Rome at the head of a troop of brigands, and seized upon the throne of the church for the fourth time. With him simony, pillage, murder, licentiousness, reappeared on the throne of the apostle. After a reign of eight months

and a half, however, Theophylactus was again obliged to abandon the Holy See, to shun the anger of the emperor.

Before leaving Rome, he wished to prepare the means of returning to it, and imagined this singular drama. He besought Bartholomew, abbot of Grotte Ferrée, to come to him. On the approach of the venerable cenobite, he appeared touched with repentance, confessed his crimes, and announced that he had taken the resolution to abandon the sacerdotal functions, in order to repent. He did, in fact, leave the apostolic chair on the 17th of July, 1048, the day of the festival of Alexis. The abbot Bartholomew was the most renowned saint at that period. He passed all his life in almost absolute solitude, occupying himself in composing hymns in honour of the Virgin, or in transcribing manuscripts for the library of his abbey. His love of justice and his eloquence had acquired a great reputation for him in Italy, and princes frequently chose him as the arbiter of their differences. But, in the affair of the holy father, all his wisdom and sagacity were at fault, and his presence at Rome only served to screen the ambitious projects of Benedict.

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## DAMASUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1048.]

*The emperor sends a pope to the Romans who is ordained by the name of Damasus the Second—He reigns twenty-three days—Benedict accused of having poisoned him—He seizes on the tiara for the fifth time, and is again driven from Rome.*

WHEN Benedict the Ninth had quitted the Holy See, Poppon, bishop of Brixen, arrived at the court of Rome, sent by the emperor who had named him sovereign pontiff. He was immediately ordained by the name of Damasus the Second. But his new elevation was fatal to him, for he only occupied the pontifical chair for twenty-three days, and died at Preneste on the 8th of August, 1048. He was interred in the church of St. Lawrence, without the walls of the city.

Theophylactus is accused of having poison-

ed the new pope; in fact, on the very day of the death of Damasus, sustained by the soldiers of the counts of Tuscanella, he remounted, for the fifth time, the pontifical throne. After a reign of six months, the Romans, fatigued with the rule of this infamous usurper, sent two lords as deputies to Germany, to beseech Henry the Black, to send a venerable priest who could re-establish discipline in the church and worthily occupy the chair of the apostle.

## LEO THE NINTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1048.]

*The famous diet of Worms—Bruno bishop of Toul, is chosen pope—Character of the pontiff—Bold stroke of the monk Hildebrand—The holy father goes to Rome in a pilgrim's garment—Visions of the pope—He is consecrated under the name of Leo the Ninth—Disinterestedness of the pontiff—Councils of Rome and Pavia—Origin of the commemoration of the dead—The pope goes to France and dedicates the church of St. Remy—Council of Rheims—Privileges granted to the monastery of St. Maurice—The bishop of Spices accused of adultery in the council of Mayence—History of the doctrine of Berenger—Singular letter from Berenger to Lanfranc—The bishop of Langres writes against Berenger—Councils of Rome, Verceil and Paris on the doctrines of Berenger and the works of John Scotus concerning the eucharist—Complaints of Berenger against his persecutors—The metropolitan of Ravenna is poisoned by order of Leo the Ninth—Writings of Damian on the debaucheries of the clergy—Foundation of the abbey of Chaise-Dieu—The reliques of St. Denis the Areopagite—Firmness of the archbishop of Mayence—Complaints of the pope against the Normans—The holy father risks his life in the council of Mantua—Leo the Ninth declares war on the Normans, and places himself at the head of his troops—He is made prisoner—He is forced in order to recover his freedom, to absolve the Normans from the excommunication lanced against them—Letter of the pope to the patriarch of Antioch—Letter of Michael Cerularius on the unleavened bread and the Sabbath—Reply of the pontiff—Reply of Cerularius—death of Leo the Ninth.*

AFTER the death of Damasus the Second, the emperor held a diet at Worms, that is, a general assembly of the prelates and lords of his German states. They designated Bruno, the bishop of Toul, as being the most worthy to occupy the Holy See.

The prelate was of the illustrious house of Alsace and Lorraine, and the cousin of Henry the Black; he obtained the papacy at the age of forty-six years, after having been bishop of Toul for twenty-two years. A benevolent character, an exemplary piety, and an agreeable exterior, caused him to be loved by priests and people. His devotion to St. Peter was so great, that he made a yearly pilgrimage to the tomb of the apostle, and went accompanied by a crowd of pilgrims which he recruited on the way. In the course of his apostolical labours he had, in connection with the venerable Guidric, reformed several monasteries. He had negotiated a peace some years before, between Rodolph, the lord of Burgundy and Robert king of France, and was finally much engaged with the sciences, and especially with music. Notwithstanding all these qualities, whether it was from indifference, modesty, fear or perhaps a baneful presentiment, when he heard of his election to the pontifical throne, he refused the dignity and demanded three days for a decision. This delay was granted to him. He passed these three days in church, observing the most rigorous fast, and remaining constantly in prayer. He then confessed his sins, and requested them, with tears, to leave him in his bishopric of Toul, or at least that his election should be submitted to the consent of the Roman clergy and people. This last condition having been acceded to, he returned to his diocese to celebrate Christmas. The bishops Hugh, Eberhard, Adalberon and Thierrey accompanied him on his journey.

But Hildebrand, the disciple of Gregory, that monk who was eaten up by ambition, and whom we have seen condemn the predominance of temporal power over spiritual authority, becoming tired of a cloistered life and his title of prior, conceived the design of raising himself to the chair of St. Peter. Nevertheless, before seizing on the throne of the church, he wished to render the papacy as redoubtable as his pride demanded. Availing himself of the journey of Bruno, who was then traversing Burgundy and who had stopped to visit the celebrated abbey of Cluny, he received him with all the honours due to the supreme head of the church; he understood so well the art of gaining the confidence of the holy father, that this latter determined, by his perfidious advice, to refuse the pontifical dignity which had been offered him by the emperor. He pointed out to him that it would not only be disgraceful but even very dangerous for him to receive the tiara from a prince. He recalled to his recollection, that the popes his predecessors, who had been elevated to the Holy See by the protection of the emperors, had almost all died a violent death; he persuaded him that it was possible to render to God that which belonged to him, without despoiling the sacred rights of him who represented him on earth, and that he could reconcile the interests of Heaven and the world, by going to Rome without pomp, as a simple Christian who goes to perform his devotions at the tomb of the apostles. "The people and the clergy," said Hildebrand to him, "will be surprised at your modesty; you will be no longer in their eyes the pontiff who has been imposed on them by the authority of the prince, and they will reward, by a regular election, the priest who shall have entered the holy fold as the true shepherd." Leo, seduced by this specious reasoning,

disrobed himself of his pontifical garments, and in the garb of a pilgrim, went secretly towards the apostolic city, accompanied by the monk of Cluny. During his journey, the holy father stopped in all the churches, and offered up his prayers. It is related that in the city of Augsburg, he had a vision and heard a voice which cried out to him: "I think of thoughts of peace . . ." and the conclusion of these words taken from Jeremiah. This voice, which was none other than that of the monk of Cluny, strengthened his resolution, and finally, after a journey of two months, he entered the holy city. The clergy, the lords, and the people, who had been forewarned by Hildebrand, ran before the pontiff singing songs of gladness. Leo then descended from his horse, and went with naked feet to the church of St. Peter.

After having finished his prayers at the tomb of the apostle, Leo turned to his assistants and said to them: "The most illustrious emperor, Henry the Black, has named me chief of the universal church; but this election not having been canonically made, since your suffrages, by the decisions of the holy fathers and the councils, should precede all others, I declare then to you that I have come among you in accordance with the will of my prince, but that I will return to my diocese, unless you unanimously proclaim me sovereign pontiff of Rome." Acclamations of joy responded to his words, and Leo was enthroned on the same day, which was the 12th February, 1049.

On the 20th of March of the same year, the pope convoked the bishops of Italy and Gaul in a council, for the purpose of declaring all simoniacal ordinations null. The number of these sacrilegious nominations was, however, so great, that wise men feared lest divine service should be interrupted in the churches, and they contented themselves with confirming the decree of Clement the Second, which provided that those who had been consecrated through simony, should exercise their functions after forty days of penance, and the payment of a fine.

Leo the Ninth, decreed that apostate clerks who abandoned their heresies to reunite themselves to the Catholic church, should preserve their rank, but without being able to be promoted to higher dignities. He also approved of the change of John, bishop of Toscanello, who had been promoted to the bishopric of Porto; he confirmed his See in the enjoyment of all the property of his diocese, and amongst the rest, in that of the Island of St. Bartholomew at Rome, which had been contested with him by the bishop of St. Sabine, and he permitted him to exercise all episcopal functions beyond the Tiber, which proves that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the holy city did not extend beyond the walls. A month afterwards, the holy father convoked a new synod at Pavia; he then passed the Alps and went into Germany to visit the emperor. During this journey, he confirmed the privileges of the abbey of Cluny, by a bull, dated the 11th of June, 1049, and which was

addressed to Hugh, the ruler of that monastery, since the death of St. Odilon.

This holy abbot had, before his death, established a ceremony, which had extended into other dioceses of Gaul, called the commemoration of the dead. Authors thus relate the origin of this new institution: "A valiant knight was returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, when having lost his way among the sands of Palestine, he encountered a venerable hermit, who recognizing him to be a Frenchman, asked him if he had ever heard of the monastery of Cluny, and the abbot Odilon. The pilgrim having replied in the affirmative by a nod of his head, the hermit immediately said to him: "God has revealed to me that this holy man has the power to deliver souls from the penalties which they suffer in another life; I beseech you then, my brother, when you shall have returned to Gaul, to go to him and exhort him, and also the monks of his community, to continue their prayers and alms for the dead."

The knight on returning to France, went into Burgundy and came to Cluny, where he repeated the words of the hermit to the monks of that convent; the venerable Odilon then ordered, that on the 1st of November of every year, they should solemnly celebrate, in the church of the abbey, the commemoration of all the faithful who had died since the world began. "On that day, after the chapter was holden, the dean and cellarers, gave alms of bread and wine to all comers, and the steward collected the remains of the dinner of the brotherhood to distribute to the poor. After vespers, they rang all the bells together, and chanted the prayers for the dead; the next day after matins, they again rang the bells of the convent. On the third day an holy mass was solemnly celebrated; two monks chanted the passage and each distributed alms to twelve poor persons." This practice soon extended into other monasteries, and became common to the whole Catholic church, after having undergone slight modifications.

Before his election, Leo had promised to Herimar, an abbot of St. Remy, to dedicate the new church, which that abbot had built in his convent; when it was finished, the holy father went to Toul at the time of the exaltation of the holy cross, to fulfil his promise; at the same time he sent commands to the prelates of Gaul to convoke a council which he wished to hold at Rheims on the 1st of October, after the ceremony was over.

But the lay lords who were guilty of incestuous marriages, and several simoniacal bishops, who feared ecclesiastical censures, represented to the king of France, that the crown would be disgraced, if he permitted a pope to command in the kingdom, and convoke councils without his authority. They observed to him, that none of his ancestors had granted permission to the pontiffs to enter their cities, without their indicating the motive, which led to the convocation of the councils. They represented to him, that these assemblages demanded peaceful times, whilst now his king-

dom was in great confusion, which would only increase the claims of the holy father. Finally, they said to the prince, that instead of yielding deference to the will of Leo, he would more promptly obtain his end by placing impositions on the property of the bishops and convents, which possessed considerable domains, and especially by not sparing the rich monastery of St. Remy, on account of this new evidence of the pride of its abbot, who had wished a pontiff to dedicate his church.

These representations were addressed by Guebin, bishop of Laon, in the name of the clergy, and by Hugh, count of Braine, in that of the nobility. Henry then wrote to his holiness that the cares of his kingdom prevented him from being at Rheims on the day fixed for holding the synod, and he besought him to delay his journey into France, until the troubles were at an end, that he might be enabled to render him the honours due to his rank. Leo, urged on by the monk Hildebrand, replied sharply to the monarch, that he should hold the council with those whom he found there, and without any other notice he entered France. He arrived in the city of Rheims, without receiving any honours by the way, and only accompanied by the metropolitans of Treves, Lyons and Besançon, and the bishops of Senlis, Nevers, and Angers, who had come to meet him with the ecclesiastics, and monks of St. Remy.

Leo at first remained in the abbey which was situated without the walls of the city; he then went with the same train towards the cathedral, where he took possession of the seat of the archbishop, and celebrated divine service; after which, he went to the great archiepiscopal palace. On the last day of September, the pope left Rheims during the night, accompanied by two chaplains, and returned to St. Remy, where he bathed and shaved in preparation for the ceremony. As soon as the day appeared, he shut himself up in an edifice in the rear of the church, because the in-pouring of the people was so great, that it was impossible to celebrate divine service in the church of the convent. The credulous and simple had assembled, not only from the neighbouring cities and country, but even from distant provinces, to assist at the dedication of the new church. All devotedly kissed the tomb of St. Remy, and deposited rich offerings upon the altar. The enthusiasm was so great that those who could not approach the blessed saint, cast their offerings upon his sepulchre. The monks were occupied all day in receiving the offerings of the faithful, and in carrying them into the treasury of the convent. The holy father showed himself, from time to time, in one of the galleries to bestow his benediction, and he excited the charity of the stupid people by exclaiming: "Give, give to St. Remy." Finally, towards night, the monks worn out with mounting into their chambers to put away their presents, drove the people from the church. The crowd poured out in silence, and remained on their

knees, without the gate of the holy place, during the whole night.

On the next day, at daybreak, the monks entered the church, bearing the body of St. Corneille, which the clergy of Compègne had carried to the cathedral, to save from profanation, and deposited it upon a sacred altar, in order to give fresh food for the charity of the faithful. At the third hour, the pontiff, clothed in sacerdotal ornaments, accompanied by four metropolitans and several abbots, approached from the tomb of the blessed Remy; the shrine of the saint was drawn from the sepulchre; the pope himself carried it on his shoulders, and having given it to the care of the four archbishops, he retired into a separate chapel. At the same moment the gates of the church were opened and the people rushed in so precipitately, that a great number of men, women and children were trampled to death.

The relics of St. Remy were carried in procession through the streets of the city and deposited in the metropolitan church of Notre Dame. On the third day the clergy made a new procession with the shrine without the walls of the city, whilst the holy father, surrounded by the principal ecclesiastics, dedicated the church, of the monastery; after the procession, the relics of the holy father were placed on the high altar, and remained exposed there whilst the council was in session.

Leo the Ninth made a bull, by which he declared that no one could celebrate mass upon that altar, except the archbishop of Rheims, the abbot of Remy, and seven priests, who should be chosen in the diocese—on the condition, however, that these last should not officiate but twice in every year. The holy father finally terminated this ceremony by giving his solemn benediction to the people.

They were then occupied with preparations for the council, which had been fixed for the 3d of October, in the church of St. Remy; twenty bishops, fifty abbots, and other ecclesiastics, assembled at the call of the pope. A ridiculous dispute for precedence was then renewed between the clergy of Rheims and that of Treves. The metropolitan of Rheims, regarding himself as the primate of the Gauls, claimed the first seat on the right of the holy father—he of Treves, attributing to himself the same dignity and the same rank, also claimed the seat of honour.

To make these two parties agree, Leo ordered that the seats should be all placed in a circle, his own occupying the centre, and he ordered the archbishop of Rheims to regulate the other places. When the silence, broken by this incident was re-established, Peter, deacon and chancellor of the court of Rome, spoke in the name of the pontiff. He warned the assembly that it was called together to deliberate upon the abuses which existed in France in relation to the exactions of priests, to the apostacies of monks, to the incestuous marriages and adulteries of the laity; he exhorted the bishops to take the necessary measures to prevent the unjust incar-

ceration of the poor, to arrest the robberies and murders by the prelates, of which the people were the victims; he warned them, under penalty of anathema, publicly to denounce such among them as had been guilty of simony.

The archbishop of Treves rose first, and affirmed on oath, that he had given nothing to obtain the episcopate, and that he had never received any thing when he ordained priests. The archbishops of Lyons and Besançon made the same declaration. As the metropolitan of Rheims had not yet spoken, the deacon turned to him and summoned him to make his declaration; he replied that he wished to speak in private to the holy father, and to obtain a delay for the purpose of replying; they granted him until the next day.

The abbots were summoned in their turn to justify themselves; the superior of St. Remy, he of Cluny, and several others, declared that they were free from reproaches; but there was a great number that did not dare to reply. The bishop of Langres then brought complaints against the abbot of Pontieres, his diocesan; he accused him of adultery, incest, and sodomy. This unworthy priest was examined at once, and as he could not justify himself, the council deposed him from the priesthood. Those who did not regard the pope as the chief of the universal church, were then enjoined to avow it loudly before the assembly. All kept silence.

The next day, Leo, after having given a private audience to the metropolitan of Rheims, opened the sitting with prayer and the reading of the Bible; the deacon Peter then summoned the archbishop to defend himself against the crime of simony, and several other crimes of which he had been accused by public clamour. This prelate having obtained permission to employ counsel, chose the bishops of Besançon, Soissons, Angers, Nevers, Senlis, and Terouanne. After a secret deliberation, the bishop of Senlis announced that the accused was not guilty. The holy father caused the decree of St. Gregory, in relation to Maximus of Salona, to be read, and ordered that the suspected prelate should justify himself by oath from the accusation of simony. A new delay was asked by the archbishop, who promised to appear in the following year before a council at Rome, to defend himself.

The clergy of Tours, through their organ, the bishop of Lyons, also complained of the bishop of Dol, in Brittany, who had, with seven of his suffragans, freed himself from the authority of the metropolitan of Tours, and had arrogated to himself the title of archbishop. This affair was also referred to the council of Rome.

The deacon Peter, chief manager of the synod, accused the bishop of Langres of having sold the sacred orders, of having borne arms, of having committed adultery and homicide, and of having practised the shameful vice of sodomy. Witnesses deposed before the assembly as to all these crimes. A clerk accused the prelate of having carried off his

wife by force, and of having confined her in a convent in order the more easily to gratify his brutality. Another priest also complained of having been given up to satellites, who tormented him in a cruel manner in order to obtain from him ten pounds of gold which belonged to him. The bishop of Langres asked for the aid of counsel; but when he had conferred with them, the voice of one of them who essayed to speak in his defence, suddenly failed him. The metropolitan of Lyons, one of his advocates, alarmed by the miracle, then avowed, that the holy orders had been sold; that the sum designated by one of the witnesses had been extorted, and that the ravishing charged upon the prelate had been done by his orders. The pope, to prevent the scandal arising from an avowal so outrageous to religion, put an end to this affair, under the pretext that it could not be finished at the sitting. He then caused the canons relating to simony, and especially the second decree of the council of Chalcedon, to be read, and dismissed the assembly.

On the following day, the deacon Peter commenced the session with the cause which had terminated the preceding debate; but the bishop of Langres was not present at this meeting. The manager of the synod called him three times by the order of the holy father, and they sent the prelates of Angers and Senlis to his residence, to bring him before the council. While waiting for their return, Peter addressed those who had not yet spoken. The bishop of Nevers rose from his seat and said: "I know that my relatives gave large sums to purchase the diocese which I occupy; and I know that since my ordination I have committed grievous faults against the rules of the church. I humble myself before the divine justice, and I declare that I would rather renounce my dignity than keep it at the expense of the safety of my soul." After having thus spoken, he deposited his cross and mitre at the feet of the sovereign pontiff; but the latter was so touched by his repentance, that he immediately re-installed him in his episcopal functions, only condemning him to pay a fine.

Soon afterwards, they came to announce that the bishop of Langres had fled during the night in order to avoid the condemnation he had incurred for his crimes. He was at once excommunicated by the council. The metropolitan of Besançon then advanced into the midst of the church, and declared in a loud voice, that he had lost the use of speech by the will of God, when he had undertaken to defend the guilty; he then fell on his knees and demanded the pardon of the assembly. This avowal drew tears from Leo, who exclaimed, "It is true, then, that St. Remyet lives among us!" All rose spontaneously, and went to the sepulchre of the saint, where they sang an anthem in his honour.

The session then re-commenced; the bishop of Constance then admitted that his bishopric had been purchased by one of his near relatives; and that having learned of this pro-

ceeding, he had wished to make his escape, in order not to be ordained contrary to the rules, but that his brother had forced him to be consecrated in spite of himself. He was consequently judged not to be guilty of simony.

The bishop of Nantes declared that he was the son of the former bishop; that his father, while living, had surrendered his See to him; and that, in order to have his nomination confirmed, he had sent large sums to the prince. The council pronounced his deposition, took from him the ring and the cross, but at the entreaty of some prelates, consented to leave him the priesthood. The pope then exhorted the metropolitans to denounce any of their suffragans who were guilty of the abominable crime of magic: all affirmed that they know of none who were.

The assembly was then occupied with judging ecclesiastics who had been invited to the synod, and who had not come, nor sent legitimate excuses to the pontiff. They were all excommunicated, with those who followed the king to the war, and in especial the bishops of Sens, Beauvais, and Amiens. A sentence of excommunication was also pronounced against the abbot of St. Medard, who had left the council without taking leave, and against the metropolitan of St. James, in Galicia, who had usurped the title of apostolic, which was reserved for the sovereign pontiff.

The session was terminated by the reading of twelve canons, which renewed the decrees which had gone out of use, and which condemned, under penalty of anathema, several abuses which existed in the Gallican church. They prohibited priests from exacting any pay for burying the dead or baptizing infants; they declared the usury of money impious; heretics, who began to multiply in France, were declared without the pale, as well as all Christians who communed with them, or granted them their protection. Counts Engelrai and Eustache were excommunicated for incest; also Hugh of Braine, for having abandoned his lawful wife, to marry his concubine. The nobles of Compiègne were threatened with ecclesiastical thunders, if they dared to hinder the members of their clergy from returning into the diocese; and finally, counts Thibalt and Geoffrey were cited before the council which was to be held in Mayence: the one for having abandoned his wife; the other for retaining the count of Mans in prison. The synod having terminated, Leo dismissed the clergy and laity by giving them his benediction.

On the sixth of October, the holy father visited the chapter of the monks of St. Denis. He besought them to unite their prayers with his; and after having all prostrated themselves, he gave them absolution and the kiss of peace. Leo, accompanied by the prelates, then entered the church, celebrated divine service, and having taken the body of St. Remy from the altar, bore it on his shoulders, and deposited it in the sepulchre, and ordered that the festival of the saint should be cele-

brated on the 1st of October of each year. Finally the pope started for Germany. He stopped three days on the way, at the convent of St. Maurice in the high Valais. He granted to the monks considerable exemptions, and prohibited, under penalty of anathema, all prelates from pillaging the property of the abbey, or from claiming any right to interfere in the affairs of this church without the consent of the canons.

On his arrival at Mayence, Leo held a new council, at which the emperor Henry the Black, the lords of his kingdom and forty bishops assisted. The metropolitans of Treves, Mayence, Cologne, Hamburg, and Magdeburg, were at the head of the clergy. It is related that Sibicon, bishop of Spire, accused of having committed several adulteries, wished to justify himself by celebrating the holy sacrifice of the mass, but that God performed a miracle, in order to punish this sacrilege, and permitted that a sudden paralysis should turn his mouth to the side of his face. Several important decisions, touching simony and the marriage of priests, were made in this assembly. To assure the execution of it, the archbishop Adalbert, on arriving at Hamburg, excommunicated in mass, all the concubines of the priests, and drove them from his capital.

At this period, a new doctrine, in relation to the eucharist was broached in France, which for a long time troubled the church; it was taught by Bishop Berenger. This prelate, born at Tours in the beginning of the eleventh century, had studied in the school of St. Martin, where Walter, his uncle, was the chanter; he afterwards continued his studies under the direction of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres. Returned to his native city, Berenger was received into the chapter of St. Martin, where he obtained a professor's chair; in 1040 he was named archdeacon of Angers, preserving his place in the monastery of Tours; he had for a disciple Eusebius or Bruno, who was afterwards bishop of Angers.

At the same period, Lanfranc, a monk of Bec, in Normandy, commenced his lessons on sacred history, and he obtained such prodigious success, that the clergy from all parts of Gaul came together to hear him. But when Berenger appeared, the school of Lanfranc was deserted. The latter, wounded in his vanity, attacked his antagonist as an heretic, and preached against the primitive simplicity and purity of the doctrine of the eucharist, condemning the opinions of Berenger. The illustrious professor of Tours, in his turn, publicly censured the doctrine of the monk, and the quarrel commenced.

Berenger wrote to Lanfranc: "I am informed, my brother, by Enguerrand of Chartres, that you disapprove of the thoughts of John Scot, in regard to the sacrament of the altar, and even regard them as heretical, because they do not agree with those of Paschasius, your favourite author. If it is so, I fear, that yielding to a precipitate judgment, you have not wisely used the mind which God has given you. When you shall have

studied the sacred Scriptures, you will also condemn St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, or St. Augustin, or else you will approve of the reasonings of John Scot in relation to the eucharist; for you will learn by taking the works of the fathers, and of the doctors of the church, according to their most correct sense, that transubstantiation or the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, is an error which the last century has bequeathed to ours."

Hugh, bishop of Langres, also condemned Berenger in a letter, in which, however, he calls him most reverend father: "You maintain," he wrote to him, "that the nature of bread and wine is not changed in the sacrament of the altar, and that the essence of Christ in these substances is immaterial; that is to say, you make the palpable body of Jesus Christ, which was crucified, pure spirit; and you scandalize all the church by declaring him incorporeal. If the consecration does not physically transubstantiate the bread and wine, the act is not accomplished but in our intelligence, and does not exist beyond us, and the holy communion is but an idolatrous ceremony; but as you avow it, your sentiments upon this mystery are different from those of common ecclesiastics."

Leo the Ninth, to whom the opinions of Berenger had been denounced as heretical, held a council at Rome, where a great number of bishops, abbots and clergy met: Lanfranc assisted at it. By the order of the sovereign pontiff, a letter concerning the eucharist, addressed to the monks of Bec, by the illustrious professor of Tours, was produced. Berenger was excommunicated, and the holy father ordered Lanfranc to explain his faith, fortifying it by authorities and not by reasoning. The monk then explained his belief, which was found to be orthodox.

The deputies from the metropolitan of Tours, were then heard in relation to the complaints which had been made during the preceding year, at the synod of Rheims, against the bishop of Dol and him of Brittany. These two prelates not having appeared at the council, the holy father wrote to the duke of Brittany to reduce these rebellious priests to submission. "You know, my lord, that in accordance with ancient charters, all the members of the clergy of your country, should be submissive to the archbishops of Tours, as was declared to Solomon, king of Brittany, by Pope Nicholas. We advise you then, that we exclude from our communion, the ecclesiastics who shall refuse to obey their superior; and we prohibit them from celebrating divine service, or even blessing the people. We beseech you not to appear in the temples in which they shall be present, until the time of holding the council of Verceil, and until they shall be justified from the accusation brought against them."

Notwithstanding the anathema pronounced against his doctrine, Berenger continued to propagate his errors, and William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, desiring to be enlightened on so important a question, assem-

bled several bishops at Brienne, a small city on the banks of the Risle, near to the monastery of Bec, where he sent for Berenger. But the professor refused to enter into a discussion with the prelates, and retired to Chartres, from whence he wrote a letter, in which he declared, that he would not reply to questions put to him by the regular and secular clergy, until he had convicted of heresy the pope and Roman bishops in the council of Verceil. This assembly was held in the month of September 1052. Leo the Ninth presided over it; Lanfranc was there, and Berenger did not appear. The book of John Scot on the eucharist was read, declared heretical, and cast into the flames. Berenger was a second time excommunicated, and two of his disciples who presented themselves as his ambassadors were arrested in the synod and burned alive.

In the same council, the holy father suspended Humphrey, metropolitan of Ravenna, from his functions; he granted the pallium to Dominick, the patriarch of Grada, with the title of primate, and the right of bearing the cross before him. The synod finished, Leo passed the Alps and went to Toul, where he granted a privilege to the monastery of St. Mansuil, on the occasion of the translation of the relics of St. Gerard: he remained in Lorraine and Germany until the month of February of the succeeding year.

Notwithstanding the double excommunication fulminated against Berenger, his doctrine secretly spread through Gaul, and King Henry, by the advice of the bishops, convened a council at Paris to judge it definitely. Berenger, having received orders to appear before it, addressed the following letter to the monk Ascelin: "If the divine power had given me leisure, I would have addressed to you a letter reasoned at length; but since God has not permitted me, I write to you my thoughts without sifting them, and without putting them in order. Until this time, I have not combatted the sacrilegious proposition of Brother William, in which he decides that every Christian should approach the holy table at Easter, and on account of my silence, this monk maintains, that I am unable to defend the opinions of John Scot, and that I avow that he was a heretic.

"I beseech God, my brother, that he would open your eyes, that you may be enabled to see how impious, sacrilegious, and unworthy of the priesthood it is to condemn the superhuman truths which Scot has demonstrated. If you believe with Paschasus, that in the sacrament of the altar, the substance of the bread is annihilated, you give the lie to natural reason and the doctrine of the Bible and the apostle. Thus, as I wrote to Lanfranc, you proscribe the luminaries of the church, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Augustin; and you condemn yourself, since the words pronounced by the priest in the consecration prove that the matter of the bread remains in the eucharist.

"I am accused in your convent of Bec, of having maintained that the episcopal rod does

not confer the power to direct the souls of the faithful, which is an imposture, for I would willingly publish this truth loudly. But I cannot hazard myself by appearing before a council; the rage of my enemies is well known to me, and I do not wish to expose myself to undergo the frightful punishment to which my envoys were condemned. I conjure you only, in the name of the fathers, the evangelists, the doctors, and of Christ, not to bear a guilty testimony against me, by saying that I condemned Scot; and I call down the malediction of God upon those, who, holding the key of science, avoid the sacred temple, and close its entrance against men.—Adieu.”

Theoduin or Deoduin, bishop of Liege, instigated by the suggestions of the court of Rome, wrote to the king of France to dissuade him from allowing the bishop of Angers or the professor of Tours from appearing before the council of Paris, and urged upon the prince to condemn them without hearing them. Berenger, who foresaw his condemnation, refused to appear, and remained with Bruno, his superior and former pupil, who approved of his doctrine. The book of John Scot was declared heretical, and it was directed, that troops, having clergy at their head, should go to seize the guilty deacon and his followers even in the sanctuary, and that they should pursue them with fire and sword until they should submit to the orthodox faith.

Berenger wrote at once to the abbot Richard, who had access to King Henry, to transmit his request to that prince. In his letter he asked the monarch to suspend the unjust decrees made against him, and to send a person of his court to him with whom he could enter into conference. He engaged to prove that the synod of Verceil had condemned Scot, and approved of Paschasus, through ignorance; he recalled to the recollection of the king, that John Scot had not written, but at the request of Charles the Bald, his predecessor, and finished by saying, in the bitterness of his heart, that he could not admit that the gross men of that period were more infallible than the Holy Scriptures.

The complaints of the professor of Tours were just; for in depriving him of his property and threatening him with fire and sword, the monarch and his bishops were guilty of great intolerance. No power can impose belief on man, and especially too, can it not make men profess it, by employing persecution. Religions which have resource to punishment to establish their dogmas, cause us to suspect their divinity by the violence which they employ, and we must admit that the Catholic religion “is that which has made most martyrs in the conversion of men.” Frontigneres, in the history of Berenger, adds this reflection: “Catholicism has propagated itself by violence, because its priests are cruel, and because they take pleasure in shedding blood, in order to cement the errors which increase their riches.

Before the time of Berenger, the dogma

upon the eucharist recognized by the church, was not that of transubstantiation,—he did nothing then but renew the decisions of the doctors and fathers. Progressive ideas were not admitted in those barbarous ages, and they condemned, as heresy, new doctrines, not on account of the errors which they propagated, but on account of their differing from the texts adopted by the church. The accused were thus compelled to free themselves by quotations and not by reasoning.

Whilst they were persecuting a deacon in France, in order to satisfy the demands of the court of Rome, Leo the Ninth was celebrating the festival of the Purification in Germany. It is related that the holy father performed a singular miracle in the city of Augsburg. Humphrey, the metropolitan of Ravenna, had come to meet the pope, by the orders of Henry the Black, in order to do homage to him for the territory which he had usurped from the Holy See, and to ask for absolution from the anathema which had been pronounced against him at the council of Verceil. At the moment at which he prostrated himself at the feet of Leo, in the presence of all the clergy, his holiness said, in an angry voice, “God grant you pardon for your sins according to your deserts, for you have need of it.” The archbishop rose up laughing, and said with a mocking air, “you have, holy father, more need than I.” The pontiff then dissolving into tears, exclaimed, “Alas, this unfortunate man no longer exists.” In fact the prelate fell dead at the moment, as if struck by a thunderbolt.

The pope then returned to Rome, where he held a synod to judge Gregory, bishop of Verceil, on an accusation of adultery committed with a widow who was affianced to his uncle. The prelate went immediately to the sovereign of the church; he offered him a large sum of money, and obtained from him authority to continue in his episcopal functions, whilst living in sin. The decree which declared women who had prostituted themselves to ecclesiastics, residing within the bounds of the holy city, slaves of the palace of the Lateran, is attributed to this convention. This right extended itself in the end to other dioceses. Leo is the first pope who ordained that the tenth part of the oblations offered upon the altar of St. Peter, should be employed in the repairs, embellishment, and lighting of that church.

By a letter addressed to the clergy and people of Ossimo, the pontiff severely censures the custom which existed in some cities, of entering the residence of deceased bishops forcibly; of pillaging the furniture, stealing the vessels, burning the country houses, and even of tearing up the vines from the lands.

Peter Damian addressed a letter to Leo, asking for his advice in relation to the scandals of the clergy of his province. “We have prelates,” wrote he, “who openly abandon themselves to all kinds of debauchery, get drunk at their feasts, mount on horseback, and keep their concubines in the episcopal palaces.

These unworthy ministers push the faithful into the abyss, and the mere priests have fallen into an excess of corruption, without our being able to exclude them from sacred orders. The priesthood is so despised, that we are obliged to recruit ministers for the service of God from among simoniacs, adulterers, and murderers. Formerly, the apostle declared worthy of death, not only those who committed crimes, but even those who tolerated them! What would he say, if he could return to earth and see the clergy of our days? The depravity is so great now, that the priests sin with their own children! These wretches make a pretext of the rules of the court of Rome, and, as they have a tariff for crimes, they commit them in all safety of conscience."

Peter cites some of these rules, which are remarkable: "A priest who is not a monk, and who sins accidentally with a virgin, shall perform two years of penance, and shall fast on bread and water on the Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays of three Lents. If the young girl is consecrated to God, and if the sin is habitually-committed, the penance shall be for five years.

"A mere clerk, for the same fault, shall do penance for six months, and a canon for two years. Priests guilty of fornication, shall be condemned to ten years of severe penalties, laymen to three years."

"Thus," adds Damian, "clerks, according to the penitential laws, not being submitted but to six months of light penance, find themselves treated more favourably than men who do not belong to the church. But I declare, that the popes who framed these miserable laws are responsible to God for all the disorders of the church, for the decrees of the synod of Ancyra condemn to twenty-five years of penance mere laymen who are guilty of the sin of the flesh. St. Basil and Pope Siricius declared every one suspected of these crimes unworthy of the priesthood. I hope, then, your holiness, after having consulted the legislation of the church and the doctors, will make a decision which will repress the disorders of our priests."

Leo replied to the monk, that the sins which he censured deserved to be punished with all the rigour of the penitential laws, and by the deprivation of orders; but, that the number of guilty clerks rendered that proceeding impracticable, and obliged him to preserve even the criminal in the church.

In 1052, the monastery of Chaise-Dieu, in Auvergne, was founded by Robert. This abbey was authorized by a bull, and by letters patent of the king of France, subscribed by the bishops and lords of that kingdom.

This year was also marked by a fatal event—the death of Halinard, archbishop of Lyons. That metropolitan had come to Rome with Hugh, the former bishop of Langres, to obtain from the holy father the re-installation of this guilty person in his See. At the request of the venerable prelate, Leo pardoned the traitor Hugh, and even gave him a bishop's mitre in token of reconciliation. But this wretch, who

regarded the metropolitan of Lyons as the author of his first disgrace, repaid his benefits by the blackest ingratitude. Halinard was invited to a repast which Hugh and his partisans, who had returned into France, offered him; a poisoned turbot was served up at table, and he died the next day, the 29th of July, from the consequences of this feast. This prelate was endowed with a remarkable eloquence. He served as the mediator of Leo in making his peace with the Normans. The faithful friend of the pontiff, he had followed him to Beneventum, Capua, Monte Cassino, and Monte Gargan, and rarely left him in his travels.

As Andrew, king of Hungary, still refused to pay the annual tribute which his predecessor had poured into the treasury of the empire, in conformity with the treaties which his ancestors had made, Leo, with the pretext of putting an end to the war which was on the point of breaking out between Henry the Black and Andrew, went on a new journey into Germany. The pontiff, in reality, had no other object than to secure succours from the emperor against the Normans, who were ravaging the territories of the church. King Andrew, who had penetrated the designs of the holy father, was unwilling to accept his mediation, and even refused him permission to enter his states.

Henry the Black and the pope passed a great part of the year in the German states, in conferring upon the measures to be taken against the Normans. During the sojourn of Leo at Ratisbon, the monks of St. Emmeran came to beseech him to second them in a piece of pure knavery in regard to the relics of St. Denis the Areopagite, the first bishop of Paris, of which they pretended they were the sole possessors. The holy father consented to examine the bones presented to him, and he declared by a bull bearing date on 7th of October, 1052, that, by the inspiration of God, he recognized the body of St. Denis in the precious relics of the convent of St. Emmeran, and he called the French monks who pretended to possess the remains of that blessed martyr, visionaries.

During the same year, the emperor and his holiness celebrated Christmas at Worms; the pontiff officiated on the day of the festival, and on the next day, it was the turn of Luitpold, archbishop of Mayence. A deacon of the church, after the first prayer of the mass, thundered forth a lesson, in conformity with the custom of the province; but, as this custom was contrary to that of the court of Rome, the ultra-montanes exclaimed, and asked the pope to impose silence on the deacon; the latter refused to obey. Leo, in his wrath, then ordered that the rash youth should be brought before him, and he degraded him at once. Whilst they were taking off the garments of his deacon, Luitpold neither spoke nor made a gesture; but after the reading of the Bible and the offertory, he placed himself in his seat, and declared, that neither he himself nor even Leo, should finish divine service, unless his

deacon was restored to him, which Leo hastened to do.

During his sojourn at Worms, the pope renewed the request he had made to Henry, to restore the abbey of Fulda, and several other domains or monasteries which had been taken from the Holy See. The emperor rejected the demands of Leo, in regard to these domains; he only consented to exchange Beneventum with him for the city of Bamberg; and also granted him some troops to aid him in his wars against the Normans. The holy father recruited, besides, some German volunteers and wretches drawn from every country, who enrolled under the sacred banners, through the hope of a rich booty; he then returned into Italy. On the approach of these hordes of brigands, the Normans immediately sent ambassadors to the holy pontiff to sue for peace, offering to regard themselves as his vassals, and to hold under him their acquisitions on the territory of St. Peter. Leo rejected these proposals and ordered them to retire from Italy, and to restore all that they had usurped. These people having no other hope but in their courage, united all their forces and resolved to defend their conquests to the last.

A great battle took place on the 18th of June, 1053, between the two armies; the Germans charged their enemy with great impetuosity, and threw the first body of Normans into disorder, but their reserve, composed of veteran troops, being put in motion, the troops of the holy father found themselves surrounded by a skilful movement. The Germans in their turn were put to flight, and those who resisted were all put to death by their terrible enemies. Leo who commanded his army in person, covered with a cuirass, and his lance in his hand, could scarcely escape from the crowd. Thus says Herman, God wished to punish the pope who had abandoned the care of his flock, from a desire to increase his wealth in this world, and he permitted his bands of assassins and robbers to be exterminated by the Normans.

These latter pursued Leo into the fortress in which he had taken refuge after the battle, and made him a prisoner. The sovereign pontiff was conducted to Beneventum, where he remained from the 23d of June, 1053, until the 12th of March, in the following year. During his captivity, the hypocritical Leo affected a very austere kind of life; he covered himself with hair cloth, slept upon a mat and used a stone for a pillow. Frequently, even during the night, he thundered forth psalms and prayers, or recited the Psalter, having his forehead propped against the flag-stones of his prison. During the day he performed several masses, again recited the psalter, and gave alms to all the poor who presented themselves. He received at this period a letter from Peter, the new patriarch of Antioch, who announced to him his promotion, and sent him his profession of faith by a pilgrim from Jerusalem.

In his reply, Leo bestowed great eulogiums

on Peter, for recognizing the primacy of the Roman church: he exhorted him to maintain the dignity of the See of Antioch, which is the third in the world, adds the holy father, since the patriarch of Constantinople has been degraded from the rank which he held in the church. He approved of the election of Peter, and declared his profession of faith to be Catholic. His holiness then sent him his own, in accordance with established usage; but that which is remarkable is, that Leo does not cite in his letter but seven general councils instead of eight, which had been recognized in all the churches.

Cardinal Humbert, who was on a mission to Apulia, had information communicated to him of a letter which was addressed to John, bishop of Trani, by Michael Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and by Leo, the metropolitan of Bulgaria. It ran as follows: "Charity has induced us, my dear brother, to write to you, that you may transmit our words to the prelates of the Franks, to the monks, the people, and even to the pope himself, in relation to the use of unleavened bread, and especially on the sabbath, which you do from your intercourse with the Jews.

After having celebrated the old passover, like the children of Israel, Jesus Christ instituted the new passover with the leavened bread, the only kind which our religion permits to the faithful. We blame the Latin ecclesiastics for keeping the Sabbath in Lent, since they fast on the eve of the day consecrated to the Lord, whilst the Greeks do not fast on Thursdays nor Sundays. We blame them for eating strangled food in contempt of the canons which prohibit us from drinking the blood of animals: finally, we accuse them of not singing the hallelujah, during the holy time of Lent. We exhort you to disabuse them on these points of ecclesiastical discipline; and if you accomplish this work, we promise you to send you letters, which shall enlighten your mind upon truths whose importance is still greater for the Christian world."

Humbert translated this letter into Latin, and carried it to the pope, who made a long reply to it. Leo thus wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople: "They assure me, unworthy prelate, that you push your audacity so far as openly to condemn the Latin church, because it celebrates the eucharist with unleavened bread. According to your opinion, the Roman pontiff, after exercising sovereign power for ten entire centuries, should learn from the bishop of Constantinople the proper mode of honouring their divine master. Are you ignorant then that the popes are infallible—that no man has the right to judge them, and that it belongs to the Holy See to condemn or absolve kings and people? Constantine himself decreed, that it was unworthy of the divine majesty, that the priest to whom God had given the empire of heaven, should be submissive to the princes of the earth. Not only did he give to Sylvester and his successors temporal authority, but he even

granted to them, ornaments, officers, guards, and all the honours attached to the imperial dignity. In order that you may not accuse us of establishing our sway through ignorance and falsehood, we send you a copy of the privileges which Constantine had granted to the Roman church." The holy father repeated, textually, this celebrated donation, which all the learned have recognized as apochryphal; he reproached the Greek bishops with the ordination of eunuchs who were even tolerated upon episcopal Sees, and he let loose his indignation against the priests of Constantinople, whose manners were so revolting that they were ignorant, it is said, if the clergy were composed of men or women.

Finally, Leo accused the patriarch Michael of ingratitude towards the Roman church, his mother, which had permitted him to be crowned as the prelate of the imperial city. "We are assured," added he, "that you have closed the Latin churches in your country, and that you have driven from the monasteries the monks and abbots of the West. See how much more tolerant than yours is the Holy See, since we permit several convents and several temples of your religion to exist in the interior of Rome."

This letter exasperated the clergy of Constantinople, which persisted in its schism, and refused to recognize the authority of Rome; but the emperor Constantine Monomachus, who wished to obtain, through the assistance of the pope, who exercised great influence over the mind of Henry the Third, the aid of Germans and Italians, against the Normans, wrote to Leo to testify how sincerely he desired to re-establish the union which had been destroyed for two centuries, between the Eastern and Western churches. The prince even threatened Michael Cerularius to depose him, if he did not submit to the pontiff in the question of unleavened bread.

Leo thus replied to the emperor: "Prince, we praise you for having bowed before our supreme power, and for having been the first to propose to re-establish concord between your empire and our church; for, in these deplorable times, all Christians should unite to exterminate that strange nation which wishes to raise itself up in opposition to us, the viceroy of God. These Normans, our common enemies, have put to death our faithful soldiers beneath their swords; they have invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, without regarding the holiness of our residence; they have forced convents, massacred monks, violated virgins, and burned churches. These savage people, the enemies of God and man, have resisted the prayers, threats, and anathemas of the Holy See; these barbarians, hardened by pillage and murder, no more fear the divine vengeance. We have been obliged to call in aid from all sides to tame these northern hordes; and we, ourselves, at the head of an army, have wished to march against them, and to unite with your faithful servant, the duke of Argyra, in order to confer with him about driving them from Italy; but these incarnate

demons suddenly attacked us, cut all our troops to pieces, and seized upon our sacred person; their victory, however, has inspired them with great fear, and they doubt lest Christians princes should come to crush them and free us from their hands.

"We will not falter in the holy mission which God has confided to us: we will not cease to excite other people against them, in order to exterminate this evil race. We will not imitate our predecessors, those mercenary bishops, who were more engaged with their own debaucheries than with the interests of the Roman church. For our part, it is our desire to re-establish the Holy See in its former splendour, and we will spare neither gold nor blood to render our throne worthy of the majesty of God. Already is the emperor Henry, our dear son, advancing to our aid with a powerful army; and we hope that you yourself will soon cover the Bosphorus with your sails, for the purpose of disembarking your soldiers on the shores of Apulia. What ought I now to hope, with such powerful aid, for the glory of the Holy See?"

In his letter to Michael Cerularius, the pope gave him the title of archbishop of Constantinople. He accuses him of ambition, heresy, and usurpation; adding, "It is said, you are a neophyte and have not mounted by the proper steps, to the episcopate. It is said that you have dared to menace the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, with depriving them of their ancient prerogatives, in order to subjugate them to your sway, and that by a sacrilegious usurpation, you take the title of universal bishop, which only belongs to the bishop of Rome. Thus, in your pride, you dare to compare yourself with us, and to contest our infallibility in contempt of the decisions of the fathers and orthodox councils, and even against the apostles. Finally, you persecute the faithful who receive the eucharist with unleavened bread, under the pretext that Jesus Christ used leavened bread in instituting the sacrament of the altar; I forewarn you, then, that your impious doctrines will be anathematized by our legates, and that your conduct will be publicly condemned if you persist in refusing to take the oath of obedience to us."

Among the envoys of the pontiff to Constantinople, were Humbert, bishop of St. Rufinus, or of Blanche-Selve, an old monk of the abbey of Moyen-Moustier, in the diocese of Toul, who had been drawn from his monastery by Bruno, when that prelate arrived at the papacy; Peter, the metropolitan of Amalfi, was also one of the ambassadors with Frederick, the brother of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine and Tuscany, a relative of the pope and of the emperor Henry. This last was then deacon and chancellor of the Roman church; he was afterwards chosen sovereign pontiff.

Before the departure of the ambassadors for the court of Byzantium, Leo received letters from the bishops of Africa, who continued to mourn over the Christians who were submitted to the sway of the Mussulmen; they com-

plained of the ambitious enterprises of the bishop of Gommi, and asked who was the metropolitan whose supremacy they must recognize, since Carthage had ceased to be the capital of Africa. The pontiff, in the reply which he addressed to the Africans, testified a profound affliction in seeing their church reduced to five bishoprics, instead of the three hundred, which it had before it was subjugated by the Africans. In regard to metropolitan rights, he decided, that it was not adherent to the worldly importance of cities, but that it resided in the antiquity of the See, or the holiness of the foundation; that thus Carthage, notwithstanding its decay, should be considered as the metropolis of the diocese, and its bishop as having the sole right to depose prelates and priests to consecrate them, and to convoke provincial councils. "As to general synods, kuov," adds the holy father, "that they cannot be assembled without our authority, and that none among you can pronounce a definite judgment against his brethren; because the canons have given the sovereign power to the See of Rome;" which is a flagrant imposture; for the popes have arrogated to themselves this right by the aid of false decretals, and not in accordance with the canons, which place it, on the contrary, in ecclesiastical assemblies.

During the captivity of Leo, several provincial councils were held in France. The most remarkable was that of Narbonne; the archbishop Geoffry presided over it; they made twenty-two canons in order to confirm the truce of God. All were prohibited under penalty of the most terrible censures, and of perpetual exile, from fighting any battle, or single combat, from the first Sunday in Advent, until eight days after the Epiphany, and from Quinquagesima Sunday, until eight days after Easter; as also during the other feasts and fasts commanded by the church. They were also prohibited from building any fortress or embattled wall, during the truce, in order to prevent the lords from employing this time of repose, in fortifying their domains with walls or ditches, or in covering them with impenetrable towers. The fathers of the synod of Narbonne declared the olive a sacred tree, because it afforded light for the churches, and oil for the holy chrism; and the prohibition of cut-

ting any was enforced by the penalty of anathema.

Leo was still retained a prisoner at Beneventum; and although he was more than fifty years old, he studied the Greek language with great ardour, on account of the relations which he wished to enter into with the emperor of Constantinople. A malady of sadness and languor had, however, seized upon him, and made great progress. Finding his strength diminishing, he sent for Count Humphrey, one of the Norman chiefs, and asked him to make good the promise he had made to him, of conducting him to Rome before his death. The count, after having been apprized by the physicians of the situation of the pope, caused him to be placed on a litter, and himself accompanied him to the holy city, with a numerous escort.

Leo remained for several days in the palace of the Lateran, in order to make his last will; thence being carried into the church of St. Peter, he received the extreme unction in the presence of a large number of bishops, abbots, and ecclesiastics, prayed in German, asking God to deliver him speedily from his sufferings by recovery or death, and finally died on the 19th of April, 1054, after a reign of five years and some months.

The church has placed this pontiff in the number of the saints whom she honours; Platinus says his doors were always open to the poor, and that one day an old man, covered with an horrible leprosy, having presented himself at the patriarchal palace to pass the night, the holy father caused him to be placed in his own bed, because all the other apartments were already occupied, and he himself retired into the oratory of the Lateran. On the following day, when he returned to his chamber, the poor man had disappeared and the bed was covered with a luminous aureole; it was Jesus Christ himself, adds the credulous historian, who had assumed the appearance of a mendicant leper to test the charity of the pontiff. The chronicle of Herman also relates several miracles which occurred at the tomb of Leo.

The creation of archchancellors of the Roman church is owing to this pontiff, a dignity which he instituted in favour of Herimon, the metropolitan of Cologne.

## VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

[A. D. 1054.]

*Reply of Cardinal Humbert to Michael Cerularius—Refutation of the writings of Nicetas upon the unleavened bread—Retraction of Nicetas—Excommunication of the patriarch of Constantinople—He in his turn anathematizes the Roman church—Letter of the patriarch against the clergy of the West—remark upon the Greek schism—Origin of the cardinals.*

AFTER the death of Leo the Ninth, the Holy See remained vacant for an entire year, the Romans not daring to proceed to the election of a pontiff without the authority of the

emperor Henry the Third. During this vacancy, events of great importance occurred in the East. The legates sent to Constantinople by Leo, had been received with great honours by Constantine Monomachus, and Humbert, availing himself of the favourable dispositions of the emperor, published a reply to the manifesto lanced by Michael Cerularius and Leo of Acrida, against the Latin ecclesiastics. This refutation is in the form of a dialogue. We give the substance of it. "You say, patriarchs of Constantinople and Acrida, that Christian charity and human compassion have induced you to reprimand the Franks, and even the pope himself, because they practise the error of the Jews in preserving the ancient custom of celebrating Easter with unleavened bread.

"But before allowing your attention to be arrested by the West, why do you neglect the churches with whose administration you are charged, and why do you permit the Jacobites and other heretics to have intercourse and commune with the faithful of your dioceses? You say that Jesus Christ, in celebrating the supper, used bread, called *artos* in Greek; you insist upon the etymology of this word, which, according to you, signifies that the bread is leavened or inflated by fermentation, and you conclude from thence, that unleavened bread is not really the bread. The meaning which you give to the word *artos*, is restrained, and we can point out to you numerous passages of Scripture, in the version of the Septuagint, in which this term is made use of to designate the unleavened bread which an angel bore to the Prophet Elias, as well as the shew-bread. Thus *artos* in the Greek language, like *lehem* in the Hebrew, signifies all kinds of bread. Besides, Jesus Christ instituted Easter with unleavened bread, because he celebrated this feast lawfully, and the Jewish law prohibited the preparation of leavened bread during the sacred days.

"In order to celebrate this festival worthily, we place upon the holy table the bread which the deacons, and even the priests, clothed in their sacerdotal garments, have kneaded and prepared in a silver furnace, singing religious hymns. You, on the contrary, follow the errors of the Latin church of the first ages, and buy the bread of the altar from a public baker—you crumble it in with the wine of the chalice, and you administer the sacrament with a spoon. You forget that Jesus Christ took the bread whole, and having broken it, administered it by pieces to his disciples. The church of Jerusalem, more ancient than all, has preserved this holy tradition; its priests consecrate the entire host upon the patines; they divide it, not as do the Greeks with an iron blade, but with the fingers, as the consecrated bread is then friable, and of wheaten flour. After the communion, if there remain any pieces, they do not burn them, nor cast them into the sweepings of the church: but, on the contrary, they are religiously placed in a sacred coffer, and are

given to the faithful at the communion on the next day. In your Greek churches you cast the fragments of the sacred body of God into the filth of your sacristies. We, who conform to the custom of the church of Jerusalem, place the host upon the altar, thin, sound, and entire; after the consecration we break it with our hands, and give it to the people; then we place the blood of Christ in the chalice, and our lips draw it in with delight."

Humbert justified the Roman ecclesiastics in singing the halleluiah, except in Lent; and finally, addressed severe reproaches to the Greeks for re-baptizing the Latins, and permitting the marriages of the priests; for refusing the communion or baptism to women in peril of death in consequence of a dangerous childbirth; and for excluding them from the sacraments during the time of menstruation; as also, for the ridiculous prohibition to monks and nuns, of wearing drawers. He then combatted the writings of Nicetas, surnamed *Stethatos* or *Pectorat*, a monk of *Studa*, who enjoyed a great reputation in the East. This monk had accused the western clergy of breaking their abstinence, by celebrating mass during Lent at the third hour, which prevented them from fasting until afternoon prayers; whilst the Greeks did not say the hallowed service, without consecrating the host at the hour of afternoon prayers, as they still practise.

Humbert also maintained, "that the holy sacrifice should not be celebrated upon silk or coloured stuff, but upon linen cloth of virginal purity, in order that it might represent the shroud of Christ, as holy Sylvester had ordered. We fast rigidly all Lent," added he, "and even make children ten years old to fast; for it is false that the communion breaks the fast. He who receives the body of Jesus Christ, receives eternal life, and not corruptible flesh, subject to the impure laws of digestion. Besides, though we may celebrate mass at the third, eighth, or any other hour, we do not reserve the least part of the oblation, because we are convinced the apostles did not celebrate mass in a way differing from ours. God himself, after having blessed the bread, did not reserve it until the next day; he broke it and distributed it immediately to his disciples. We are not ignorant, that the Greeks have established the custom of performing divine service at the third hour on Sunday, and the days of solemn feasts, in commemoration of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles; but we also believe, that we are not guilty of sin in celebrating mass on fast days at the afternoon prayers, or at vespers, since our Lord instituted this sacrament in the evening, and finished his sacrifice at the ninth hour. Thus, although the morning is the most convenient for the celebrating of the mass, we do not break our fast by performing it at other hours, as the institution of the midnight mass testifies. In all these cases, we do not pretend to learn the ritual of your mass, because we do not wish to practise your scandalous usages. When you break the sacred

bread you let the piece fall, which you trample under feet; and you are equally neglectful in brushing off the patines with the leaves of the palm-tree or with brushes of hogs' bristles. We also know, that many among you bring with them to the holy tables vegetables and roasted meat, which they eat with the body of Jesus Christ."

Humbert finally terminated this long reply by excommunicating Nicetas, if he should persist in his errors in relation to the unleavened bread. Constantine Monomachus, who was deeply interested in preserving terms with the court of Rome, constrained the poor monk to retract, under penalty of losing the wealth which he had received from him. The legates of the Holy See went to the convent of Studa; and, in the presence of the sovereign, the great dignitaries of the state, and a numerous clergy, Nicetas condemned the writings published in his name against the Latin clergy, in relation to unleavened bread, the Sabbath, and the marriages of priests; he anathematized all those who denied the orthodoxy of the Roman ritual or the infallibility of the Holy See; finally, he burned his book in the midst of the assembly.

Michael Cerularius steadily resisted the threats of Constantine, and refused to commune with the legates. On the next day, at the third hour, Humbert and his colleagues went to the church of St. Sophia, penetrated even to the sanctuary, and deposited upon the high altar an act of excommunication fulminated against him. They then left the church and shook off the dust of their shoes, exclaiming "Anathema upon Michael Cerularius."

The deed of excommunication was conceived in these terms: "We, Humbert, Peter and Frederick, envoys sent by the Holy See to this imperial city to judge it, declare that we have found much good and much evil. The columns of the empire, the men elevated to high dignity, and the principal citizens, are orthodox; but the monk Michael, who calls himself patriarch, and his adherents, are filled with heresies and crimes. They simoniacally sell the gifts of God; they make eunuchs, like the Valesians, and elevate those unfortunate persons not only to the clerkships, but even to the episcopacy; they affirm, like the Donatists, that, without the pale of the Greek church there is no true church of Jesus Christ in the world, no true sacrifice of the mass, no true baptism; like the Nicolaites, they permit ministers of the altar to marry; like the Severians, they speak ill of the law of Moses; like the Macedonians, they cut off from the creed the affirmation that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son; like the Manicheans, they maintain that all that is leaven is animated; and finally, like the Nazarenes, they practise Judaical purifications, and refuse communion to the faithful who cut their hair and beard.

"Michael has been warned by the pontiff Leo to renounce these errors; he has, however, despised the sage advice of his father; he has refused to commune with us, and to grant us churches in which to celebrate di-

vine service; he wishes to abase the dignity of the Holy See, and has dared to take the title of universal bishop. We, therefore, by the authority of the Holy Trinity, of the apostolic throne, of the seven œcumenical councils, and of all the Catholic church, subscribe the anathema which Leo the Ninth pronounced against Cerularius, and we declare him an infamous clerk, an usurping patriarch, an ignorant neophyte, who has clothed himself in the monastic garb to shun the chastisement which his crimes deserve. With him we condemn Leo, scandalously called bishop of Acrida, Constantine, sacellary of St. Sophia, who has trampled with profane feet upon the body and blood of Christ, which were consecrated by Latin priests. Finally, we excommunicate all their followers, be they who they may; we proscribe them from the temple of God, and we devote them to Satan and his angels, if they refuse to humble themselves before the supreme power of the pope! Amen! amen! amen!"

This blow of authority, or rather, this insolence of the Roman legates, instead of frightening the patriarch of Constantinople, excited his just indignation; and believing, that in order to cure the wound which had been inflicted on his church, he must employ a remedy more violent than the evil, he made a vehement decree against the excommunication pronounced against him, and in his turn excommunicated the whole Latin church. He then wrote to Peter of Antioch: "Impious barbarians, sallying from the darkness of the West, have come to this pious city, from whence the sources of an orthodox faith have flown through the whole world. They have endeavoured to corrupt the holy doctrine by the impurity of their dogmas; they wish to constrain us to Judaize like themselves; they maintain that monks should eat strangled food, and they eat lard during the whole year, and even during the first weeks of Lent.

"They have dared to add those heretical words to the Nicene creed, 'I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son;' they prohibit the marriage of priests, and condemn ecclesiastical eunuchs. These infamous persons permit, that at the moment of the communion the handsomest young clerks should place impure kisses upon the mouth of the officiating priest. Their bishops wear rings to recall to the remembrance of the faithful that their churches are their spouses, and yet they go to war, soil their hands with the blood of their brethren, and after having murdered Christians, still dare to perform divine service. They administer baptism by a simple immersion, and by placing salt in the mouth of the neophyte; and, finally, instead of saying with St. Paul, 'a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump,' they maintain that it corrupts it. What heightens their iniquity is, that they have not come to be edified by the purity of our doctrine and our ritual; but on the contrary, with the impious thought of instructing us, and of causing us to embrace their sacrilegious prin-

eiples under penalty of anathema. We have avoided communing with these envoys of Satan, and have refused to treat of doctrinal questions with these accursed legates, unless you and the other patriarchs were assembled with us in council. These madmen have then, in order to overcome us, penetrated by force into our cathedral and placed on the high altar an excommunication against our orthodox church. We might have burned and destroyed this infamous writing, but we preferred to judge it publicly, that the condemnation of the authors of such a sacrilege might be a signal reparation, and one worthy of the majesty of our ministry. The emperor has ranged himself on our side, he has constrained the legates of Rome to go into the great saloon of the council to abjure their errors, and to apologize to us; but they have threatened their self-destruction, if we wished to draw a retraction from them. We send you these details, in order that you may be rightly informed of what has passed in our city, and that you may reply with the circumspection becoming a defender of the orthodox faith, if one writes from Rome against our See."

Such were the causes which determined a new schism between the East and West, or rather which rewoke the old dispute formerly excited under the celebrated Photius; and which had, we may say, never been interrupted, notwithstanding the intervals of apparent peace between Rome and Constantinople.

We must not, however, suppose that these scandalous divisions, which have caused such great troubles in Christendom, had as a motive the ridiculous theological quarrels upon the procession of the Holy Spirit, the unleavened bread, the Saturday fast, and other questions of as little importance. They were but the specious pretext to conceal from the eyes of the people the true cause of the hatred which animated patriarchs and popes. The cupidity and ambition of these proud priests gave aliment to the discord, and filled Greece and Italy with wars, robberies, and assassinations; for although the pretensions of the Greeks to religious independence were even contrary to the canons of the church, this fault was not sufficiently great for the Holy See to condemn to eternal fires two thirds of Christendom. After the death of Constantine Monomachus, the patriarch completed the task commenced by Photius, and separated for ever the church of the East from that of the West.

Among the legates sent to Constantinople, Humbert, the cardinal bishop, was the most influential personage, on account of the authority which his title gave him above his colleagues; it thus becomes necessary to inform ourselves of the origin of the cardinalate, and of the importance which this dignity had obtained in the church towards the conclusion of the eleventh century.

The most ancient author, who has spoken of the cardinals, is St. Gregory, in 596, the first pope whose policy laid the foundation of the temporal power of the Holy See. In those

first ages of the church, the cardinal priest was simply the curate of the principal parish in which he was not born. In consequence of political changes and revolutions, very many ecclesiastics, driven away by the barbarians, took refuge in the cities which were under the protection of the empire, and in which they were entertained from the common purse of the clergy, as the ecclesiastics of the city. When an ecclesiastic died, his office was sometimes assigned to a refugee priest, who took the title of incardinatus, that is, of received or transferred, to distinguish him from the clergyman who obtained a ministerial charge without having left another, and who was called ordinatus, or priest hierarchically ordained.

This usage was established in Italy at the beginning of the seventh century, when a great number of bishops, priests, and deacons were deprived of their churches by the Lombards. As the greater part of those fugitives came to the cities of Ravenna or Rome, which offered to them more chances of place, it happened that in these two cities almost all the charges were occupied by them; those titularies were called cardinals. They were distinguished as cardinal deacons, cardinal priests, and cardinal bishops; but soon this title, which at the commencement designated a precarious and subaltern state, changed its signification, and served to distinguish the difference of churches and employments; for example, a canon of a cathedral was called a cardinal to distinguish him from ecclesiastics, who served the churches of the second order; but the title of cardinal was inferior to that of bishop, and prelates did not habitually preserve it when they arrived at the episcopate.

During the pontificate of Pascal the First, in 817, the curates of Rome took the title of cardinals, to designate that they were the ministers who approached nearest the person of the pope, and who participated in his election; afterwards, when the clergy had taken from the Roman people the right of election, the authority of the cardinals so increased, that the pontificate fell almost always to one of them. Little by little the cardinalate was transformed into a particular dignity, and the prelates who were clothed with it, insensibly constituted themselves into an electoral college. In the twelfth century, however, they had not yet any distinctive mark of their title; the red hat was not given to them until the following century; in 1164, Paul the Second authorized them to wear the red cap and scarlet stockings, when they mounted on horseback; and finally, Urban the Eighth gave them the title of eminence, by a solemn bull. It was thus that by degrees this dignity became the first in the church after the papacy, and cardinals are now to the pontiff what senators or secretaries of state are to an emperor or king. In the Catholic church they are regarded as the pivot on which the whole church turns, and the common people honour them as lords, for whom there exists no title sufficiently magnificent.

## VICTOR THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1055.]

*Singular election of the pontiff—He is enthroned by the name of Victor the Second—Council of Tours—Council of Toulouse—Complaint against the bishop of Narbonne—The pope violates the privileges of the abbey of Monte Cassino—Journey of the holy father—His death.*

AFTER the death of Leo the Ninth, the Romans dared not elect a new pontiff for the Holy See without the orders of the emperor, and they deputed to him the subdeacon Hildebrand to beseech him, in the name of the clergy, the grandees, and the people, to designate himself, him whom he should judge the most worthy to mount the throne of St. Peter. Hildebrand, who constantly pursued his ambitious projects, and wished to render the pontifical elections independent of the will of the prince, went immediately into Germany, and persuaded the bishops of that country that it would be advantageous to them to elevate to the pontificate the venerable Gebehard, a relative of the emperors, whom the Romans had already designated. The prelates, docile to his request, presented themselves before the sovereign, and besought him to approve of this nomination.

Henry tenderly loved this bishop, who was one of the richest and most powerful lords of his empire; he was profoundly afflicted at the choice which had been made, foreseeing that the pontifical dignity would change the inclinations of his relative, and raise up a formidable enemy to the empire. He refused at first to confirm this election, under the pretext that the presence of Gebehard was necessary in Germany, and he proposed others for the papacy; but all the reasons which he brought forward, not being able to overcome the determination of Hildebrand, he was obliged to yield to his urgency. Gebehard parted for Rome with the ambassador; he was recognized as pope by an unanimous vote, and consecrated as such on Holy Thursday, the 13th of April 1055, by the name of Victor the Second.

A legend relates that shortly after his enthronement, a deacon of St. Peter, who lived in concubinage with his own sister, and who had been censured for this incest, formed a plan to revenge himself on the pope, and mixed poison with the blood of Jesus Christ in the chalice, whilst the pontiff was celebrating divine service; but that when as Gebehard had pronounced the sacramental words, and wished to raise the chalice before the people, he could not detach it from the altar by any effort he could make. Surprised at this prodigy, the holy father prostrated himself with his face to the ground, imploring God in a loud voice to inform him of the cause of this miracle; immediately the poisoner, who was on his knees beside him, was seized by the spirit of darkness and fell across the steps

of the altar, pronouncing horrible blasphemies, and accusing himself of the parricide which he wished to commit; the pious Gebehard, moved at the horrible sufferings of the possessed, then prayed again with the people until the obsession of the deacon had passed off; he then raised the chalice without difficulty, and enclosed it in the tabernacle of the oratory to preserve it with the relics. Maimburg very gravely tells this story as an irrefragable proof of the holiness of Victor.

During the same year the emperor went into Italy to assist at the feast of Pentecost, which the pontiff had ordered to be celebrated at Florence. A great council was held in that city, at which several abuses which had been introduced among the clergy, were condemned. The prohibition to alienate church property was renewed, and the penalty of excommunication was pronounced against clergy or laity who should contravene this law. After this assembly rose, Gebehard sent the subdeacon Hildebrand into France as his ambassador, to put a bridle upon the disorders of the clergy, and particularly to repress simony, that sacerdotal leprosy which had covered all the churches of Italy and Gaul. In execution of the orders of the holy father, Hildebrand convoked a synod at Lyons. At the opening of the sitting, a bishop was accused of having bought his See at auction; but as the discussion was prolonged into the night, the fathers were obliged to defer until the next day, the judgment in this case. During the night the accused profited by the delay which had been granted to him, and corrupted the accusers and witnesses with gold; and the next day, when the council had assembled, he boldly presented himself, demanding to be confronted with his enemies. The accusers were called with a loud voice and no one appeared.

The wary Hildebrand then rose with dignity, and said to him: "Do you firmly believe that the Holy Spirit sees everything, and that it is of the same substance with the Father and the Son?" The bishop replied, "I do." "Then," added the deacon, "recite with a loud voice, and in the presence of this assembly, the Gloria Patri." The guilty man commenced the doxology with a firm voice, but having reached the words Spiritui Sancto, he could not articulate them; he immediately fell at the feet of the legate, and with floods of tears confessed his crime, and demanded to be condemned with all the rigour of the canons. Hildebrand immediately pronounced a sen-

tence of deposition against him, and he could at once say the *Gloria Patri*. All the assistants, alarmed and fearful of the same chastisement, implored the clemency of the legate. Peter Damian, who recounts this miracle, adds, that he heard Hildebrand himself relate it, and that Hugh, abbot of Cluny, as well as Pope Calixtus the Second, were eye witnesses of it.

Fleury says, that at the same period, the sub-deacon legate convoked a council at Tours, at which appeared Berenger, with Lanfranc, his implacable adversary; that he had permission given to him to defend his opinion, but that he dared not do it, and publicly confessed the common belief of the church, swearing that for the future he would conform to the decisions of the Holy See. The same author adds, that Berenger subscribed this retraction with his own hand, and that Hildebrand then admitted him to his communion. Father Ignatius Hyacinthus affirms, that the monk of Bec had a learned discussion with Berenger, that he convicted him of his errors, and compelled him to retract them in the presence of Hildebrand.

In the following year a new council was held in the city of Toulouse; Raimbault, Ponce and Geoffrey, the metropolitans of Arles, Aix, and Narbonne, presided over this assembly in the capacity of legates of the pope. The fathers made some regulations in regard to the incontinence and simony of the priests; they then heard the complaints of Berenger, viscount of Narbonne, against the archbishop, one of the legates of the Holy See, and one of the presidents of the Assembly.

Berenger thus spoke: "During the time of archbishop Ermangaud, my uncle, the See of Narbonne was the most important from Rome to Spain; it was rich in lands and castles; the church was filled with books and plate; it possessed large sums in its treasury, numerous canons served it, and more than a thousand serfs cultivated its domains. On the death of Ermangaud, Geoffrey, the count of Cerdagne, whose sister I had married, came to Narbonne, and proposed to me to obtain the vacant archbishopric for his son who was then but ten years old, with the promise of dividing an hundred thousand pennies of gold between my father and the count of Rhodes, if they would acquiesce in this proposal. My father and mother refused to accept it, but I was weak enough to follow the advice of my wife; I resisted the authors of my day, and was even so transported with anger against them, as in a moment of wrath to threaten to put them to death, if they did not yield to the demand of the count of Cerdagne. My father, whom age had rendered timid, obeyed; Geoffrey paid down the hundred thousand pennies, and his son was placed in possession of the archbishopric of Narbonne, after having sworn that neither we, ours, nor the diocese should ever suffer any harm by his will or negligence. When the infant prelate, however, became a man, he failed in all his promises; he sold the domains of the

church and those of the canons, to bestow them on his concubines and minions; he constructed strong forts in which to lodge his troops, and has waged a terrible war in which thousands of Christians have found their death. He has purchased the See of Urgel for his brother William, with an hundred thousand pennies of gold, and has paid this sum with the crosses, chalices, shrines of the relics and patines of gold and silver which he has sold to the Jews. He has finally placed himself under the protection of the countess Urgel, his relative, with whom he maintains a criminal intercourse.

In order to put a finishing stroke to his crimes, this wretch has lanced an excommunication against me, my wife, my children, and my territories; he has prohibited ecclesiastics from administering baptism, communion, and the burial of the dead in my province. It is true that we regard of but little account the anathema of a man who is laden with all iniquities, and whom Pope Victor, in the council of Florence, himself excommunicated for simony; not only has he sold all the ecclesiastical orders, but he had been paid for the consecration of the bishops, and the dedication of the churches of my domains. It is on these accounts that I complain to you and to Christ, and entreat the pope to give me justice against my bishop. Otherwise I shall hold of no account the excommunication lanced against me by Geoffrey, and shall not keep the truce of God."

In order to understand this last expression, it is necessary to recall to our recollection, that since the reign of Louis the Good Natured, the royal authority was no longer respected; the lords and nobles maintained their right to administer justice, by force of arms: hence arose the wars of province against province, county against county, castle against castle; pillage, robbery, incendiarism and murder became customary, and were no longer regarded as crimes. At length, during the reign of King Robert, and particularly in the kingdom of Aquitaine, a more efficacious means than those which had yet been tried, was resorted to, to arrest these ravages. A council held in the diocese of Eluc, a dependancy of Roussillon, declared, that in future, from Wednesday night until Monday morning, no one should seize by force of arms upon the domains of his enemy, nor should avenge any injury, under the penalty of paying a fixed fine, or of being excommunicated and banished from his province; this agreement was called the truce of God.

The history of the church has left us in ignorance of the result of the complaints of the viscount of Narbonne; it is most likely they were not received by the synod of Toulouse, as the accused was himself one of the legates of the Holy See.

Whilst the French clergy and nobility were ruining provinces by their quarrels, and demanding justice, one against another at the court of Rome, Rieher, abbot of Monte Cassino died, and the monks chose as his suc-

cessor, Peter, the senior of the convent, a venerable old man, who had passed his long career in the study of the sacred Scriptures, and in the practice of Christian virtues; but the pope, enraged that this election had been made without his authority, and that he had not derived any benefit from it, sent Cardinal Humbert to Monte Cassino, with orders to annul the nomination of the new abbot. To bring the monks to reason, the cardinal invested Monte Cassino with his soldiers, seized the venerable Peter by force, and sent him to Rome. The holy father caused him to be confined in the dungeons of the palace of the Lateran, where he died of famine. The monk Frederick, who afterwards reached the pa-

city under the name of Stephen the Tenth, was named abbot.

After this exploit, Victor came to Goslar in Germany, where he received the last sighs of the emperor Henry the Third, who died in his arms, on the 5th of October, 1056. Some days before, the bishops and principal lords of Germany had solemnly recognized his son as his successor to the empire, although the young prince was but five years old; the empress Agnes, his mother, was named regent, and took the reins of government, until his majority.

The pope then prepared for his return to Italy, but on arriving in Tuscany, he was suddenly taken ill, and died on the 28th of July, 1057.

## STEPHEN THE TENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1057.]

*History of Stephen before his pontificate—His election—He wishes to reform the church—Letter of Peter Damian to the cardinals—State of the Eastern schism—The pope wishes to overthrow the power of the emperors—His death.*

STEPHEN THE TENTH, was the brother of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, one of the most powerful princes of that period, who had for a long time combatted against the emperor in the provinces of Upper and Lower Lorraine, which he had finally re-united under his sway. His wars with the empire only terminated on the occasion of the journey of Pope Leo the Ninth, his relative, into Germany, who had negotiated a treaty of alliance between Henry and Godfrey. Three years afterwards, the duke of Lorraine came into Italy, accompanied by his brother Frederick, who was then the archdeacon of Liege; the holy father made him a cardinal deacon, with the offices of librarian and chancellor of the Roman church; he then sent him as his legate to Constantinople, to reduce the patriarch Michael Cerularius to obedience. This embassy was attended with disagreeable results to the young Frederick; for on his return into Italy, he was arrested, as well as his colleagues, Humbert and Peter, by Trasimond, duke of Spoleto, who seized upon the rich presents which the emperor Constantine Monomachus sent to the church of St. Peter, and drove them from his states, after having despoiled them even of their vestments.

Leo was dead when Frederick returned to Rome; as he was ambitious of the title of pope, he lost no time, and went into Germany to obtain the protection of Henry. But he found the dispositions of the emperor towards him but little favorable, on account of the marriage of Godfrey with Beatrix, the widow of Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, which opened to his brother a great preponderance in Italy, and gave to him facilities to seize the

imperial crown. The deacon having failed in his ambitious projects, shut himself up in Monte Cassino, to wait the progress of events, and embraced the monastic life. He afterwards bought from Pope Victor, the dignity of abbot of his monastery and of cardinal priest. But scarcely had he taken possession of his church, when Boniface, bishop of Albano came to Rome, to announce the news of the death of the pontiff.

New intrigues for the tiara immediately commenced. Frederic scattered his gold profusely among the clergy, and bought up the soldiers; and, finally, when the corporations of the trades came together to consult upon the choice which they should make, he dared to reply, that he alone was worthy to occupy the throne of the apostle. His partizans exclaimed, "Amen," and bore him in triumph to the church of St. Peter, where he was proclaimed sovereign pontiff, under the name of Stephen the Tenth. He was then conducted with the same pomp to the palace of the Lateran. On the next day, all the cardinals, the clergy, and the people followed him to the church of St. Peter, where three bishops consecrated him with the usual ceremonies, and without waiting for the commissioners of the emperor.

During the first four months which followed his election, Stephen held several councils to repress the disorders of the church, and to arrest the incontinence of priests; he then went to Monte Cassino, for the purpose of appropriating to himself a part of the riches of the good fathers, who already possessed entire provinces, and were still occupied with fabricating false deeds for the purpose of augment-

ing the immense domains of their monastery. Stephen sold the abbey to Didier, who, in the end, became pope; he wished also to bring out from the cloisters, the venerable Peter Damian, by naming him bishop of Ostia, and first of his cardinals, in order to attach to his See a man whose talents could be of great assistance to him; but as the holy monk refused all dignities, preferring the calm of retreat to the turbulence of greatness, the pope ordered him to assume the pastoral baton and to follow him to the palace of the Lateran, under penalty of excommunication. Peter obeyed; he, however, always complained of the violence which had been done to him in drawing him from his monastery, as we find from one of his letters, addressed to the seven cardinal bishops of the church of the Lateran, whom he styles his brethren.

The cardinal bishops were alone entitled to celebrate mass in the church of the palace; they called them also collaterals, because they were ordinarily by the side of the pontiff; they also bore the title of weekly, because they officiated, in turn, each for a week. We cite a letter of Peter, as a precious document, which throws light upon the spirit of the church at that period:—"Ecclesiastical discipline is everywhere abandoned; the canons of the church are trampled under foot; priests only labour to satisfy their cupidity, or to abandon themselves to incontinence. The duties of the episcopate only consist in wearing garments covered with gold and precious stones, in enveloping oneself in precious furs, in possessing race horses in the stables, and in sallying forth with a numerous escort of armed horsemen. Prelates should, on the contrary, set an example for the purity of their morals and all Christian virtues. Misfortunes turn on those who lead a condemnable life, and anathema on those who intrigue for the dignity of bishops for a guilty end! Shame on ecclesiastics who abandon their country, follow the armies of kings, and become the courtiers of princes, to obtain, in their turn, the power of commanding men, and of subjugating them to their sway! These corrupt priests are more sensitive to terrestrial dignities than to the celestial recompenses promised by the Saviour; and to obtain bishoprics, they sacrifice their souls and bodies. It would, however, be better for them openly to purchase the episcopal Sees, for simony is a less crime than hypocrisy. Their impure hands are always open to receive presents from the faithful; their heads are always at work to invent new means of squeezing the people, and their viper-tongues are prodigal, by day and night, of flatteries to tyrants.—Thus I declare the bishops who have become the slaves of kings, three times simoniacal, and thrice damned!"

The pope, desirous of pursuing his projects of reform, for the purpose of arresting the encroachments of the monks, and of placing a rein on their insatiable avidity, reserved to himself, in the bargain he made with Didier, the free disposal of the immense revenues of

his convent, which was richer than a kingdom. But, in order not to violate the canons too openly, he sent him to Constantinople, in the capacity of legate of the Holy See, and declared himself the treasurer of the monastery during the absence of the abbot. Didier went, accompanied by Stephen, a cardinal, and Mainard, bishop of St. Rufinus; these prelates, on arriving in the East, found that the schism had made profound ravages in the Greek church, and that Michael Cerularius, an experienced man, had profited by the favourable circumstances which the weakness of the regency had presented to his ambition.

Stephen understood perfectly the situation of affairs in the East; he knew that Cerularius had obtained great privileges for his church, had augmented the wealth of his clergy, and placed all the priests beyond the jurisdiction of the officers of the empire; he understood well that it was impossible to arrest the progress of the heresy, and to re-establish the authority of the Holy See in the imperial city; but the pretext was a specious one, and served to remove Didier, which enabled him to remain sole master of the immense treasures contained in the cellars of Monte Cassino. His intention was to employ the wealth of the monks in subsidizing troops, and putting in execution the project which he had for a long time formed of giving the empire of the West to his brother Godfrey, and of excluding the lawful heir, Henry the Fifth, king of Germany. Immediately after the departure of Didier, he ordered the priors and dignitaries of the monastery to send him immediately, the gold, silver, and precious ornaments intrusted to their care, menacing them, in case of a refusal, with suspending them from their functions, and with anathematizing them. The Jesuit Maimburg thinks that this action should leave no stain on the reputation for sanctity which the pontiff enjoyed at Rome; but the chronicle of Monte Cassino is not of this opinion, and severely blames the pope for having formed so sacrilegious a project. "However," adds the legend, "when the vehicles arrived at Rome, laden with the wealth of the abbey and escorted by the monks, the pope was suddenly seized with an holy terror, and after having heard the recital of a vision which was communicated to him in confidence by the monk Andrew, he sent back the brethren with their treasures, and even gave them his benediction."

It is probable that the threats of the monks were the only cause for this change in Stephen. After this check, the pope went to Tuscan to confer with his brother upon the means to be taken to commence the war against the empire; but he had scarcely arrived in Florence, when he was suddenly attacked by a grievous malady, which carried him off on the 29th of March, 1058. St. Hugh, the abbot of Cluny, relates, that he assisted Stephen at his death, and, adds the pious monk, "I had all imaginable trouble to drive away the spirit of darkness, which wished to seize, in despite of me, upon the soul of the holy father.

## BENEDICT THE TENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1058.]

*Violent and simoniacal election of Benedict the Tenth—An archpriest is forced to consecrate him to escape death—Election of Nicholas the Second—Benedict lays down the tiara, and voluntarily abandons the Holy See.*

STEPHEN the Tenth, before his departure for Tuscany, had assembled the cardinals, and most influential members of the clergy, and had caused them to swear that, in case of his death, they would not nominate a successor until the return of the sub-deacon Hildebrand, who had been into Germany on an affair of state. Thus this monk was to exercise in the council the functions of the Holy Spirit, and inspire the Romans in the choice of a sovereign pontiff. But the instructions of Stephen were despised; and on the very night in which his death was known at Rome, Gregory, the son of Alberic, count of Tusculum, and Gerard of Galene, giving ear to their ambition alone, assembled the principal citizens in their palace, and proclaimed John Mincius, bishop of Veletri, their relative, as sovereign pontiff.

Peter Damian, being desirous of conforming to the decree of Stephen the Tenth, opposed the ordination of the new pontiff, and pronounced an anathema on the seditious persons who had chosen Benedict to be the supreme head of the church. But his opposition produced no result, and he was obliged to leave the palace of the Lateran to escape from the soldiers, who threatened to put to death those who should resist the will of the counts of Tuscanella. An archpriest was conducted by force to the church of St. Peter, and constrained, by a dagger at his breast, to consecrate Benedict on the 5th of April, 1058. The new pontiff occupied the Holy See for about ten months.

Whilst Rome had become the theatre of bloody wars, Didier, the abbot of the convent of Monte Cassino, and the two other legates sent to Constantinople by Stephen, returned from their mission, and disembarked at Bari, on the shores of the Adriatic. As soon as they learned the death of the pope, Didier quitted his escort, and went with great speed to Monte Cassino, in order to take at once the government of his rich monastery, and to prepare for new intrigues. He was put in possession of his abbey on Easter-day, by Cardinal Humbert, who had taken refuge in this pious retreat to escape the vengeance of the counts of Tuscanella.

The ambitious Hildebrand, in his pride, immediately left the court of the empress Agnes, and started to intrigue for the sovereign pontificate; but on his arrival at Florence, he learned the election of Benedict. He at once wrote violent letters to the ecclesiastics and

notables of Rome, reproaching them for the weakness they had shown in bending their heads beneath the yoke of the counts of Tuscanella, and of allowing them to impose a pontiff upon them. He enjoined on them to drive Benedict from the Holy See, and to come to him in order to proceed to a regular election. A small number of prelates who regarded Benedict as a charitable pope, of extreme goodness and exemplary piety, pardoned his ignorance for the sake of his good qualities, and remained attached to his party; but some others were drawn off in hopes of enriching themselves under another reign; they sent in their adhesion to the sub-deacon Hildebrand, and approved, without restriction, of all that he should decide to be for the interest of the church. He immediately assembled the priests of his party, and ordered them to elect as sovereign pontiff the bishop Gerard, whom Henry the Fourth had himself designated, when the Romans came to him to beseech him to give them a pope of his choice. Gerard was consecrated by the name of Nicholas the Second, and the church recognized two pontiffs!

Peter Damian, being consulted by an archbishop as to who was the true pope whom they should obey, made this singular reply: "He who is now upon the Holy See was enthroned at night by troops of armed men, who caused him to be elected by distributing money among the clergy. On the day of his nomination, the patines, the holy pyxes, and the crucifixes from the treasury of St. Peter, were sold throughout the city. His election was then violent and simoniacal. He alleges in his justification, that he was forced to accept the pontificate; and I would not affirm that it is not so: for our pope is so stupid, that it would not be at all extraordinary if he were ignorant of the intrigues which the counts of Tuscanella have carried on in his name. He is guilty, however, for remaining in the abyss into which he has been cast, and for being ordained by an archpriest whose ignorance is so great, that he cannot read a line without spelling every syllable. Although the election of Nicholas the Second was not entirely regular, I would submit more willingly to the authority of this pontiff, because he is sufficiently literary, possesses an active mind, pure morals, and is filled with charity. Still, if the other pope could compose a line, I will not say a psalm, but even an homily, I would not oppose him, and would kiss his feet."

Henry the Fourth gave orders to duke Godfrey to accompany Nicholas the Second to Rome, and to drag the bishop of Veletri from the chair of St. Peter by force, if he were unwilling to leave it voluntarily. Before, however, proceeding to violence, Gerard and Hildebrand convoked a council at Sutri, to declare the anti-pope dispossessed and excommuni-

cated if he should persist in maintaining himself upon the Holy See. Benedict, discovering that the counts of Tuscanella were not powerful enough to protect him against the arms of Duke Godfrey, resigned like a philosopher. He laid down the tiara, and retired to his house, abandoning the palace of the Lateran to the ambitious Nicholas.

## NICHOLAS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1058.]

*Enthronement of the pope—He takes off the excommunication pronounced against the anti-pope—Scandalous bargain between Nicholas and the abbot Didier—Deplorable state of the church—Council of Rome—Decree against the simoniacs—Synodical letter of the pope—Perfidy of the pope towards Berenger of Tours—Berenger persists in his doctrines concerning the eucharist—Nicholas the Second cedes the province of Apulia to the Normans—Philip the First crowned King of France—Council of the Gauls—Death of the pope.*

As soon as John Mincius had abdicated the supreme dignity of the church, Nicholas the Second, accompanied by Godfrey and the cardinals of his party, made his entry into Rome. He was received with great honours, and conducted to the palace of the Lateran. Some days after his enthronement, the anti-pope Benedict came to prostrate himself before him, protesting his devotion, and accusing himself of being sacrilegious, an usurper, and a perjurer. Nicholas then took off the excommunication which had been pronounced against him, under the express condition that he should not leave the church of St. Maria Majora. Benedict submitted; and the schism was terminated without causing any blood to flow in Rome.

But the captains of quarters, who had been appointed during the preceding reigns, did not evince the same compliance in regard to the revenues of the Holy See, on which they had seized. They treated with contempt the decrees of the new pope, and continued to collect the tenths of the clergy, under the pretext that they could without crime despoil the church of money which it collected from the superstition and ignorance of the people. Nicholas, too weak to struggle against the leaders of the military, left them in possession of the revenues of Rome, and addressed himself to the abbot of Monte Cassino, to obtain from him the sums which were necessary to satisfy the demands of the Italian clergy. Didier acceded to the demands of the pontiff; but in turn exacted from him the title of cardinal priest of St. Cecilia. The bargain was concluded; and the next day Nicholas surrendered to him the revenues of the church of St. Cecilia. He further augmented the privileges of his monastery, and named him as his vicar for the reformation of all the convents of Campania, Apulia, and Calabria.

Rome and Italy continued to be the scene

of frightful disorders. All the prelates, following the example of the pontiff, put up the holy orders at auction, and publicly adjudged them to the highest bidders, in order to regain for themselves, by this sacrilegious traffic, the money which they had given to obtain the episcopate. Besides, a luxury so scandalous was introduced into the church, that the revenues of the dioceses were no longer sufficient for the maintenance of the packs of hounds, equipages, minions, and courtezans, which filled the episcopal palaces.

Nicholas, desirous of remedying these disorders, which infallibly presaged the ruin of the church, convoked a council in the holy city. Three hundred bishops assembled at Rome and took their seats in the palace of the Lateran. The pope thus opened the session: "You know, my brethren, how, after the death of Stephen, our predecessor, the Holy See was exposed to the deplorable intrigues of simoniacs. In order to prevent such scandal in future, we order, in accordance with the authority of the fathers, that after the death of a pope, the cardinal bishops shall first deliberate upon, and choose a pontiff; they shall then call into the place of assembly the cardinal clerks, to hear their representations; and finally, the rest of the clergy and the people shall come together to approve the nomination of the new head of the church. We should, above all, have unceasingly before us the remembrance of this sentence of the blessed Leo: 'We should not call bishops the ecclesiastics who are neither chosen by the clergy, nor demanded by the people, nor consecrated by the prelates of the province, with the consent of the archbishop.' But, as there is no metropolitan to the Holy See, the cardinals shall fill his place; they shall give the preference, in the selection of a pontiff, to the Roman church, if it has a subject worthy to represent Christ upon earth; if not, they

shall choose a stranger prelate, having chiefly regard for the wishes of our son Henry, who is now king, and who, if it pleases God, shall be emperor, as we have promised him. The same deference shall always be exhibited for the successors of this prince, who shall receive the imperial crown.

“If the misfortunes of the times or the tyranny of faction shall prevent their proceeding to a free election in Rome, the cardinal bishops assisted by the principal dignitaries of the church, and by some laymen, shall be authorized to assemble in the city which they shall judge most convenient, and proclaim a new pope. If, after the consecration of the pontiff, any obstacle shall oppose itself to his enthronement on the Holy See, according to the habitual usages and ceremonies, he shall be none the less regarded as the chief of the clergy; he shall govern the church, and dispose of the property of St. Peter, as Gregory the Great himself did before his consecration. If any one is chosen, ordained, and enthroned in contempt of this decree, let him be anathematized and deposed, with all his accomplices, as antichrist, an usurper and destroyer of the Christian faith.”

Nicholas then made canons prohibiting the faithful from receiving mass from priests who lived openly with their concubines. With regard to simoniacs he added: “As to those who have been ordained for money, our clemency permits them to preserve the dignities to which they have been promoted, because the multitude of these ecclesiastics is so great, that by observing the rigour of the canons with regard to them, we should leave almost all the churches without priests.”

After the council was terminated, the pope addressed synodical letters to the bishops and faithful of the Gauls, to announce to them the decisions of the assembly. He renewed the threats of excommunication against married or concubinary priests, and against apostate clerks and monks who abandoned the church or their convents to embrace a laical life. He finally anathematized the soldiery, who destroyed the pilgrims and put unarmed priests to ransom. This last consideration is singular, and proves that the clergy carried on war. The pope terminated, by condemning to eternal fire the lords who violated the freedom of the churches within sixty paces of their circuit, or within thirty paces of that of chapels. At this period, simple oratories were not so sacred as churches, and the more considerable the edifice, the greater was its sanctity.

Nicholas at last caught Berenger, the illustrious professor of Tours in a trap; he invited him to Rome under the pretext of explaining to him his doctrine in regard to the eucharist; but no sooner had he set foot in Italy than he was cast into prison, submitted to rigorous treatment and threatened with death by torture, unless he consented to present to the pope an abjuration, signed with his own hand and conceived in these terms: “I, Berenger, an unworthy archdeacon of the church of St. Maurice of Angers, understanding the true

Catholic faith, anathematize all heresies, and especially that which I have professed until now, by which I pretended to maintain that the bread and wine placed upon the altar during the holy sacrifice, were not after their consecration, but the sacrament, and not the true body and blood of Jesus Christ. I now agree with the holy Roman church and the apostolical See, and I profess the same faith, in regard to the sacrament of the altar, as Pope Nicholas. I believe that the bread and wine are, after their consecration, the true body and blood of Jesus Christ; that they are touched and divided by the hands of the priest and the teeth of the faithful. I swear it by the holy Trinity, declaring those anathematized who combat this belief by their teaching or followers, and condemning myself with all the severity of the canons, if I shall ever revoke the sentiments declared in this profession of faith which I have read, meditated upon and willingly subscribed.”

Berenger signed this formula of abjuration, and burned, himself, in the presence of the pope and his council, the works which he had written upon the eucharist. Nicholas immediately sent the proceedings which contained the solemn retraction of Berenger, to all the cities of Italy, Gaul, Germany, Spain, and England; he then loaded him with honours and placed him at liberty, promising him the first bishopric vacant in Gaul. But the latter had no sooner entered France, than he protested against the oath which had been wrested from him by violence, and opposed himself more than ever to the tyranny of the Holy See. In fact Berenger was not an heretic; he did not say that the bread and wine lost their nature after the consecration by the priest; he only maintained that Jesus Christ was not really present under the appearance of bread and wine, and that he was only fictitiously in the eucharist, because, affirmed he, God could not be transformed into bread and wine, nor could these substances become God. A century later, the celebrated Rupert reconciled these two contradictory ideas, by creating the system of impanation, which consists in saying, that the substance of the bread is not destroyed in the sacrament of the eucharist, but that the body of Jesus Christ is mixed with the consecrated bread.

The holy father was not more successful in his projects against the Normans, than he had been in his cowardly persecution of the learned Berenger. He was obliged to abandon the hope of expelling those terrible neighbours from Italy; he then changed his policy, and resolved to transform into defenders of the Holy See those who had been its most ardent enemies. For this purpose he went into Apulia, and convoked a council at the city of Melfa, to which the Normans sent their deputies. Nicholas granted to Robert Guiscard, their chief, all Apulia and all Calabria, with the exception of Beneventum; he gave the principality of Capua to Richard, and surrendered to him Sicily, of which he had already commenced the conquest from the Saracens. The

pope then took off the excommunication they had incurred under Leo the Ninth, and permitted them to send their children to the colleges of Rome. The Normans took the oath of fidelity to the Holy See, swore to arm in its defence, and personally engaged to pay the pontiff an annual revenue of twelve denarii, money of Pavia, for each pair of oxen that worked in his domains.

Such was the commencement of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the origin of the rights which the pontiffs claimed over them. The Holy See obtained considerable augmentation in its temporal affairs from the position of the Normans, who declared themselves vassals of the pope, to prevent the emperor from laying claim to a part of the provinces they had seized, and to put an end to the invasions of the neighbouring lords, who could not declare war against them without exposing themselves to the thunders of the church. After this assembly was concluded, Nicholas ordered his new allies to assemble their troops and ravage the territories of Prenæstum, Tusculum and Nomento, whose inhabitants had revolted against the Holy See; then, still at the instigation of the pope, the Normans passed the Tiber, and carried fire and sword into the city of Galeria and all the castles of Count Gerard, to punish him for levying a tribute upon the pilgrims and bishops who traversed his domains on their way to the holy city. The Normans thus became the instruments which the popes used to free the church from the petty lords who had for a long time tyrannized over it.

Nicholas sent two legates into France, who assisted at the coronation of Phillip the First, the eldest son of King Henry, who was consecrated by Gervais, the metropolitan of Rheims; it is the first consecration of the kings of the third race, of which we have an authentic account. The ambassadors, on this occasion, held several councils in France, and caused them to approve of the canons which had been brought from Rome for the purpose of arresting the simony and incontinence of the clergy.

In England, Eldred, archbishop of York, taking advantage of the weakness of King Edward, had persuaded him, that in accordance with the custom of the Italian clergy, he was permitted to accumulate bishoprics and abbeys, and consequently revenues and large property were awarded to him; but his ava-

rice having excited the general indignation, he was obliged to go to Rome, accompanied by bishops Gison of Ely and Walter of Hertford, and by Tostin, earl of Northumberland, brother-in-law of the king. The pope deprived Eldred of all ecclesiastical dignity, not only because he was a simoniac, but also on account of his extreme ignorance, and granted on the contrary to Gison and Walter, confirmation in the episcopate. He loaded, besides with honours and presents, Earl Tostin, and seated him at his right hand in the assemblies and festivals, up to the time when the pilgrims wished to return to their country.

Unfortunately, on the day of their departure, when they were but a few miles from Rome, they were attacked by robbers, who took from them all they possessed, and left them nothing but indispensable clothing. They immediately retraced their steps, and traversed the holy city in a piteous plight, pursued by the shouts of the rabble, even to the palace of the Lateran. Earl Tostin, furious at this adventure, broke out into outrageous language against the pontiff. He accused him of having an understanding with the robbers to despoil pilgrims, and asked of him what was the power of his excommunications, if at the very gates of Rome, the Italian lords would despise them with impunity; he threatened him with all the wrath of the king of England, and the suppression of Peter's pence, which the people of his kingdom had the stupidity to pay him. Nicholas, frightened by this last threat, hastened to replace what had been stolen from the illustrious pilgrims. He even consented to bestow the pallium on Archbishop Eldred, in order to make a partizan of him; and he sent a numerous escort to accompany them, and also legates instructed to apologize to King Edward for this unfortunate event.

Some months afterwards the pope made a new journey to Florence, but he had scarcely arrived in that city, when a violent fever seized him and carried him off in a few hours, at the beginning of the month of July, 1061. He was interred in the church of St. Reparatus.

Bishop Mainard exalts the great virtues of Nicholas, and affirms that he never passed a day without washing the feet of a dozen poor persons. Baronius adds, that it were better to feed these unfortunates than to parody the humanity of Christ by a ridiculous ceremony.

## ALEXANDER THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1061.]

*Struggles between the factions—Vacancy in the Holy See—The cardinals consecrate a pope—The new pontiff is enthroned by the name of Alexander the Second—The faction opposed to him send a deputation to the emperor—General diet at Basle—Election of an anti-pope.*

AFTER the death of Nicholas, the clergy and the people, divided into two powerful factions, proceeded in the midst of the troubles and seditions to the election of a new pope. Hildebrand, that obstinate monk, whom we have seen, during the preceding reigns, seize upon the direction of all the political affairs of the Holy See, wished to profit by the decree of Nicholas in relation to the election of the popes, and to take away from the empire the right of choosing a chief of the church.

The minority of King Henry appeared to him to be a favourable circumstance for breaking the yoke of the emperors, and re-establishing the electoral independence of the court of Rome. These sentiments were also entertained by the cardinals, and the large majority of the bishops, whose interests were the same, and they all resolved to consecrate the new chief without submitting his nomination to the approval of Prince Henry.

But the counts of Tuscanella and Galeria, as well as the other lords of the opposite faction, having different interests, undertook to re-seize upon the authority which they had lost during the pontificate of Nicholas. For this purpose they openly declared themselves the defenders of the rights of the prince, introduced soldiers into their palaces to intimidate the clergy, and united with Cardinal Hugh, the commissioner of the emperor, protesting that they would oppose all efforts tending to overthrow the prerogatives of the crown.

Hildebrand, surprised by this formidable opposition, dared not proceed to the election of a pope; he, however, sent into Germany several ambassadors carrying letters to the empress Agnes, to obtain authority to convoke a synod, and nominate a pontiff, in accordance with the new mode of election. The delegates returned from Germany, after an absence of three months, without having been able to obtain an audience of the court, and having the seals of their letters unbroken. Hildebrand then resolved to go further, and took an energetic step; he brought into Rome Norman troops, commanded by the prince of Apulia; he then convoked the cardinals, and lords of his party, and proposed to the assembly the election of Anselmo, bishop of Lucca, as the sovereign pontiff. Prince Robert Guiscard, and the abbot Didier, supported this motion; the council proclaimed Anselmo chief of the church, and on the next day the new pope was consecrated by the name of Alexander the Second.

The counts of Tuscanella and Segni not being able to oppose his enthronement, immediately despatched ambassadors to the king of Germany, and the empress, who were joined by those of Lombardy, whom Gilbert of Parma sent to Agnes.

When the ambassadors arrived in Germany, King Henry and his council decided, that on a subject of so much importance it was necessary to convoke a general diet. Almost all the German and Lombard prelates met at Basle, where the king was crowned anew in the presence of the lords and the bishops, who conferred on him the title of patrician of the Romans. The bishops of Verceil and Placenza then brought charges against Alexander the Second, who had by his election openly violated the sacred rights of the king of Germany. They declared him deprived of the Holy See, and proposed as his successor, Cadalus or Cadalous Palavian, bishop of Parma, who was at once proclaimed sovereign pontiff. Three bishops consecrated him, and he immediately clothed himself with the pontifical ornaments.

At this period there lived at the monastery of Luceola, in Umbria, a cenobite called St. Dominic the Mailed, who wore, instead of hair cloth, a breastplate of iron. The hermits of Luceola were eighteen in number; they drank nothing but water, and used no grease to season their food, and ate no flesh except on Sundays; they fasted on bread and water the other six days, and passed all the night in prayer. They kept an absolute silence during the whole week, except on the Lord's day, between vespers and compline, when their rules authorized them to exchange some religious words. St. Dominic not finding this discipline sufficiently rigorous, redoubled the rigidity of the fast; he inflicted on himself cruel macerations; during winter he slept on the frozen earth of his cell, with naked feet and legs, having no covering for his body but an iron shirt of mail, over which he put his cuirass; he lacerated his face, neck, and legs, with rods and thorns; and it is related that on one evening he presented his bleeding body before the abbot, and cast himself at his feet, exclaiming, "my father, I accuse myself of having lived as a carnal man; impose upon me a severe penance."<sup>77</sup> The venerable abbot sought to calm the violent grief of the monk, and asked him if he had eaten eggs or cheese? "No, my father, replied he in wrath, nor fish nor fruit; I leave them to the sick; but I have eaten fennel

seed with my bread." Strange aberration of the human mind.

Dominic recited, daily, twelve psalms, twenty-four times in succession, with his arms extended like a cross, and he added the canticles, hymns, creed of St. Athanasius, and the litanies. Some years before his death, having discovered, by an experiment, that leathern thongs were rougher than rods, he habituated himself to this new discipline. His macerations, and the use of his coat of mail,

had rendered his skin as black as that of a negro. He even wore beneath his cuirass, eight iron rings, which he drew together with buckles until they penetrated the flesh. This frightful penance did not prevent his attaining an extreme old age; he died in the year 1062, and was interred in his cell with his cuirass and coat of mail. We have cited this remarkable example in order to show the excess of fanaticism.

## HONORIUS THE SECOND, POPE OR ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1061.]

*Vices of the new pontiff—Pope Alexander flies from Rome—The forcible removal of the emperor—The empress Agnes is deposed by Alexander the Second—Schism of Florence—Council of Rome—The embassy of Damian to Florence—Proof by fire—Peter Aldobrandin miraculously traverses the flames of a burning pyre—Consequences of the schism of Florence—Council of Mantua—Honorius the Second enters Rome—He is betrayed by Cenci, who retains him prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo—The anti-pope is forced to quit Rome in the dress of a pilgrim—His death.*

THE new pontiff, whom several chroniclers designate by the name of anti-pope, was a concubinary, and had already been condemned for the crimes of extortion and adultery in the councils of Pavia, Mantua, and Milan.

When Peter Damian was apprized of the election of Honorius, he addressed the following letter to him:—"Until now, my brother, the witnesses of your bad conduct were the inhabitants of a single city in Italy. Now your crimes will be published throughout all Italy, France, England, Spain, and Germany...." Cadalous, without disquieting himself about the discontent, occupied himself in raising an army for the purpose of entering the holy city by force; he first bought up the partizans of Alexander, then through their medium he carried on communication with the city, and on a day agreed upon, he suddenly presented himself at the gates of Rome at the head of his troops.

Alexander, abandoned by his party, who had almost all of them sold themselves to his enemy, immediately quitted the palace of the Lateran and embarked on the Tiber, in order to go by sea to Germany, for the purpose of bringing back with him Duke Godfrey and the vassals of his domains. The ambitious duke permitted himself to be seduced by hopes of receiving the imperial crown from the pope; he hastily assembled his troops and marched on Rome to combat the bands of Honorius, who were then encamped in the meadows of Nero, near the Vatican.

On his side, Didier abbot of Monte Cassino, had distributed immense sums of money in the absence of the holy father, and had rallied the Romans around him to repulse the attacks of Honorius; but having made a sortie upon the camp of the anti-pope, which he hoped to carry by surprise, he was vigorously repulsed

and his troops were cut to pieces. Honorius made a frightful massacre of them; he pursued the fliers up to the very gates of Rome, when Godfrey arrived; this latter charged the flank of the army of Honorius with his veterans and routed it. The anti-pope himself fell into the power of his enemies, but by promise of a large ransom, he induced the officers who guarded him, to set him at liberty. He then retired to the city of Parma, where, notwithstanding his defeat, he preserved the title of pope, in hopes of remounting the throne of the church.

Master of the ground, Alexander followed up actively the criminal plots into which he had entered in Germany with Anon archbishop of Cologne, for the purpose of placing the imperial crown on the head of Godfrey. By his orders, Anon invaded the dwelling of the young king Henry, at the head of an armed band, and carried him off, notwithstanding his entreaties and his tears, and conducted him to the episcopal palace. He then convened a general diet, in which he made them confer the government of the empire upon him during the minority of Henry; he solemnly confirmed the election of Pope Alexander, and condemned that of Cadalous as being opposed to the laws of the church. Finally, the empress was deposed from the regency and condemned to make a pilgrimage to Ravenna, to ask pardon for her crimes from the sovereign pontiff. Agnes obeyed, and cast herself at the feet of the holy father, beseeching him, with tears, to prescribe a penance for her, to conceal from Christ the numerous sins which she had committed.

Alexander showed himself very indulgent to the faults of the beautiful penitent; it is even related that he became desperately enamoured of her, and that he gave to her the

government of a convent situated near the church of the apostle, where she lived for fifteen years. She was canonized after her death, doubtless because the priests found her sanctified by her amours with a pope.

At the same period, Florence became the theatre of violent seditions, which broke out between the bishop of the city and John Gualbert, abbot of the new community of Valambrosa. This monk maintained that the bishop, being a simoniac, and consequently an heretic, could not administer the sacraments nor ordain priests. In his furious zeal, he traversed the streets of Florence with his monks, proclaiming that the bishop Peter was a wretch soiled with every crime, and that the people should drive out this unworthy priest from the temple of the Lord.

Peter, in order to put a stop to the declamations of these fanatics, and to strike them with fear, went to the monastery of Valambrosa with armed men, seized the most excited monks, and after having despoiled them of their garments, whipped them with rods. The monks no longer dared to leave their convent, but they sent secretly, ambassadors to Rome, to ask for the convocation of a council, in order that they might denounce Peter of Pavia as a simoniac, a concubinary, and a murderer, offering even to walk in an heated brazier to show the truth of their accusations. In these troublous times, the pope not daring to expose himself to the discontents of the bishops, refused to listen to the complaint of the monks, and made the following decree: "In accordance with the canons of the synod of Chalcedon, we order monks, how virtuous soever they may be, never to exhibit their sanctity in public; and in conformity with the rule of St. Benedict, to remain always confined in their cloisters; finally, we prohibit them, under penalty of anathema, from ever appearing in castles and cities, even when they shall be sent for by the lords or the people."

After the termination of the council, he sent the cardinal, Peter Damian, to Florence, for the purpose of appeasing the murmurs of the people. In one of his discourses this ecclesiastic represented to the people, that they were guilty of culpable presumption in wishing to depose a bishop, who was not condemned, nor even juridically accused, but only suspected by insubordinate monks whom he wished to restrain in their duties, and he persuaded them to reject the councils of the fanatical abbot of Valambrosa. But this sage advice only increased the disorder. St. John Gualbert sallied forth at the head of his community, and came even to the residence of Damian, whom he charged with outrages, treating him as an ambitious person, a simoniac, and a murderer. He called upon the people to take up arms, in order to drive out the bishop and his unworthy supporter. On his side, Peter prepared to resist by force the armed bands which traversed Florence, threatening to burn the city, and murder the partisans of the bishop.

At length Duke Godfrey took vigorous measures to put an end to the tumult; he threatened to hang the monks to the trees of their abbey, if they did not promptly retire to their solitude. This threat was completely successful; tranquillity was not, however, entirely re-established among the people; and on the next day a great crowd went to the monastery of St. Saviour, to beseech the monks to restore peace to the city, by submitting to the judgment of God, and by traversing an inflamed pyre as they had proposed to the sovereign pontiff. The monks joyfully consented to submit to this terrible proof, and named the Wednesday of the first week in Lent, in the year 1063, as the day for this extraordinary ceremony.

Peter Aldobrandin, a monk of great sanctity, was designated as chosen by God to represent the community in this solemn affair. On the day agreed upon, two great pyres, each thirty paces long by ten feet high, were erected, between which was left a small path three feet wide, filled with small wood, extremely dry, and so disposed as to be soon reduced to burning coals. The brethren went in procession to a church near to the place where the pyre was raised; Peter Aldobrandin celebrated a solemn mass, after which the monks advanced in two ranks, with the cross at their head and candles in their hands. They walked around the pyres, singing canticles, and set them on fire. The wood, mixed up with branches of the vine and dried fagots, immediately took fire, and the heat became so great that the monks were obliged to quit the places which they occupied.

The innumerable multitude which assisted at this spectacle, saw Aldobrandin approach alone these burning pyres, lay down the chasuble with which he had celebrated the divine mysteries, and advance towards them, holding in one hand a cross, and in the other a pocket-handkerchief to wipe off the sweat which covered his forehead. When he had arrived at the path, which separated the two fires, and which was full of burning coals as high as his knees, he stopped and made the sign of the cross. The people were in solemn contemplation!! One of the monks then addressing the crowd, summoned the citizens, the clergy, and the nobles to swear to abandon the cause of the bishop, if their brother should come forth safe and sound from this horrid proof; all swore to do so. Aldobrandin immediately thundered forth a religious song, beseeching God to preserve him in the midst of the flames, as he had before preserved from every evil the three young men, his prophets, in the furnace of Babylon. "Then," adds Baronius, "were seen his naked feet between the two embracing pyres, from which immense whirlwinds of flames escaped, in the midst of which he walked majestically, as if he had been upon roses in a beautiful alley, garnished with flowers, and refreshed by a breeze whose breath was tempered by the heat of the sun. The waving flames appeared to be miraculously driven into the folds of his alb,

which they distended like a veil, rendering it of a more shining whiteness than that of snow; they caused the fringe of his maniple, the extremities of his stole, his hair and his beard to wave without leaving any trace. It was remarked, says the historian, that when Aldobrandin entered the pyre, the fire lost the devouring energy of its heat, and only preserved its brilliant light, to lighten the triumph of the holy monk. When he had arrived at the other end, Aldobrandin perceived that he had dropped his handkerchief in the midst of the path; he tranquilly retraced his steps, picked up his handkerchief, and came forth radiant from the pyres. The assistants immediately thundered forth praises to God; and having raised Aldobrandin upon their shoulders, they bore him in triumph to his monastery of St. Saviour. The monks then sent to the pope a statement of this marvellous event, and besought him to name a new prelate in the place of the unworthy bishop who had been condemned by the judgment of God."

Maimburg affirms that this fabulous adventure was witnessed in so authentic a way, that we cannot doubt it. Alexander the Second, however, who probably understood the secret of traversing the flames, still rejected their demand, and replied, like a skilful politician, that he did not doubt the exactitude of a miracle performed in the presence of a whole city, and which was confirmed by the attestations of the monks, the grandees, the clergy, and the magistracy; and that, besides, he could not contest its reality without bringing discredit on religion, in the eyes of the faithful; that he congratulated the venerable abbot on possessing in his convent a monk whose sanctity had merited from God so shining a mark of his protection. He added, that after this decided manifestation, he would already have deposed the bishop of Florence, if this latter person had not written to him that he was equally willing to undergo the proof by fire, engaging to perform the miracle in the same place and in the same manner as St. Aldobrandin. "But I was unwilling to grant him this favour," said the holy father, "from fear lest God, in performing a second miracle, should take away from you the glory which your monastery has acquired. We have been even rigorous towards Bishop Peter, and we have ordered him to absent himself from Florence for some months. We could not, however, suspend him from his episcopal functions after having refused to submit him, in his turn, to the judgment of God. We exhort you, then, for the interest of your community, to calm your people, and prepare yourselves worthily to receive your bishop on his return." The monks, fearing lest a new trial might expose their knavery, hastened to publish that the bishop had amended, and that Jesus Christ had pardoned him at the prayer of Aldobrandin.

This holy monk, who was afterwards called Petrus Igneus, or Peter of the Fire, was extremely ignorant, and filled, in his convent,

the duties of cowherd. He was now named abbot of another monastery; and when Cardinal Hildebrand became pope, he made him cardinal bishop of Albano, in order to avail himself of the credit which he had acquired in Italy since his famous miracle.

The anti-pope Cadalous still maintained himself at Parma, and by means of his intrigues, he even brought into his party Duke Godfrey, the first cause of his expulsion from Rome. This prince, discontented with the tardiness of Alexander, who had not fulfilled the promise which he had made him of placing on his head the imperial crown, resolved to conduct Honorius to the holy city, and to enthroned him sword in hand. Peter Damian, advised of the projects of the duke of Lorraine, addressed an energetic letter to him, exhorting him to abandon his projects of revolt against Pope Alexander. At the same time, the archdeacon Hildebrand wrote to King Henry, or rather to Archbishop Anon, that he was declared regent of the kingdom. He warned the court of Germany of the ambitious designs of Godfrey, of his alliance with Cadalous, and added: "The royal and sacerdotal power are united in Jesus Christ, in heaven. They should equally form an indissoluble alliance upon earth; for each has need of the assistance of the other to rule the people. The priesthood is protected by the strength of royalty, and royalty is aided by the influence of the priesthood. The king bears the sword to strike the enemies of the church; the pope bears the thunders of anathema to crush the enemies of the sovereign. Let the throne and the church then unite, and the whole world will be subjected to their law!"

Anon fearing to lose the sovereign power, if the duke of Lorraine obtained the empire, determined to go to Rome to condemn Honorius by a general council, in order that he should no longer have the right to consecrate an emperor. He immediately left Germany, traversed Lombardy and Tuscany, and arrived in the holy city without having forewarned the holy father of his visit.

In the first interview, the archbishop sharply apostrophized the pope, and asked him why he had accepted the pontificate without the order and consent of the king, who alone had the right to nominate the pontiffs. But the archdeacon Hildebrand, and the bishops who were present, denied this pretension, and replied to the metropolitan, that by the canons, temporal sovereigns had no rights whatever over the election of the popes. In support of their assertion, they cited numerous decretals, and several passages from the fathers. Anon, according to Damian, yielded to this view; he recognized the cardinals alone as having power to choose the popes; and he engaged, in the name of Henry the Fourth, to recognize Alexander as the head of the church, if the holy father would consent to justify himself, in a council, from the crime of simony, of which he had been accused.

All the prelates of Rome and Lombardy were invited to go to Mantua, where this synod was to be held. Alexander, defended by Peter Damian, was pronounced innocent, and Honorius the Second was condemned as a simoniac and concubinary by this assembly. The ecclesiastical thunders did not, however, terrify the intrepid Cadalous. When the archbishop of Cologne quitted Italy, he approached the walls of Rome, gained over the captains who guarded the city, distributed money to their soldiers, and penetrated as far as the city Leonine, on which he seized during the night.

On the news of this sudden attack, the cardinals caused all the bells to be rung, called the people to arms, opened the store rooms of the church, and led the populace, furious and gorged with wine, before the church of St. Peter. The soldiery of Honorius were so frightened, that they escaped from the temple, leaving Honorius almost alone to the mercy of the party of Alexander. But at the moment when the doors of the church were about to yield to the efforts of the assailants, Cencius, the son of the prefect of Rome, came to the aid of Honorius with his guards, overthrew the besiegers, carried him off from the city Leonine, and conducted him to the castle of St. Angelo. Scarcely had Cadalous shut himself up in the fortress, than the troops of Alexander, recovering from their first surprise, invested the castle and formed its siege, but uselessly.

The deceitful Cencius kept him his prisoner for two years. Instead of being the protector of Honorius, as he had promised him, he became his jailer, threatening him daily to give him up to the pontiff Alexander, in order to extract money from him, whilst on the other side, he exacted large sums from the holy father by threatening him with allowing his competitor to escape.

Finally, Honorius having privately procured the garments of a pilgrim, escaped during the night and reached the village of Baretta, from whence he came to Parma. He continued to exercise episcopal functions in this city; consecrated bishops, composed bulls, and excommunicated Alexander the Second, but he had not the satisfaction of overthrowing his competitor. A severe sickness, brought on by the privations and bad treatment which Cencius had inflicted on him, led him to the tomb towards the close of the year 1066.

Most ecclesiastical authors designate Cadalous by the name of anti-pope, not on account of the irregularity of his election, for they avow, that that of Alexander was not canonical, and that both were intruders on the Holy See, but on account of the corruption of his morals. We blame this extraordinary severity: for if we were only to count in the ranks of lawful popes, those who have been virtuous, we should reduce the successors of St. Peter to so small a number, that the adorers of the Roman purple would be annihilated!!

## ALEXANDER THE SECOND, BECOME SOLE POPE.

[A. D. 1066.]

*Sect of the incestuous—Abuse of excommunications—Troubles at Milan—Alexander introduces the Latin instead of the Mozarabic ritual into Spain—Discussions between the emperor Henry and the pontiff—The latter sells absolutions—Revolutions in England—The pontiff makes a constitution for Great Britain—The right of tithes attributed to the archbishop of Mayence—The pope cites the emperor to appear at Rome to be judged—Death of Alexander.*

WHILST the pontiff Honorius and his competitor were disputing for the throne of St. Peter, great troubles were agitating Italy on the subject of marriages prohibited by the church, in the different degrees of consanguinity, and which the secular laws, however, permitted. Alexander having convoked a council to decide this important question, the assembly composed of bishops and lawyers, after having for a long time examined the canon and civil laws, decided that the degrees of relationship should be counted in accordance with the old custom of the church, and prohibited, under penalty of anathema, that marriages should be entered into by relatives within the seventh generation. Notwithstanding this ridiculous decision, made by the Holy See, the Italians continued to follow the usages of the provinces, from whence arose a sect called the sect of the incestuous.

“This contempt of ecclesiastical thunders, came” says Damian, “of the abuse which the popes made of this terrible punishment. In all the decretals they pronounced the penalty of anathema against those who shall refuse to submit to the orders of the pontiffs; which sends to hell an infinite number of Christian souls, before they have perceived the fault which they have committed. This is to spread snares for those who believe they are walking in safety. In the secular tribunals the punishment is proportionate to the crime, by imprisonment, the confiscation of property, or simply a fine; but in the church, for the least disagreement, one is separated from God even; which is to suppose with the Stoics, that all sins are equal. St. Gregory, and the first pontiffs did not so act; they only pronounced anathemas in matters of faith. Let us then follow their example, and place

in our decretals a pecuniary fine, or some other penalty against the transgressors of the laws of the Holy See."

The wise counsels of Damian were not listened to, and popes continued to inundate the kingdoms with their bulls of excommunication. After the death of his competitor, Alexander pursued with bitterness the ecclesiastics who had embraced the party of Cadalous, and left them no truce nor repose until they had submitted to his authority. Duke Godfrey himself was obliged to seek again the alliance of the pontiff, and in order to induce him to forget the protection which he had granted to Honorius, he consented to declare war against the Normans, who in contempt of treaties had seized upon several places in the states of the church.

This war was soon terminated; Godfrey, after some skirmishes, drove this people before him, as far as the environs of Aquina; as they found themselves shut up in the mountains, unable to continue their retreat, and not daring to give battle to so powerful an enemy, they sued for peace, offering to restore to the pope all the domains which they had usurped, and to pay a large sum to defray the expenses of the war. These conditions were accepted, and Godfrey returned to his dutchy with the blessing of the holy father.

Some troubles then broke out in Milan, occasioned by the violent declamations of the monk St. Arialdus, who, in imitation of Aldobrandin, publicly accused Guy, his metropolitan, of adultery and sodomy, in order to depose him from his See. Arialdus, instigated by Pope Alexander and the cardinals, who had ordered him to resist with violence the enemies of Jesus Christ or his vicar, urged on the people to revolt, and came himself at the head of a furious troop to besiege the episcopal palace; but Guy having penetrated the secret intentions of the pontiff, who wished to substitute his own authority for his, took energetic measures. He sallied forth with his men-at-arms, seized the monk and bestowed upon him the crown of martyrdom, by beheading him.

After this execution, quiet was restored; but the archbishop fearing new disorders, determined to send a letter of submission to the pope, which he accompanied with rich presents. The gold was all-powerful over the mind of Alexander; not only did the ambassador obtain for Guy the approval of the holy father for the severity which he had displayed during these troubles, but he even sent him back with two legates, Mainard, cardinal bishop of St. Rufinus, and John, a cardinal priest, who bore the pallium to the archbishop of Milan.

The deputies then published this singular constitution: "The clergy and laity who took an oath to us to repress the deplorable disorders of the clergy of Milan, and who, under this laudable pretext, have burned, pillaged, violated and massacred the inhabitants of the city and country, shall be glorified in heaven, but we prohibit them from doing so in future."

They should live in accordance with Christian morality, and bring their guilty before their archbishop, the canons of their churches, or the other suffragans. As the majority are more afflicted by temporal than eternal punishments, we condemn those who shall infringe this decree, if they are of the clerical order, to pay to the holy father an hundred livres of pennies, and we pronounce them under interdict until they shall have paid the fine. If they are nobles, we condemn them to pay twenty livres; if they are peasants, they shall pay ten; traders, five, and others in proportion,—the whole for the profit of the Holy See."

Alexander, following the example of his predecessor, wished to extend his dominion over all the churches, and sent into Spain, with the title of legate, the cardinal Hugh the White, who was instructed to introduce into the kingdom of Arragon the Latin in place of the Mozarabic ritual, which was in use throughout the whole peninsula. Hugh then went into Aquitaine. He convoked a council at Auch, and caused this assembly to confirm the independence of the convent of St. Orens, a privilege which the monks had bought with large sums. From thence he went to Toulouse, where he held another synod. The fathers who composed this assembly pronounced diverse judgments against simoniacs, re-established the church of Leitoure, which had been converted into a monastery, and swore a blind obedience to the pontiff.

In the following year (1068) a division broke out between the altar and the throne. The emperor Henry, wearied by the misconduct of Bertha, resolved to repudiate her. He informed the archbishop of Mayence of it, who approved of his determination, and wrote to the pope for a confirmation of the dissolution of his marriage; or asking him to give such power to legates, who should go to Mayence in order to pronounce upon the matter. Peter Damian was chosen by the sovereign pontiff to represent him in Germany; but, instead of giving the consent of the holy father to the emperor, he prohibited him from separating from his adulterous spouse; and even deposed the metropolitan of Mayence, because, of his own authority, he had consented to a separation, of which the pope was the sole dispenser.

Henry, informed of the hostile dispositions of Damian, quitted Mayence, and prepared to return to Saxony; but his favourites represented to him that he would act with want of foresight in thus rudely dissolving an assembly composed of the first lords of his kingdom, and that he should avoid increasing the number of malcontents if he wished to obtain a separation from the empress. The prince approved of their advice, and went to Frankford, where he convened a new synod.

The fathers having re-assembled, Peter Damian, in the name of Alexander, spoke thus: "Your conduct, my lord, towards your chaste spouse, Bertha, is unworthy not only of a sovereign, but even of a Christian. Take care, prince, how you brave the divine and human

laws which condemn you. Rome has terrible arms which will prevent the example of your conduct from perverting her subjects, and which will shake your imperial authority to its very foundations. I command you to conform to the supreme orders of the pontiff; otherwise you will force us to employ the severity of the canons against you, and to take from you that imperial crown of which you have shown yourself unworthy, by betraying the cause of religion." The bishops applauded this discourse, and declared that the pope acted wisely, and that they would sustain his decision.

Henry rose in great agitation, and replied to them: "Since the pope orders it, I will do violence to my own feelings, and bear the load of adultery for the edification of my people."

The pontiff, who showed himself so irritable on a question of divorce, did not manifest the same rigour in his other judgments. Thus, Herman, bishop of Bamberg, who had been excommunicated by the Holy See, for the crimes of simony and incest, authentically proved upon him, continued to exercise his episcopal functions, notwithstanding the anathema which he had incurred. Alexander, informed of this circumstance, wrote to the metropolitans Annon and Sigefoy, to appear at Rome with Herman, in order that he might be condemned a second time by a council. The prelates obeyed; but the guilty bishop took care to bring with him large sums of money, which soothed the anger of the pope; and not only did Alexander re-instate him in his dignity, but he even granted to him the pallium and all the privileges attached to archiepiscopal Sees.

Lambert of Schaferburg relates, that in a great festival given by the holy father to the three prelates, when the fumes of generous wine had clouded his reason, he declared that he did not regard simony as a crime; and that, if he deposed simoniacal or concubinary priests, it was for the purpose of selling absolution to them; that on the other hand, he much approved of those bishops who had mistresses, and knew how to increase their treasures.

Some years before these events, a great revolution took place in England. William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, had conquered that island. Alexander hastened to send a standard which he had blessed to the usurper, with a bull of investiture, which dispossessed Harold the legitimate king. William, from gratitude to the Holy See, or rather, in consequence of a compact with the court of Rome, augmented the tax of St. Peter, and doubled the tithes which the people paid to the clergy. He also sent to the pope a large quantity of gold and silver money, sacred vases, and the standard of King Harold, on which was embroidered an armed man, covered with armour of precious stones.

Legates and Italian monks soon came to avail themselves of this new conquest, and to extend the pontifical sway over all the churches. Rapin affirms, "that they carved and clipt ecclesiastical matters as they pleas-

ed." Lanfranc was named metropolitan of Canterbury, Thomas archbishop of York, and both went to Rome during the following year to make their submission to the pope. Alexander, as a recompense for their zeal, gave them the pallium, and overwhelmed them with honours, especially Lanfranc, before whom he rose deferentially, adding, "I do not render you this honour, my brother, because you are archbishop of Canterbury, but because I was your disciple in the monastery of Bec." He gave the prelates a letter for William the Bastard, in which he was prodigal of the most extravagant eulogies on that prince, he thus concluded it, "We entreat you to follow the councils of Lanfranc for the interests of the church, for we have granted to him all the authority of the Holy See over the ecclesiastical affairs of England. We authorize him to preserve the monks in the cathedrals, and we prohibit the clergy from employing the aid of the secular power, to drive away the monks from St. Saviour of Canterbury, and the other metropolitan churches."

But whilst the pontiff was disposing at will of the kingdom and church of England, Henry the Fourth, irritated against the Holy See, and the bishops who had constrained him to live with Bertha, his adulterous wife, took his vengeance on the unfortunate people for the outrages which he had received. The prince surrounded all the cities of Saxony and Thuringia with fortresses, and after having placed numerous garrisons in these castles, he organized the pillage of the provinces. By his orders the troops ravaged the country, violated girls and women, burned the farm-houses and massacred the cultivators.

For the purpose of justifying these violence, Sigefoy, metropolitan of Mayence, advised the king to decree, by a council, that sovereigns were permitted to sell or murder their subjects when they could no longer pay the imposts. This frightful assembly was convened at Erford for the 10th of March 1073, and the priests dared to declare that God authorized kings to massacre the people, when they refused to pay imposts or tithes. Notwithstanding this abominable decision, some Saxon nobles united with the citizens of Thuringia, and remonstrated with the king, threatening to appeal to the Holy See. Henry, exasperated by this opposition, burst out into an excess of rage, and in the midst of his imprecations, swore, that if any of his subjects had the boldness to write to Rome, he would put him to death by the most horrid punishments, and would cover the provinces with so great disasters, that they would be remembered for many years. Two courageous men, however, informed the Holy See of the exactions of which they were the victims. Alexander immediately wrote to the prince to come to Rome to be judged by a council; but the holy father did not live long enough to finish this matter; he died suddenly, on the 20th of April 1073, after having held the Holy See for eleven years and a half.

Alexander contributed much to augment

the wealth of the church, by instituting the offering of the first fruits, an impost imitated from the Mosaic law, which commanded the Jews to give to the priests the first fruits of their trees, and the first born of their flocks.

This pontiff, if we can believe William of Poitiers, was eloquent, well informed and worthy to rule the universal church; he cites some of his decisions, which are remarkable for their wisdom. For example, the holy father prohibited a married man from entering

upon a monastic life without the consent of his wife, because her husband had no right to force her to continence, if she was unwilling to submit to it.

Leo and Desiderius represent Alexander as a pope of great sanctity, and endowed with the gift of miracles. "He freed," they add, "from the spirit of evil, a monk of Monte Cassino; and one day, a lame woman having drunk some drops of water in which he had washed his hands, was miraculously cured."

## GREGORY THE SEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1073.]

*History of Gregory before his advent to the throne of St. Peter—He is surprised in adultery with a young serving girl of his monastery—The election of Hildebrand the poisoner of popes—Portrait of Gregory the Seventh—Letter from the holy father to Didier, abbot of Monte Cassino—Singular actions of the pope—His trickeries in the affairs of Germany—Henry refuses permission to the legates of the Holy See, to hold a council in his kingdom—Project of the first crusade—The pope embroils himself with the French court—Letters of Gregory to the French bishops—Revolt of the concubinary priests—King Henry treats the thunders of the pope with contempt—Conspiracy against the pontiff—Gregory is deposed from the Holy See—Letter of Henry the Fourth against the pope—Gregory deposes the king of Germany—The pontiff is excommunicated by a council—Letter of the holy father on the excommunication of kings—Henry is abandoned by his subjects—Machiavelism of the pope—He causes Beatrice, his mistress, to be strangled in a debauch—Scandalous amours of the countess Matilda and Gregory—Henry is reduced to the last extremities by the excommunication of the Holy See—He goes into Italy—The countess Matilda poisons her husband—the pope escapes to Canossa with his mistress—Cowardice of the king of Germany—Indignation of the Lombards—Henry prepares for war against the pontiff—Rudolph of Suabia is chosen king of Germany by the legates of Gregory—Complaints of the Germans against the pope—Council of Rome—Retraction of Berenger—The pope excommunicates and deposes the king of Poland—He wishes to force the king of England to do homage to the Holy See—The pontiff is deposed from the Holy See, and Guibert of Ravenna nominated in his stead—Accusation of magic against Gregory—Warlike resolves of the holy father. King Henry gains a brilliant victory over Rudolph of Suabia—False prophecy of the holy father—The countess Matilda devotes herself for the pope her lover—Henry besieges Rome and seizes the holy city through treason—Attempt on the life of the pope—Robert Guiscard saves the pontiff—Death of Gregory the Seventh—His political maxims—History of religion during his pontificate.*

At length the ambitious Hildebrand, that fanatical monk, that poisoner of popes, whom we have seen struggling obstinately against all temporal powers, mounted the chair of St. Peter, after having buried eight pontiffs, who were the instruments of his policy and the victims of his ambition. He was an Italian by birth—his father, named Banizon, was a carpenter at Rome; his mother carried on an incestuous intercourse with her brother, the abbot of the monastery of Our Lady on Mount Aventine; and some authors affirm, that Hildebrand was the fruit of their amours. He was brought up by his uncle, who took great pains with his education, and when he had attained his fifteenth year, he was sent into France to continue his studies in the celebrated abbey of Cluny.

Some years afterwards, his education being completed, Hildebrand resolved, before returning to Rome, to visit the court of the em-

peror Henry the Black, for the purpose of preaching there the word of God. His sermons were so successful, that the most learned bishops of the age left their dioceses to come to listen to him. On the rumour of this renown, Leo the Ninth hastened to recall him into Italy, and attached him to his person in the capacity of a counsellor. He also gave him the monastery of St. Paul, which was in a deplorable state, and the church of which was used as a stable. The monks of this abbey instead of fulfilling their religious duties, were occupied in debauchery, and lived publicly with courtezans, whom they had introduced into the convent, and who served in the refectory.

Hildebrand, a skilful priest, at first exhibited great rigidity of morals; he reformed abuses, restored the rigour of discipline, and wished to drive from the convent the women whom he found there, but having been surprised

himself in adultery with one of the handsomest serving girls, he was obliged, in order to avoid a scandal which would have unmasked his hypocrisy, to review his first decision and authorize the monks to keep women in the convent. The reason which he gave to the holy father in explanation of this change in his ideas was, that he had discovered that they understood domestic economy and order better than the brethren.

After the death of Leo, his successor, Nicholas, elevated Hildebrand to the rank of archdeacon of the Roman church, and granted him great authority over the clergy. Other pontiffs also employed him near to kings and princes, in the capacity of ambassador from the Holy See, on account of his great reputation for address and eloquence. Finally, on the day of the funeral of Alexander the Second, the cardinals and other ecclesiastics assembled in the church of St. Peter to deliberate on the choice of a new pontiff. Some proposed Didier, the abbot of Monte Cassino; others wished to name Jerome, a venerable priest of the chapter of St. Rufinus, but no one dreamed of elevating to the Holy See the son of the incestuous wife of Banizon the carpenter.

Suddenly, some priests, who had adroitly mingled among the people, exclaimed: "Hildebrand is pope, St. Peter has chosen him." Their words excited great acclamations; the crowd ran towards the church, where the cardinals were assembled, uttering the same cries. The affrighted cardinals dared not resist this public manifestation, and immediately signed the decree which elevated Hildebrand to the Holy See. He was enthroned by the name of Gregory the Seventh.

Cardinal Benno affirms, that Hildebrand entered the conclave followed by armed men, and that he used terror to force their suffrages, and thus usurp the supreme dignity of the church. "He knew by experience," adds this historian, "that the pontifical chair is the first throne in the world; he knew all the advantages of the papacy; and the secrets of the palace of the Lateran were no mysteries to him. He had rendered himself so powerful in the church, that Damian calls him the master of the popes, and that one day he said to him in the presence of several bishops, 'I honour the holy father as every ecclesiastic should; but you I adore on both knees, because you make our pontiffs supreme; and because they have made you a god.'"

Another historian, Heydegger, assures us that he obtained the Holy See through the assistance of Satan; he accuses him of having been a sorcerer, a magician, and the most abominable of men. Ecclesiastical authors, on the other hand, describe him as an incomparable pontiff; they cannot find eulogies sufficiently magnificent, in which to glorify his science and his virtues. They adduce his descent from the illustrious family of the counts of Petiliani, and maintain that the other versions in regard to his birth, are fables invented by his enemies.

Gregory the Seventh was sixty years old when he was elevated to the chair of St. Peter; he was fat and short, and nature had refused to him exterior gifts; but in recompense thereof his soul was great, his mind vigorous and enlightened. He possessed profound erudition in divinity, and especially in regard to religious legislation, and the customs of the church. Ardent, imperious, enterprising and bold, Hildebrand pursued all his enterprises with great energy, giving proof of an intrepid courage that no obstacle could arrest, and of an inflexibility which recoiled neither from treason nor crime; thus historians have accused him of having poisoned the seven popes who preceded him, in order to pave his way to the pontifical throne.

On the day succeeding his election, the hypocritical Hildebrand, desiring to prevent the reclamations of Didier, his competitor for the chair of St. Peter, hastened to write to him the following letter, which he sent to Monte Cassino, by one of his chamberlains: "The pope Alexander is no more, my brother, and his death has fallen upon me to overwhelm me; it has torn my entrails, and precipitated me into an abyss. Whilst they were celebrating the service for the dead over his mortal remains, a great tumult broke out among the people; priests, as if crazy, seized upon me and bore me on their shoulders to the palace of the Lateran, where they seated me on the chair of the apostle, so that I could but exclaim with the prophet: "I am come into the depths of the sea, and my forehead is ravaged by a tempest." I shall not detain you longer with my afflictions, but will claim from your charity the prayers of your brethren, that God will sustain me in the peril which I wished to shun. We wait for you in our palace, my brother, for you know how much the Roman church needs your devotion and your prudence. Salute for me the empress Agnes, and the venerable Rainard, the bishop of Como, and beseech them to continue their affection and their prayers for me."

Hildebrand had laboured for a long time to take from the emperors the rights which they had acquired over the church of Rome. Become pope himself, he used the experience which he had acquired in his long career, and prepared for the success of his policy by crooked ways. At first he affected great deference for King Henry, and sent Didier as ambassador to him to inform him of his election, and to beseech him not to confirm it, because he preferred, he affirmed, the humble retreat of a monastery to the splendour of palaces. But no one was the dupe of his hypocrisy; and the council of Brixen, assembled by the prince, to receive the legates of the new pope, accused Hildebrand of having usurped the tiara, and refused to confirm his nomination.

Gregory seeing the turn which matters were taking, hastened to write to Didier, reproaching him for his lukewarmness in a matter so important, and even accused him of throwing obstacles in the way of his nomination, through

a spirit of envy. The venerable abbot, who had indeed seen his hopes overthrown by the astute Hildebrand, replied to him: "If I am too slow, you are too fast; since without even waiting for the burial of Alexander, you usurped the Holy See, contrary to all the canon laws."

Henry, desirous of being informed as to the truth of the accusations brought against the holy father, sent Count Eberhard to Rome with the title of commissary of the empire, to take information from the clergy and people, and to learn the motives which had induced them to elect a pontiff without the consent of the sovereign.

As soon as Eberhard entered the holy city, Gregory went to meet him at the head of the clergy. He cleared himself from all the charges brought against him, and protested that he had never been ambitious of the supreme dignity of the church. "God is my witness," added he, "that the Romans chose me against my will, and committed violence in order to enthrone me. As to the ordination, I refused all their urgency, and shall continue to refuse it until the king and lords of Germany shall inform me of their will.

Henry, deceived by the apparent submission of Hildebrand, then consented to send to Rome, Gregory of Verceil, to confirm the election of the pontiff, and to assist at his consecration. The ceremony took place on the day on which the ambassador of the prince arrived.

The pontiff had, however, before his ordination, exercised the supreme authority, as if he were assured of being recognized as the lawful chief of the church. Already had Ebbes, count of Champagne, treated with him, purchasing with large sums and advantageous conditions to the Holy See, the investiture of the kingdom of Arragon, which he wished to conquer; for at that period, the right which the pontiffs arrogated to themselves of disposing of kingdoms in consequence of the decree of Gregory the Great, was regarded as incontestable; and it was sufficient, in the eyes of degraded nations, to be upheld by this singular pretension.

Hildebrand authorized the count and all the lords who were united with him, to combat the Saracens, seize the provinces of the infidel, and found an independent kingdom, saving the rights of St. Peter. If any among you, said the pontiff, in his letter addressed to the French lords, wish to invade, separately, the same country with their own troops, they should propose to make it an holy war, by taking an engagement not to do to St. Peter the wrong which the infidels do him. But if you have no intention of paying equitably the penny of the Holy See, when you shall become the masters of these provinces, we prohibit you from entering them, because we will not suffer the church to be treated by her children as by her enemies.

Godfrey the Humpbacked, duke of Lorraine, having written to him to congratulate him on his election, urged him at the same time to

make every exertion to merit the good graces of the emperor of Germany. Gregory replied to him with his habitual hypocrisy, that the pontificate was an abyss of grief to him, "all the ecclesiastics," added he, "and especially the bishops, labour more to destroy the church than to defend it, and dream rather of satisfying their avarice and their incontinence, than of opposing the enemies of religion. As to the king of Germany, be assured that we desire his temporal and eternal glory. We have even resolved to address paternal warning to him by our legates, that he should undertake nothing contrary to the dignity of the church, and the honour of his crown. If he submits to our decisions, we shall rejoice more over his safety than our own; but if he renders to us hatred for friendship, in our quality of vicar of Christ, we shall be forced to declare against him, for the ministers of God should not purchase the friendship of princes through forgetfulness of his law; and because we do not wish to draw upon ourselves the anathema of Jeremiah, 'Evil to him who does not bloody his sword in combatting for God against princes and people.'"

The holy father received from France letters addressed to Pope Alexander the Second, containing grave accusations against King Phillip the First. The French clergy complained of the avarice of that prince, who sold the property of the church, despoiled the monasteries, and carried off even the sacred vases from the churches. Hildebrand at once wrote to the monarch, to threaten him with his anathemas if he persisted in his conduct, and did not hasten to give satisfaction for the crimes which he had committed. Phillip then sent his chamberlain Alberic, as ambassador to the court of Rome, who, in the name of his master, engaged, under oath, not to dispose of the property of the church in future, without the consent of the holy father.

Notwithstanding all his protests, Phillip none the less continued his depredations, and on the election of a new bishop at Macon, having exacted from the titular the payment of a considerable sum as the price of his investiture, new complaints were carried to Rome. The holy father then sent to him the following letter: "Either Phillip shall renounce simony, or the French, stricken by a general anathema, shall refuse to obey him; or, finally, they shall all abjure Christianity." This arrogance of the holy father shows, clearly, that his submission to the king of Germany was but a calculation of hypocrisy, for the purpose more surely of attaining his end of establishing his rule over Italy.

In fact, after his consecration, and when he had concluded an alliance with the Normans, by abandoning to them as their prey, Calabria, Campania, and Apulia, he commenced an embittered strife with Henry, in which will be found so much treachery, impudence and cruelty, that we should be inclined to doubt the truth of the facts, if their authenticity was not established upon testimony which cannot be refuted, and if the history of the

church had not already habituated us to see priests cause rivers of blood to flow, and become guilty of all crimes.

Gregory availed himself of the troubles which had broken out in Saxony, to try his strength with the sovereign, and for this purpose he addressed letters to Vezel, the metropolitan of Magdeburg, to Burchard, the prefect of Halberstadt, to the marquis Dedit, and other lords of that province, to bring about a suspension of arms, until the nuncios of the Holy See went into Germany to do them justice.

Before the departure of the legates he convoked a council, which regulated in advance the reforms to be exacted from the princes, and the concessions which it was useful to obtain for the interest of the Holy See. In this assembly the pope evinced an inflexible rigour. He decided against the marriage of priests; preferring, he said, a concubinary clergy, sodomites, and even incestuous persons, to those who contracted lawful unions. "Marriage," added Gregory, "attaches the clergy to the state in giving them families, and estranges them from the church, for which they should sacrifice every thing." He prohibited all the faithful, under penalty of anathema, from assisting at divine service which was celebrated by married priests; and he addressed this decree to the churches of France, Italy, England, and Germany.

The French clergy opposed this scandalous decision, and the bishops addressed this violent letter to him: "You are an heretic, most holy father, since you teach an insensate morality, contrary to the words of Christ and the doctrine of the apostle, who said, 'let him among you who cannot live in abstinence, marry; for it is better for him to marry than to burn.' As for you, sacrilegious pontiff, whose debaucheries with young monks, and adulteries with the countess Matilda and her mother are a public scandal, we learn that you would lead priests into your disorders, by forcing them to separate from their wives; but we declare to you that we would rather renounce the priesthood than our lawful wives."

In the same assembly Gregory accused the king of Germany, through bishops devoted to the court of Rome, and upon their complaints Henry was solemnly excommunicated. After the termination of the council, the bishops of Palestrina, Ostia, Coira and Como went to Germany on an apparent mission to pacify the troubles of that kingdom. Henry came as far as Nuremberg to meet them, but they refused to see him, and insolently informed him that they had orders to treat him as an excommunicated person, and that they could not confer with him until he had submitted to the penance which the laws of the church imposed on him, and had taken an oath of obedience to the pope.

The king, fearful lest his troops, in consequence of the excommunication lanced against him, should abandon him at the moment when the Saxons were in full revolt,

and were threatening to drive him from his kingdom, confessed himself guilty, consented to perform the penance indicated to him, engaged to remain submissive to the pontiff, and finally obtained absolution. In the confession which the nuncios of the Holy See caused him to subscribe with his own hand, Henry admitted "that he had not employed the sovereign power as a true servant of God, that he had usurped ecclesiastical domains, and sold churches to augment his treasures, and that he had massacred his subjects for the purpose of depriving them of their wealth."

But the German bishops, indignant at the cowardice of the prince, soon forced him to assume another attitude. A council having been convoked by the legates, they claimed the presidency of it as the representatives of Gregory the Seventh. The German prelates then declared that they opposed this proud pretension as contrary to the canons, and that they would never yield the right of presiding but to the pope in person, since the ecclesiastical rules formally indicated that provincial synods should be presided over by the metropolitan of the province in which the assembly was held, and that consequently they rejected the new usage which the court of Rome wished to introduce into Germany. Liemar, archbishop of Bremen, severely reprimanded the nuncios for their pride, saying that the metropolitan of Mayence and himself being the vicars of the Holy See. in accordance with the privileges granted to their predecessors, they alone had the right of representing the pontiff, which the bishops of Palestrina, Coira, Ostia, and Como could not do, who were the mere envoys of Rome, instructed to carry the orders of the holy father. Henry sustained this opinion with all his authority, and wished to take from them the confession which he had subscribed; unfortunately it was already in the hands of the pontiff.

As soon as Gregory was informed of the opposition of the prelates of Germany, he wrote to the metropolitan of Mayence: "We hoped, my brother, you would recollect how much you loved us before we were on the throne of the apostle, and we thought you would have preserved the recollection of the confidence with which we advised with you on our most secret affairs. We had even conceived great hopes of your piety, since you manifested a desire of retiring to Cluny. We now learn that you deceive our hopes, and we should be wanting in the sacred duty of friendship, if we failed to warn you of it. You will come to Rome, then, during the first week in Lent, and will bring with your suffragans Otho of Constance, Garnier of Strasburg, Henry of Spire, Herman of Bamberg, Imbrick of Augsburg, and Adalbert of Wirtzburg."

The holy father wrote at the same time to Liemar, accusing him of ingratitude; he suspended him from his episcopal functions, and ordered him to go to the synod to hear a definite judgment pronounced against him. He also addressed a letter to King Henry, which he besought him to make public; the follow-

ing was its tenor: "We are informed, my son, that the Christians beyond the sea, persecuted by the infidel, and pressed down by the misery which overwhelms them, have sent entreaties to the Holy See, imploring our aid, lest during our reign, the torch of religion should be extinguished in the East. We are penetrated with an holy grief, and we ardently aspire after martyrdom. We prefer to expose our life to protect our brethren, rather than remain at Rome to dictate laws to the world, when we know that the children of God are dying in slavery. We have consequently undertaken to excite the zeal of all the faithful of the West, and to lead them in our train to the defence of Palestine. Already have the Italians and Lombards, inspired by the Holy Spirit, heard our exhortations with enthusiasm, and more than fifty thousand warriors are preparing for this far distant expedition, determined to wrest the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidel. I have the more decided to conduct this enterprise in person, as the church of Constantinople asks to be re-united to ours, and that all the inhabitants may wait upon us to put an end to their religious quarrels. Our fathers have frequently visited these provinces, in order to confirm the faith by holy words; we wish in our turn to follow in their footsteps, if God permits; but as so great an enterprise needs a powerful auxiliary, we demand the aid of your sword."

Hildebrand wrote a general letter on the same subject to all the nations of the West, in which he excited the princes to the holy war against the infidel, beseeching them to send ambassadors to Rome, with whom he could arrange the execution of an expedition beyond the sea. Gregory, however, notwithstanding his obstinate perseverance in the project of conquering the Holy Land, could not put it in execution, in consequence of the refusal of the king of Germany to become an associate in this dangerous enterprise. The pope fearing the ambition of the prince, if he abandoned Italy to combat the infidels, renounced his designs, and applied himself only to augment the temporal grandeur of the Holy See.

Gregory, greedy of universal authority, which was the aim of his ambition, sought for every occasion of constituting himself absolute judge of sovereigns and lords. Thus, in order to punish Phillip the First of France, for his encroachments on the privileges of the churches, he took from him the right of investiture, and prohibited him, under penalty of excommunication, from undertaking any thing in future against the bishoprics and abbeyes of his kingdom. The pontiff addressed a vehement letter on this subject to the prelates of the Gauls, and in particular to Manasses of Rheims, Richard of Sens and Richard of Bourges. "All crimes," he wrote to these bishops, "are committed with impunity in your provinces—perjury, sacrilege, incest, murder, are regarded as pious actions—citizens pillage and massacre one another. Pilgrims going to

or returning from Rome are despoiled, cast into frightful dungeons, or subjected to torture, in order to exact from them ransoms which ruin their fortunes: if they refuse to pay, they are murdered without pity.

"Phillip is the cause of these evils, that execrable Phillip, who does not deserve the name of king, but that of tyrant, and who passes his life in acts of infamy with his minions. Not content with having excited the divine wrath through his exactions, adulteries, rascalities, and murders, this avaricious wretch dares to rob foreign merchants who come into his states, under the guarantee of his royal word, to traffic.

"And you, unworthy bishops, why do you not resist the abominable prince who desolates your people? Are you willing to render yourselves accomplices of his outrages in the eyes of Christ? Do not believe that in opposing his depredations you are wanting in the fidelity and respect exacted from you; you would on the contrary prove your great devotion by drawing him back from the abyss into which he is plunged. Besides, we who are elevated as high above kings as heaven is above the earth, we give you absolute power over his person; no longer fear to resist him, and if you will unite in the defence of justice you will have a force capable of restraining him without any peril; and even though you may expose your lives in condemning him, should you hesitate to do your duty in the execution of our supreme will?

"Wherefore, by virtue of our apostolical authority, we order you to represent to your king how criminal his actions are. Engage him to abandon his habits of sodomy; to establish justice, and raise up again the glory of his crown. If he remains hardened in sin, without being willing to listen to you; if he shows no repentance nor compassion for his people, declare to him in our name, that the thunders of St. Peter will strike him, as God before struck Satan. Separate yourselves entirely from the communion of this reprobate; interdict, throughout all France, the celebration of divine service, and close all the churches.

"If this censure is not strong enough to bring him to us, asking for grace and pardon on his knees, publish immediately, that with the aid of God we will use our efforts to assemble troops, and come to deliver France from this abominable monster."

The threats of Gregory were inefficacious. The bishops of the kingdom, who partook with the king in the spoils of the unfortunate people, took his part, and Phillip continued his dilapidations, his debaucheries, and his massacres, with the full approval of his clergy. In his opposition to kings, Gregory was not moved by a religious sentiment of humanity, but by his insatiable desire for sway, which led him to extend his political vigilance into every country.

The council which the pontiff had convoked at Rome for the first week in Lent, assembled on the 24th of February. Gregory excommunicated five officers of the palace of King

Henry; he threatened King Phillip with the most terrible anathemas, if he did not swear to submit to the nuncios whom he was about to send to his court. Liemar, metropolitan of Bremen, who was not present at the council, was suspended from his sacerdotal functions, and the pontiff prohibited him from celebrating the holy mass. Garnier, bishop of Strasbourg, and Henry, of Spire, were condemned to the same penalties. They granted time to Herman of Bamberg, until Easter, to come and present his justification to the pope. William, bishop of Pavia, and Cunibert, of Turin, were also suspended from the episcopate. Denis of Placenza, was deposed from his See; and finally, the excommunication pronounced against Robert Guiscard, the duke of the same family, was confirmed.

Some time after, the metropolitan Sigefroy convened a new council at Mayence. The bishop of Coira, the legate of the Holy See, assisted at this meeting, and communicated to the prelates of Germany the letters of Hildebrand, in which the holy father threatened the archbishop with deposition, if he did not constrain all the priests of his province to renounce their legitimate wives or their concubines. Sigefroy declared that he was disposed to execute the decree of the pope; but immediately all the ecclesiastics who assisted at the synod, rose tumultuously and precipitated themselves on him with such impetuosity, that he feared he would not escape alive from their hands. He hastened to retract his first declaration, and engaged not to authorize the reform, and to despise the orders of the pope.

Bayle observes on this subject, that the popes have had more difficulty in reducing to the law of celibacy the priests of the north, than of the midland countries. The clergy of Italy and Spain had, in fact, for a long time submitted to this yoke, without the clergy of Germany and other northern countries consenting to imitate them; and they disputed the ground of marriage foot by foot. We must not, however, conclude that the priests of the midland countries are more continent than those of the north. The Italian clergy have always been distinguished for their corrupt morals. Courtezans were not enough for their debaucheries, and they abandoned themselves to the shameful excesses of sodomy; whilst the Germans, on the other hand, passed their lives with the chaste spouse to whom they had attached themselves.

Gregory, informed that the king of Germany, after having put down the revolt of the Saxons, was making preparations to enter Italy, immediately despatched legates to summon him to appear before a council, if he did not wish to incur the anathema of the church. Henry treated the threats of Hildebrand with contempt, drove away his legates in disgrace, and ordered the bishops of his kingdom to assemble at Worms, to depose the proud pope who had excited general hatred against himself.

Conspiracies were also formed at Rome

against the pontiff. Cencius, the son of the prefect Stephen, the same who had sustained the party of Cadalous against Alexander the Second, had built a high tower upon the bridge of St. Peter, from whence he took ransoms from passers by, destroyed the travellers, carried off beasts, pillaged the farms, and maltreated the cultivators. Gregory had not dared to undertake anything against this highway robber, from fear of making an enemy of him. At length, public clamour having compelled him to excommunicate him, Cencius immediately retired into Apulia, to Robert Guiscard and the other lords driven like him from the states of the church; and all formed the plan of a conspiracy which had for its object to overthrow the pope from his pontifical throne, and to choose in his place Guibert, the metropolitan of Ravenna, one of the conspirators. They first wrote to the king of Germany to assure themselves of his protection, and promised to send him the holy father, bound hand and foot. They then fixed on Easter as the period in which they should put their plan in execution. Cencius, on the appointed day, having been apprized by his spies that the pope, as usual, would celebrate night service in the church of St. Maria Majora, went into the city with armed men, and had his horses in readiness to fly from Rome, if he failed in his efforts of abduction.

The holy father went into the chapel of the manger to say mass. He had already communed with his clergy, and the faithful were advancing to receive the sacrament of the altar, when suddenly, at a given signal, loud cries were heard; the conspirators sprang into the temple with their drawn swords in their hands, and striking all in their way, they broke the grate of the chapel of the manger, and tore Hildebrand from the altar, dragging him along by the hair, and striking him with the flat part of their swords. One of the soldiers even wished to cut off his head, but the sword turning in his hand, he only inflicted a severe wound on his forehead; he was then despoiled of his pallium, chasuble, dalmatique, and tunic, and dragged along bleeding over the pavement of the church.

The rumour of this attempt spread at once through the city; divine service ceased every where; the alarm bell was rung; the people assembled in the capitol, and guards were placed at all the gates of Rome to prevent them from carrying the holy father without the city. As soon as day appeared, the crowd went to the tower of Cencius, and the combat commenced; at the first shock the conspirators abandoned the walls, and took refuge in the tower, which the people besieged with warlike implements.

During this struggle the holy father was shut up in a secret chamber with a Roman lady, who through devotion followed him into his prison and dressed his wounds. The gates of the tower soon began to yield before the efforts of the machines, and the people, already masters of the outer defences, threatened to set fire to the fortress. Cencius then

having no longer hopes of being able to prolong his resistance, came to seek Gregory in his prison, and by dint of threats and promises obtained from him a pardon for all that had passed, on condition that he would undertake the journey to Jerusalem.

Gregory immediately approached a window, and made signals to the citizens to suspend the attack, and to cause the principal ones among them to come into the fortress; but they, supposing that he was calling them to his assistance, sealed the tower and carried off Hildebrand even into the street. The young ecclesiastics raised him in their arms, and bore him in triumph to the church of St. Maria Majora, where the holy father celebrated divine service, and gave his benediction to the crowd. After the ceremony he returned to the palace of the Lateran, and recruited his strength by a sumptuous festival, which had been wasted by the terrible events of the night.

The intrepid Cencius quitted Rome with his wife, his children, and the rest of the conspirators. The pontiff, freed from this redoubtable enemy, refused to ratify his promises; he banished him for ever from the holy city, confiscated his property for the use of the church, demolished his tower, and razed his palace from its foundations. Cencius, on his side, by way of reprisal, ravaged the domains of the church, devastated the monasteries, massacred the monks, and murdered the pilgrims.

The archbishop Guibert, who had taken part in all this affair, was also driven from Rome, and sent to his city of Ravenna, where he organized a new conspiracy against Gregory, with Thedaldus, the metropolitan of Milan, and the other prelates of Lombardy. By the order of the archbishop of Ravenna, the cardinal Hugh the White went to Robert Guiscard and King Henry, for the purpose of arranging with them upon the measures to be taken to overthrow Hildebrand from the Holy See. The ambassador assisted in Germany, at the opening of the council of Worms, at which he gave information of the authentic history of Gregory the Seventh, which is the same as has come down to us under the name of the cardinal Benno.

This remarkable history recalls the incestuous origin of Gregory, and gives a faithful record of his debaucheries in the convent of Cluny; it produces against him, accusations of impiety, sacrilege, magic, adultery, and presents irrefutable proofs which establish that he had poisoned seven popes, and attempted the lives of several sovereigns.

Hugh the White, carried with him a great number of letters, written by the cardinals, the members of the senate of Rome, and the bishops of different provinces of Italy, containing vehement complaints, and atrocious accusations against Hildebrand, whose deposition they demanded. The prelates who assisted at the reading of these acts, testified such horror at the abominable crimes with which the pope had soiled his life, that they

all exclaimed with one voice, that the election of such a monster was a nullity, and that God had not been able to give to Satan the power to bind and loose. They pronounced a sentence of deposition against him, which we find thus sent forth in the work of Du Plessis Mornay, entitled, "The Mysteries of the Iniquities of the Court of Rome." "Hildebrand, who, from pride, has assumed the name of Gregory, is the greatest criminal who has invaded the papacy until this time. He is an apostate monk, who adulterates the Bible, suits the books of the fathers to the wants of his execrable ambition, and pollutes justice, by becoming at once accuser, witness, and judge. He separates husbands from their wives; he prefers prostitutes to legitimate spouses; he encourages the adulterous and incestuous; he excites the populace against their king, and endeavours to oblige sovereigns and bishops to pay the court of Rome for their diadems and mitres; finally, he makes a public traffic of the priesthood and the episcopate; he buys provinces, sells the dignities of the church, and causes all the gold of Christendom to flow into his treasury. We consequently declare, in the name of the emperor of Germany, of the princes and prelates, and in the name of the senate, and the Christian people, that Gregory the Seventh is deposed from the apostolical throne, which he soils by his abominations."

The whole synod subscribed to this sentence, and Henry addressed letters to the lords and clergy of Lombardy, and of the march of Ancona, to induce them to subscribe to the condemnation of the pope. They also assembled in council; they swore upon the Gospels, that they no longer recognized the monk Hildebrand as the sovereign pontiff, and pronounced a second anathema against him.

The king of Germany then wrote to Gregory: "Up to this time I was in hope you had for me the tenderness of a father, and I blindly obeyed your orders. Now my eyes are opened, and I discover that you have acted against me as my greatest enemy. I have proof that you excite my subjects to revolt, and that you have made every effort to deprive me of my kingdom of Italy. You have excommunicated and deposed the bishops who refuse to abandon my cause; and finally, you have pushed your boldness so far as to write to me that you would deprive me of my crown and life, previous to your death. I have, in order to arrest your odious projects, convened in an assembly the grandees of my states, to judge our differences. The judgment is against you, infamous priest! I order you, then, in my quality of patrician of Rome, to quit that accursed chair, which is occupied by a demon!"

A clergyman of Parma, named Roland, was charged to carry these letters to the holy city; and he took his measures so as to arrive at Rome on the eve of the day fixed upon by the pope to judge King Henry in a general assembly. At the opening of the council, the

intrepid deacon entered the pontifical palace, put aside the guards, and going straight up to the holy father, said to him: "The emperor, my master, as well as all the German and Italian bishops, order thee to descend at once from the apostolic throne, which thou hast dishonoured by thy crimes." Then turning towards the Roman clergy, he added: "My brethren, I command you, in the name of the king, to go to him on the day of Pentecost, to choose a new pope in the place of him who has the audacity to preside here."

He had scarcely spoken, when the bishop John, and the prefect of Rome, at the head of his soldiery, precipitated themselves upon him to murder him; but Hildebrand was too skilful a politician to allow them to commit a crime which would have rendered him odious to all the world. He covered with his own body the ambassador of the prince, and prohibited any attempts upon his life.

He then calmly resumed his place, and addressed the assembly. "My friends," said he, "let us not trouble the peace of the church by becoming guilty of an useless murder. These are the dangerous times of which the Scriptures speak. We shall see proud, greedy, and cruel men, who would rend the bosom of their mother. Christendom must be filled with desolation; and Christ has sent us as sheep for the wolves. We should then have the mildness of the dove, and support with resignation the outrages of senseless men, who desire to betray the laws of God. The Lord wishes to water his house with the blood of the saints. Let us then prepare for martyrdom, and let our death assure the glory and triumph of the church, as God himself has revealed to us by sending us a mysterious sign, which we now place before your eyes." At the same time he showed them a hen's egg, found accidentally, he affirmed, near the church of St. Peter.

Upon this egg was engraved, in relief, a serpent armed with a sword and shield, which appeared to wish to elevate itself upon the upper part of the egg, although by a secret power it was constrained to writhe even to the lower. The pope gave an enigmatical explanation of this singular phenomenon, and thus concluded his disclosure: "This sign, my children, announces to us that we must now employ the sword of the word to strike the serpent in the head, and to avenge the church. Let us act, then, since God orders us, for we have already had too much patience."

The holy father then, with one of those contradictions which would be sufficient to demonstrate all the hypocrisy of his conduct, after having commenced his discourse with a feigned moderation, finished it with menaces of death against the sovereign. The council approved unanimously of the sentiments of Gregory; and all the bishops declared they were ready to endure the most terrible punishments in so holy a cause.

Gregory pronounced the following anathema against Henry and his accomplices: "St. Peter, prince of the apostles, hear thy servant,

whom thou hast nourished from his childhood, and whom thou hast protected against the wicked who persecute me. You are my witnesses, you, holy mother of God, St. Paul, and all the saints of heaven, that the Roman clergy constrained me to govern them, and that I would rather have finished my days in exile, than have usurped your place by unworthy means. But since I have reached this throne by your grace, I believe that it is your will that Christian people should obey me, by virtue of the power which you have transmitted to me of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth. Thus, for the safety of the church, and in the name of God all powerful, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I prohibit Henry, who by reason of an unheard of pride, has elevated himself against us, from governing the kingdoms of Germany and Italy. I free all Christians from the oaths which they have taken to him, and I prohibit all from serving him as king; for he who would oppose our authority, deserves to lose his crown, his liberty, and his life. I burthen Henry, then, with anathema and malediction; I devote him to the execration of men, and I deliver up his soul to Satan, in order that the people may know that the sovereign pontiff is the rock upon which the Son of the living God has built his church, and that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it."

Hildebrand sent to all the faithful in Germany, Italy, and Gaul, the sentence which he had pronounced against the sovereign of Germany. He addressed a circular to the German and Italian bishops and lords, in which he ordered them, in case Henry should persist in his revolt against the Holy See, to choose another king who would govern the empire in accordance with the laws of the church.

This decree of excommunication filled Germany and Italy with divisions, and was the cause of long and cruel wars. The prelates, however, openly treated the censures of Gregory with contempt. William of Utrecht, in particular, defended with much zeal the interests of the prince against the criminal enterprises of the pope. Every time that he mounted the pulpit, he preached against the pontiff, whom he called a simoniac, adulterer, robber and poisoner; and he renewed every Sunday the excommunication pronounced against Hildebrand by the German bishops. The Lombard prelates did the same. Guibert, the metropolitan of Ravenna, convened a new synod at Pavia, and a second time excommunicated the holy father.

Still, some ambitious lords detached some bishops from the party of the prince, who defended the Holy See, and maintained that no one had a right to anathematize the pope, since he was infallible. This miserable reasoning drew off a great number of nobles, who persecuted those who wished to remain faithful to Henry.

Gregory also employed all the resources of his policy to detach the refractory bishops from the party of the prince. He wrote the following remarkable letter to Herman, the

prelate of Metz: "As for those who maintain that kings cannot be legitimately deposed by popes, I refer them to the words and the example of the fathers; and they will learn that St. Peter said: 'Be ye always ready to punish the guilty, whatever their rank.' Let them consider the motives which induced Pope Zachary to depose King Childeric, and to free all the Franks from their oath of fidelity. Let them learn that St. Gregory, in his decretals, not only excommunicated the lords and kings who opposed the execution of his orders, but that he even deprived them of their power. Let them not forget that St. Ambrose himself drove from the temple the emperor Theodosius, calling him a profane man, sacrilegious, and a murderer.

"Perhaps these miserable slaves of kings would maintain that God, when he said to St. Peter: 'Feed my lambs,' excepted princes; but we will demonstrate that Christ, in giving to the apostle power to bind and loose men, excepted no one. The Holy See has absolute power over all spiritual things: why should it not also rule temporal affairs? God reigns in the heavens,—his vicar should reign over all the earth. These senseless wretches, however, maintain that the royal is above the episcopal dignity. Are they, then, ignorant that the name of king was invented by human pride, and that the title of bishop was instituted by Christ? St. Ambrose affirms that the episcopate is superior to royalty, as gold is superior to a viler metal."

The astute policy of the pope drew off the greater part of the prelates and lords of Germany into the party of the Holy See; and Henry saw all his friends retiring gradually from his cause. Several bishops who had before subscribed to the condemnation of the pope, sent deputies to Rome to make their apologies. Others went in person, with naked feet, to the tomb of the apostles, in order to obtain their pardon.

Gregory received them all with great honours, loaded them with presents, and took with them skilful measures which would lead to the entire destruction of the party of the king of Germany. On the other side, the criminal intercourse which the pope carried on with the empress Agnes, his mother, the duchess Beatrice, his aunt, and the countess Matilda, his cousin-german, assured to him still more perfectly the execution of his ambitious projects.

Beatrice possessed immense estates in Italy, and Matilda her daughter, the wife of Godfrey the Hunchback, was, through her husband, still more powerful than she; these two women after the rupture which had taken place between the altar and the throne, abandoned Henry, renounced the ties of blood, and loudly declared for Gregory.

Matilda, who was publicly recognized as the mistress of the pope, wished to force the duke her husband to embrace the cause of the Holy See; but he resisted all her seductions, and on the contrary raised troops which he led to the king. Hildebrand, fearful lest these

re-inforcements should place his enemy in a situation to march on Rome, determined the princess to employ violence to deliver him from her husband, and Godfrey the Hunchback was assassinated in the city of Anvers on the night of the 20th of February 1076.

Gregory, in his turn, out of gratitude for the service which had been rendered him, resolved to disembarass himself of the dutchess Beatrice, the rival and mother of Matilda; he solicited from his former mistress the favour of a meeting, passed the night with her, and caused her to be strangled in the morning.

By this double crime the countess Matilda became the absolute sovereign of immense estates; she became the inseparable companion of Hildebrand, established herself in the palace of the Lateran, where she assisted with the cardinals at the private councils of the sovereign pontiff. Platinus affirms, that she followed him in all his journeys, served him in his bed, and frequently passed the nights in his chamber, to the great scandal of the chamberlains, who were not permitted to enter the apartments of the holy father.

Gregory had arrived at the height of his power; he feared no enemy; he trampled the people beneath his pontifical sandal; he abandoned himself to every license, pushed on provinces to revolt, named emperors, and declared the clergy and laity who remained attached to the unfortunate Henry, excommunicated. By his intrigues he soon formed a formidable league in Germany against the prince. Rudolph, duke of Suabia, Guelf, duke of Bavaria, Berthold, duke of Carinthia, Adalberon, bishop of Wirtzburg, Adalbert, bishop of Worms, and some other lords assembled at Ulm, and convened a general diet for the 16th of October, in the city of Tribur, near Mayence. They sent their decree to the lords of Suabia, Bavaria, Saxony, Lorraine, and Franconia, beseeching them, in the name of Christ, to abandon their private affairs and come to bring the aid of their intelligence, in taking suitable measures to re-establish the tranquillity of the kingdom.

On the appointed day the assembly commenced its session; the policy of the holy father was fully successful; the metropolitans of Mayence and a great number of ecclesiastics, who had been devoted to the prince, were obliged to unite with the Roman legates, under penalty of being regarded as enemies to the state. One of the ambassadors of the pope spoke and recounted the whole life of Henry; he dragged forth the crimes which had soiled his early youth; he accused him of having removed the lords from all participation in the government, in order to elevate men of low birth to the first dignities in the kingdom; he affirmed that the prince had singular and anti-christian ideas; that he wished to exterminate the nobility, destroy the churches and the monasteries, in order to employ their riches in solacing the people; and he concluded by presenting, as the only remedy for so many evils, the election of a king of Germany, capa-

ble of arresting the license and strengthening the tottering state.

The unfortunate Henry at first retired to Oppenheim with some faithful friends; then seeing that his cause was lost, he sent deputies to the diet, who offered in his name to abandon the government of the state to the lords, reserving only to himself the royal insignia and the name of sovereign. But the prelates were inexorable; they replied that they could not accept any of his offers, because they were not permitted to communicate with an excommunicated person, and that consequently they would proceed to his deposition, conformably to the orders of the pope. They consented, however, to refer the matter to the pontiff, if the prince would engage to come to the council of Augsburg to submit to the judgment of Gregory, in the presence of all the lords of Germany. They threatened to declare him for ever excluded from the throne, if he did not obtain absolution within a year and a day, and they ordered him, whilst awaiting the judgment of the pope, to send away all the excommunicated who were about his person, to disband the garrison of Worms, to re-install the bishop of that city in the exercise of his functions, and to retire himself to Spire with some domestics who were designated by the assembly. Finally, they enjoined on him to lead a simple, frugal life; to use no equipages, nor bear the tokens of imperial dignity, nor occupy himself with civil or religious affairs.

Henry acceded to these disgraceful conditions; he sent away from his camp the metropolitan of Cologne, the bishops of Bamberg, Strasburg, Basle, Spire, Lausanne, Ceitz, Osnabruck, and the other excommunicated; he disbanded his troops, went to Worms, and retired to the city which had been assigned to him, where he lived like a private citizen.

The legates immediately informed the holy father of the result of their embassy, and engaged him to go in person to the synod of Augsburg. Henry, in his impatience to be released from the anathema pronounced against him, was unwilling to wait for the arrival of Gregory, and determined to present himself as a suppliant at Rome, in order to obtain absolution. He departed secretly from Spire, some days before Easter, with the empress his wife, and his son, still an infant; he traversed Burgundy and arrived in Savoy, where he was traitorously arrested by Count Amedeus, the brother of his wife, who only restored him his liberty on condition of his surrendering a province bordering on the states of Germany.

The winter was, this year, very severe, and rendered the passage of the Alps extremely dangerous; no dangers, however, could suspend the execution of his project; he traversed snow and ice, and descended into Lombardy. The noise of his arrival had scarcely spread abroad, when the Lombard bishops and lords, who were discontented with the pope, came to meet him, and regardless of the excommunication, they rendered him great honour, and formed an imposing

escort for him. Some lords even proposed to him to declare war on the Holy See, offering him succours of men and money; but the prince broken down by so great reverses, dared not accept their proposals, and continued his route to Rome.

Gregory had already quitted the holy city to go to Augsburg, accompanied by the countess Matilda, who followed him in all his journeys; but when he was informed of the arrival of Henry, and of the demonstrations on his behalf, made by the Lombards, he was alarmed, retraced his steps, and shut himself up in a castle called Canudinum or Canossa, which belonged to his mistress, and was regarded as impregnable.

It was during this retreat, that he received the German bishops and several lay lords whom he had excommunicated. They had travelled to Italy with naked feet, and covered with sackcloth, to implore the pity of the holy father. The fear of a general rising in favour of Henry, rendered the pontiff indulgent to the pilgrims; he consented to receive them into the bosom of the church, always on condition that they would sincerely confess their crimes, and submit to pay a fine to the Holy See, and undergo a public penance. They declared their readiness to suffer every thing they were ordered to do. Gregory then commenced proving them by prescribing for them a rigorous fast, "a penance still more severe," adds Bayle, "since these prelates came from a cold country, where fasting is one of the severest mortifications that can be imposed, especially on priests, who are accustomed to make long meals, at which they gorge themselves with food and drink."

After proving them for some days, Gregory made them appear anew in his presence, addressed to them a severe reprimand, and gave them absolution; before, however, dismissing them, he ordered them not to communicate with the prince, until he had made an apology to the Holy See, except to exhort him to repentance.

Henry having arrived at Canossa, solicited a private interview with his cousin, the concubine of the pope; Matilda consented to receive him, and the result of this conference was, that she presented to Gregory on the following day, the countess of Savoy, mother-in-law of the prince, the count her son, the marquis Azon, and Hugh, the abbot of Cluny, in order that they might implore in his name the mercy of the holy father. The presentation took place, but Gregory replied to the solicitors, that it was contrary to the laws of the church to examine an accused, but in the presence of his accusers; that if Henry were innocent, he had nothing to fear by appearing before the synod of Augsburg, where he promised him he should receive ample justice, without permitting himself to be prejudiced by his enemies. The abbot of Cluny represented to the holy father that the king did not fear the judgment, but that he besought him to absolve him from the anathema launched against him, because the year of his

excommunication had almost expired, and the prelates of Germany waited for that fatal term to declare him dispossessed for ever of the royal dignity.

The inflexible pontiff resisted all their entreaties; finally, gold was proposed to him, and he yielded to this powerful argument. He, however, exacted that the prince, in token of his repentance, should deposit his crown and other ensigns of royalty at his feet, declaring himself unworthy to reign. Henry consented to undergo this humiliation; he presented himself alone at the outer gate of the fortress, and waited with patience until the pope was ready to have them opened. When he had passed the outward entrance, he laid aside all his royal ornaments, unclothed himself entirely, and put on sackcloth; a broom and scissiors were then placed in his hands as a sign that he consented to be whipped and shaven; he remained in this position for three days and three nights, with naked feet, during the most extreme severity of the winter, without covering, without taking any nourishment, shedding torrents of tears, and imploring, with many groans, the mercy of the pope!!!

Gregory, in one of his works, boasts of this conduct and avows that his justice resembled rather the cruelty of a tyrant, than the severity of a judge. At length the countess Matilda took pity on the prince and obtained from the pontiff the pardon of her cousin. Henry having been admitted to an audience of the pope, absolution was granted to him on condition that he should present himself at the diet of the German lords, and would reply to the accusations brought against him. Gregory wished him to engage to submit himself to the orders of the Holy See, whether he should lose his crown or not: and that in any case he should declare his lords relieved from the oath of fidelity they had taken to him, and perfectly free before God and men to choose another sovereign; he made him promise never to avenge himself for the judgment pronounced against him, whatever it might be, and to show himself entirely submissive to the orders of the pontiff on all occasions. Finally, he warned him, that if he should fail in a single one of these conditions, he would declare his absolution null, and give to the German lords the right of choosing another king. Henry signed these promises, and confirmed them by solemn oaths upon the gospels and the relics of St. Peter; the pope then declared him relieved from the sentence of excommunication.

On the next day they went together to the church of the city, in which Gregory celebrated mass in the presence of an immense crowd; when he had pronounced the words of consecration, he made the prince approach the altar, and holding the consecrated host in his hand, addressed these words to him: "King Henry, I received letters from you and your bishops, in which you called me an usurper, a poisoner of popes, incestuous and a sodomite; now in order to overthrow these

accusations, and efface for ever even the shade of the scandal, I take the body of our Lord to witness my innocence, and I trust it will prove a poison to me if I am guilty." At the same time he took the host, broke it into two pieces, and communed. The stupid people uttered loud shouts of joy, praising God and the pontiff for so admirable an action.

Gregory having obtained silence, turned towards the prince: "Do in your turn, my son, that which you have seen me do. The German lords accuse you of exactions, adulteries, and murders; they maintain that you should be driven, for your crimes, from the communion of the faithful; and they ask that you should be judged by a council. You are not ignorant how uncertain are the judgments of men; take this other part of the host which I present to you; call down upon your head the wrath of Christ if you are guilty, and commune, as I have done, in the presence of all the assistants, in order that the proof of your innocence may destroy all the calumnies of your enemies."

Henry, surprised and confounded by so strange a proposal, asked for some moments to deliberate upon it with the lords who were with him. He then replied to the pope, that the opinion of his councillors was, that he should incur the chances of a general council. Hildebrand, satisfied with his victory over the superstitious mind of the prince, administered to him the communion, without exacting that he should pronounce the horrid imprecation of which he had himself set the example.

After the service, he invited him to dine in the fortress, and dismissed him with deference. Eppon, bishop of Ceitz, was instructed to accompany him, for the purpose of absolving those who had communed with the king during his excommunication; but the Lombard lords, and especially the bishops who knew the secret of all the pontifical tricks, refused the absolution, and chased off the legate, heaping upon him blows and insults.

A new provincial synod assembled in Lombardy. The bishops a second time excommunicated the monk Hildebrand. They renewed their terrible accusations against him; they accused him of having poisoned the seven popes, his predecessors; of having usurped the Holy See, and of having dishonoured it by adultery, incest, and assassinations. The king was declared a traitor to the country for having cowardly submitted to an heretic soiled with every crime, and for having abandoned their cause, when, in order to avenge him, they had openly declared against the court of Rome.

Henry soon became the object of universal contempt. The priests, the grandees, and the people, resolved to dethrone him, and conduct his son to Rome, by force of arms, to drive away Gregory, and to name a new pontiff, who should consecrate the young prince emperor of Italy. On the other hand, the metropolitan of Mayence, with the bishops and lords who were hostile to the king, assembled at Forsheim, in Franconia, and addressed let-

ters to the holy father, and asking him to come to their council and confirm the choice which they had made of Rudolph of Suabia as their sovereign. Finally, in order to crown his misfortunes, Matilda made a solemn donation of all her estates to the Holy See, to the prejudice of the house of Henry, who were her legitimate heirs. The king then, incited by despair, took an energetic resolve, and swore to draw down vengeance on Hildebrand, the author of all his ills. He traversed Lombardy, called to his side all the excommunicated, all who were enemies of the pope, and openly declared war on the Holy See.

In less than two months, the prince saw himself at the head of a numerous army, and made his dispositions to march on Rome. At the news of this levy of armed men, Gregory lost his arrogance, and tried negotiations, not daring either to declare against Henry, or abandon the cause of King Rudolph; and as it became impossible for him to go into Germany on account of the Lombard troops who guarded all the routes, he addressed letters to the Germans, expressing the doubts of his mind in regard to the rights of the two sovereigns.

The lords and bishops, surprised at this change, replied to the pope: "You know, holy father, and your letters, which we have preserved, are witnesses of it, that it was neither by our advice, nor for our interests, that King Henry was deposed; in that we obeyed the will of the Holy See. Since you prohibited us, under penalty of the most terrible evils, from recognizing him as king, we have executed your orders at the hazard of our fortunes and our lives; for the prince, after your sentence, exercised great cruelties against us. Our submission to your decrees first brought on us the ruin of our provinces; then the humiliation of seeing the sovereign of the country constrained to crouch at your feet like a dog, in order to receive absolution, and to obtain from your holiness permission to ravage our fields and our cities a second time, and to avenge himself on us for the ills you have drawn on him.

"After having left the kingdom for an entire year without a head, in conformity with your wishes, we have chosen a king whom you had yourself chosen; and now, whilst he is engaged for the good of his people, instead of confirming his nomination, you recognize two kings in the same country, and you send your legates to both. This indecision which exists in your mind, increases our divisions; for in your letters you call King Henry a prevaricator, and you ask from him a safe conduct to come to our meeting, as if he yet preserved some power. We are also informed that you listen favourably to those whom you have excommunicated with him, and yet you exhort us to remain faithful to Rudolph.

"This tortuous policy has surprised us. We desire to suppose that your intentions are as laudable as your views are profound; but we are too simple to penetrate them; we

only see the deplorable results of your conduct. In managing the two parties, you light up a civil war. You incite pillages, incendiarism, massacres, and the destruction of the royal domain; so that the kings, for the future, will only live by rapine and robbery. These evils would not have existed, if you had not lighted in our provinces the fire of discord. It is the excess of our grief which induces us to speak in language so severe, because we are exposed to the rage of the wolves, for having obeyed the shepherd. And now, if the shepherd becomes our enemy, we shall no longer have faith neither in the pontiffs, nor the apostles, nor Christ; we shall regard popes and kings as the implacable enemies of humanity, and we shall devote them to the execration of the people."

Gregory did not reply to this letter, and received with equal honours the ambassadors of the two kings of Germany. He was then occupied in holding several councils at Rome, to renew the anathemas pronounced against the partizans of Henry, and to compel Berenger of Tours to make a solemn retraction of his doctrine concerning the eucharist. He excommunicated, during the same year, Boleslas, the king of Poland, and wished to force the king of England to submit to the Holy See. Finally, having learned that Henry was about to enter Germany to combat his rival, he determined to excommunicate him anew, and publicly to recognize Rudolph, duke of Suabia, as the sovereign of Germany.

In this remarkable decree, the pope addressed St. Peter and St. Paul in these terms: "Blessed apostles, you are witnesses that the German lords and bishops, without our advice, chose duke Rudolph as their king; and that this prince immediately sent ambassadors to our legate, declaring that he had undertaken, despite of himself, the government of the kingdom, and that he was ready to obey us in all things; offering, as a proof of his sincerity, to send us rich presents, and to give us as hostages, his son and that of duke Berthold. You know that Henry, at the same time, besought us to declare in his favour, against Rudolph, and that we replied, that we would act of our own will, after having heard these two princes in a council. But as soon as Henry supposed that he could overthrow his competitor without our aid, he repulsed our interference with contempt.

"It is therefore, most holy apostles, after having invoked your testimony as a guarantee of our sincerity, we employ your authority in condemning this sovereign and his accomplices. We declare Henry dispossessed of the crown of Germany and Italy; we anathematize him, and we invoke on his head the thunders of heaven; we beseech you to take from him all prudence in council, and to render him cowardly in battle, so that he may never gain any victory. We declare Rudolph the lawful king of the Teutonic states, and we grant to all who shall betray Henry, absolution from all their sins, and the blessing of Christ in this world and the next.

"Now blessed St. Peter and St. Paul, let the world know, by giving victory to Rudolph, that you can bind and loose in heaven; that you can give or take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, dutchies, marquises, countships, and the goods of all men; finally, that you take from the unworthy and bestow on the good, the pontificate, primacies, archbishops and bishoprics. Let the people learn that you judge spiritual things, and that you have an absolute power over temporal affairs; that you can curb the demons, who are the councillors of princes, and annihilate kings and the powerful of the earth. Display then your greatness and your power, and let the world now tremble before the redoubtable orders of your church. Cause especially the sword of your justice promptly to strike the head of the criminal Henry, in order that all Christians may learn that he has been stricken by your will."

This sentence was decreed at Rome, on the 7th of March, 1080, and Hildebrand sent it to King Rudolph, with a magnificent crown of gold enriched with precious stones.

Notwithstanding all the imprecations of Gregory, events gave a striking lie to him. Henry entered Germany at the head of a numerous army, and gained a signal victory over his competitor, in the famous day of Fladheim; after which the prince convoked a synod at Brixen, to which he called all the bishops and lords of Lombardy, and a large part of the ecclesiastics and nobles of Germany.

In this assembly they accused Gregory of heresy, impiety, sacrilege, simony, extortions, adultery, murder and magic; they produced witnesses who proved that the pope had cast the holy host into the fire, whilst conjuring up demons; the priests of the interior of the palace of the Lateran declared that he had poisoned the seven popes, his predecessors, by means of his intimate confidant, Gerard Brazurus; finally, the fathers pronounced an excommunication against Gregory, deposed him from the Holy See, and proclaimed Guibert, the metropolitan of Ravenna, sovereign pontiff; who assumed the name of Clement the Third.

As soon as the pope was apprized of the election of Guibert, he hastened to send legates to Apulia and Calabria to draw off the population to his side. He thus expressed himself about these schismatics, "They have been forced to renew their old conspiracy; they have chosen as their chief an heretic, a sacrilegious person, a perjurer, an assassin who wished to wrest from us our tiara and our life—an antichrist—a Guibert!! In a cabal composed of demoniacal and concubinary prelates, our enemies have even pushed their fury so far as to condemn us, because we refused to their entreaties and their threats pardon for their crimes. But God sustains us; he will make us triumph over the wicked, and we despise their anathemas."

Notwithstanding his apparent senility, Gregory laboured actively to obtain the protec-

tion of William, king of England, whom he had excommunicated some months before; he also entered into treaties with Robert Guiscard, with Jourdain, the prince of Capua, and other Norman lords, whom he had before excommunicated. He granted to them absolution, confirmed them in possession of the estates they had usurped, and in exchange, concluded with them a treaty, by which they engaged to defend the Holy See against its enemies, and to unite with the lords of Tuscany, the vassals of the countess Matilda, in attacking the anti-pope in the city of Ravenna. At the same time, he addressed letters to Germany, exciting the people in favour of Rudolph, and affirming that the apostle Peter had appeared to him, and announced that a false king would die this year before the day of his feast. "If this prediction be not accomplished," adds he, "I swear before God and men, that I am unworthy to be pope."

Sigebert relates that the Saxons, full of confidence in this prophecy, induced Rudolph to try the chance of arms; he marched to meet Henry, with an army inferior in numbers to that of that prince. The affair took place on the borders of the river Ellestre, near to Mersburg, in Saxony. Five times were his troops repulsed with loss, and five times he led them back to the charge. Finally, in the last charge, Godfrey of Bouillon, pushed his horse right against Rudolph, wounded him with a blow of his lance in the lower part of his belly and overthrew him on the field of battle; at the same moment, a knight struck the unfortunate king with his sword and cut off his right hand; and Rudolph died almost at once. The soldiers, alarmed at the loss of their chief, abandoned their ranks and took refuge in Mersburg.

Rivet informs us that Pope Gregory, in a public discourse, had announced anew in prophetic terms, the victory of Rudolph, and the death of Henry; but that, thanks to an active care, the assassins sent by the holy father had been arrested, and that Gregory then, in order not to compromise his dignity as a prophet, affirmed that the prediction only related to the soul of the king.

Bayle, in his dictionary, reasons thus singularly: "Either Hildebrand believed that his prediction would be accomplished, or he did not believe it. If he believed it, we must call him a false prophet, and if he did not believe it, an infamous impostor, because he sacrificed the holiness of religion to his temporal interests; from whence we must conclude," adds he, "that the popes have been more than once wicked hypocrites, worthy of the rope and fire."

After the decisive victory which he had gained in Germany over his competitor, Henry re-entered Italy and conquered the troops of his cousin Matilda, near Mantua. Thus, the countess found herself menaced with the loss of her states. Notwithstanding these checks, the intrepid Hildebrand assembled new troops to oppose the prince; but the latter drove these illy disciplined bands before him, and

chased them from several important places which belonged to the countess. On his route he arrested all pilgrims, and did not restore them to their liberty until he had exacted from them an oath not to lend assistance to the monk Hildebrand and his concubine. Finally, the king encamped in the meadows of Nero, half a league from Rome, with the archbishop Guibert, without being able, however, to penetrate into the city, which was then defended by Matilda. Not only did this courageous woman repulse his assaults, but she even obliged the king to raise his camp and retire into Lombardy.

During this whole war the countess exhibited surprising activity and energy. No sacrifice in men or money was too dear to her, in order to increase the means of defence to her lover. Her palace became the refuge of the Italian and German bishops, clergy, monks, and laymen, whom the king had driven away or despoiled; and she daily detached new partizans from the party of Henry. To some she granted fiefs; to others, money. The richer received in her arms the price of their devotion or their treason. The malcontents were pursued to extremities. Their domains were devastated, their serfs murdered, and their castles burned.

At length, as this struggle between the throne and the altar threatened to be indefinitely prolonged, Henry determined to strike a great blow; and, notwithstanding the bad success of his first effort, he led his army a second time beneath the walls of Rome. The summer passed by without his being able to do anything; and he was even obliged to retire during the extreme heat, leaving in the neighbouring castles garrisons which made frequent sorties and kept the city in alarm. When winter returned, he recommenced the labours of the siege, and pushed them on with vigour. The Romans, on their side, continued to defend themselves obstinately. Henry then resolved to change his tactics, and to contend with the holy father by hypocrisy. He set at liberty several prelates whom he retained as prisoners; he solemnly declared he would protect all pilgrims who went to Rome to visit the holy places; that the war was finished, and that he only wished to enter the city to receive the imperial crown from the hands of Gregory. The Roman lords manifested great joy at the pacific intentions of the prince; made a secret treaty with him and instructed some of their number to present it to the holy father, beseeching him to take pity on their country, and not to sacrifice it to his personal enmities.

The pope replied to the deputation: "We know too well the tricks of policy, to believe in the promises of a king. Still, if Henry will consent to ask pardon of God and the church, in the form which we shall prescribe, we will absolve him from all his sins, and grant the crown to him. Otherwise, do not hope to deceive me. If he refuse my proposals, and you still shall dare to implore our mercy for him, I declare to you, that I will put you all

to death in punishment, and that Rome shall be engulfed beneath its rubbish before I yield to the emperor."

Fearful of a vengeance which they knew to be inexorable, the lords cast themselves at his feet, and avowed to him that they were bound by an oath to the emperor to oblige the pope to crown him or abandon the tiara. Gregory feigned to pardon their treason; and to reassure their consciences, he besought them to repeat to him the formula of the oath which they had taken. Having listened attentively, he observed that they had only engaged to give a crown, not a dignity. He consequently wrote to Henry in the name of the Romans, that he could come to seek the imperial crown which had been promised to him, and that it should be placed on his forehead with all the honours of consecration, if he would make amends to the Holy See; or that it should be cast to him as alms from the top of the dome of the castle of San Angelo, if he refused to submit. The king having rejected both these proposals, Hildebrand declared that the Romans had fulfilled their oath, and were freed before God.

Betrayed by the nobles, Henry then turned to the people, and caused it to be published that every inhabitant who should present himself at his camp, should receive a sum of money as an indemnity for the losses which he had sustained during the war. One hundred and forty-four thousand pence of gold were distributed in this way. Thus, this largesse having considerably increased the number of his partizans, the gates of the city were opened to him, and he was enabled to make his triumphal entry into Rome.

He went at first to the palace of the Late-ran with the anti-pope Guibert, whom he caused to be consecrated sovereign pontiff by the bishops of Bologna, Modena, and Cervia, and who was enthroned by the name of Clement the Third. The new pope then solemnly crowned Henry emperor of the West.

Gregory shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo with the lords who remained faithful to him, and continued to defend himself against the troops of the king. But, fearful of being compelled soon to yield to his enemy, he endeavoured to rid himself of him by a new crime. He was informed that Henry performed his devotions nightly in a church, in which he had chosen a solitary chapel, in order to pray with more meditation. He gained over the cardinal priest who served in this church. By his orders they pierced the beam which sustained the ceiling immediately over the place of the king, and masked this opening by an enormous stone, which could detach itself at a moment's notice and crush the prince.

These preparations were made with the greatest mystery. That night Henry came, in accordance with his custom, to kneel in the chapel. The cardinal immediately drew a cord which was fastened to the stone; but whether it was the violence with which the cord was drawn that caused the stone to deviate, or

whether the prince was not in his habitual place, it did not touch him, and broke before him. Some splinters alone inflicted on him slight wounds. The guilty priest was seized at once, and cut to pieces by the guards. His dead body, after having been dragged through the streets of Rome, was cast into the sewers without the city. This attempt at assassination served to sink Gregory into disrepute, and almost all his partizans abandoned him to join the king.

But Henry, who feared a new effort against his person, was unwilling to prolong his stay in Rome, and retired into Lombardy, where the countess Matilda was carrying on a war of extermination. Germany also demanded his presence to resist the enterprises of the Saxons, whom the legates of the Holy See had excited to revolt. During his absence, Robert Guiscard yielded to the solicitations of the pope, abandoned Greece in order to come to his aid, disembarked in Italy, and presented himself before Rome. The gates having been closed, treason came to his aid. He penetrated into the city during the night, abandoned it to be pillaged by his soldiers, set it on fire in every quarter, and re-instated Gregory on a throne soiled with murders and carnage.

The proud pontiff found himself a second time the absolute master of Rome; he immediately held a new council, at which he reiterated the excommunication pronounced against the anti-pope Guibert, against Henry and their partizans; he then retired to Salerno, an impenetrable fortress, in order to place himself beyond the vengeance of the prince.

In the early part of the spring, Henry returned to Rome, where he was received with transports of joy; Guibert was forcibly re-installed in the palace of the Lateran and seated on the pontifical throne. On receiving the news of the victory of his competitor, Hildebrand became so enraged that he became sick; a burning fever seized him, the illness increased daily; finally, when he was at the point of death, the bishops who assisted him, and even his mistress, wished him to employ indulgences towards his enemies; he replied to them, "No, my hatred is implacable; I curse the pretended emperor Henry, the anti-pope Guibert, and the reprobates who sustain them; I absolve and bless the simple who believe that a pope has power to bind and

loose." He died on the 20th of May, 1085, uttering this blasphemy. He had reigned almost eleven years.

Gregory the Seventh is the priest who laboured with the most boldness to elevate the pontifical power; he displayed on the throne of St. Peter all the qualities of Charlemagne, and showed himself worthy to found the empire of the church on the ruins of the empire of the West.

Bayle affirms, that the triumph of the church militant has been the result of a war of a thousand years, during which were displayed more courage and address than would have been necessary to conquer the whole world. "The power of Christian Rome is more extraordinary," adds he, "than that of pagan Rome, and it appears that Providence destined this city to be first, the mistress of nations by its arms and then by its intelligence. In fact we cannot consider without astonishment, that men, by the assistance of the Word of God, a Gospel which preaches disdain of grandeur, which exalts humility and poverty, have had the hardihood to aspire to absolute sway over the sovereigns of the earth. But what surprises us still more is, that the popes have been enabled to maintain this incredible sway during almost a thousand years; this conquest is more admirable than those of the Alexanders and Cæsars; and Gregory the Seventh, who is the principal author of it, ought really to have his place among great conquerors."

These paradoxical reflections have a certain amount of certainty; for Gregory was made rather for a captain and emperor, than priest and pope. He was a great statesman; his life as well as his maxims prove it in an incontestable manner: "God is a Spirit," says Gregory; "he rules matter; thus the spiritual is above the temporal power. The pope is the representative of God on earth; he should then govern the world. To him alone pertain infallibility and universality;—all men are submitted to his laws, and he can only be judged by God;—he ought to wear imperial ornaments; people and kings should kiss his feet; Christians are irrevocably submitted to his orders; they should murder their princes, fathers and children, if he commands it;—no council can be declared universal without the orders of the pope;—no book can be received as canonical without his authority;—finally, no good nor evil exists but in what he has condemned or approved."

## VICTOR THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1085.]

*History of Victor before his pontificate—Intrigues for his election—Victor refuses the papacy—He is clothed, in spite of himself, with the pontifical ornaments—He abdicates the pontificate—Finally accepts the papacy—The countess Matilda protects Victor—Letter from the pope to the Germans—Diet of Spire—Death of the pontiff.*

SOME days before his death, Gregory the Seventh, having assembled the cardinals around his bed, pledged them to choose as his successor, Didier, the abbot of Monte Cassino, and a cardinal priest of the order of St. Cecilia, who partook of his hatred towards the emperor, and wished with him to elevate the chair of St. Peter above thrones.

Didier was of the illustrious family of the princes of Beneventum. From his very infancy he assiduously frequented churches, listened with delight to the Holy Scriptures, and constantly associated with pious persons, in order to prepare himself for a religious life; but his parents, who were desirous of maintaining the splendour of their name, exacted a pledge from him that he would live in the world, and affianced him to a noble girl. Before the consummation of the marriage, the father of Didier, having been slain by the Normans, he resolved to retire secretly into a monastery, and he escaped from the residence of his parents, aided in his plans by a monk named Jacquint. Didier received the monastic garb from the hands of the holy hermit Santari; his family having discovered the place of his retreat, he was brought back by force to Beneventum, where he remained for a year, closely watched, in the castle of his mother. He escaped a second time and went to Salerno, to his cousin Prince Gaimar, to whom he said, "Since I cannot be a monk in my own country, permit me to be one in your's." The prince promised him his protection, since he positively wished to embrace a monastic life. Didier then entered the monastery of the "Trinity of the Cave," near to Salerno, where he remained until his mother granted him permission to become a monk, and to live in the convent of St. Sophia, in the environs of Beneventum. During the pontificate of Leo the Ninth, he entered the monastery of Monte Cassino; Stephen the Tenth appointed him abbot of that monastery; and finally, during the reign of Hildebrand, he showed himself an ardent defender of the privileges of the Holy See, and obtained new honours.

Thus, after the death of Gregory, the bishops, cardinals and lords who had remained faithful to that pontiff, besought Didier to accept the tiara; which he formerly refused to do in order to avoid inevitable dangers. He consented, however, to labour actively for the Roman church; he even engaged Jourdain, prince of Capua, Rainulph, count of Averna, and the countess Matilda, to form a league

with the Normans, for the purposes of opposing the anti-pope, and of nominating a pontiff worthy to govern the church. Under his directions the allied bishops and lords marched on Rome, and having become masters of the palace of the Lateran, they proceeded to nominate a pope. Didier was proclaimed as alone worthy of the tiara, and notwithstanding his active opposition to it, he was borne in triumph to the church of St. Luke, where he was consecrated in accordance with the canonical rule, by the name of Victor the Third. He was then clothed in the red cape, but they could not put the aube on him on account of his resistance.

The governor of Rome, taking advantage of the tumult which reigned in the city in consequence of the ceremony of consecration, seized upon the capitol, spread his troops through the streets, and forced the new pontiff to leave the city three days after his election.

Didier having arrived at Terracina, abandoned the cross, the cape, and the other signs of the papacy, and on some entreaties made to him, he refused to resume them, threatening to fly to the ends of the world, if they wished to do violence to his sentiments. The prelates and principal lords of Italy then determined to convene a synod at Capua, in which he consented to take a seat. At the close of the council, all those assisting at it besought him to accept the pontificate. Roger, duke of Calabria, Jourdain, prince of Capua, and a great number of bishops, cast themselves at his feet, beseeching him with tears to resume the tiara, and save the church from ruin. Didier finally consented to become pope, and decided to return to Rome with the princes of Capua and Salerno.

The anti-pope and the German soldiers undertook the defence of the church of the apostle, which was the most exposed point; but notwithstanding their efforts, it fell into the power of the enemy, and on Sunday, the ninth day of May, 1087, the pontiff, Victor the Third, was solemnly consecrated in this church, by the bishops of Ostia, Tusculum, Porto, and Albanum, in the presence of several cardinals, a great number of prelates, and a prodigious concourse of people. Didier remained some days in the city Leonine, whence he repaired to Monte Cassino.

Hugh, the metropolitan of Lyons, availed himself of this circumstance to excite the countess Matilda against the new pontiff, by misrepresenting facts. He wrote to her as follows; "You know that the election of the abbot

Didier was accomplished before my arrival in Italy; and if my brethren and myself approved of it, it was in hopes that he would raise up the dignity of the church, and repair the ills which the enemies of God have caused us to endure. But we did not then know him; now that we are with him at Monte Cassino, we have penetrated into his true character, and have learned the fault which we committed in choosing him for our chief. Crafty and perfidious, he now condemns the conduct of Gregory the Seventh; he accuses that great pope of revolting crimes; he refuses to walk in his footsteps, and wishes to bestow on Henry the imperial crown."

The countess did not believe the accusations of the archbishop Hugh; on the contrary, she went into Italy, and besought Victor to come to her in order that she might have the consolation of seeing the best friend of him whom she had so much loved, promising to become the pledge of his safety, and to restore him to the palace of the Lateran. Didier, notwithstanding his bad health, acceded to her desires, and came up the Tiber as far as Rome. He was received on disembarking by the countess, and the enemies of the king of Germany, who, by the assistance of their troops, had seized upon all that part of the city called Trastevera, the castle of St. Angelo, the church of St. Peter, and the isle of Tiber, in which the pope took up his residence.

A great part of the nobles declared for Didier. The people took the side of the anti-pope Clement, who remained master of Rome, that is to say, of all the old city. He dwelt in the church of the Rotunda, then called St. Mary of the Towers, because it had two bells. The two factions came to blows daily, and combatted even in the churches.

Didier sent letters into Germany, to apprise the lords of that kingdom of his election, and to inform them that he confirmed the condemnation which Gregory the Seventh had pronounced against Henry and his adherents. These letters were read at Spires in a general diet, convened by the nobles and bishops who recognized Victor the Third as the legitimate pontiff; all pledged themselves to lend their assistance to the prince, if he wished to become absolved from the excommunication lanced against him, but declared that on his refusal the revolt would become general and more violent than before. Ladislaus, king of Hungary, informed the diet, through his ambassadors, that he remained faithful to Pope Victor, and that he would go to Rome to the aid of the Catholics, with an army of twenty thousand horse.

Fortunately, the sickness of the pope, which daily increased, retarded the execution of this threat, and forced him to return to Monte Cassino, of which he had retained the government, notwithstanding the canons which prohibited the cumulation of benefices. When he perceived his end approaching, he named the deacon Orderisus abbot of his monastery. Then having called around him the bishops and the cardinals, he induced them to pledge themselves to choose, as head of the Roman church, Otho, bishop of Ostia. As this ecclesiastic was present, Victor took him by the hand, and presenting him to those who surrounded him, said to them, "accept him as your chief, and ordain him as sovereign pontiff of Rome."

Didier died on the 16th of September, 1087, after a pontificate of a few months; he was interred in the chapel of the monastery of Monte Cassino.

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## URBAN THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1087.]

*Intrigues for the election of a new pope—Urban obtains the papacy—History of Urban before his pontificate—He continues the policy of Gregory the Seventh—Schism of Germany—Urban induces Matilda to marry the young son of the duke of Bavaria—Councils of Melfi and Beneventum—Affairs of France—Perfidy of the pope—Chastisement of Conrad—Urban becomes master of Rome—Excommunication of King Philip—Urban is recognized as the lawful pontiff in England—The pope comes to France—Council of Clermont—Journey of Peter the Hermit—Secret causes of the crusades—Harangue of the pope to excite the people to take the cross—Prodigious effect of his discourse—Religious fanaticism of the crusaders—Their cruelties—Departure of the crusaders—The pope returns to Italy—Utility of the crusades for the Holy See—History of the spiritual monarchy of Sicily—Council of the anti-Urbanists—Death of Urban.*

AFTER the death of Didier, the prelates, notwithstanding their desire to conform to the wishes of the pontiff, by nominating as his successor, Otho, cardinal bishop of Ostia, were forced to separate before having chosen him, on account of the diversity of sentiments in regard to the measures necessary to be adopted in order to re-establish peace in the church. But frequent deputations having been sent to them by the Romans, the Germans and the

countess Matilda, beseeching them to give a chief to the clergy of the holy city, they assembled a second time, and drew up letters of convocation, pledging all the clergy and laity to assemble at Terracina during the second week in Lent, to proceed to the election of a pope.

The meeting was held in the cathedral dedicated to St. Peter and St. Cæsaire. At the opening of the session, the bishop of Tusculum read the decisions of Gregory and Victor for the government of the church. Ordericus, the abbot of Monte Cassino, the metropolitan of Capua, as well as the other prelates and lords who had been intimate with these two pontiffs, confirmed the exactness of these assertions. It was then decided that the fathers should, as usual, pass three days in prayer, fasting, and the bestowal of abundant alms, to obtain from God a manifestation of his will. On the following Sunday, they re-assembled anew in the same church, and after a secret deliberation, the three cardinals who governed the council, mounted the tribunal of the church, and declared that they had chosen Otho sovereign pontiff.

All the assistants approved of this choice by loud acclamations. The bishop of Albano then proclaimed him pope by the name of Urban the Second. They clothed him with a purple cape, and carried him on to the episcopal seat of Terracina; after which the holy father solemnly celebrated mass at the altar of St. Peter. The cardinals afterwards congratulated themselves on having nominated a pope who was as ambitious as his predecessors, and who laboured to increase their wealth at the same time that he extended the temporal power of the Holy See.

Urban was the son of the lord of Lageri, and was named Eudes, or Otho. He had been brought up in the church of Rheims, under the direction of St. Bruno, then the chancellor of that cathedral. He afterwards became himself the canon of that metropolis, and was ordained archdeacon of Rheims in 1070. Some time after his promotion, having been surprised one night in the cell of a nun, he was obliged to retire to the abbey of Cluny, where St. Hugh named him prior. Finally, Gregory the Seventh, having become pope, called him to Rome in order to consecrate him bishop of Ostia, in place of a prelate who had obtained from Henry the investiture of that See. Otho then became the principal confidant of the policy of Hildebrand. During four years he remained attached to the person of the pontiff; and it was he who published in Germany the last bull of excommunication lanced by Gregory against the anti-pope Clement and Henry.

On the day succeeding his election, Urban addressed a circular to all the ecclesiastics of Italy and Germany, declaring to them, that he would follow in the footsteps of his predecessors. He then went to the monastery of Monte Cassino, and appointed the monk Gaëtan, deacon of the Roman church, attaching him to him in the capacity of a councillor.

This monk afterwards occupied, in his turn, the chair of St. Peter by the name of Gelasus the Second.

Induced by the councils of Gaëtan, the pontiff sent letters to the emperor Alexis Comnenus, to endeavour to bring about a reunion between the Greek and Latin churches. That prince listened favourably to these overtures, and replied to the holy father, that he could, however, decide on nothing until he had himself come to Constantinople to convocate a general council. But the schism supported in Rome by the anti-pope Guibert, was of more importance to Urban, and he was compelled to refuse the pacific overtures of Comnenus.

In Germany, Gebehard still laboured with the same zeal for the party of the Holy See, and drew off to it a large number of schismatics. As this prelate was desirous of pursuing the excommunicated vigorously, he wrote to the holy father, to obtain from him the names of those whom he should signalize for the reprobation of the faithful. Urban replied to him: "I place in the first rank of the excommunicated the heretic Guibert of Ravenna, the usurper of the apostolic throne, and the king Henry; then those who sustain them; and finally all the clergy or laity who commune with these two criminals. We do not, however, pronounce an anathema especially against all; but we do not admit them to our communion without imposing on them a penance, which we regulate according to the degree of sin, whether these guilty ones have acted from ignorance, fear, or necessity. We wish to treat with extreme severity those who have voluntarily fallen into the abyss. We confirm you," added the pontiff, "in the power of governing in our stead in Saxony, Germany, and the other neighbouring countries, in order that you may regulate all ecclesiastical affairs, in accordance with the interests of the church."

Whilst the pope was pursuing his intrigues in Germany, Italy, and even Greece, for the purpose of overthrowing Henry from his throne, the countess Matilda and Ordericus, the abbot of Monte Cassino, corrupted the partizans of the anti-pope Guibert, and drove him from Rome. Urban then re-entered the holy city; but, being desirous of strengthening his power and preventing the return of his competitor, he induced Matilda, who was then forty-three years old, to marry the young son of Guelph, the duke of Bavaria. The holy father then went into Apulia; and, on the 10th of September, 1089, held a council at Melfi, at which eighty Italian prelates and a great many lords, among whom was Duke Roger, did homage to the pope for all their states.

The assembly decreed sixteen canons, which confirmed the old ordinances in relation to investitures. They were prohibited from ordaining a sub-deacon under fourteen years of age, a deacon under twenty-four, and a priest under thirty. The acephali or independent clergy, and the vagabond monks, were condemned; lords were permitted to seize on

the concubines of priests and reduce them to a state of slavery; and, finally, prelates were prohibited from admitting into the ecclesiastical ranks men of a servile condition, and from bestowing on monasteries, without the consent of the pope, the tithes or churches which belonged to laymen.

Henry, informed of the progress which the party of the pope had made in Italy during his absence, hastened to the interior of Germany to destroy the powerful league which had been formed against him. He immediately invaded Normandy, ravaged the states of Duke Guelph, the husband of the countess Matilda, and compelled him to sue for peace. But the dauntless countess broke off the negotiations, and recommenced the war more terribly than before.

On the subject of this war, the infamous reply made by the pope to Godfrey, bishop of Lucca, is cited, who consulted him to know what penance he was to inflict on priests who massacred the excommunicated. "Impose on them a light penance," wrote the holy father, "and one proportioned to the intent which presided over the murders, in accordance with the usage of the Roman church; for we do not declare those homicides, who, burning with an holy zeal for religion, have murdered some excommunicated." This system of morals was worthy of the confidant and successor of Gregory the Seventh.

Henry, having settled his affairs in Bavaria and Saxony, seized on Mantua and marched at once on Rome. The Italians, fearful of the wrath of the prince, hastened to send an embassy to the anti-pope Clement the Third, who remounted the Holy See after an interregnum of two years.

Urban did not, however, permit himself to be depressed by these reverses. He became bolder than ever; and, not content with filling Italy with anathemas, he lanced forth the thunders of the Vatican on France, on account of the marriage of Phillip the First with Bertrade, the third wife of Foulk, count of Anjou. Ives of Chartres wished to oppose this alliance, but his remonstrances had brought on him disgrace from the king, and a violent persecution. The pope, informed of this matter, wrote to the metropolitan of Rheims and his suffragans, to reproach them with their silence on so scandalous a crime. "We order you," added the pope, "to seek out Phillip, and to warn him from God and us, that he must free himself from so horrible a crime by a severe penance; for, if he despises our admonition, we shall be compelled to employ the spiritual sword against him. Use the same threats to him to compel him to set at liberty our brother Bishop Ives; and if he refuses compliance to our wishes, anathematize him, close the churches, put his castles and his lands under interdict, prohibit his servants, his wife, even his children, from holding intercourse with him. We must impress such terror on these kings, that they will no more dare to seize the persons of ecclesiastics without our permission."

Whilst the legates of the Holy See were on their way to France, Urban formed the project of pushing on the young Conrad to a revolt against King Henry his father. In fact, the prince raised the standard of revolt, and came to Milan to be crowned king of Italy by Anselm, the metropolitan of that city. The Italians ranged themselves in mass beneath the standard of the young king. Henry was constrained to fly before the arms of his son, and retired into Germany. The anti-pope was driven from Rome, and Urban established himself in the city, without being, however, master of all its quarters, the German soldiers being able to maintain themselves in the pontifical palace, and in the upper parts of the city. The partizans of Urban could not even freely traverse the streets; and Geoffry the new abbot of the Trinity of Vendome, having come to confer with the holy father, was obliged to disguise himself as a pilgrim in order to avoid the dangers he would have incurred without this precaution.

Geoffry remained with the pope during all Lent in the year 1094, and sent to him a large sum of money, which he employed in corrupting the troops of Henry. He concerted his plans so well, that a few days before Easter, the captain, Ferruchio, who commanded the guard at the palace of the Lateran, promised to give up to him the tower which commanded the castle, if he would give him a thousand pounds weight of gold. Urban, who had scarcely half the money, immediately called together the bishops and cardinals of his party, to obtain the money from them; but none of them could afford him the least aid, being, like himself, deprived of the revenues of their dioceses. His affliction was so great, he could not restrain his tears. The abbot Geoffry spoke, consoled the pope, and promised him that the traitor Ferruchio should be paid. In fact, the abbot sold his table equipage, his mules, and even his ecclesiastical ornaments. The sum was thus made up, and the holy father obtained possession of the palace of the Lateran. Geoffry was recompensed by being allowed to kiss his feet on the day of his installation, and with the rank of cardinal, with the right to transmit it to his successors, the abbots of Vendome, who preserved it for more than three centuries.

Letters from Hugh, the metropolitan of Lyons, were then received in Rome, who declared that he recognized Urban as the lawful head of the church, asking for his communion, and swearing eternal hatred against the schismatics. The pontiff was so moved by these protestations, that he not only admitted the prelate to his communion, but even made him his legate in France. From that moment Hugh became one of the most devoted partizans of the court of Rome; he renewed the anathema pronounced against Henry and against the anti-pope Clement, and lanced a terrible excommunication against Phillip the First, to punish him for having married Bertrade during the life of Bertha, his first wife.

The king of France, fearful of the fatal

consequences of the censures of the church, hastened to send ambassadors to the holy father, to ask him to take off the excommunication pronounced against him by the archbishop of Lyons, promising to put an end to his intercourse with Bertrade; but Ives of Chartres having already forewarned the holy father, that his deputation was but a trick and artifice on the part of Phillip, the craftiest of kings, Urban was unwilling to grant him a delay, permitting him, however, to use the crown at the festival of the saints.

In order to understand the meaning of this authority, we must know that kings, in solemn ceremonies, appeared in public, clothed in royal ornaments, in order to impose on the stupid crowd, and received their crowns from the hands of a bishop, before placing it on their heads. Ives of Chartres, relates that the crown was presented to Phillip on Easter day, by the metropolitan of Tours, and on the day of Pentecost by a bishop of Belgium. This ceremony had no connection with that of consecration, which was only practised once, namely, at the commencement of each reign.

Urban at last consolidated his authority in Rome, and his partizans became so numerous that he could traverse Italy without fearing the faction of the emperor Henry, and the anti-pope Clement. He then went to Placenza in Lombardy, at which place he convened a council, in order to render justice to the empress Adelaide. More than two hundred bishops of Burgundy, Germany, Bavaria, and Saxony, assembled in this city; they were followed by four thousand clergymen, and at least thirty thousand laymen. As there was no church large enough to hold such a multitude, they assembled in the open country without the walls. The unfortunate queen appeared as a suppliant before the council, and related the violences which had been committed against her. They excited the indignation of the assembly, and determined many schismatics, who had until this time supported Henry, to leave his party and range themselves on the side of the pope.

The condemnation of the errors of Berenger, in regard to the eucharist, was renewed in this council, and it was declared in formal terms, that the bread and wine after the consecration were changed, not only in spirit but in essence, and became the actual body and blood of Christ. Strange aberration of the human mind! A contradictory opinion will afterwards prevail, and another pope, also presiding over a council, will declare that the bread and wine after being consecrated by a priest, are changed in spirit and not in essence, and do not really become the body and blood of Jesus Christ!

The fathers condemned the heresy of the Nicolaites, that is of priests who maintained, relying on the authority of the gospel and the canons, that they were not obliged to preserve continence. They prohibited all clergymen stained with this error, from exercising ecclesiastical functions, and the people from assisting at divine service, when performed by these

heretics; they then confirmed all the decrees previously made in regard to simony, in order to prevent priests from exacting any pay for administering the holy unction, baptism and funeral rites; and finally they declared the ordinations made by the anti-pope Clement the Third, and by the other intrusive or excommunicated bishops, null and void.

After the termination of the council, the pontiff went to Cremona to confer with Conrad on their political interests. The prince came to meet the holy father a mile from the city, and led his horse by the bridle as far as the palace; he then took an oath of fidelity and obedience to Urban, promising on the Gospels and the cross to preserve the life, members, and dignity of the sovereign pontiff. Urban in turn, declared him the son of the Roman church, and promised him his aid and council to maintain him on the throne of Italy.

The affairs of Lombardy were scarcely settled, when the holy father received letters from Anselm, the metropolitan of Canterbury, who informed him that England and King William the Red, recognized him as the lawful pope, and rejected his competitor Clement. In the joy which this news caused him, Urban immediately nominated legates for Great Britain, in order to send the pallium to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to compliment the English monarch. He then took his way towards France, went up the Rhine as high as Valence, and from that city went to Puy-en-Velay, where he celebrated the festival of the Assumption of Our Lady, and where he published the Bull which convoked the celebrated council of Clermont.

Whilst waiting for the opening of the session, the holy father visited Cluny, near to Macon, where he had been a monk. He consecrated the grand altar of the new church of the monastery: and on the same day caused three other altars to be dedicated by Hugh, the metropolitan of Lyons, Daibert of Pisa, and Bruno, bishop of Seigni. After the ceremony, Urban delivered the following discourse to the monks in the presence of the bishops and cardinals: "Our predecessors, my brethren, have particularly loved and protected this abbey, and they have done so justly, since the pious duke William, its founder, was unwilling that it should have any protectors after God, but St. Peter and his successors. I am by the will of Providence, of this number; but none of those who have preceded me on the apostolic chair, has honoured this place by his presence. Christ has doubtless reserved this grace for me, because my youth flowed by in this solitude, and I have returned to the cell in which I prayed when a child, and I avow that the wish to again see it is the first and principal cause of my journey to France. . . ." The pope granted a territorial privilege to Cluny: and he himself marked out the bounds within which it was prohibited to exercise violence, pillage, capture, or mutilation. He then went to the council of Clermont, where he found already assembled, four hundred prelates who bore the cross, and thirteen me-

tropolitans, as well as a great number of lords and monks.

The first sitting was held on the 18th of November, 1095. They first confirmed all the decrees which the pope had made in the synods of Melfi, Beneventum, Troyes, and Placenza. After which they renewed the prohibition of the usurpation of the property of ecclesiastics at their death; they decided that their wealth should be reserved for the successors in their dignities, or be distributed in pious works, as was provided for in their last wills. They also prohibited a clergyman, who had not been a deacon, from being chosen archdeacon, nor who had not been a priest, an archpriest, and from elevating to the episcopate those who had not been deacons.

They also established as a rule, that curates could never have two prebends in two different churches, nor two dignities in the same church; they decreed that no one could take the communion without receiving separately the eucharist under the two kinds, bread and wine; and, finally, the truce of God was confirmed to be maintained from the beginning of Advent to the Octave of the Epiphany, from Septuagesima to the Octave of Pentecost, and for the rest of the year during Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, in each week; it was declared to exist for ever for priests and monks, and for three consecutive years for farmers and merchants, on account of the dearth of provisions. Urban then declared "the king of France excommunicated, as well as all those who shall call him king, or who shall obey him while he remains in his shameful sin."

But the most remarkable of all the proceedings of this council, and that whose consequences were the most baneful for the nation, was undoubtedly the publication of the first crusade. Before investigating the secret policy of the popes, which excited the fanaticism of the people, and urged them on to these extravagant expeditions, in which millions of men perished, we must go back to the first cause of the crusades in order to remark their absurdity.

Among the pilgrims who, about the year 1093, undertook the journey to the Holy Land, was a monk, a Frenchman by birth, born in the city of Amiens, in Picardy, named Peter the Hermit. This monk, during his sojourn at Jerusalem, paid several visits to the patriarch of that city, who gave him an exaggerated account of the evils under which the Christians of Judea laboured from the sway of the Mussulmen. Peter, ambitious like all other monks, seized with avidity on the opportunity which offered itself to him, of acquiring a certain kind of importance, and promised the patriarch to ask aid from the pope against the infidels.

On his return to Italy, he presented himself at the court of Rome, which he found fully disposed to second his views, not from zeal for religion, but from secret motives of policy, as Urban already well knew all the advantages he could derive from an expedition,

which was to take the lords from their domains, and leave the population to the discretion of the priests.

One historian, Jovian, affirms that Peter was not a hermit; that he never was at Jerusalem, and that he was in the whole matter but an agent of the Holy See, charged with the successful issue of the knaveries of the pope. "He received," adds he, "a large amount of gold, for playing the part which he did in the end, and for depicting, in emphatic terms, the piteous state, in order to lead away senseless persons to the conquest of this land of Canaan, which, for three hundred years, was constantly watered by the blood of fanatical crusaders."

Christianity was then extinguished in the East; the Mussulmen had already conquered the greater part of Asia Minor; they attacked the pilgrims, took from them presents destined for the holy sepulchre, and constrained them to pay a ransom to redeem themselves from slavery. On the other hand, Alexis Comnenus, seeing his capital threatened by the infidels, had sent ambassadors to Europe, imploring the aid of the French, Germans, and English; but his entreaties had been treated with contempt, and the people of the West refused to combat for the cowardly Comnenus. The wily Greek then turned to the Holy See, and bound himself by an oath to recognize Urban as universal bishop, and to submit all the churches of his empire to him, if he should determine the princes of the West to make an irruption into the East. The bargain was concluded, and the intervention of Peter the Hermit, or rather the intrigues of the politic Urban, led to the council of Clermont.

We cite as a model of furious eloquence and sublime hypocrisy, the harangue of the holy father on this memorable circumstance.

"We are, beyond doubt, happy to see our presence excite acclamations in this great and illustrious assembly; but we cannot conceal beneath the appearances of deceitful joy, the marks of profound sadness; and your hearts will see in bitterness, and your eyes will shed torrents of tears, when you regard with me, my brethren, the misfortunes of Christianity, and our negligence of the faithful of the East.

"Thanks be to God, we have almost entirely extirpated the heresy which desolated the Western church; we have exterminated obstinate schismatics by fire or sword; we have reformed the abuses and augmented the domains and riches of the Holy See. Notwithstanding this success our soul remains plunged in sadness, and we declare to you that we will taste of no repose until the implacable enemies of the Christian name shall be driven from the holy land, which they outrage by their impious and sacrilegious conduct.

"Yes, dear brethren, Jerusalem, the city of God, that heritage of Christ, which has been bequeathed to us by the Saviour, that venerated land, in which all the divine mysteries have been accomplished, has been for several centuries in the sacrilegious hands of the Saracens and Turks, who triumph over

God himself. Who can tell the horrible profanations which they commit in these holy places? They have overthrown the altars, broken the crosses, destroyed the churches; and if in their rage they have spared the church of St. Sepulchre, it was only from a sentiment of avarice, for they have speculated on the devotion of the faithful, who go from all parts of the world to the divine tomb. They exact a ransom from pilgrims to permit them to penetrate into the holy places; they then despoil them, when they permit to go away, and even attack them when they regain their vessels; in order to seize on their persons and reduce them to the harshest slavery.

"And we, children of Christ, contemplate the massacre of our brethren coldly and without indignation; we appear indifferent to outrages which the barbarians commit on God; we abandon quietly to them an heritage which belongs to us alone; we allow them peacefully to enjoy a conquest which is the shame of all Christendom, and we remain their tributaries without daring to claim our rights by force of arms.

"Christians, however, do not shun battle, since almost all Europe is almost constantly at war; but the swords which should exterminate the enemies of Christ are drawn against himself and strike his sacred members. How long will you leave the Mussulmen masters of the East? Arise from your lethargy, which has destroyed our holy religion? A single one of our armies could easily triumph over the infidel; but our quarrels and intestine wars constantly decimate us and add strength to our foes. What great things we could accomplish if the princes of the West were not obliged to keep their troops about them in order to defend them from the attacks of their neighbours, and if the Spirit of God would unite our efforts in so beautiful an enterprise! We hope that he will lend eloquence to our words, and will descend into your hearts that you may comprehend this important truth.

"We have chosen from preference this most Christian kingdom to give an example to other people, because we recollect that it was your ancestors, the Franks, who exhibited so great a zeal for religion, and because we hoped you would reply to the voice of God and draw all Europe in your steps. The people of the Gauls have already been formidable adversaries to the Huns, the African Moors and the Arabs; already under the leading of Charles Martel and of Charlemagne, have they exterminated armies of infidels more numerous than the sands of the sea; now your legions will be still more terrible, your victories more brilliant, because you will combat under the standard of the God of armies, who sends you to conquer the heritage of his Son, and who orders you to drive the infidels from the holy sepulchre.

"Follow, intrepid Franks, the chief who calls you to the succour of religion, to the succour of your brethren of the East, to the succour of Christ himself! See that divine Saviour who sallied forth victorious over the world,

death, and hell; he is now a slave to the Saracens; he presents to you his cross; he gives it to you as the sacred emblem under which you are to conquer his enemies and acquire eternal glory. Do not forget that God, by my mouth, promises you the victory and abandons to you the rich spoils of the infidels. Those who shall shed their blood in this sacred war, shall receive the ineffable crown of martyrdom; if, however, fear of death . . ." Urban was about to continue, when he was interrupted by a general uproar; the assistants shed tears, struck their breasts, raised their eyes and hands to heaven, all exclaiming together, "Let us march, God wills it! God wills it!"

The pope taking advantage of this emotion, rose from his throne, extended his hand as if to demand silence, and added, "What more magnificent expression of the divine will can there be than these simple words, 'God wills it,' issuing simultaneously from every mouth. Dear children, you have followed the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and we receive this revelation as an oracle which guarantees the success of a war which God himself comes to declare. Let this sublime expression be the device of the army; let us engrave it on our standards and our breasts, that it may become the cry of soldiers and chiefs in combat. Yes, God wills it! Let us march to the holy sepulchre; let us go to deliver Christ, and until the blessed day on which we restore him to liberty, let us carry like him, on our right shoulders, the holy cross, on which he expired to snatch us from the slavery of sin."

The holy father then declared, that the truce of God decreed by the council should last for the Crusaders during the whole expedition, and that before their return from the Holy Land they should not be attacked either in goods or person; he freed them from all the penalties against them, and granted to them unlimited indulgences for all the robberies and murders they had committed. He appointed as apostolic legate of the crusade, Aymar de Monteil, bishop of Puy, a prelate of consummate prudence, of heroic courage, and who had made the fervour of his zeal conspicuous by being the first of all in the council to ask for the cross, and permission to devote himself to the service of Christianity. Finally, the pontiff, on dismissing the assembly, ordered all ecclesiastics every where to preach the crusade for the deliverance of Jesus Christ.

Urban thus concealing his ambitious views beneath the veil of religion, excited the fanaticism of the people of the West, and promptly brought together an army of six hundred thousand foot and one hundred thousand horsemen. "Then," says Bsovius, "men went in crowds, without distinction of age or condition, after the princes who departed on the crusade; women even exhibited an ardour altogether martial, and an Amazonian intrepidity; miracles were not wanting to the priests in order to deceive the simplicity of the faithful, to urge them into the Levant, where they died

by thousands, through famine or the pestilence." This period, adds the historian, has been more fertile in superstitions than any other; but independently of the religious motives which led so many men of honest faith, the greatest part of the Croises only went into Asia from love of pillage, and because there was nothing more to pillage in their own country.

Albert also affirms, that these bands of Croises were composed of perjurers, adulterers, incestuous persons, thieves, and assassins; and that with them pillage was the true end of this holy expedition. William of Tyre, the monk Guibert and the Jesuit Maimbourg avow that they resembled an army of brigands. Finally, Bayle exclaims: "Who will dare maintain that these monsters, who exhibited so much ardour for the Holy Land, were the flower of Christendom? Could those wretches who abandoned their country, their wives and their children, to go and fight against the infidels, be called the soldiers of Christ? No, for those hypocrites who pretended to see angels and saints at the head of their armies, were but pillagers and assassins; they violated women, deflowered young girls, and murdered those who granted them hospitality. The cruelty and depravity of those barbarians were so great, that the Christians of Asia whom they went to succour, evinced more fear at their approach than at the arrival of Turks and Saracens. The crusades are assuredly the most hideous pages of the history of Christianity. . . ."

Whilst the emissaries of the Holy See were traversing all Christian kingdoms, preaching the crusade, the pope was traversing France, assembling councils, selling privileges, distributing indulgences, and promising the honours of martyrdom to all the faithful. Finally, he fixed the period of departure for Jerusalem, on the day of the Assumption in the same year, 1096.

Urban then came to Tours; he catechized the people on the banks of the Loire, in the presence of a great number of bishops and lords, among whom was Foulk, count of Anjou. He also held a council of the bishops of the province, and dismissed them on the fourth Sunday in Lent, after a solemn procession, in which he appeared in a crown of thorns, according to the custom at Rome. In this ceremony, the count of Anjou received the golden rose which the popes were accustomed to bless on that day. No trace of this practice is found previous to that century. It consisted in consecrating a rose which was full of musk and balm, and offering it after the ceremony to a prince or lord whom the Holy See wished to honour. The pontiff also visited Poitiers, Saintes, Bordeaux, Maguelonne and Nismes, where he also convoked a council.

Finally, the day of departure for the holy land having arrived, the armies of the Croises began to move on all points; the first troop was commanded by Walter the Penniless, whose surname sufficiently informs us of the

true motive of his ardour for the crusade. He departed on the 8th of March, 1096, with a multitude of persons clothed in rags, and on foot like himself. They took the route through Germany and stopped at Mayence and Cologne. "They there committed so many horrors and atrocities," says the monk Guibert, "that the citizens barricaded themselves in their houses to escape from the barbarity of these monsters. Mothers become furious, murdered the infants whom they nourished; husbands poinarded their wives, and young people put themselves to death, to avoid falling into the hands of those merciless fanatics who bore the cross on the shoulder."

These first bands were followed by forty thousand vagabonds, led by Peter the Hermit, and recruited in France or on the borders of Germany. A monk, named Gondescale, went by the way of Hungary, having as his train an army of fifteen thousand pillagers. They committed so many atrocities by the way, that the exasperated inhabitants rose in mass and massacred them to the last man. But this gallant nation was soon exterminated by two hundred thousand bandits, who fell upon its cities and plains.

Urban returned to Italy, escorted by a troop of French Croises, who had at their head Robert, duke of Normandy, and Stephen, count of Blois. By their aid the pontiff entered Rome in triumph, and drove the partizans of the anti-pope Guibert from the fortresses which they occupied, excepting the castle of San Angelo, which remained alone in the power of the enemy. On the other hand, the troops of the countess Matilda drove the army of Henry out of Lombardy, and forced it to fall back on Germany.

Whilst the pope was thus labouring to consolidate his sway in Italy, the crusaders embarked for Constantinople. The ambitious Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, cherished the hope of conquering for himself the Greek empire, and of availing himself of the crusades to assere his entry into Constantinople. He asked permission from the emperor Alexis for seven thousand Knights to cross his states. Urban was charged by the prince with the negotiation; but the emperor who had already been informed of the acts of brigandage committed by the Croises on their route, and of the plans of the ambitious Bohemond, a crafty, implacable, and hypocritical man, conducted himself so prudently in his intercourse with them, that the leaders of the Western Christians found it impossible to favour the designs of Bohemond.

Before the arrival of the troops, Alexis was careful to send officers who established immense markets and furnished an abundance of provisions to the soldiery to prevent their pillaging. He attached to every corps, interpreters who understood the Roman tongue, which was then beginning to become the common language of the Gauls; he instructed them to put an end to any differences which might break out between the Franks and the Greek population, with the express recom-

commendation not to spare money, to place all his ships at the disposal of the crusaders, and to heap great marks of honour on all the leaders.

Notwithstanding all these wise precautions, the crusaders sacked the environs of Constantinople, burned the dwellings, massacred the cultivators, forced the convents of the nuns, and, in their thirst for pillage, tore even the leaden roofs from the churches to sell them to the Jews.

Anna Comnena, the daughter of the emperor, relates, that Peter the Hermit was one of the most cruel and rapacious of the leaders of the crusade. "His soldiers," adds the historianess, "committed such frightful atrocities in the environs of Nice, that the other crusaders were indignant at them. 'They cut children to pieces to eat them in stews; they placed them on spits and roasted them alive; they forced the mothers of these victims to drink the blood which flowed from their bodies; they assuaged their brutality on these unfortunate females and then murdered them. Finally, they outraged nature with young people, and then hung them up by the hair, or the beard, and amused themselves with cutting off their arms or their legs by a single blow of the sword . . . .'"

Several French lords, eaten up by ambition, joined the army of the crusaders, in hopes of placing a royal crown on their brow, and concealed their projects under an hypocritical mask. Anna Comnena thus expresses herself concerning them.

"Hugh the Great, the brother of the king of France, was very proud of his birth; before his departure, he wrote to the emperor Alexis, 'Prince, you are invited to come with pomp and magnificence to meet me; for know, that I am the king of kings, and the greatest prince under heaven.' Our skilful emperor, after having read this letter, sent orders to John, the son of Isaac, the governor of Durazzo, and to Nicholas Maurocatocalan, who commanded the fleet to watch, in order to apprise him of the arrival of the French prince.

As soon as Hugh reached Lombardy, he sent to Durazzo twenty-four ambassadors, covered with cuirasses and cuisses of gold, to prepare lodgings for his train. They said to the governor, "Know, duke, that our master, Hugh the Great, is about to arrive in this city, having taken the standard of St. Peter at Rome. He is the generalissimo of the army of the Franks; prepare, then, to receive him in a manner suitable to his dignity, and to render him the honours he deserves, or you will have to dread the power of his arms."

Such were the soldiers and leaders whom the policy of Rome pushed into the East. This war of extermination was only profitable to the Holy See and the clergy, who took under their protection the domains of the crusaders, and seized on their revenues in their capacity of tutors or curators of the widows, pupils and minors. The Jesuit Maimbourg, always so devoted to the court of Rome, admits, however, that it augmented its wealth prodigiously

by the spoils of the crusaders. He relates that Godfrey of Bouillon, pledged all his patrimony in order to obtain the sums necessary to equip the troops whom he led to the Holy Land. "He sold," adds the historian, "his countships of Bouillon and Ardennes to Aubert, bishop of Liege, whose successors remained possessors of them. Richer, bishop of Verdun, also availed himself of the crusades to purchase the city and castle of Stenay, with their dependencies and all the other domains which the brother of Godfrey surrendered to that lord. Thus, whilst secular princes were impoverishing themselves to serve Christ, churchmen took advantage of the religious enthusiasm to enrich themselves with their spoils . . . ."

An incredible number of crusaders perished miserably in Palestine, or were massacred by the infidel; some bodies of them, better disciplined, or better led, alone arrived at Jerusalem, on which they seized, after having suffered all the horrors of pestilence and famine.

Urban continued his intrigues in Italy, pushed on Roger, duke of Apulia, the son of Robert Guiscard, into a war with his uncle Roger, duke of Calabria and count of Sicily; he even came beneath the walls of Capua to confer with him on the means of assuring their sway forever in the peninsula; but on the news that their enemy was at Salerno with imposing forces, he betrayed his new ally, and made a treaty with the count of Sicily, whom he appointed legate of the Holy See, although he was a layman. This remarkable act conferred on Roger and his successors a kind of royal theocracy over Sicily; the following is its tenor:—"Count, in gratitude for the services you have rendered the church by your valour in extending the sway of the popes over the land taken from the Saracens, and particularly to recompense the devotion which you have always manifested to the Holy See, we give to you and your heirs, the power of governing, in the name of St. Peter, the spiritual and temporal affairs of Sicily." One author alone, Hamelot de la Houssaye, has maintained that this decretal is apocryphal; but all other historians, and among them, monks and priests, have recognized its authenticity, and relate that it was subscribed by Urban the Second, on the 5th of July, 1098, in the city of Salerno.

Thus, an infallible pope declared that it was not necessary to be an ecclesiastic in order to have the right of governing the churches of a kingdom, and of representing the Holy See; that is to say, of ordaining bishops, presiding over councils, anathematizing priests, and receiving the offerings and tithes which superstition wrenches from ignorant and credulous people. A pontiff has thus sanctioned the hereditary transmission of this unlimited power, and as the states of Sicily do not recognize the Salic law, he has given to females the right to be at once queens and popes; and the incontestable proof that this right was consecrated by Urban is, that the ancient manu-

scripts of the sixteenth century recognize Jane the Simple by the title of most blessed, and most sanctified holy father. "During this century," says Sismondi, "there were four pontiffs and four sacred colleges in Christendom. One pope was seated at Rome, another at Constantinople, a popess in Sicily, and a popess in England."

Whilst the holy father was at Salerno, the faction of Guibert rose up again in Rome, and was soon sufficiently powerful openly to hold a council, at which eight cardinals, four bishops, six priests, and a great number of deacons and monks assisted. Urban was solemnly anathematized by the fathers, who made this decree: "We are unwilling to leave the faithful in ignorance, that we have assembled in council to destroy the heresies introduced into the church by the monk Hildebrand and the imitators of his policy. We consequently publish the condemnation of Pope Urban, and of all who recognize him. We, however, permit the guilty to plead their cause before us, promising them, even though they should be condemned, entire safety for their persons until the festival of All Saints, because we do not thirst for blood, and sincerely desire peace, truth, and unity in the church." This was the last effort of the party of the anti-pope. Urban, on his return, dispersed his enemies.

During the following year, the pontiff convened a general synod in the church of the Lateran, to the canonization of St. Nicholas Peregrini. One might be surprised to find saints in this age of corruption; but if we study the history of the church, we will discover that saints, like miracles, have been most numerous in proportion as ignorance and superstition have been most profound. Bizanens, the metropolitan of Trany, presented to the fathers, according to custom, the relation of the pious acts and prodigies performed by Nicholas Peregrini, and the pope made the following decree: "We place in the catalogue of saints the venerable Nicholas, surnamed Peregrini, and we order that he be

honoured by the church." By virtue of this decision, the Archbishop Bizanens erected a church in honour of the new saint, and sold his relics to a community of monks, who exposed them to the veneration of the faithful, and made use of them to extort offerings and money from devotees.

The assembly then received a deputation of monks from the abbey of Molesme, who came to accuse Robert, their abbot, of having abandoned them in order to retire with some fanatics to a place called Cisterium in Latin, and Citeaux in the Roman tongue, which was five leagues from Dijon, which was a desert covered with woods and rocks. They had commenced clearing it, having dug out some cells in a rock, and having then built some others with branches of trees, covered with thatch. Robert gradually increased the number of his monks; and, authorized by Eudes of Burgundy and the archbishop of Lyons, he built a church, which was solemnly consecrated on Palm Sunday, in the year 1099, the day of St. Benedict. Such was the foundation of the celebrated abbey of Citeaux.

The monks of Molesme claimed their holy abbot, whose absence caused notable prejudice to their convent; and they obtained a decree which declared Robert deprived of his title of abbot, if he refused to return to his old monastery. Robert consequently returned to Molesme, and the new monks of Citeaux were compelled to proceed to an election to replace him.

After the termination of this council, chronicles make no further mention of the acts of Urban. We only know that he died on the 29th of July, 1099.

Pride, avarice, ambition and hypocrisy formed the character of Urban. He walked in the footsteps of Hildebrand; and, although he did not possess the energy and talents of that monk, he knew how, however, by means of a perfidious policy, to re-establish the authority of the Holy See, which the pride of Gregory the Seventh had strongly compromised.

## THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

## PASCAL THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIFTH POPE.

*Character of the twelfth century—The origin of Pascal—Election of a pontiff—Conquests of the crusaders—Consequences of the schism caused by the anti-pope Guibert and the emperor Henry—Quarrel about the investitures—Councils of Poitiers and Rome—Letter of the pope to the metropolitan of Guesne—New council at Rome—The countess Matilda renews the act of donation of her property to the Holy See—Reply of Ives of Chartres to the complaints made against him—Revolt of young Henry against his father—Henry the Fourth makes his submission to the Holy See—Infamous letter of the pope—Reply of the clergy of Liege—Preparations for a new crusade—The pontiff goes to France—The Eastern church—Quarrels between the pope and king of Germany—The pope is made prisoner—Revolt of the Romans—Pascal grants the investitures—He is set at liberty—Coronation of the emperor—The pope is accused of heresy—He wishes to renounce the pontificate—Councils of the Lateran, of Ceperan, and of Beauvais—New seditions against the pope—The emperor enters Rome at the head of an army—The pope flies—His death—His character.*

THE history of the church in the twelfth century affords a long train of horrible crimes and infamous corruptions. Cardinal Baronius, the zealous defender of the popes, himself avows, that it appeared as if antichrist then governed Christendom. St. Bernard, who lived in these deplorable times, wrote to Ganfrid: "Having had for some days the happiness of seeing the pious Nibert, and of listening to some words from his mouth, I asked him what were his thoughts with regard to antichrist. He replied to me that this generation would certainly be exterminated by the enemy of God and of men; for his reign had commenced."

Bernard de Morlaix, a monk of Cluny, their contemporary, also wrote: "The golden ages are past; pure souls exist no longer; we live in the last times; fraud, impurity, rapine, schisms, quarrels, wars, treasons, incests, and murders, desolate the church. Rome is the impure city of the hunter Nimrod; piety and religion have deserted its walls. Alas! the pontiff, or rather the king, of this odious Babylon, tramples under foot the Gospels and Christ, and causes himself to be adored as a God."

Finally, Honorius, the priest of Antron, expressed himself with still more energy concerning the clergy. "Behold," cried he, "these bishops and cardinals of Rome! these worthy ministers who surround the throne of the Beast! They are constantly occupied with new iniquities, and never cease committing crimes. Not only do these wretches abandon themselves to all kinds of depravity with young deacons, but they even wish to oblige the clergy of the provinces to imitate them. Thus, in all the churches, the priests neglect divine service, soil the priesthood by their impurities; deceive the people by their hypocrisy; deny God by their works; render themselves the scandal of nations; and forge a chain of iniquities to bind men. These are the blind who precipitate themselves into the abyss, and drag with them the simple ones who follow them.

"Look also at those monks! Knavery and hypocrisy shelter themselves beneath their cowls; the frock covers every vice: gormandizing, cupidity, avarice, luxury, and sodomy. Examine also those convents of nuns. The Beast has made his bed in those dormitories, all of whose couches are defiled by the most horrid debauchery. These abominable girls no longer choose the Virgin for their model; they take Phryna and Messalina; they no longer prostrate themselves before Christ, but before an idol of Priapus. The reign of God has finished, and that of antichrist has commenced; a new law has replaced the old; scholastic theology has sallied from the depths of hell to strangle religion; finally, there are no longer morality, tenets, nor worships—and lo! the last times announced in the Apocalypse have come! . . ."

Pascal the Second was worthy to occupy the apostolic throne at this deplorable period. Before he was pope, he was called Rainerius, or Regnerus. Italy was his country, and his father dwelt at Bleda, in Tuscany, eight leagues from Rome. In his childhood he had been sent to the abbey of Cluny, to be instructed in the sacred Scriptures, where he afterwards embraced the ecclesiastical state. At the age of twenty, he was sent by his community to Rome, to treat of an important matter with the pope. Gregory the Seventh, who was then reigning, surprised at the address and tenacity of the young monk, wished to retain him at his court, and attached him to his person in the capacity of scribe. Some time afterwards, he ordained him a cardinal priest; and finally the young Rainerius became abbot of St. Paul's during the pontificate of Urban the Second.

After the death of that pope, the cardinals, bishops, other ecclesiastics and notables of the city, having assembled in the church of St. Clement, to proceed to a new election, chose the cardinal Rainerius unanimously. The latter, in accordance with the custom of the successors of the apostle, immediately

escaped from the church, in order to be brought back in triumph to the assembly. The prothonotary of St. Peter cried out three times—"Pascal is pope!" and the assistants replied by the same acclamations. They then clothed him with a scarlet cape and the tiara, and conducted him on horseback to the southern door of the palace of the Lateran.

He then dismounted, walked up the steps of the porch, and entered the saloon in which were the two porphyry chairs. A girdle was then fastened round him, to which were attached seven keys and seven seals, which indicated the seven spiritual gifts, by which the pope could bind or loose in heaven. He was then placed alternately, and half reclining, on each of the seats; and when all the proofs were gone through, the pastoral baton was given to him, and he took possession of the apostolic throne. On the next day, Pascal was consecrated by Otho, bishop of Ostia, assisted by four prelates.

Berthold affirms, that his election was miraculous and divine, and that it was revealed in several visions to a large number of ecclesiastics and monks. Some months after his election, the holy father received a letter from Palestine, which was addressed to all the faithful, and in which the crusaders gave a detailed recital of their conquests, from the capture of Nice to that of Jerusalem. Pascal wrote them a long letter, in which he dwelt principally on the discovery of the holy lance which had pierced the Saviour, and which was miraculously found at the siege of Antioch. He claimed from their piety the gift of several very precious relics, and of a great part of the true cross which had been disinterred at Jerusalem. He also advised them of the departure of his legate, Maurice, bishop of Porto, who was about to rejoin them, fortified with the necessary powers to regulate the interests of the Holy See in the churches which had been conquered by the infidel.

From the very commencement of his pontificate, Pascal continued the policy of his predecessors, and pursued Henry the Fourth, king of Germany, and the anti-pope Guibert, who was the creature of that monarch. He did this the more successfully, as he was sustained by Count Roger, who sent him seven thousand ounces of gold and a well disciplined army, in exchange for the spiritual and temporal sovereignty of Sicily.

The anti-pope was soon besieged in the city of Albano, his residence, and he was about falling into the hands of his competitor, when he was enabled to escape; but in his flight the unfortunate Guibert was poisoned by one of his domestics, gained by the gold of Pascal.

The death of Guibert could not, however, subdue the schismatics, and they chose a new pontiff named Albert. But treason still came to the aid of Pascal. The anti-pope was seized on the very day of his election and confined in the dungeons of the monastery of St. Lawrence. King Henry nominated the priest Theodorice to replace Albert. Three months after

his consecration, the new anti-pope was also carried off by the agents of the Holy See, and confined in the abbey of Lava. The obstinate schismatics then chose the priest Magimulph, who was enabled to maintain himself for some days. Pascal drove him from Rome, and the unfortunate man died in exile.

Peace at last seemed restored to the church and Italy, under the government of Conrad, when death suddenly carried off that young prince. This unfortunate event became the signal for new disorders. Pascal published that Conrad had been poisoned by his father. He excited the people to avenge the martyr, and ordered the citizens to take up arms. But this new sedition was quickly stifled by the king of Germany, and Pascal was constrained to write to him, beseeching him to restore peace to the church, by assisting at a council which had been convoked at Rome.

At this period, England was a prey to the violent dissensions which had been excited by Archbishop Anselm on the subject of investitures. This prelate, devoted to the Holy See, had excited these quarrels in order to avenge himself on King William the Red, who had refused to recognize Urban the Second as the legitimate pontiff. The prince had in turn punished the metropolitan, by depriving him of the primacy of Great Britain, and by taking from him the benefices he had seized.

Anselm went to Rome, to obtain, by means of his intrigues, a bull which should constrain the king, under penalty of excommunication, to re-instate him in all his honours, and to re-instate him in the enjoyment of the revenues of the See of Canterbury, and of the churches or monasteries dependant on that archbishopric, with which he had invested other bishops by royal ordinances. Pascal, faithful to his policy, approved of the conduct of the prelate; and, in a council held at Rome, he pronounced an anathema against all laymen who should bestow ecclesiastical investitures, or should receive presents to confirm them.

Notwithstanding the declaration of the holy father, William was immovable in his determination, and Anselm could not return to England until after the death of that prince. His successor Henry the First, having also refused to conform to the decisions of the court of Rome, the metropolitan loudly declared against the Norman kings; he threatened Henry with anathematizing him, in virtue of the canons of the last council of Rome; he demanded, in the name of the pope, Peter's pence; and excited the greatest part of the English clergy against the throne.

Pascal, informed by the archbishop of the progress which the insurrection was making, wrote to him, to congratulate him on his apostolic vigour, adding: "Robert, duke of Normandy, has laid before us his complaints against the king of Great Britain, his brother, who has seized upon the crown to his detriment by giving to the people a constitution, which he calls a charter of liberty. You are not ignorant that our aid and protection are due to Robert, who has laboured for the deliver

ance of Asia. It is on this account that we are pledged to maintain the just rights of this prince against Henry. . . ." The king learned that the duke of Normandy was about to make a descent on England, hoping to be seconded in his plans by the nobles and priests.

The wary Henry then called to his court the metropolitan Anselm, and won him back to his party by brilliant promises. The archbishop, gained over by the presents of the monarch, laboured for his interests, re-affirmed in their duty the ecclesiastics whose fidelity was wavering, and brought back to the army of Henry the nobles whom he had detached from it. Thus, when Robert disembarked in England, those who had at first favoured his intentions showed themselves opposed to his pretensions, and he was obliged to accept a rental of three thousand marks of silver, which his brother engaged to pay him yearly for his renunciation of the crown.

Such was the end of that war which threatened Great Britain with a new revolution. As soon as quiet was restored, Anselm came to claim from Henry the price of his devotion, and the services which he had rendered him; but the monarch, who had no longer any need of the archbishop, replied to him harshly, that he had better retire as soon as possible to his diocese, if he wished to avoid the chastisement which his treason merited. At the same time, he spat upon him before all his court, and threw in his face a letter which he had received from Rome. This missive, which had so strongly excited the indignation of Henry, was conceived in these terms: "Anselm has informed us that you arrogate to yourself the right of investiture, and that you attribute to the royal power an authority which belongs to God alone; for Christ has said: 'I am the door.' A king, then, cannot be the door of the church; and ecclesiastics who enter the priesthood by the will of sovereigns are not shepherds, but robbers. Your pretensions are unworthy of a Christian, and the Holy See cannot approve of them. Do you not know, that St. Ambrose would have suffered every punishment, rather than permit Theodosius to dispose of the dignities and property of the church; and are you ignorant of his reply to that emperor: 'Do not think, Cæsar, that you have any rights over divine things. Palaces belong to princes, churches to the pope. . . .'" The archbishop of Canterbury, furious at the signal insult he had received, quitted the court, and returned to his See to excite new enemies against the king.

Henry, on his side, pursued the metropolitan and his partizans with the greatest rigour; and threatened to refuse obedience to the pope, and prevent the collection of Peter's pence in his kingdom, if he did not recognize the right of ecclesiastical investitures to reside in the crown. In this extremity, Anselm convened a provincial council, at which the commissioners of the king assisted, at which it was determined to send deputies to Rome to confer with the pope, and put a final end to these deplorable quarrels. The ambassadors,

having arrived in the holy city, were admitted into the presence of Pascal to explain to him the cause of their journey and the intentions of the king.

At first, the pope was unable to reply, so violent was his rage. He then rose from his seat, dashed it upon the floor, and exclaimed with frightful blasphemies: "Not if it were a question of my head, will the threats of a king force me to yield a single one of the prerogatives of the apostolic throne! Return to your master, and tell him to dread how he raises the holy anger of the vicar of God." He then wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury to induce him to resist more vigorously than ever the pretensions of the monarch.

Henry, irritated by the insolence of the pope, immediately assembled the lords of his kingdom at London, and caused the archbishop Anselm, the cause of the dissensions, to appear before it, in order that he might hear the royal sentence which exiled him from Great Britain. The metropolitan made no complaint, and embarked the same day for Italy.

This apparent submission of the proud prelate induced the monarch to fear fresh treason; and, in order to disconcert his machinations at the court of Rome, he sent immediately into Italy, and by land, William of Varevast, with full powers to put an end to all the differences existing between the crown and the Holy See. The ambassador used such speed, that he arrived in the holy city a month before the archbishop, and had time to gain to the side of the king a large number of the priests and cardinals. Finally, Anselm made his entry into the holy city, and, on the next day, Pascal convoked a council of the bishops, cardinals, and priests of all Italy, to hear the accusations of the metropolitan of Canterbury against Henry, and to judge of the reclamations which that prince had addressed to the pope through his deputy.

William of Varevast presented the case of his master with great skill, and displayed a rare eloquence, which excited the applause of the whole assembly. Anselm and the pope alone remained immovable, without permitting their sentiments to be known. William, interpreting the silence of the pontiff, as well as the applause of the other ecclesiastics, as certain signs of a victory, added with assurance: "All Italy must learn, that the sovereign, my master, will not suffer the investitures ever to be taken from him, when he would, in defence of this right, lose his kingdom." At these last words, the pontiff suddenly rose, and, looking at the ambassador with a fierce and imperious air, replied to him in a voice of thunder: "Know, then, ambassador of Henry, that Pascal, though it should cost him his life, and we swear it before God, will never permit a layman to govern the church." There was no need of more to change their minds, and the fathers, rising tumultuously, excommunicated the king, as well as the lords who elevated clergymen to ecclesiastical dignities.

Notwithstanding this victory, Anselm could not return to England, and was obliged to go to France, where he chose the city of Lyons for his residence, in order to be enabled to awaken, with more facility, the old hatred of the duke of Normandy to his brother, and to excite him to make a second descent on the shores of Great Britain. In consequence of his intrigues, the war broke out with more fury than ever between Henry and Robert; and, as the king feared least a single defeat might hurl him from his throne, he decided to send an ambassador to Italy, with large sums of money, in order to enter into an arrangement with the court of Rome. The prince then promised Pascal to discharge the churches of England from the rent which William the Red had imposed on them; he pledged himself to receive no pay for investitures; not to exact taxes from the curates, and to levy Peter's pence regularly. Anselm, also, received permission to return to his diocese of Canterbury; he recovered all his benefices, and was declared legate a latere to the Holy See. In this capacity he received, in the presence of the grandees and bishops of the kingdom, a decree of Henry's, in which it was said, that for the future, no one in England should receive an investiture of a bishopric or abbey, by the cross or the ring, in the name of a lord or of the king himself. On his side, Anselm declared that he would not refuse consecration to any prelates who should do homage to their sovereign. Finally, they were occupied with providing ecclesiastics for the churches of England, almost all of which had been without pastors for several years. Thus, an end was put in England to the quarrel of the investitures.

But in Germany the war broke out fiercer than ever. Towards the end of the year 1102 the pope had convened a council, at which were assembled the deputies of Italy, France and Bavaria; the emperor of Germany alone failed in the appeal which was made to him, to renew his submission to the Holy See. His absence was regarded as an irremissible crime, and the fathers decreed this formula of an oath against schismatics, or rather against the partizans of that prince. "We anathematize every heresy, and especially that which now troubles Christendom, and which teaches that we may despise the anathemas and censures of the court of Rome. We promise unlimited obedience to the pontiff Pascal and his successors, in the presence of Jesus Christ and the apostle; accepting, without examination, all that the church affirms, and condemning what it condemns; promising to sacrifice in its defence riches, friends, parents, and even our life, if it is required of us." They renewed the excommunication pronounced against Henry the Fourth by Gregory the Seventh and his successor Urban the Second. Pope Pascal himself mounted the pulpit of the church of the Lateran on Holy Thursday, the 3d of April, the same year, and in the presence of an innumerable crowd of the faithful, read the sentence, employing strange imprecations

in order to impress terror on the coarse men of that period, who only judged of the value of things by their appearance.

In this same assembly, the countess Matilda accused the king of Germany of having stolen, by his agents, the act of donation by which she had made the Holy See the inheritor of all her property. This implacable woman, after eighteen years had flown by in strife and battle, still wished to avenge Gregory the Seventh, her lover, on Henry, whom she accused of his death. She made a solemn declaration, in which, disinheriting her family for ever, she made the Holy See the sole legatee of her immense domains.

We translate this singular act, in which the countess glories in her title of concubine: "In the time of the illustrious pontiff Gregory the Seventh, our most beloved and most dear, and of whom we were the greatest joy, I gave to the church of St. Peter all my goods, which I then had or might acquire; and I wrote with my own hand, in the chapel of the Holy Cross, in the palace of the Lateran, a writing which constituted this donation. Since then, this deed has been destroyed by the enemies of the Holy See and mine. Thus, fearing lest my wishes should be called in question after my death, I now declare, with the formalities usual in such cases, that I abandon all my property to the Roman church, without I or my heirs being ever able to claim it against my present will, under the penalty of a fine of four thousand pounds weight of gold, and ten thousand of silver."

Whilst the pontiff was triumphing in Italy and England, he also subjected France to his authority; and he sent the bishop of Albano as legate to the court of King Phillip, to absolve that prince and the infamous Bertrade from the excommunication they had incurred from the council of Clermont during the reign of Urban.

Ives of Chartres has left us the following relation of this ceremony, which he wrote to Rome: "We inform your paternity, that the prelates of the provinces of Sens and Rheims, convoked by Richard, your legate, assembled in the diocese of Orleans, in a city called Baregenci, to relieve King Phillip and Bertrade, his wife, from the anathema pronounced against them. The two guilty ones presented themselves in the assembly with naked feet, and covered with sackcloth, weeping and crying for mercy, and swearing they would renounce their nuptial intimacies, and even speaking together, if your legate placed this condition on their absolution. They then placed their hands on the Gospels and swore never to fall into the sin of fornication with each other, and the anathema was raised.

"I ought also, most holy father, to inform you of an accusation brought against me in the council of Baregenci, and of which I am to justify myself. It is false that I have ever been guilty of simony. This crime is, in my eyes, one of the most hideous sores of the clergy; and since I have been a bishop, I have pursued it, as far as was possible for me

to do through the whole extent of my jurisdiction. I ought, however, to inform you, that notwithstanding my recommendations, the dean, chorister, and other officers of the canons of Chartres, receive money from clergy and laity; they maintain that it is their right, and that they follow the usages of the Roman church, in which your chamberlains and the ministers of your palace receive rich presents from bishops and abbots, at the time of their consecration, under the name of offerings and benedictions. They maintain that the court of Rome gives nothing gratis, and is even paid for pens and paper. To this I could only oppose to them the words of the evangelist, 'Do as the pope commands and not as he does.'"

Pascal, whose policy was characterized by the perfidy of that of Urban and the violence of that of Gregory, seconded Matilda's schemes of vengeance, and sent prelates into Germany and Saxony, to publish the anathema against Henry the Fourth, and to excite the young Henry to revolt against his father, after the example of his brother Conrad.

The legates at first stirred the people by furious preaching; they represented the king as a renegade who had refused to take part with the faithful in the glorious enterprise of the crusades; they accused him of having excited bloody schisms since his advent to the throne, and of having desolated the church by persecutions worthy of the age of Diocletian. By way of contrast they exalted the merits and piety of his son; they spread gold profusely about, and when the young Henry, at their instigation, raised the standard of revolt, a formidable party rallied around him to combat the king of Germany. After this, Gebhard, the legate of the Holy See, the soul of all these intrigues, being desirous of increasing the pontifical influence by the splendour of an external ceremony, convoked all the grandees and clergy in a church. On the appointed day, in the presence of an immense crowd, he conducted the young Henry to the altar of Christ, gave him in the name of the pope, power to combat against his father, to dethrone him and put him to death by torture.

After this ceremony Henry entered Saxony at the head of the nobility of Bavaria, Suabia, the upper Palatinate and Franconia; he was received with transports of joy by the Saxons, who were worn out by the tyranny of the father. But the young chief, concealing under an apparent modesty, the ambition which devoured him, declared that he had not taken up arms from a desire of reigning, and would not submit that his lord and father should be deposed. "On the contrary," added he, "as soon as the king shall have determined to obey St. Peter and his successors, we shall immediately lay aside the sword, in order to submit to our father, as the humblest of his subjects; but if he persist in his disobedience to the orders of the vicar of Jesus Christ, as we devote ourselves to God before all things, we will put him to death with our own hand, if it be necessary, in defence of religion, as the pontiff Pascal has ordered us."

The king of Germany finding himself almost abandoned by his troops, dared not march against the rebels, and retired to his northern provinces. He then determined, in order to put an end to all pretexts for revolt, to replace the Teutonic kingdom under the authority of the Holy See, and to make his submission to the pope. For this purpose, an ambassador was despatched to Rome with the following letter: "The pontiffs Nicholas and Alexander honoured me by their friendship, always treating me as a son; but their successors, animated by a fury whose cause is inexplicable to me, excited our people and even our son Conrad against us; it is still the same, our only remaining child is infected by the same poison; he has raised himself against us in contempt of his oaths, urged on by knaves who seek to increase their wealth by injury to our crown. Several of our wise councillors have exhorted us to pursue him without delay by arms; but we have preferred to suspend the effects of our wrath, so that no one in Italy or Germany may impute to us the evils of such a war. Besides, we are assured that your legates themselves excited our subjects to rebellion, by accusing us of troubling the peace of the church. We, therefore, send to you one of our faithful friends to learn your intentions, and to know if you desire our alliance without prejudice to our rights, such as our ancestors exercised, and you preserving your apostolic dignity as your predecessors preserved it. Finally, if you wish to act paternally to us, send us some one in your confidence, carrying your secret letters, and who will inform us of your wishes; then we will send you ambassadors who will finish this great matter with you."

All these tokens of submission were useless; Pascal continued his dark schemes; he even purchased the treason of the officers who surrounded Henry the Fourth, and the old king of Germany was given up to his son at the castle of Bighen. In vain he cast himself at the feet of the bishop of Albano, the legate of the Holy See, imploring absolution from the censures of the church, he was despoiled of the ensigns of royalty and forced to abdicate the throne in favour of his son Henry the Fifth. He was then sent in chains to Ingelheim, where he was subjected to the most cruel treatment.

These barbarities excited general indignation; the lords, as well as the people of the cities this side the Rhine, declared in his favour and refused to recognize Henry the Fifth. One of the other side, Henry of Limburg, who possessed the Dutchy of Lower Brittany, having been secretly informed that the court of Rome intended to strangle the old king, hastened to inform him of it. By the interference of this generous friend, the emperor was enabled to escape secretly from Ingelheim, where he was strictly guarded, and he descended the Rhine as far as the city of Cologne, from whence he went to Liege. From that place he addressed messages to all the princes of Christendom, and in particular

to the king of France, imploring their assistance in the general interest of sovereigns, whose majesty the popes had violated in his person.

But the indignant Pascal, furious at the escape of the emperor, and at the manifesto which he had lanced in all courts against the Holy See, also wrote to the bishops, lords and princes of France, Germany, Bavaria, Suabia and Saxony, and to the clergy of Liege: "Pursue every where, and with all your strength, Henry the chief of the heretics," he said to them; "exterminate that infamous king! you will never be able to offer a sacrifice more agreeable to God than the life of that enemy of Christ, who would snatch their supreme power from the popes. We order you and your vassals to put him to death in the most cruel tortures, and if you faithfully execute our will, we grant to you remission of your sins, and an arrival after death at the heavenly Jerusalem."

This sanguinary order disgusted even the ecclesiastics themselves, and the bishop of Liege addressed this reply to the Holy See: "We have searched in vain through all the texts of the Holy Scriptures, and of the fathers, and have found no example of a command such as you send us. We learn on the contrary from the sacred books, that popes cannot bind or loose any one without examination; from whence then comes this new law, which condemns a Christian to expiate in tortures an error of which he has not been convicted? from whence has the Holy See power to command a murder as a meritorious act, whose sanctity will efface not only crimes which are passed, but even bestow in advance absolution for incests, robberies, and assassinations? Command such crimes to the infamous hired assassins of Rome, we refuse you obedience.

"Did there formerly exist in ancient Babylon, a more horrible confusion than that monstrous mixture of barbarity, pride, idolatry and impurity which now reigns in the holy city? Alas! the words of the apostle are already realized; a frightful vision, coming from a horrible land, strikes my mind; I see an impetuous whirlwind rising in Rome which overwhelms the world, and in which the prince of darkness acts with his infernal cohorts. . ."

Notwithstanding the firmness of the bishop of Liege, the unfortunate king of Germany could not escape pontifical vengeance: he died, poisoned by the agents of the Holy See, whilst his son was besieging the city. The inhabitants of Liege having no longer the emperor to defend, and fearing the horrors of a siege, sent deputies to the camp of Henry to announce to him the death of his father and make their submission. This monster dared to demand that the dead body should be delivered up to the executioner to undergo the frightful tortures ordained in the sentence passed by the pontiff; after having committed this horrid sacrilege, he ordered that the shreds of the dead body should be deposited in a stone sepulchre, which remained for five

centuries before the porch of the cathedral, with this inscription: "Here lies the enemy of Rome."

At this period, bands of pillagers traversed the provinces of Gaul, sometimes under the leading of ruined lords, sometimes under the orders of plebeian adventurers, and frequently even under the command of debauched monks who had been driven from their monasteries. It is related that the famous Robert d'Abrißel commanded one of these troops, when, struck by an inspiration from heaven, he resolved to quit this life of crime, and retire to a pious retreat with the men and women of his band, in order to labour with their own hands. He impressed his sentiments on all his followers, and went to the extremity of the diocese of Poitiers, two leagues from Cande in Touraine, near to an uncultivated ravine, covered with rocks called Fontebrault. They first built cabins and a chapel; they then cleared the land, and when the young colony increased, Robert separated the men from the women, destining the one for prayer, the other for labour in the fields. He, however, permitted them to maintain intimate relations every Sunday. Such was the origin of the celebrated abbey of Fontebrault. Pascal confirmed the foundation of this establishment as well as the rule which permitted this multitude of men and women to live in the same enclosure.

At the beginning of this year (1106) the holy father resolved to travel over Italy, France and Germany, in order to consolidate his sway over these three kingdoms. He went first to Florence where he convened a council for the purpose of assuming to himself the right of rule over that church; but the bishop of that city destroyed his hopes by maintaining in the assembly in the presence of the pope, and of a crowd of priests and laymen, that antichrist was born, and that he wished to seize on the throne of the church. This opinion, from the application which was made of it to the pope, created so great a tumult, that they could neither decide the question nor terminate the council, and Pascal was obliged to escape from Florence to avoid being stoned by the people. The holy father then directed his efforts upon Lombardy, and held a general synod at Guastalla; at this it was decreed that the whole province of Emilia, with the cities of Parma, Modena, Placenza, Reggio and Bologna, should no longer be submitted to the metropolitan of Ravenna, who only retained Flaminia.

Pascal thus wished to diminish the influence of the archbishopric of Ravenna, whose titularies, for two hundred years, had constantly exhibited hostility to the Roman church. The council renewed the censures pronounced against laymen who pretended to have the right of investiture of ecclesiastical benefices. The deputies of King Henry the Fifth, then swore filial fidelity and obedience to the pope in the name of their master, and demanded that his holiness should authentically confirm the dignity of emperor.

The pontiff went from Guastalla to Parma, where he consecrated the cathedral of that city, in compliance with an invitation from the citizens, in honour of the Virgin. When the ceremony was finished, he declared the new church to be a dependency of the Holy See, and sold it to Cardinal Bernard, a cruel and sodomite priest, who was execrated throughout all Italy. Finally, Pascal started for Bavaria, where he was to wait for the festivals of Christmas; but having been informed on his journey that the people were not disposed to confirm the decrees against the investitures, and that the emperor was not as docile as he had appeared, he suddenly changed his determination and went towards France, contenting himself with simply informing Henry by letter of his new plan, and telling him that he was going into France, because the door of Germany was not yet open to him.

The holy father having arrived at the monastery of Cluny, with a numerous suite of bishops, cardinals and Roman lords, found the Count de Rochfort, the seneschal of the king of France, who had been sent as his guide through the kingdom. After having visited the convents of la charité and St. Martin of Tours, Pascal went to St. Denis, where he was received with great honours by the abbot Adam, who then ruled that abbey. He entered it, clothed in his pontifical ornaments, with his tiara on his head, in the midst of the cardinals wearing their violet coloured capes, and his bishops bearing the cross and mitre.

The most extraordinary part, says the abbot Sugar, who was present at that ceremony, was, "that the pontiff, whose sordid avarice was well known to all the clergy, carried off neither the gold nor the silver, nor the precious stones of this monastery as the monks feared; he scarcely deigned to regard all this wealth, and prostrated himself humbly before the precious relics of the saint. He then lifted up his face bathed in tears, and asked the good monks, with the tones of a suppliant, if they would give a part of the garments tinged with the blood of the blessed martyr? "Do not refuse," said he, "to give us some little of the episcopal ornaments of him whom our apostolic See so liberally sent to you for an apostle."

Philip and his son came the next day to visit the pope and kissed his feet. Pascal raised them up and conferred familiarly with them on the affairs of the church, beseeching them pathetically to protect it as Pepin and Charlemagne had done, and courageously to resist the enemies of the Holy See, and particularly the king of Germany. The two princes swore a boundless submission to the pontiff, and as he expressed fears in relation to the conference which he was about to have with the ambassadors of Henry at Chalons-sur-Marne, they promised to place at his disposal a numerous escort which was capable of defending him against every enterprise.

When the holy father arrived in the city of Chalons, he found the envoys of the king of Germany, the bishops of Treves, Halberstadt

and Munster, as well as several German counts and the terrible duke of Guelph. This lord went nowhere without an herald-at-arms carrying his long sword before him. His height, imposing stature, even the formidable sound of his voice, every thing about him appeared to indicate that he had been sent to intimidate the pontiff rather than confer with him. The escort of the French was fortunately composed of redoubtable warriors: and thanks to their presence, the negotiations could commence unshackled. The archbishop of Treves, who understood the Roman language, spoke in the name of his master, and offered to submit to the Roman See, saving the rights of the imperial crown, which consisted in bestowing a cross and ring on the pope chosen by the clergy and people, and whose nomination had been approved by the emperor.

The bishop of Placenza rejected this proposition, and replied in the name of the holy father, "The church, purchased by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, has conquered its liberty by the martyrdom of the apostle Peter, and that of many of his successors. We will not permit it to fall back into servitude, which would happen if we could not appoint a chief without consulting the emperor. To wish to constrain it to such subjection, is to commit treason against the divinity! I then pronounce an anathema on the prince who wishes to arrogate to himself the investiture of the sacred throne of the apostle! and malediction on the ecclesiastic who would receive the cross and ring from a king whose hands are empurged by the sword."

The German ambassadors understood from this reply that it was useless to continue the negotiations, and the duke of Guelph exclaimed with a thundering voice, "It is not here by vain discourse, but at Rome, by blows of the sword, that we must settle this quarrel." After these words they all retired, without even taking leave of the assembly.

Pascal, although of an impetuous character, knew how to curb his anger; and he even sent some of his most skillful counsellors to Adalbert, the chancellor of Henry, to beseech him to listen quietly to the representations of the Holy See. But he could do nothing, as the ambassadors were ordered to make no concessions opposed to the right of investiture claimed by the emperor. The conferences were then entirely broken off, and the deputies returned to the court of Germany. The holy father, who counted on the assistance of the king of France, seized eagerly upon the opportunity which was afforded of kindling a war in Germany; and following the example of his predecessors, he resolved to act against the son as they had done against the father. He went to Troyes in Champagne, where he held a council, in which the liberty of ecclesiastical elections was decreed, and the condemnation of investitures confirmed.

Henry, on his part, had foreseen the intentions of the pope, and his ambassadors declared, in the presence of all the French clergy, that the emperor possessed the right

of investiture since the times of Charlemagne, which Adrian the First had confirmed by an authentic act, which they were ready to produce to the assembly. As the pontiff was unwilling to submit to the tenor of this writing, he affirmed by oath that it was apocryphal, and ordered the fathers to pass it by. The Germans protested that their master would never ratify any determination made by judges so unjust as to refuse the verification of an authentic act, and threatened the pope with all the wrath of their sovereign. Pascal at last, intimidated by this energetic opposition, broke up the session, and granted the king a whole year to plead his cause at Rome before a general council.

Henry was indignant at the Holy See; he, however, dissimulated his resentment, being occupied with subjugating Flanders, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia; but when tranquillity was restored to his kingdom, and he was freed from a redoubtable adversary, Philip being dead, and the king, Louis the Gross, who succeeded him, having too many affairs of his own on hand to oppose his projects, he convened a general assembly of his estates at Ratisbon, and declared that he had resolved to go to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the pontiff, in accordance with the custom of his predecessors. He consequently ordered his princes, dukes, counts, all his nobility, even the bishops themselves, to join him at his court with their richest equipages, to render his train more imposing, and to follow him into Italy.

Pascal, informed of the hostile disposition of Henry, immediately went into Apulia, where he convened the Italian dukes, the prince of Capua, and the counts of these provinces. He made them swear to aid him against the king of Germany; he then returned to Rome and made the *grands* and people take the same oath. All these steps were useless; the emperor entered Lombardy at the head of a powerful army, and was crowned king of Italy by the archbishop of Milan. After the ceremony, Henry hastened to send ambassadors to the Holy See to propose an accommodation, or rather to gain time; for his troops continued their march, ruining, on their passage, the cities which refused to recognize his authority.

Finally, the ambassadors of Henry and of the pontiff met on the 5th of February, 1111, on the porch of St. Peter, in the church of our Lady of the Tower, and made the basis of a treaty on the following propositions—On the day of his coronation the emperor was to renounce in writing all ecclesiastical investitures, and deposit the act in the hands of the holy father, in the presence of the clergy and the people; he was to engage to leave all churches at liberty, as also their oblations and domains, which they did not receive directly from the crown; he was to restore to the Holy See all the donations which had been made to it by Charlemagne, Louis le Debonaire, and the other emperors; he was to contribute neither by counsel, nor actions, to injure the

pope in his pontificate, life, members, nor liberty. This last promise extended to the faithful servants who had guaranteed the execution of the treaty in the name of the Roman church. In addition, the emperor was to give as hostages his nephew Frederick, and twelve of the principal lords of Germany.

On his side, Pascal engaged to restore to the king on the day of his coronation, the lands and domains which belonged to the empire in the times of Lewis, Henry, and his other predecessors; he promised to publish a bull which should prohibit all bishops, under pain of anathema, from usurping regalities, that is to say, cities, duchies, marquises, countships, jurisdictions, mints, marches, lands or castles, which were under the jurisdiction of the throne.

This treaty granted to Henry one of two things which he had demanded—the surrender of the great wealth which the priests possessed in his states, in exchange for the right of investiture; but foreseeing that the prelates would refuse to obey the pontiff, when he ordered them to give up their wealth, and that they would boldly maintain that no power could take from them the domains they possessed, the prince made an extremely adroit determination in order not to be himself despoiled and to be beyond the reproaches which might be made if he were forced to retain the investitures. He ratified the treaty, adding, however, as an indispensable clause, that the exchange which he made of the right of investiture for the royalties or property which the priests held from the crown, should be approved and solemnly confirmed by all the princes of the states of Germany.

After these preliminaries he came to encamp near Rome; as soon as he was beneath the walls of the city, the pontiff sent to meet him, the principal officers of the palace of the Lateran, the magistrates, the schools, an hundred young nuns veiled, and carrying torches, and a multitude of children who cast flowers in his way. When Henry had entered Rome, all the ecclesiastics surrounded him, singing hymns in his praise, and conducted him in triumph to the church of St. Peter, where he found the pope, who awaited him on the porch. The prince prostrated himself before the pontiff and humbly kissed his feet; they then entered the temple by the silver door amidst the loud acclamations of the people.

Pascal saluted Henry as Emperor of the West, and the bishop of Lavici pronounced the first prayer of the consecration; when it was finished, and before continuing the ceremony, the holy father demanded from the prince the oath, in writing, of his renunciation of the investitures; Henry replied, that he was ready to fulfil his promise, but that his conscience required he should first consult the German bishops, who had a great interest in the matter. He went in fact with his prelates into the sacristy to deliberate over the demands of the pope. The discussion was long and stormy: Pascal, impatient to know the

result of their deliberations, sent to ask the emperor if he were willing to execute the convention which had been agreed upon. This step of the pope decided the question; the bishops immediately rose from their seats protesting that they would never suffer themselves to be despoiled of their goods, and went tumultuously towards the saloon of the wheel of porphyry, where the pope was seated, waiting for them. The pontiff endeavoured to calm them by addressing to them a long discourse to represent to them "that they should render to Cæsar that which belonged to him; that he who devoted himself to God, should not be engaged in temporal affairs; and that, according to St. Ambrose, worldly priests were unworthy of the priesthood." But they interrupted him quickly, saying to him, "Most holy father, we would enjoy the property of our bishoprics as you do the patrimony of the Holy See: and we would not permit the apostle himself to take from us the least part of our revenues."

During the discussion, the duke of Guelf, overmastering all other voices, exclaimed to the holy father, "what is the end of your discourse, priest of Satan? We have nothing to do with your foolish conditions. We wish you to crown our emperor, as his predecessors have been by yours, without your making any innovations nor taking from him or our bishops what belongs to them."

Henry then took the tone of a master, and said, "most holy father, it is our will that all these divisions should cease, and that you should finish at once the ceremony of our consecration." Pascal, humbled in his pride, replied, "the greater part of the day is past; the ceremony is long, and we shall not have time to crown you to day." The emperor, indignant at this obstinacy, caused the sanctuary to be surrounded by armed men, in order to reduce the pope to obedience. He manifested no fear, slowly mounted up to the altar of St. Peter and performed divine service, after which he wished to return to the palace of the Lateran. But the guards of the emperor presented to him the points of their swords and interdicted his passage; he then retraced his steps and seated himself in silence before the confessional of the apostle.

Suddenly a loud noise was heard in the church; the priests, who had mingled themselves in the crowd, cried, "to arms! to arms! they wish the life of the pontiff,"—and at their call, the faithful having assembled, charged the German troops furiously. These, obliged to defend themselves, drew their swords, struck without discrimination priests, women, and men, and drove all these fanatics out of the church. The emperor remained master of the field, and during the night he sent the pope to a fortress, the custody of which he confided to Altro, count of Milan.

The cardinals of Tusculum and Ostia, who had made their escape during the tumult, traversed the streets, exciting the citizens to punish the infamous treatment of the emperor. All flew to arms, fell upon the Germans whom

they met in the streets, and on the next day, at daybreak, all the companies of the Romans advanced in good order under the leading of their captains, passed the gates and attacked the imperialists with such impetuosity that they slew a great number and put the rest to flight. Henry himself was thrown to the ground, wounded in the face, and would certainly have been massacred if Otho had not given him his horse and devoted himself to save him. The Romans seized the count, and, to punish him for his generous sacrifice, they cut him in pieces before the palace of the Lateran and made the dogs devour the bleeding morsels of his dead body.

Henry regained his camp, where he found the prisoners whom he had sent in advance, under a good escort; the next day he approached Rome and commenced the siege; his troops devastated the country, pillaged the convents and churches, burned the domains of the Holy See, and massacred the cultivators.

On his side, the bishop of Tusculum, to whom the defence of Rome was committed, did not remain inactive; he encouraged the people in their resistance, and his emissaries traversed Italy to engage its princes to come to the succour of the church: but all his efforts were useless. The emperor daily pressed the place more actively; and the cardinals, as well as the other prelates who were prisoners, finding themselves threatened with death or the mutilation of their members, if they refused to submit to the will of the prince and the German bishops, determined to confirm the privilege of ecclesiastical investitures in the crown, and besought Pascal to grant to the emperor the rights which he claimed, since there remained to them no hope of succour or of escape from captivity. Finally, overcome by their urgency and their tears, the pontiff said to Henry that he was submissive to his will. "I will save my children," he added, "but I take God to witness, that I do for them, and the peace of the church, an act which I should have wished to slun at the price of my own blood."

The treaty was drawn up which accorded the investitures to the king; and in the act the pontiff solemnly engaged never to pronounce an anathema against the king, and never to disturb him for the violences which his soldiers had used in the states of the church. It was, besides, specified, "That the rights of the throne should be confirmed by a privilege contained in a bull in proper form, and prohibiting clergy and laity from opposing their exercise under penalty of excommunication; still more, that the emperor should grant investitures, as in times past, by giving a cross and a ring to the bishops and abbots who should have been canonically elected without simony, and with his consent; that metropolitans and even bishops should freely ordain prelates whom the king and his successors had invested with the privilege; but that the claimant should not be consecrated except with the authority of his sovereign.

It was finally agreed that the pope should crown Henry without delay, and would faithfully aid him to preserve his states and empire.

On his side, the prince engaged "to set the holy father at liberty, as well as all the bishops, cardinals, lords, and hostages who had been seized with him; he promised to preserve peace with the Roman people; to restore immediately the patrimonies and domains of the church; and to swear obedience to Pope Pascal, saving the rights and honour of the kingdom and the empire, as the Catholic emperors had done towards the chiefs of the Holy See." These conditions were signed by the pope and the prince, and solemnly confirmed upon the Gospels.

Henry, however, who distrusted, with reason, the sincerity of the pontiff, was unwilling to surrender him, before the promulgation of the bull which bestowed on him the right of investitures. In vain did the pontiff make protestations of his good faith, and affirm that the seal of the Holy See remaining in the palace of the Lateran, he could not seal the diploma which the emperor claimed; for at the very moment a secretary came to present to him the seal, which had been found in his chamber. The bull was drawn up, and the pope was obliged to sign it. The face of Pascal was pale from rage at seeing his knavery unmasked; he however signed it. The following is its tenor:—"We grant and confirm to you the prerogative which our predecessors have granted to yours, to wit, that you should invest with the cross and a ring bishops and abbots of your kingdom, freely chosen and without simony; and that no one can be consecrated if he has not received the investiture by your authority; and that because your ancestors have given so much property of the crown to the churches, that prelates should contribute their first fruits to the defence of the state. The clergy or laity who shall dare to contravene the present concession, shall be anathematized, and shall lose all their dignities."

The emperor and pope then made their entrance into Rome. They went to St. Peter's holding each other's hand, in the midst of a triple line of German soldiers, who kept all the avenues in order to prevent any effort at sedition. Pascal crowned Henry and solemnly performed divine service. After the consecration, he took the host, broke it into two parts, and turning to the emperor, said to him, "Prince, behold the body of Christ: I give it to you in consecration of the peace we have made, and of the concord which should reign between us. But as this part of the eucharist has been divided from the other, so let him who shall seek to break the union be separated from the kingdom of God." The mass being finished, the pontiff left the church with his cardinals, and went to the palace of the Lateran.

On the following day Henry broke up his camp, and retook his way to Germany, full of confidence in the solemn oaths of the pope; but he soon learned how knavish are priests,

and how they sport with the holiest things, and the most august ceremonies of religion. The cardinals who were at Rome during the captivity of Pascal, openly condemned the cession of the investitures which had been made to Henry, and refused to ratify it, declaring it contrary to the laws of the church. Fra Paolo relates that they were excited to this resistance by the pontiff himself, who went to Terracina that they might be able to condemn his acts. In fact, during the absence of the pope, they assembled under the presidency of John, bishop of Tusculum, and lanced a decree against the holy father and his bull. Pascal immediately addressed a letter to them, which he published, and in which he promised to annul that which was only done to avoid the ruin of Rome and of all the province. "I have failed in my aim, my fathers," wrote the hypocritical Pascal, "but I am ready to do penance for my fault, and repair the evil I have done."

Brunon, bishop of Segni, who presided over the council, replied to his letter in the name of the prelates: "My enemies publish, most holy father, that I have no affection for you, and that my words accuse you; they calumniate me, for I love you as my father and my lord; but I ought to love him more who has immolated himself upon the cross to ransom us from death and hell. In his name I have declared to you, that we do not approve of the bull granted by your holiness to the emperor, because it is opposed to religion. Your avowal then filled us with joy, when we learned that you also condemn it. What priest could approve of a decree which would destroy the liberty of the church, close on the clergy the only door by which they could legitimately enter the priesthood, and open several secret issues to robbers? The apostles condemn those who obtain a See or order through the secular power, because laymen, how great soever may be their piety and their power, have no authority to dispose of churches; the constitutions which you yourself before have made, condemn clerks who receive institution from the hand which bears the sword; these decrees are sent out, and no one who opposes their execution is a Catholic. Confirm, then, your old ordinances, and proscribe the thought which would destroy them, for it is an infamous heresy. You will then see tranquillity restored to the church, and all ecclesiastics prostrate at your feet. In vain will you oppose the sanctity of the oath which you have taken. You should violate it if the interests of religion demand it; and no one can condemn a pope who breaks his oath by order of God."

Pascal then returned to Rome, and convened a synod to decide on the measures to be taken to break with the emperor. The assembly commenced its sessions in the church of the Lateran on the 28th of March, 1112. Twelve metropolitans, one hundred and four bishops, and a great number of other ecclesiastics, were present. The holy father first spoke and said: "I have sworn by the bishops and cardinals, that I would never more disturb

the emperor on the subject of investitures, and that I would not pronounce an anathema against him. I will keep this promise. But I declare the bull which I made from constraint, without the counsel of my brethren, and without their subscription, to be tainted with heresy, and I ask this assembly to correct it, that neither the church nor my soul suffer any harm." Gerard, bishop of Aquitaine, rising then, read the following decretal: "We all, the fathers of this holy council, condemn by ecclesiastical authority, and the judgment of the Holy Spirit, the privilege which the violence of King Henry wrested from the pontiff Pascal. We declare it null, and prohibit clergymen or laymen from conforming to it under penalty of excommunication." All replied: "Amen, amen."

The pope then rose, laid aside his tiara and cape, declared himself unworthy of the pontificate, and besought the council to depose him, inflicting the most severe penance, for having faltered before the sword of a king. The assembly refused to condemn the holy father, and cast all the blame on Henry, who was declared the enemy of God and the church, and a heretic, like his father. They finally pronounced an anathema on him and his partizans.

Pascal wrote immediately to Guy, the metropolitan of Vienne, and legate of the Holy See, to inform him of the decisions of the synod, and to exhort him to put them in execution. "Remain firm," added he; "resist the cajolements and threats of the excommunicated emperor; publish our sentence throughout Germany, being careful to avoid throwing the blame on me, lest I be accused of having betrayed the oath sworn upon the host and the Gospels. Declare to the faithful that the treaties made in the camp to which I was carried prisoner by means of the most odious tyranny, are null of right. . . ."

Guy faithfully obeyed the instructions of the holy father, and fulminated a terrible anathema against the king of Germany. The Saxons revolted at his word, and the ambitious lords, using the excommunication as a pretence, refused to obey the emperor. The pope, however, desirous of preserving the appearance of justice towards the prince, sent to him the following paternal advice: "The divine law and the holy canons prohibit priests from being engaged in secular matters, or from going to the court of princes, except when they are called to deliver the condemned, or to obtain pardon for the unfortunate oppressed. Notwithstanding these prohibitions of the church, ministers of the altar have become in your kingdom the ministers of the throne. Bishops and abbots clothe themselves in armour, and march at the head of their armed bands to devastate the country, and pillage and massacre Christians. They hold from the state duchies, marquises, provinces, cities and castles. From this has arisen the deplorable custom of not consecrating prelates until they have received an investiture at the hands of the king. These dis-

orders have been justly condemned by Popes Gregory the Seventh and Urban the Second; and we confirm the judgment of our predecessors, ordering that ecclesiastics shall render to you, our dear son, all the royal rights which formerly belonged to the empire during the reigns of Charles, Louis and Otho, your predecessors. The churches, with their oblations and domains, shall always remain free, as you promised God on the day of your coronation."

Notwithstanding all the address of the pontiff not to declare himself in open hostility to the emperor, Henry had penetrated the secret intentions of the court of Rome, and determined to pass over into Italy a second time. Whilst preparations were making for this expedition, Pascal convened a council at Ceperan to judge the metropolitan of Beneventum, who had excited a sedition against the constable Landulph, whom the pope had sent to that city. At the opening of the synod the pope accused the archbishop of having seized on the regalia of St. Peter and the keys of the city of Beneventum; of having borne casque and buckler, and of having compelled the prefect Foulk to take an oath of obedience to the Normans, who had been introduced into the place. The prelate fiercely replied, that he had never received the regalia, but to pour the product into the treasury of St. Peter; that he had never had the keys of Beneventum in his power, and that the officer who kept them was always faithful to the court of Rome; that finally, it was false that he had introduced the Normans into the city; and that if Foulk, as well as the people, had sworn fealty to them, it was of their own accord, and not by his orders.

Pascal, exasperated at this reply, wished to have the archduke condemned of being guilty of high treason. In vain did Duke William, Count Robert, Peter de Leo, and a great number of bishops who were at the council, implore the clemency of the holy father, not to dishonour publicly the chief of the clergy of Beneventum; in vain did he himself offer, though innocent, to go as an exile from Italy. Pascal was inflexible, and declared that he wished the guilty man condemned with all the severity of the canons. The fathers of the council, who all feared the wrath of the pontiff, were compelled to condemn the venerable prelate, and though they had recognized his innocence, pronounced sentence of deposition against him. The archbishop, indignant at such cowardice, rose from his seat, tore off his sacerdotal garments, and having loaded the pope with imprecations left the council chamber.

Some months after, Conon, bishop of Pa-lestria and legate of the Roman church, convened a synod at Beauvais, at which Henry was excommunicated. This new bull was confirmed by a large number of German lords and bishops who had assembled at Cologne, under the presidency of Thierry, the cardinal legate. The king, irritated by this inconvenient manifestation, sent the bishop of Wirtzburg with orders to dissolve the council and pursue those who should refuse to leave Cologne at

once as rebels. This mission resulted deplorably; the synod refused to receive the envoy of the excommunicated sovereign, and passed a decree which declared all those who remained in the service of the prince excommunicated and anathematized. The ambassador left Cologne in alarm, and did not dare to appear again at court. The fear, however, of losing his bishopric determined him to go to the prince, and he once more celebrated mass in his presence; but on the next day he felt so much remorse that he fled from the capital.

Henry, fearing the consequences of an anathema on the superstitious minds of his people, returned to Italy at the head of an army, with which he encamped in the environs of Pavia; before, however, recommencing hostilities he wished to try the effect of negotiations, and sent the celebrated Peter, abbot of Cluny, as his deputy to the pope. Pascal convened his clergy in council in the palace of the Lateran, to reply to the ambassador. At the opening of the session, the holy father thus spoke, "We have come, my brethren, through the greatest perils by land and sea, to treat of peace between the church and the throne. We declare at once in your presence, that it is to free the holy city from the pillage, incendiary and massacres of the barbarous soldiers of the king of Germany, that we have signed a condemnable treaty;—we have committed this fault, because the pontificate does not bestow the privilege of infallibility, and because a pope is made of dust as other men. It is on this account we beseech you to pray to God to pardon us for this action; and with you we anathematize that infamous bull, whose memory should be odious to all Christians." The pope then renewed the decretal of Gregory the Seventh, which prohibited investitures by princes under penalty of excommunication.

The agents of Henry seeing that the synod shunned even raising the question of agreement between the prince and the pope, sought to excite a popular movement against Pascal, and availed themselves of the death of Peter the prefect of Rome, to declare his son his successor in this important office. This young man, who was scarcely grown up, appeared to be easy to seduce, and they hoped that he would enter readily into a plan of revolt against the Holy See. In fact, on Holy Thursday, whilst the pope was saying the first prayer in the divine service, the leaders of the imperial faction entered the church with the young prefect, and summoned Pascal to confirm the nomination of the people; the holy father did not reply, and continued the service. They then raised their voices and calling on God as their witness, threatened the pontiff with an approaching revolution.

On the next day, the seditious raised a mob and after having sworn not to lay aside their arms until they were victorious, attacked the clergy during a solemn procession, at which the pope was assisting. Several cardinals were seriously wounded. Pascal himself was struck with blows of a club, and he would have

been murdered on the spot, if he had not formally pledged himself to ratify the election of Peter during the following week. This promise did not entirely satisfy the prefect. He gave orders to raze the houses of the lords who had declared against him, and even threatened to invade the palace of the Lateran if the pontiff did not proceed immediately to the ceremony of his installation.

Pascal, fearful that he could not resist the mob, judged it prudent to quit Rome, and he fled to Albano. His absence did not, however, suspend the civil war; they continued to fight furiously in the streets of the holy city; all the partizans of the pope were driven out. Convents were pillaged, churches burned, and the massacres did not cease in the country until the time of harvest. When Henry learned the success of his measures, he sent rich presents to the new prefect and the chiefs of his faction, informing them that he would come to Rome to recompense them for their zeal, as soon as he had completed the conquest of the estates of the countess Matilda, who was about to die. In fact he soon advanced towards the holy city at the head of a numerous army, forcing on his way all the small places and castles which held out for the pope.

On entering into Rome, the king of Germany was received in triumph by the prefect and Roman barons; he went to St. Peter's, and demanded the crown from the ecclesiastics, protesting that he had no other desire than to receive it at the hands of the pontiff, whose absence he regarded as a misfortune, since it deprived him of his blessing. He then received the imperial crown before the tomb of the apostle, from the hands of Maurice Bourdin, the metropolitan of Braga, who had been sent to his court some months previously in the capacity of legate, and regulated the principal political affairs with the senate and prefect, after which he repaired to Tuscany, in order to avoid the excessive heat, promising, however, to return at the end of the season, and leaving in Rome, from wise precaution, a large body of German troops.

A few days after the departure of Henry, the Normans, at the instigation of the holy father, made an attack on the city. This first expedition failed completely. Pascal, however did not lose his courage; on the contrary, anger doubled his energy; he made a second effort, entered Rome by the aid of a dark night, and on the next day his enemies were so frightened by his boldness that they submitted to him. The pope drove the Germans from the city and was at once engaged in constructing machines to besiege the fortresses to which they had retired.

At the termination of all these troubles Pascal fell seriously ill, and finding that his end was approaching, he convened the cardinals and bishops in the palace of the Lateran, and exhorted them to bid defiance to the factions of the emperor in the election of the new pope. He died during the same night, on the 18th of January, 1118. His body, embalmed

and clothed in the pontifical ornaments, was borne, according to the usual ceremony, by the cardinals to St. John's of the Lateran, and deposited in a sepulchre of marble admirably made.

Pascal was of a perfidious, vindictive, and implacable character; his avarice was extreme, and he would beyond doubt have sold to Henry the right of investitures, if that prince had been rich enough to pay for it.

## GELASUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1118.]

*History of Gelasus before his pontificate—His election—He is maltreated by Cencius—The faction of the Frangipani makes him a prisoner—He is delivered by the prefect—He is enthroned—He escapes from Rome at the approach of the emperor—Election of the Anti-Pope, Gregory the Eighth.*

GELASUS was of Gaëta, and of noble parents, who consecrated him from his infancy to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Ordericus, abbot of Monte Cassino, being informed of the progress which the young clerk was making in the sciences, took him to his monastery, where he soon distinguished himself by his aptitude and skill. He was still very young when Pope Urban ordained him a cardinal deacon, and soon after made him chancellor, charging him to restore to the works emanating from the Holy See, the elegance of style which had been lost in the church since the seventh century.

John of Gaëta, had shown great affection for Pascal, aiding to support him in all his afflictions and seconding him with indefatigable zeal in his plans of conquest over empires. The Jesuit Maimbourg says he was a man of holy life, of consummate prudence and skill, and the most learned of the sacred college.

The Holy See remained vacant for twelve days after the death of Pascal, whilst his funeral rites were celebrating; then Peter of Porto, who had for a long time occupied the first rank in the church, convened the cardinals, bishops and principal clergy in the pontifical palace, to proceed to a new election; in this caucus they agreed to choose Gaëtan pope. The father in consequence, wrote to him, he having retired to Monte Cassino after the death of Pascal, to beseech him to return among them to aid them with his wise councils. John mounted his mule and quitted the convent, ignorant of the decision to which the sacred college had already come. On his arrival in Rome, they re-assembled in a monastery of the Benedictines, called the Palladium, where Gaëtan was proclaimed sovereign pontiff by the name of Gelasus the Second, and enthroned notwithstanding his resistance.

Although this election was made with the greatest secrecy, Cencius, the head of the family of the Frangipani, was informed of what was taking place in the convent of the Benedictines. He immediately sallied in fury from his palace, followed by a band of armed men, broke open the gates of the monastery,

and penetrated forcibly into the church in which they were celebrating the ceremony of adoration. He cast himself, like a madman, on the new pope, struck him with his gauntlets, threw him down on the steps of the altar, tore his face with his spurs, and dragged him by the hair to the threshold of the door; he then caused him to be bound and borne by his soldiers to one of the dungeons of his palace. A great number of bishops, cardinals, and even laymen, who assisted at the election, were also arrested by the satellites of Cencius.

This scene of violence exasperated the populace—they assembled in arms—the prefect, Peter de Leon, placed himself at their head, hastened to the capitol, and sent a deputation to the Frangipani to demand the liberty of Gelasus, threatening to sack the palace of Cencius if he refused to give up the pontiff. He, alarmed by the menaces of the clergy, went himself to open the dungeon of the pope, and set him at liberty. Gelasus was immediately placed on a white horse, and conducted in triumph through the streets to St. John of the Lateran, preceded and followed by banners, in accordance with the usage followed at the ceremony of the coronation. On the following day he gave audience to the counts, barons, and ecclesiastics who had business to transact with the Holy See.

These troubles at last appeared to be settled, when on the following night some priests hastened to the palace of the Lateran to warn Gelasus, that the Emperor Henry, whom they thought in Lombardy, was about entering the church of St. Peter at the head of armed men. At the same time they produced a letter from him which contained only these words: "If you confirm the bull published by Pascal, in favour of the investitures, we will recognize you as pontiff, and will take an oath of fidelity to you; if not, another pope shall be chosen, and we will put him in possession of the apostolic throne."

Gelasus who wished to pursue the policy of his predecessors, refused to yield to the wishes of the prince, and resolved to fly from

Rome; he embarked on the Tiber, and reached Porto, where he was obliged to stop on account of the bad weather, which prevented ships from putting to sea. The holy father there underwent new dangers, finding himself in the alternative of having his vessel upset or run ashore before the city, from which the troops of Henry hurled poisoned darts at the people of his train. At last the tempest having calmed with the setting of the sun, the galleys ran, under cover of the night, into a covered place, in front of the castle of St. Paul of Ardea. Gelasus could go no further on account of his age and infirmities, and especially the fatigue which he had undergone. The cardinal Hugh d'Alatri, who was very strong, then took him on his shoulders and carried him to the castle. On the following night they disembarked, and two days afterwards arrived at Gaëta, the country of the pontiff.

As soon as the news of the arrival of Gelasus had spread through the province, a great number of bishops came to him: the emperor also sent ambassadors to him to beseech him to return to Rome to be consecrated, and who assured him that their master was very desirous of assisting at that ceremony, and would authorize it by his presence; they added that a single conference would infallibly re-establish concord between the altar and the throne. But Gelasus who had been already imprisoned with Pascal by Henry, was unwilling to expose himself a second time to the word of a king; he replied to the deputies, that he must above every thing else be consecrated pontiff, and that then the king of Germany would find him ready to treat with him wherever he pleased. As he was but a deacon, he was, on the following day, ordained a priest and bishop, in the presence of William, duke of Apulia, Robert, prince of Capua, and several other Italian lords who took the oath of obedience and fidelity to him.

Henry, irritated by the obstinacy of Gelasus, then resolved to cause a new pope to be chosen, and selected Maurice Bourdin, archbishop of Braga, the same who had crowned him emperor during the preceding year. This ecclesiastic was, according to Maimbourg, a wretch who regarded neither laws nor religion, so that he could satisfy his daring ambition. He relates that Bernard, the metropolitan of

Toledo, on his return from Rome, during the pontificate of Urban, had taken Bourdin from a monastery of Limousin to ordain him archdeacon of his church; that he afterwards obtained the See of Coimbra, and finally the archbishopric of Braga. Maimbourg adds, that in his measureless ambition, he had aspired to the possession of the See of Toledo, to the detriment of his benefactor, and even went to Rome to confer with the pope on the subject; but that not having offered enough money to the pontiff, his claim had been rejected, and that this refusal was the cause of his hatred towards the Roman church, and his treasours in favour of King Henry, whom he followed in court and camp, where he led a very dissolute life.

Baluze gives a very different account of the life of this bishop, which appears to us to be the most authentic: "Bourdin," says this historian, "after his installation on the See of Coimbra, undertook the holy pilgrimage to Jerusalem, towards the year 1108. He stopped at Constantinople, where he was laden with honours by the emperor Alexis, and formed relations of friendship with several grandees of the empire. He had scarcely returned to Portugal, after an absence of three years, when he was chosen archbishop of Braga, to succeed St. Geraud who had died. This new appointment obliged him to go to Rome to have his translations approved, and to receive the pallium, which Pope Pascal granted to him in consideration of large presents. When Bourdin returned to his diocese, he found himself exposed to the jealousy of Bernard, the metropolitan of Toledo, and legate of the Holy See; he was even constrained to return to Italy to implore the protection of the pontiff against the vexations of the primate of Spain. During his sojourn at the court of Rome, in pursuing this important affair, Pascal, recognizing his superior abilities, appointed him his legate to treat of peace with the emperor Henry, who was in Lombardy: and it was in this capacity that he crowned the prince after the flight of the pope. His condescension having been imputed to him as a crime, he was excommunicated in the council of Beneventum, which determined him to attach himself to the person of the king, who caused him to be chosen pontiff on the 14th of March, 1118, by the name of Gregory the Eighth.

## GREGORY THE EIGHTH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1118.]

*Letter of Gelasus against the emperor Henry and Gregory the Eighth—The anti-pope is recognized as the lawful pontiff in Germany and England—Gelasus re-enters Rome—Bloody revolt against him—He comes to France—Implores the aid of the Normans—Retires to the monastery of Cluny—His death.*

GELASUS was still at Gaëta, when he heard that Gregory the Eighth was enthroned; he immediately addressed the following letter to the lords and ecclesiastics of Gaul: "We inform you my brethren, that after our election, the emperor Henry introduced himself fur-

tively, at the head of his cavalry, into Rome, and obliged us to quit it. This prince pursued us as far as Gaëta, threatening, through his ambassadors, to use his power against us, if we refused to approve of the bull of our predecessors. We courageously replied, that we would do nothing adverse to the liberties of the church; he then placed the metropolitan of Braga on the Holy See, that intruder who had been excommunicated the year before by Pope Pascal at the council of Beneventum. We order you then to prepare to wrest the holy Roman Church, your mother, from the execrable tyranny of the king of Germany . . .” He also wrote into Portugal that they should choose another metropolitan for the diocese of Braga, in place of Maurice; and, finally, he addressed a circular to the clergy and people of Rome, prohibiting all communication with the emperor and the anti-pope, who were both anathematized by the authority of St. Peter.

Whilst Gelasus was using all the resources of policy to excite the French, Spaniards, and other Catholic nations against his enemies, Gregory the Eighth seated himself in the palace of the Lateran, gave magnificent fêtes to Henry the Fifth, renewed the ceremony of the coronation, and consecrated him a second time emperor. The monarch was soon after obliged to return into Germany, whither the interests of his throne called him; Bourdin sent his bulls into every country, and was recognized as chief of the Holy See in Germany by Herman, the metropolitan of Augsburg, and in England by several bishops who regarded Gelasus as anti-pope.

Scarcely was Gelasus informed that the king had returned to his kingdom, when he hastened to re-enter Rome, where his friends had prepared a retreat for him in the church of St. Mary, situated between the palaces of his friends, Stephen the Norman, and Peter of the Lateran. Encouraged by this first success, he resolved to celebrate mass publicly in the church of St. Praxides, in opposition to the advice of several ecclesiastics, who represented to him that this church being located among the dependencies of the castle of the Frangipani, his most mortal foes, he ran the risk of an attempt upon his person. But all advice was useless; he followed the inspiration of his pride, and went to that church. He had but commenced divine service when the Frangipani made an irruption into the church with a numerous band, and attacked Gelasus and his party with stones and darts. Stephen the Norman, and Crescentius Gaëtan, the nephew of the pope, resisted their adversaries vigorously, and protracted the combat for a part of a day. The pope, taking advantage of the tumult, escaped through the presbytery, and escaped from Rome on a poor horse, without having had time to put off his pontifical ornaments. After the flight of the holy father, the combatants separated and retired to their fortified palaces.

On the next day the partizans of Gelasus sought for him and found him, worn out with fatigue, several miles from Rome, concealed

behind a grove of trees, in which he had passed the night. They held a council in his presence, as to the measures to be taken under the circumstances, for re-entering the city; but the pontiff, who had scarcely recovered from the fright of the preceding day, stopped them in the midst of their discourse, “No, my brethren, it is better we should follow the example of the fathers, and the precept of the Gospel; and since we cannot live in this frightful Babylon, this abominable Sodom, let us fly into another city.” His cowardice disgusted his friends; no one urged him to change his decision, and they only asked him before going to appoint Peter of Porto vicar of the Holy See in his absence, and to designate a council of cardinals to direct the affairs of the church. He did all that was required of him. He confided the keeping of Beneventum to Hugh, cardinal of the holy apostles, and placed the singers under the direction of Nicholas; he left the prefecture of Rome to Peter, and intrusted the standard of the holy city to Stephen the Norman, the most influential personage of his party.

When these matters were settled, he embarked on the Tiber, and descended it as far as Ostia, where he took another vessel accompanied by six cardinals, twelve noble Romans and an imposing train. He stopped for some days at Pisa, and was received by the bishops of that city, and the principal inhabitants, with great honours; after a fortunate passage he disembarked in Provence at the port of St. Gilles, where the abbot Hugh received him in his monastery. During his sojourn in this abbey the bishops and nobles made him splendid presents. The abbot of Cluny, amongst others, offered him forty horses and their equipages. He received also large sums from Peter of Libranus, who had been sent from Saragossa by Alphonso of Arragon, and who had come to be consecrated metropolitan of that city by the pope himself.

After the ceremony of the consecration, Gelasus gave him a bull by which he granted plenary indulgences to the Spanish soldiers who were fighting the Moors, and to all the faithful who should aid in the conquest of the church of Saragossa, which had been in the power of the Mussulmen for four hundred years. Peter of Libranus found himself authorized by this bull to collect alms from the faithful, and to sell indulgences through the whole kingdom of Spain, on the sole condition of paying over a tenth of the proceeds into the treasury of the holy father. Gelasus was informed in the interval, that the king of England had convened a council at Rouen to regulate the affairs of his clergy; he availed himself of the circumstance to send an envoy into that city to create partizans. The young Conrad, whom he chose as his ambassador, spoke before the fathers with great eloquence; he drew, in a most masterly style, a picture of the miseries of the Roman church, surrendered to the profanation of the anti-pope Bourdin, and the tyranny of the emperor Henry. He represented the virtuous Gelasus as the

sole and legitimate successor of the apostles ; who had, however, been forced to fly from Italy, and to cross the Alps, to implore the succour of the French princes, and especially that of the king of England. He finished his speech by asking from the faithful of Normandy pecuniary aid to prevent the pope from being reduced to beggary.

As soon as King Louis the Sixth was apprised of the arrival of the holy father in Provence, he deputed to him Suger, a monk of St. Denis, who carried rich presents, to beseech him to go to Vezelay to confer with him on the pacification of the church. In compliance with the orders of the king, Gelasus quitted St. Gilles and went to Cluny, where he was received with great magnificence, as was becoming in lords so opulent as were the monks of that abbey. The prelates and lords of Burgundy also crowded to visit the holy father. He profited so well by their good will, that in less than a month he was enabled to fill all his trunks with rich offerings, and even to send some to Rome to his allies.

At length everything foretold the near triumph of Gelasus over his competitor, when he was attacked by a most violent pleurisy,

which reduced him extremely in a few days. He then summoned the cardinals who had accompanied him around his bed, and designated the bishop of Palestine to them as his successor. That prelate, who was present, refused to accept it, observing, that the Holy See had need of a pope who could maintain his authority by great personal wealth and a high temporal position. "My nomination," added he, "would be prejudicial to the interests of the church, and I am unwilling to take upon myself a burthen which I have not strength to bear ; I pray you, then, holy father, to elevate to the pontificate the metropolitan of Vienne, who alone can deliver the church from the tyranny of the emperor." Gelasus assented to his views, and ordered an express to be sent for the archbishop, but before the arrival of that prelate his illness increased, so that the pontiff only thought of dying. He made his general confession in a loud voice, before a large number of ecclesiastics and lords, received the communion, laid himself on the earth according to the monastic custom, and in this position died, on the 29th January, 1119, after a reign of a year. He was buried at Cluny, in the church of the monastery.

## CALIXTUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1119.]

*Election of Guy, archbishop of Vienna—Council of Toulouse—The Emperor Henry renounces the investitures—Council of Rheims—Conferences of Mousson and Gison—Pope Calixtus enters Rome—Flight of the anti-pope—History of Abelard and Heloise—Punishment of the anti-pope Gregory the Eighth—Calixtus exercises the sole pontifical authority—Council of the Lateran—Complaints against the monks—Death of Calixtus.*

Guy, the metropolitan of Vienne, arrived at Cluny fifteen days after the death of Gelasus. He was immediately proclaimed sovereign pontiff by the cardinals and bishops, and consecrated by the name of Calixtus the Second. He was the son of William, count of Burgundy, surnamed the Hard-head, and a relative of the emperors of the West, and the kings of France. His sister Wilhelmina had married Humbert the Second, count of Maurienne, and their daughter Adelaide, the niece of the archbishop, was the queen of France. Thus his election was enthusiastically approved of not only in Italy, but even in Germany. All the prelates of Germany swore obedience to him, and approved of the convocation of a council to be held at Rheims. The emperor himself promised to be present at this assembly, in order to bring about a re-union of the churches.

The holy father, however, judged it prudent to send ambassadors to Henry, to determine the basis of an alliance. Guiliam of Champeaux, bishop of Châlons, and Pons, abbot of Cluny, were sent on this delicate mis-

sion. They represented to the prince that it was impossible to establish perfect concord between the Holy See and the empire, whilst the crown preserved the right of investiture. After some conferences, the emperor declared his consent to yield his privilege to the pope, provided an equitable consideration was granted him. He then swore on the Gospels between the hands of the bishop and the abbot, to maintain the integrity of the engagement into which he had entered.

Pons and William, satisfied with the success of their negotiation, immediately returned to the holy father at Paris. Calixtus heard them with an air of incredulity, and exclaimed, "Thank God that the thing was already done." He, however, designated the city of Mousson as the place for the conference, and the definite signing of the treaty. The holy father then went to the council at Rheims, where he found assembled more than three hundred bishops from Italy, Germany, Spain, England, and France, as well as a great number of lay lords of all those countries.

At the opening of the sittings, the pope ex-

plained to the fathers the different causes they were called upon to examine. That of King Louis was the first called. He entered the saloon, followed by the principal lords of his court, and seated himself on the platform by the side of the sovereign pontiff. He thus spoke:—"We have come, my fathers, to lay before you the disloyal conduct of Henry the First, of England, who has not only invaded one of our provinces, Normandy, in contempt of treaties, but has even seized the person of one of our vassals, Duke Robert, his brother, and has confined him for some years in prison at London. I have frequently summoned him to give up his prisoner to me, without my entreaties, complaints or threats being able to change his resolve; and you now see by my side William, the son of that noble duke, who comes to implore the aid of your intelligence and justice in recovering his estates."

Hildegarde, countess of Poitiers, in her turn presented herself before the assembly with the ladies of her suite. She accused her husband, count William, of having abandoned her to live in disgraceful commerce with Maubergeon, the lawful wife of the viscount of Châtelleraut. The holy father ordered the count of Poitiers to be loudly called, that he might justify himself before the synod. The bishop of Saintes and other prelates of Aquitaine, his creatures, replied, that their lord was grievously sick. This excuse was admitted by the council, which granted a delay to the count to present himself at Rome, or to retake his wife, declaring him excommunicated, if he refused to obey one of these conditions. They then called up some affairs of minor importance; and then the holy father announced that the sitting was closed. He added:—"We are going to Mousson, my brethren, where the emperor waits for us to treat of the peace of the church. The archbishops of Rheims and Rouen, and some other prelates whose presence is necessary, will accompany us. We beseech you during our absence to address fervent prayers to God for the success of our enterprise. We will soon return to you, and recommence our sessions, before sending you in peace to your homes. Finally, when the council has terminated, we will go ourselves to find the king of England, our spiritual son, and our relative according to the flesh, and will pledge ourselves to put an end to the causes of discord which exist between him and William his nephew, and will inflict a terrible anathema on those who shall be deaf to our words."

Calixtus having arrived at Mousson assembled the prelates of his suite in council, and submitted to them the matters which had been concerted between him and Henry. After this examination, the cardinal of Crema, the bishops of Viviers and Châlons, and the abbot of Cluny were sent with them to the camp of the emperor, that he might give them his definite sanction. Henry at first denied having promised anything of the kind; when William of Champeaux, no longer restraining his indignation, turned on the prince, called

him a traitor and knave, and demanded from him if he were ready to swear on the host, that he had not placed this promise in his hands. The Emperor was obliged to confess that he had given a writing somewhat similar to it; but that he had not reflected that he could not execute the tenor of it without considerably weakening the royal authority. The bishop replied to him "prince, you still seek an excuse for your disloyalty; the pontiff does not pretend to diminish your power; he declares, on the contrary, that all your subjects, no matter of what rank, should follow you to war and serve you as heretofore, as was the custom under your predecessors. Do not think that your crown will be weakened, because you will be prohibited from selling bishoprics; on the contrary your authority will be more respectable in the eyes of the people, when you shall have renounced, of your own free will, a sacrilegious traffic." The emperor then asked time, until the next day, to confer anew with his barons, and to determine them to give their consent to his promise.

Calixtus, despairing of triumphing over the obstinacy of the king, wished to return immediately to Rheims, that he might avoid the snares which the German monarch might lay for him; he yielded, however, to the counsels of the count of Troyes and several other lords, and agreed to remain until the next day, in order to deprive Henry of all excuse from bad will. As soon as day dawned, the bishop of Châlons and the abbot of Cluny returned to the camp, and, having been admitted to the presence of the emperor, said to him "we might my lord have retired yesterday, but his holiness was unwilling to break with you about a delay of a few hours, and he still waits for your subscription to the treaties which are to assure tranquillity to the church. Here are the deeds; no obstacle can now oppose their ratification." Henry replied to the prelates, that they pressed him too urgently to subscribe to the treaty, and that he wished to await the general diet of his kingdom, which alone had power to decide on a question that interested all his lords.

William of Champeaux and Pons at once broke off the negotiations and retired without even taking leave of the prince. After their departure the emperor sent troops to besiege the castle to which the pope had retired: but Calixtus had already quitted the place and taken refuge in an impenetrable fortress belonging to the count of Troyes. Henry then sent a courier to him to urge him to retrace his steps, promising to sign the treaty definitely before the expiration of two days. The pope made this reply to the king. "I have done from a love of peace, that which was never done by any of my predecessors; I left a general council and came to find a man who has not in his heart any disposition for concord. I now retire; if, however, after the synod is terminated, Henry shall have learned that he ought to keep his promises, I will pardon him and receive him with

open arms." He continued on his journey and arrived on the same day at Rheims, where he celebrated divine service in the cathedral.

The sessions of the council recommenced on the following day, and John, a cardinal priest, thus informed them of the result of the negotiations with the Emperor: "We went to Mouson my brethren, as we had announced to you, to conclude a peace with King Henry; we found that prince at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, as if he had come to war with numerous enemies. Thus fearing some sinister plans, we closed the gates of the castle in which the holy father was, and presented ourselves only at the camp of Henry. We several times demanded, in the name of the pope, a private interview with the prince, without being able to obtain it; and when at last this favour was granted us, we found ourselves surrounded by soldiers who sought to intimidate us by brandishing their lances and swords. We had, however, gone unarmed, as ambassadors instructed to treat of peace. The emperor spoke to us with a feigned mildness, asking to see the pope that he might render homage to him, he said; whilst we knew he wanted to seize on his person as he had done at Rome on the pontiff Pascal. Finally, all our hopes having been deceived, we hastened to return to Rheims to escape the troops whom the tyrant had sent in pursuit of us."

The fathers having heard this report, approved of the conduct of Calixtus, and passed several canons against simony and the investitures of bishoprics and abbeys. They also condemned the usurpers of the wealth of the church, and prohibited benefices from being bequeathed by inheritance, and the exaction of pay for administering baptism, the holy oil, extreme unction, and sepulture.

In the closing session they sung the hymn of the Holy Spirit; the pope exhorted all those present to concord and submission to the authority of the Holy See; he then caused lighted candles to be distributed to all the prelates who carried a cross. The gates of the church were opened, all the bells of the city were loudly rung, and, by the light of tapers, to the lugubrious sound of the bells, Calixtus standing upon the steps of the altar, pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication against the emperor Henry, and the anti-pope Gregory the Eighth.

The council having terminated, the pontiff went to Gison to confer with the king of England. Henry the First received him with great honours, prostrated himself at his feet, and took an oath of submission and fidelity to him. Calixtus raised him kindly, and after having embraced him said to him, "As we must by the law of God, restore to every one that which belongs to him, we beseech you to restore freedom to your brother Robert, and the duchy of Normandy to his son." The prince replied, "I have not despoiled my brother of his estates, but I have freed that province, the heritage of my father, from the nobles

who covered it with disasters. Monasteries were pillaged, monks massacred, virgins dishonoured, churches were burned, and the unfortunate, who sought an asylum in consecrated places, were massacred. I then came to the aid of this afflicted people; and as I found it impossible to stop the tyranny of the lords without employing the power of the sword, I was forced to make war. God favouring my designs, gave me the victory, and I re-established the reign of the laws and of public security. It was, however, necessary, in order to consolidate peace, that my brother Robert should remain a prisoner in England, where he is treated with all the honour and respect which his rank and the ties of blood demand of me. I have not forgotten that we are brothers, and if he had not taken his son from me, I would have educated him with my own."

Calixtus, satisfied with this reply, granted to King Henry a confirmation of the privileges which his father had obtained for England and Normandy; he promised, besides, not to send into his kingdom, in the capacity of legates, any prelates but those whom he should himself ask for; and, finally, he besought him to restore the prelate Tunstan to his friendship, and re-instate him in the archbishopric of York. But the prince observed that he had sworn never the Gospels never to receive that metropolitan into favour.—"Is that all?" replied Calixtus. "Do as I ask you, without disquieting yourself; I am the pope, and I permit you to violate your oath."

After this conference, the pope determined to go into Italy to take possession of the Holy See. He went towards the Alps, and entered Lombardy, where the people received him with great veneration. He then traversed Tuscany, and came to Lucca, where the militia gave him a triumphal reception. At Pisa he was received with the same enthusiasm, and he dedicated one of the churches of that city. In proportion as he approached Rome was his cortège increased, by the crowds who came to meet him, and who accompanied his march.

This general manifestation alarmed the partisans of the emperor, and Gregory, who not daring to remain longer in the palace of the Lateran, fled to Sutri, and shut themselves up in the fortress, waiting for succours from Germany. After the departure of the anti-pope, the Roman militia advanced to meet Calixtus, three days march from the city; and when he approached the holy city, the schools, the lords, the magistrates, and the monks, came to receive him at the principal gates, all carrying branches in sign of joy, and singing hymns in his praise. The streets, richly tapestried, were strewed with flowers, and the crowd of people was so great, that the cortège employed ten hours in defiling before the palace.

On the day succeeding his installation, the holy father was engaged in the organization of an army, and the conclusion of an alliance with the Normans, in order to accelerate the

ruin of the faction of the king of Germany and of Bourdin. By his care, troops were soon assembled, under the orders of John of Crema, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, who laid siege to Suri, the residence of the anti-pope. It is related that Calixtus himself directed the labours of the siege, and mounted several times to the assault, with his casque on his head and his sword by his side.

At length, after a vigorous resistance, the German soldiers, decimated by sickness and the sword of their enemies, agreed to surrender, and delivered up Bourdin to his competitor. The pontiff had the cruelty to cause him to be shamefully mutilated by the hand of the executioner. His eyes were put out and his natural parts torn from him. The unfortunate man was placed backwards on a camel, the tail between his hands instead of a bridle, and a sheep-skin, reeking with blood, upon his shoulders, in mockery of the scarlet cape which the pontiffs wore. In this condition he was led to Rome, to prolong his humiliation, and to intimidate by this example of severity, the ambitious who would dare mount the Holy See.

The anti-pope was then confined in the monastery of Cava; the next year he was transferred to the convent of Janula, from which Honorius afterwards took him to confine him in the abbey of Fumon near Alatri, where he passed his days miserably. Such was the end of the unfortunate Maurice Bourdin, a prelate distinguished for his merit, and whose only fault consisted in having wished to place himself between the altar and the throne, at the moment in which these two powers were disputing for the pre-eminence.

In order to bequeath to posterity a monument of his victory, the pontiff caused a saloon of the palace of the Lateran to be magnificently decorated, in which he was represented trampling the anti-pope, Gregory the Eighth, beneath his feet. He caused the palaces of Censius Frangipani, and such other lords as had shown themselves to be his enemies, to be razed; he drove from their castles the Italian counts who devastated the domains of the church, and sought to re-establish an absolute government over all Italy. Having no more enemies to combat, he occupied himself with the religious quarrels of other churches, and sent his legate Conon and the archbishop, Ralph the Green, to Soissons, to judge in council a work on the Trinity written by Peter Abelard, one of the most remarkable dialecticians of the twelfth century.

This extraordinary man, whom his amours have rendered even more celebrated than his vast knowledge, was the son of a lord of a small city called Palais, situated in the neighbourhood of Nantes. He had surrendered himself, from his tenderest youth, with an incredible ardour, to the study of the sciences and of languages. Poetry, eloquence, philosophy, jurisprudence, theology, mathematics, the Greek, Hebrew and Latin languages, in fine, all human knowledge became familiar to

him. Having arrived at man's estate, and being desirous of completing his studies, he went to the university of Paris, whose professors were regarded as the best rhetoricians in the world.

Among these, William of Champeaux, the archdeacon of Notre Dame, was styled the prince of scholastic logicians. Abelard studied under him, and profited so well by his lessons, that the master was frequently unable to resolve the subtle questions of the scholar. The teacher was at first attached to his learned disciple, but hatred succeeded friendship when he discovered that his proud pupil gloried in confounding him in argument. William even drove him from Paris. He retired at first to Melun, and then to Corbeil. Some years afterwards, Abelard became reconciled to his former master, and obtained permission to return to the capital to open a school of eloquence. His great talents soon caused all the academies to be deserted; and chroniclers relate that his auditors exceeded three thousand in numbers. The method which he pursued in his course, consisted of the praise of science, and the censure of men who, in these barbarous times, regarded ignorance as a title of nobility. He taught logic, metaphysics, physics, mathematics, and, finally, astronomy. He became the fashionable teacher, because he was the only one who united the science of philosophy with the eloquence of the tribune.

Abelard was much run after by the distinguished women of the day; but Heloise, the niece of the canon Fulbert, was alone able to attract the attention of the professor. Although he was now thirty-nine years old, and she only seventeen, he conceived so violent a passion for her that he resolved to do every thing to gain her love. Historians say he was admitted into the house of the canon as a boarder, by paying a high board, and that he then obtained permission from the greedy old man to educate his niece without receiving any pay therefor. The confidence of the canon was so great, that he not only left the two lovers entirely alone, but even, before leaving home, would recommend to the master to chastise his scholar if she were neglectful of her lessons.

There was no necessity for so great severity to control Heloise, for she responded with equal ardour to the passion of Abelard. These tender lovers passed a whole year in the ineffable joys of requited love. Abelard, formerly so ambitious of glory, so greedy of renown, entirely deserted his school, and consecrated all the time he could to his mistress, and to composing songs in her praise. Heloise herself informs us of these particulars in one of her letters. "Among your brilliant qualities," she wrote to him long afterwards, "you possessed two which moved me more than all the others: the grace of your language and the sweetness of your song; and no other woman would have been less touched than I. The melodies which you composed, in simple measure or in rhyme, had an irresistible charm

which compelled me to sing them, on account of the sweetness of the expressions and the softness of their amorous poetry. The most insensible women could not refuse you their admiration; and as your verses celebrated our lives, my name was soon spread through the whole world, and all women envied the happiness of Heloise.”

The canon Fulbert at length discovered the criminal intercourse of his niece and Abelard, but it was too late to break off the intimacy of this connection. Heloise carried with her a pledge of their love. According to the chroniclers of the time, the canon wished that marriage should stop the public scandal; but Heloise having declared to her uncle that she wished to be the mistress of Abelard, and not his wife, he became violently enraged, and swore to be avenged. To appease the chagrin of the canon, the two lovers consented to a private marriage, which took place in the presence of the canon and some witnesses. Fulbert, not being yet satisfied with this reparation, demanded that the marriage should be public; and on the refusal of Heloise, retook his plans of vengeance. During the night masked men entered the chamber of Abelard, and whilst four of them held him by the arms and legs, the canon, armed with a razor, subjected him to a horrible mutilation, which separated him for ever from Heloise. Abelard concealed his tears and his shame in the abbey of St. Denis, and Heloise took the veil in the convent of Argenteuil.

Time soothed the grief of Abelard, and he yielded to the solicitations of his admirers, who besought him to recommence his admirable teaching. Soon, as formerly, he found himself surrounded by numerous pupils; but with his success also appeared the envious. Two powerful enemies, Alberic and Leotulph, theologians of Rheims, denounced to the council of Soissons, in 1122, a treatise which he had composed upon the Trinity, and which had been received with general enthusiasm. As unfortunate in his literary career as in his amours, Abelard was condemned by the fathers of the synod, and forced to burn his book in the presence of the assembly. He was then confined at St. Medard, and afterwards at St. Denis, and placed under the supervision of the abbot. Some years afterwards he determined to escape, and retired to Nogent on the Seine, where he built a convent at his own expense, which he dedicated to the Holy Spirit, and which he called the Paraclete, or the Consolation. Heloise, and some other nuns of Argenteuil, came to dwell in this retreat, and it was there that the lovers met for the first time after a separation of eleven years.

Abelard was then made abbot of St. Gildas; but his enemies pursued him even in the silence of the cloisters, and accused him of heresy. The illustrious professor wished to go to Rome to justify himself; but on his arrival at Cluny, the venerable Peter dissuaded him from the journey, and even retained him in the abbey. Two years afterward, worn

out by the injustice of men, he determined to finish his days in retirement, and shut himself up in the priory of St. Marcel, near Châlons in the Saône, where he died in 1142, aged sixty-three years. He was at first interred in the convent, but afterwards, at the entreaty of Heloise, his remains were transported to Paraclete.

This unfortunate lover lived twenty-two years longer, mourning him whom she had loved so well. After her death, her body was deposited near that of her spouse; and the chroniclers of the times relate that Abelard opened his arms to receive her when they raised the stone which covered his coffin. Since then a new translation has changed the place of the monument which contained their dust; but the last wishes of Heloise have been religiously respected, and the tomb which has been erected to them in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, still re-unites the two lovers.

Calixtus having affirmed his authority in Rome, was desirous of exercising the most absolute despotism over other kingdoms. For this purpose he gave to a monk of Cluny, named Peter, the legation of France, Great Britain, Ireland, and the Orkneys, for the purpose of subjugating the church of England to the court of Rome, and of re-establishing the affairs of the Holy See in France. But Louis the Fat had already protested against a judgment of the pontiff in the following violent letter: “By suspending the execution of the sentence which you had pronounced against the metropolitan of Sens you have, holy father, moderated our anger. But we are not yet satisfied, for the ambiguity of your decision leaves to the archbishop of Lyons the hopes of obtaining from us the satisfaction he demands. Since I must tell you all I think on this subject, I will avow, that I would rather see my kingdom in flames and my life in danger, than obey that priest.

“We beseech you, then, to preserve to the church of Sens the freedom which it now enjoys, and to prevent it from suffering any harm by the subjection which they would imprudently impose on it. The privileges of a See belong to it, and not to the prelates who govern it, and if the metropolitan of Sens has alone disposed of a property to which he had no right, his church should not be punished for the fault of its chief, and lose the prerogatives of its former freedom. Besides, holy father, be careful lest the city of Lyons, which belongs to the emperor, is not strengthened to our injury; and fear, lest by desiring to subjugate our cities to a foreign jurisdiction, you break the peace which exists between King Henry and our crown. We, moreover, declare to you, that if our wishes were treated with contempt in so simple a matter, we would not longer expose ourselves to the shame of a refusal, nor the scorn of our dignity, but would do ourselves justice.”

No reply was made to this letter; the legate of the Holy See only presented himself at the court of France to hold out hopes which were evasive and in conformity with the policy of

Rome. The monk of Cluny then went to England, whither he had been preceded by skilful envoys, who knew how adroitly to excite the curiosity of the nation about the ambassador. But the king did not partake of the general disposition, he even sent Bernard, bishop of St. David's, and a clerk named John, to meet the legate, with orders to prohibit his entrance into Great Britain, if he refused to promise not to stop at the monasteries or the churches, and to pay all his own expenses. Peter accepted the conditions which were imposed on him, and went to court in hopes of changing the sentiments of the king. He soon discovered his error. Henry received him with great coldness, and was unwilling to permit him to exercise any act of authority. This prince maintained, with reason, that a legate should make no attempt on the established customs of a kingdom, especially when they were consecrated by the manners of the inhabitants and the wishes of the people. Peter learned that it would be dangerous to enter upon a struggle with a monarch so absolute in his decisions; and, baffled and humiliated, he retook the way to Rome.

If the enterprises of the pope failed in France and England, they were crowned with entire success in Germany. The archbishop of Mayence, by publishing the decree of anathema against Henry, had drawn all Saxony into revolt, and the emperor had been constrained to assemble a formidable army to subdue the rebels. But as the two parties alike dreaded the chances of a general battle, they agreed to enter upon negotiations before coming to blows. For this purpose, twelve lords of each party signed a truce, by which they engaged to suspend hostilities until the termination of a diet of the kingdom, which was fixed to be held on the day of the festival of St. Michael, in the city of Wurtzburg. The assembled at first discussed a mode of putting an end to the schism which separated the churches; they then decreed an absolute peace through all Germany, ordering the belligerent parties to restore, under penalty of death, all usurped property, whether by ecclesiastics, princes or lords. On the subject of the excommunication of the emperor they decided that the bishop of Spire, and Arnold, abbot of Fulda, should go to Rome to refer it to the pontiff, and obtain the convocation of a great council, in which this important matter should be definitely judged.

These ambassadors discharged their mission with great zeal; they entirely changed the hostile disposition of the pope, and took back with them as legates, Lambert, bishop of Ostia, Gregory, a deacon, and Suxon, a priest, with full powers to assemble a synod and relieve Henry from the excommunication if he would renounce the investitures.

A general diet was convened anew at Worms, for the month of September, 1122, and after a conference of ten days it agreed upon the following: "We, the legates of the Holy See, grant to the emperor the power of causing the bishops and abbots of the king-

dom of Germany to be chosen in his presence, without employing violence or simony, and under the auspices of the metropolitan and co-provincial prelates. The elected shall receive from the prince the investiture of the regalia by the sceptre, and not the ecclesiastical regalia, and he shall perform such duties to his sovereign as are imposed on him by his title of subject. By virtue of this treaty we grant to Henry a durable peace, and the same to those who embraced his side during the unhappy times of our discords."

The prince in turn replied by a writing, in which he thus expressed himself: "For the love of God, and the holy Roman church, of Pope Calixtus, and the safety of our soul, we renounce the privilege of investitures by the ring and the cross, and we grant to all the churches of our empire, canonical elections, and free consecrations. We restore to the Holy See the lands and royalties on which we have seized during our divisions, and we promise our assistance to the pope to recover those on which our subjects have seized. We will also restore to the churches, lords, and citizens the domains which are in our possession. Finally, we grant an entire and durable peace to Pope Calixtus, the holy Roman church, and all those who have aided it during our discords."

These two deeds were read and exchanged on a plain on the left bank of the Rhine, where tents and an altar had been erected. Thanks were then returned to God, and a solemn mass celebrated by the bishop of Ostia, at which he admitted the emperor to communion, and gave him the kiss of peace. He also gave his absolution to the troops who surrounded them, and to all those who had taken part in the schism. Thus the pope and the king cemented their union, after having devastated Germany and Italy, and murdered the people of Saxony, Bavaria, Lorraine, and Lombardy, for half a century, for a miserable quarrel about investitures.

Deis says, on this subject, "We see clearly, that matters which overturn states and cost so many tears and so much blood to the people, are but puerilities or pretexts employed by the ambition of priests and kings. From the time of Charlemagne to Henry the Fourth, investitures were given by the cross and ring, as a matter of perfect indifference to the state and church; but under this last emperor, the popes thought of making of the cross and ring a sacred palladium, which the impure hands of laymen could not approach; and by the assistance of this futile pretension, they overthrew society, increased their wealth, and murdered more than three millions of men."

During the following year, (1123), the pope held a new council in the palace of the Lateran, to confirm the treaty concluded with Henry, and to prohibit the usurpation of the property of the church, particularly that of Beneventum. They granted to the crusaders who should go to Jerusalem, an entire remission of sins; they declared their houses, families, and property under the protection

of St. Peter; they prohibited laymen, under penalty of anathema, from carrying off the offerings which were placed on the altars of the churches, and they interdicted to the lords the right of fortifying churches, so as to make them fortifications; and, finally, they condemned in general all the alienations made without the consent of the clergy. They ordered abbots and monks not to visit the sick, not to celebrate divine service outside of their monasteries; and not to call in other prelates than their diocesan bishops to administer the holy oil, to consecrate clerks, and to dedicate new monasteries.

The bishops who composed this assembly, complained strongly of the monks, and thus expressed themselves: "The glory of the canons and of other ecclesiastics, has been entirely obscured, since the monks, departing from the rules of their orders, seek, with an insatiable ambition, the privileges of the bishops, and refuse to live by the labour of

their own hands, as the rules of St. Benedict prescribe. They possess churches, lands, and houses; they levy dimes and oblations on the faithful, and, finally, there is only left to them to take from us the cross and the ring, in order to have completely despoiled us."

After the termination of this council, the pope, always alive to the consolidation of the authority of the Holy See, sent into France as his legates, Gregory, a cardinal, and Peter de Leon, who convened several synods at Chartres, Clermont, Beauvais, and Vienne to confirm the acts of the council of the Lateran. But at the moment, when the holy father, having arrived at the apogee of his power, was congratulating himself on the success of his policy, he was suddenly attacked by a violent fever which carried him off in a few hours. He died on the 12th of December, 1124, after a pontificate of five years and ten months.

## HONORIUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1124.]

*Preliminaries to the election of Honorius—Celestin, chosen pope, is forced to abdicate—Schism in the monastery of Cluny—The abbots Peter and Pons go to Rome to be judged—Pons is confined in a tower by the order of the pope—Honorius turns the sincere piety of the prior Mathew into derision—Schism in the convent of Monte Cassino—The treasurer Nicholas chosen abbot—He robs the treasury of the convent—Honorius causes another abbot to be chosen—War between the pope and Count Roger—Affair of Stephen bishop of Paris—Death of Honorius.*

On the death of Calixtus, two factions were immediately formed for the election of a pope; Leo, of Frangipani, wished to elevate Lambert, bishop of Ostia, to the pontificate, and the other party demanded the cardinal, Saxon of Anagnina. The adroit Leo, in order the more easily to deceive the cardinals, employed a very singular ruse; he feigned to abandon his protégé, and on the eve of the election, went very mysteriously to the residence of each cardinal, to engage their chaplains to go to the conclave, on the following day, with a red cape concealed under their black ones, in order to be able to clothe their masters with it, thus leaving each of them to suppose he would be chosen pope. On the following day, all the prelates assembled in the chapel of St. Pancrace, in the palace of the Lateran; Leo of Frangipani was alone absent. They proceeded, however, to an election, and on the proposal of Damian and Jonathan, they clothed with the red cape, Thébald, a priest of St. Anastasius, who was proclaimed pope by the name of Celestin, amidst the acclamations of the nobles, and despite the active opposition of the cardinals, who all counted on the papacy.

At last quiet was restored, and they were even commencing to sing the Te Deum, in

sign of rejoicing, when suddenly the Frangipani entered the church with their partizans, exclaiming, "Lambert, bishop of Ostia, is pope by the will of St. Peter." They immediately clothed him in the pontifical ornaments, and ranged themselves around him, with their drawn swords in their hands. Then the venerable Celestin, fearing the deplorable consequences of a combat in the church, devoted himself for the safety of all. He advanced between the two parties, despoiled himself of the cape and purple, and yielded the tiara to his rival, who took the name of Honorius the Second.

Notwithstanding the voluntary renunciation of the throne of the apostle by Celestin, the ecclesiastics, the people, and the majority of the lords continued to regard him as the sole pope, and declared the election of Honorius to be irregular and sacrilegious. The latter discovering this state of affairs, employed all his resources to create partizans to himself; he made rich presents to the cardinals, distributed money to the people, showed himself gracious to the principal citizens of Rome, and pushed his hypocrisy so far, as to publish that he wished to renounce the papacy. He accordingly convened all the electors in the church of St. John, of the Lateran, and laid down the

tiana in their presence, seven days after he had been proclaimed pontiff. The assistants, deceived by this trick, and being fearful, besides, of introducing a dangerous precedent into the elections by nominating a new pope, declared him to be the lawful chief of the church. The cardinals, nobles, and people, accordingly prostrated themselves at his feet and swore obedience to him.

The pontiff was originally from the county of Bologna; his parents were poor farmers, who had placed him when very young in the cathedral of Bologna, where he distinguished himself among the young clerks by his love for study and great regularity of morals. The metropolitan having conceived an affection for him, had ordained him arch-deacon of his church, and afterwards pope Pascal called him to Rome, where he consecrated him bishop of Velletri or Ostia. As soon as he reached the pontificate, he sent Otho, bishop of Bamberg, to accelerate the conversion of the people of Pomerania, who were governed by Bratislaus. This mission was entirely successful, thanks to the duke of Poland, Boleslaus the Third, who forced the Pomeranians to embrace the Christian faith by massacring them by thousands.

In the following year (1125), the church was strongly agitated by a schism, which broke out in the abbey of Cluny. The former superior of the monastery, Pons, had some time before laid down the abbatial baton to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, not from devotion, but in the hopes of becoming archbishop or governor of a province of Palestine. His desires not being realized, he resolved to return to Italy, and stopped in the diocese of Treviso, where he built an oratory some miles from that city. He lived in this retreat with extreme rigour, praying, fasting, and imposing on himself the most rigorous macerations. His hypocrisy on this occasion, however, not having yet drawn to him the honours which he believed to be due to his great merits, he determined to return to his old monastery. He then wrote to France to obtain the expulsion of Peter his successor, and pledged himself to his partisans to distribute among them the wealth of the convent, if they would reinstate him in the dignity of abbot. His intrigues having created powerful protectors for him, he went secretly to Cluny, and taking advantage, one day, of the absence of the abbot Peter, he entered the convent and drove out the prior Bernard, a venerable old man, and the monks who refused to submit to his authority; he then gave up the monastery to pillage, he took the crosses, the chalices, the candelabras, the reliquaries, caused them to be melted into ingots, and drew from them enormous sums which he distributed to the lords of the vicinage and the men at arms who had joined his cause.

Once master of the abbey, he employed himself in reducing the farms and country houses which were dependent on it; his efforts were turned principally against the prior Bernard, who had taken refuge in the fortified

oratories with the monks, who held out for the abbot Peter. This war of the monks lasted for an entire year; at length Honorius being advised of all these disorders, sent the cardinal Peter Defontaines as his legate into France, who pronounced a terrible anathema against Pons and his partisans, enjoining on them to go to Italy with the abbot Peter to be judged by a council.

The intrepid Pons went to Rome accompanied by some nobles of his faction; Peter, his competitor, came, having with him Mathew, the prior of St. Martin des Champs. But as Pons was excommunicated, and consequently, by the canons, incapable of appearing for judgment before the pope, a legate said to him, when introducing him into the council chamber, that he ought to prepare to receive absolution. The proud abbot, raising his voice, replied, "I have nothing to do with your absolution, since no man living, I care not what is his rank on earth, has power to excommunicate me; since I have received plenary indulgences for my sins, past, present and to come, by undertaking the journey to the holy land; the apostle alone can judge me when I shall present myself before him to be introduced into the kingdom of Heaven."

Honorius was indignant at such a reply, as were all the Roman ecclesiastics who were present, and he flew into a rage with the abbot, calling him a schismatic, an heretic and anti-christ; he caused him to be put out of the hall. They then demanded from those who had accompanied this monk, if they wished to imitate his example, or do their duty by asking pardon from the Holy See, in order to be relieved from the censures which had been pronounced against them. All declared that they were ready to give entire satisfaction to the holy father, and presented themselves at the palace of the Lateran, with naked feet, covered with ashes, striking their breasts and crying for mercy. Having received absolution, they were admitted to plead their cause; the prior Mathew spoke the last in favour of the abbot Peter, and he made himself remarked for his profound erudition and eloquence.—After the pleadings were over, the pope retired with his cardinals to a privy council, to deliberate on the matter.—At the end of some hours, they returned to the great hall, and the bishop of Porto pronounced the following sentence:—"The holy Roman church deposes for ever from every dignity, and all ecclesiastical functions the usurping, sacrilegious, schismatic, and excommunicated Pons; it restores the church of Cluny, the monks and all the dependencies of the convent, to the abbot Peter, here present, who has been unjustly despoiled of them."

This judgment was loudly applauded by the assistants, and those who had separated from Peter immediately came to make their submissions to him; thus was checked the schism which had scandalized the holy abbey of Cluny. Pons alone wished to protest against the decision of the fathers; he was then confined in a tower, where he died some months

afterwards of a contagious malady, and in final impenitence.—The pontiff, however, caused him to be honourably interred from regard to the frock of the monks.

Honorius retained the prior Mathew, whose talents he admired, about his person, and created him bishop of Albano; this new dignity did not change the habits of the monk, he continued to lead the chaste and sober life of the convent in the midst of the luxury of the court of Rome, notwithstanding the sarcasms of the pope, who turned the holiness of the prelate into ridicule, calling him his anchorite, and snubbing him that he had not like the other bishops, mistresses, palaces and horses.

Scarcely was the dispute of the monks of Cluny terminated, when a new schism broke out in another celebrated abbey, the monastery of Monte Cassino. This time the pope was the author of the deplorable division. Whilst Honorius was but the simple bishop of Ostia, when flying from the persecution of the antipope Gregory the Eighth, he had taken refuge in this convent, and had besought the abbot, Oderisus the Second, to grant him, as an asylum, a priory which was dependent on the monastery, as his predecessor, Leon de Marsique, had obtained. Oderisus refused this demand, through fear, lest as a consequence, the prelates of Ostia might use it as a precedent to seize on this cloister. Lambert retired in fury, and from that moment vowed an implacable hatred to the abbot.

On the day succeeding his advent to the pontificate, he demanded from Oderisus a considerable sum for the wants of the Roman church. The latter, who was a cardinal, replied, that not having participated in the election of their master, he ought not to contribute to his support. Honorius, exasperated at this new insult, summoned the abbot to appear immediately before him at the castle of Fremona, where he was with a numerous court, and there, in the presence of his cardinals, in a public audience, he reprimanded him severely; he accused him of dissipating the property of the monastery in shameful debauchery; reproached him with bearing the casque and the sword more frequently than the mitre and the cross, and finally treated him as a rebel, and drove him from the assembly. Not content with having subjected the abbot to such an humiliation, Honorius, on his return to Rome, subsidized false witnesses, who presented themselves with Adenulph, count of Aquin, the mortal enemy of Oderisus, and affirmed before the council of the holy father, that the abbot, in contempt of the canons, exercised the papacy in his monastery. The bishop of Terracina was immediately sent to Monte Cassino, to order the abbot to come to Rome, and reply to the accusations against him; he refused to obey. The holy father then assembled a council, and after having three times called the rebel with a loud voice, and no one having replied, he pronounced a sentence of deposition against him. The abbot, without disquieting himself about

this pontifical decree, continued to sit in the chair of his church, with the cross in his hand, which led to his excommunication, and that of those who supported him.

This last censure divided the monks and the people of the city of St. Germain, a dependency on the abbey, into two parties; their minds became excited; they flew to arms, and after several bloody combats, the people having become masters of Monte Cassino, constrained the monks to drive out Oderisus, and choose another abbot. They elected Nicholas, who was the treasurer of the convent. But the pope, whose only intention was to seize on the riches of the monastery, disapproved of this election, under the pretext that Nicholas had been promoted to the dignity of abbot at the close of a sedition, and he ordered the fathers to proceed to the nomination of another superior, whom he designated to them. Nicholas, foreseeing that his reign would be of short duration, wished to use the time to advantage; he filled several chests with money, and embarked for Greece with the treasures of the convent. His flight was so skillfully executed, that the monks did not even know of it until it was too late to seize the robber.

Honorius caused the prevost of Capua, named Seignoret, to be elevated to the place of Nicholas, and wished to compel him to take an oath of obedience to him; but the monks forcibly opposed this new pretension, which placed the keys of Monte Cassino under the dependency of the bishops of Rome, and openly violated their privileges. The holy father despairing of overcoming their resolution, at length consecrated the new abbot, only exacting from him a large sum of money.

Shortly afterwards, William, duke of Apulia, having died without children, Roger, count of Sicily, his great uncle and heir, came to Salernum to be recognised as sovereign prince by the inhabitants, and to be consecrated by Albanus, bishop of Capua; he then went to Reggio, where he was proclaimed duke of Apulia, after which he returned to Sicily. His vanity not being yet satisfied with the title of duke, he sent ambassadors, laden with rich presents, to Honorius, to obtain the title of king and the investiture, by the standard of the provinces which William had possessed, promising, in return for this favour, to surrender to the Holy See the cities of Troies and Montefosco. The pontiff, who had for a long time aspired to the possession of the provinces of Apulia and Capua, profited by this step of the prince to establish it as a principle that Roger was not the lawful heir to the estates of his nephew, since he had taken possession of them before having received the investiture from the Holy See, and he rejected his demand.

Roger, indignant at this reply, which unveiled all the ambitious views of the court of Rome, resolved to punish the pontiff; he immediately levied troops, invaded the territory of Beneventum, and advanced as far as the Campagna of Rome, devastating all the domains of the church. Honorius, on his

side, judging that the moment was favourable for seizing on Apulia, went to Capua, where he consecrated prince Robert, who had entered into secret engagements with the Holy See. After the ceremony the pope harangued the people; he represented Roger as the enemy of religion; he dwelt on the evils he would inflict on the faithful, and swore, with horrid imprecations, that he would never receive him into favour. He finished by shedding a torrent of tears, and imploring the aid of those around for his own defence and that of the church. He promised a plenary indulgence to those who died in this expedition, and a simple indulgence to those whom death spared.

Roger, in defiance of the ecclesiastical thunders, continued his march across Apulia, but retiring towards the mountains, and shunning the army of the pontiff, which was superior in numbers to his own. The duke hoped by these tactics to fatigue the troops of the pope, who, being new recruits, could not long endure the fatigues of marches and countermarches. His predictions were verified. The partizans of the holy father, tired of keeping the field, and suffering from want of provisions and clothing, were obliged to disperse and return to their homes. Honorius seeing his forces almost reduced, by the desertion of his soldiers, to only the bands of Robert, determined to regain Beneventum. Roger, in his turn, took the offensive and blockaded him in the place. After the trenches had been opened some days, he summoned the pope to surrender himself a prisoner, or grant him the investiture of Apulia. The holy father, before a danger so imminent, forgot the oaths which he had taken never to pardon him; he sent him the standard, and the treaty of peace was signed on the 22d of August, 1128.

Honorius, on his return to Rome, found ambassadors from Robert de Senlis, the chancellor of France, who, four years before, had been elevated to the dignity of metropolitan of Paris. They were instructed to bear to the pope the complaints of their master against the king, Louis the Fat, whom he accused of sustaining the disorders of the French clergy,

by extracting from them benefices prejudicial to ecclesiastical liberty. Stephen even accused the prince of having seized on the property of his church, and of having even wished to murder him by his soldiers, at the moment he was leaving his palace. Honorius replied to him, that he should immediately launch a decree of anathema against the sovereign, and place the kingdom of France under interdict. The metropolitan obeyed the Holy See, and drew to his party the bishop of Sens and a large number of prelates.

Alarmed at the consequences of a revolt of the clergy, the king immediately sent ambassadors laden with rich presents to Rome, who bought from the Holy See the absolution of the anathema and the suspension of the interdict, after which he was able to continue his persecution of Stephen, and the dilapidation of the churches. Saint Bernard and Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, addressed eloquent letters to the court of Rome on the same subject, but they were unanswered. Stephen of Senlis discovered that the justice of his cause would always be despised if he did not fortify his complaints by a large sum of money; he then collected all his resources, sold the chalices of his church, borrowed from the Jews on pledges of the sacred ornaments of the metropolis, and sent to Rome four thousand deniers of gold in exchange for the protection of the pope. Honorius did not resist so conclusive an argument; he granted authority to Stephen to assemble a council at Rheims, to judge the king of France, and to anathematise him in the name of the apostle, if he refused to restore the property he had seized. Louis did not wish to encounter the bishop of Paris again; he perceived that it was better in this matter to have a good understanding with him, and peace was made between them without the intervention of the pope.

Soon after this the holy father became very sick, and as he felt death approaching, he was carried to the monastery of St. Andrew, where he died on the 14th of February, 1130. His remains were deposited in the church of the Lateran.

## INNOCENT THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-NINTH POPE.

### ANACLET THE SECOND, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1130.]

*Double election of a pope and anti-pope—History of the two pontiffs—Schism in the Roman church—Letters of the anti-pope Anaclet—Legates of Anaclet—He concludes an alliance with Roger, king of Sicily—Innocent the Second takes refuge in France and implores the aid of the lords—He is recognized in Germany as the lawful pontiff—Comes to St. Denis—Council of Rheims—Anaclet is excommunicated—The pope grants privileges to the monastery of the Cîteaux—His return to Italy with a foreign army—He is installed in the palace of the Lateran by the emperor of Germany—Coronation of Lothaire—Council of Pisa—Saint Bernard is sent as ambassador to Milan—Return of Lothaire into Italy—The monks of Monte Cassino submit to Innocent the Second—Differences between the pope and the emperor—Death of the anti-pope and end of the schism—General council of the Lateran—Peace is concluded between King Roger and the pope—Schism of the Greeks and conferences for their re-union—History of Arnold of Brescia—His doctrine and condemnation—Death of the pontiff.*

THE cardinals and principal citizens of Rome, seeing the end of Honorius approaching, and being desirous of preventing the disorders which took place at the election of the pontiff, agreed to assemble secretly in the church of St. Mark, and proceed together, in accordance with the canons, to the election of a new pope. But the chancellor Aimeri and some other cardinals of his party, fearful of losing the influence which they had in the government of the church under Honorius, resolved to nominate a pontiff who was devoted to their interests and would retain them in their honours and dignities. For this purpose, as soon as Honorius had expired, and before even making public his death, they hastened to choose as his successor Gregory, cardinal of Saint Angelo, and having clothed him in the pontifical ornaments, they conducted him to the palace of the Lateran, and proclaimed him the supreme chief of the church, by the name of Innocent the Second.

The Roman lords, the other cardinals and bishops, furious at this great knavery, in their turn assembled with the people in the church of St. Mark and elevated Peter, the cardinal of St. Mary of Trastevera, to the dignity of sovereign pontiff, by the name of Anaclet the Second. Platinus endeavours to show that this second election did not take place immediately, but some months after, on account of the war which the pope wished to make on Duke Roger, who claimed the title of king of Naples and Sicily, and also the sacerdotal as well as political authority over these two provinces, by virtue of the privilege granted by Urban the Second to the countship of Sicily. "Innocent," adds he, "not only rejected the pretensions of Roger, but even endeavoured to take the city of Naples from him. It was a very common thing in that age to see popes at the head of armies plunge their cruel hands in Christian blood to satisfy their insatiable ambition. But this expedition was not fortunate, and the holy father, with three of his cardinals, fell into the power of the count,

who retained them prisoners until the pope had decided to confer on him the royal crown of Naples and Sicily. It was during the captivity of Innocent that the Romans elected Pope Anaclet the Second. . . ." This version is not true, and it is impossible to find it in the chroniclers to whom Platinus has referred us.

Innocent the Second had been in early life a monk of St. John's of the Lateran, then abbot of the convent of St. Nicholas and St. Primitivo, which was located without the walls of Rome. Urban the Second had ordained him a cardinal deacon, and Calixtus the Second had sent him to France as his legate. Arnulf affirms that he always evinced extreme regularity of morals, and that he joined to great affability, mildness, eloquence, and an evangelical humility. According to this historian Innocent wished twice to renounce the pontificate, to put an end to the schism, but the cardinals who had chosen him, prevented him from putting his good designs into execution.

Anaclet, the anti-pope, was the grandson of a converted Jew, who had been baptized by pope Leo the Ninth; this Jew, by his talents and great wealth, became very powerful at the court of Rome; his son, Peter de Leo, still further increased his credit and reputation by serving the Holy See usefully in the quarrel about the investitures. As a recompense the popes gave to him the government of the Tower of Crescentius, or Castle of St. Angelo, and increased his fortune by marrying him to the heiress of one of the most powerful families of Rome. He had several children by his marriage, of whom Anaclet was the eldest; he destined him for literature and sent him to the University of Paris as a student.

After passing some years in the schools, the young Anaclet finding himself called to a religious life, went to the abbot of Cluny, who admitted him into the number of his monks. At the entreaty of his father, Pascal the Second afterwards called him to his court and created

him a cardinal. During the pontificate of Calixtus he was sent to France with Gregory in the capacity of legate, and he exhibited in several councils an imperious character, which gave a foresight into what he would in the end become. In fact, as soon as he was nominated as Pontiff, he pursued his competitor to extremities, drove him from the territories of the church, and obliged him to take refuge with the Frangipani, whose fortresses placed the unfortunate Innocent beyond the reach of his wrath. Not being able to reach his enemy in his inaccessible retreats, he turned his rage upon the Romans, drove out the clergy from the church of St. Peter, carried off the sacred ornaments, as well as the statues of gold and silver, pillaged the church of St. Maria Majora and the other temples which were esteemed the richest. As he could find no Christians impious enough to lay a sacrilegious hand upon the tabernacles, he called to his aid the ancient co-religionists of his family and caused them to break to pieces the pixes, chalices, and crucifixes, which were converted into gold and silver money. These depredations considerably increased his private fortune, which came from the inheritance of his father, and the exactions which he had committed at the court of Rome and in his legations; he was thus enabled to bestow largesses on his partizans and to subsidise assassins.

Innocent was soon forced to quit Italy, to avoid falling into the power of his cruel enemy. He embarked secretly on the Tiber with several cardinals, reached Ostia rapidly, from whence he went to Pisa, where he was received with all the honours due to his dignity. The holy father remained for some time in this latter city to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of Tuscany, and to choose the ambassadors whom he sent to the kings of Germany and France, to inform them of the schism which had broken out in the holy city.

Anaclet, on his part, displayed all the resources of his policy, and was prodigal of the basest flatteries to princes and lords, to induce them to recognise him as the lawful pontiff. He addressed the following letter to Lothaire the Second, the successor to Henry the Fifth, after having reminded him of the former friendship which united their families:—"Dear prince: We have been canonically elected and consecrated by the bishop of Porto, before the altar of St. Peter, in the presence of other prelates, before all, and with great solemnity; whilst the schismatics chose their pope in darkness, and were compelled to fly from Rome during the night, to conceal their shame, and shun the wrath of the people. As we have been chosen by all the Romans, clergy and laity, we freely exercise the pontifical functions, and consecrate bishops and cardinals without difficulty. Do not, then, grant your confidence to the ex-chancellor Aimeri, that robber-priest, that shameless and simoniacal wretch; no longer place confidence in the soft words of John of Crema, who is an infamous man, a veritable

Nicolaite; but be convinced by the voice of the people, which designates us as the sole, true, and lawful successor of the apostle." He joined to his letter a bull of the clergy of his party, signed by twenty-seven cardinals, the archpriests, abbots, dean and suffragan bishops of Rome. "We write to you," said they, "as well as to the other princes of the East and West, to dissipate the calumnies of the schismatics, who accuse the pontiff Anaclet the Second of not having been chosen canonically, and of having seized upon the Holy See by violence, and with effusion of blood."

In the embarrassment in which he found himself, in regard to which of the two popes was the usurper, Lothaire took the wise part of replying to no one. Anaclet, annoyed by his silence, wrote to him again, by the prefect and principal lords of Rome, in the name of the whole city. He complained of the contempt Lothaire had shown for the Holy See by not answering his letter, and pledged himself to take him under his protection, if he himself desired to be recognised as emperor of the Romans.

Whilst he was thus seeking to assure himself of the support of Germany, he sent into France Otho, bishop of Lodi, with the title of legate, and charged with several letters, in which he reminded the king of the friendship with which he had honoured him in his youth, and of the affectionate cares with which he had laden him. Another legate, Gregory, a cardinal-deacon, was sent into Aquitaine, to remit to the abbot and monks of Cluny, the sentences of anathema pronounced against those whom he called schismatics; that is, against all those who refused to recognise his authority. Finally, other ambassadors were sent to John Comnenus, emperor of the East, and to the bishop of Drivasto, in Albania, as also to the king of Jerusalem.

But all these embassies resulted unfavourably. In Italy only were the intrigues of Anaclet fully successful. The greater part of the lords took the oath of obedience and fidelity to him. He even concluded an alliance with Duke Roger, to whom he gave his sister in marriage, granting to him the title of King of Sicily, and the right to be crowned by the metropolitans of his kingdom. He surrendered to him, besides, the principality of Capua and the lordship of Naples; and he authorised the archbishop of Palermo to consecrate the prelates of Syracuse, Girgenti, Mazaria, and Catania, without the approval of the court of Rome. This bull is dated on the 27th September, 1130, and forms the first authentic title of the royalty of Sicily.

Whilst the anti-pope, sustained by the arms of his brother-in-law, caused himself to be recognised, either willingly, or by force, in all the provinces of Italy, Innocent had embarked at Pisa, and gone towards the coast of France. He disembarked at St. Gilles, in Provence, and from thence went to Viviers, then to Puy, in Auvergne, and finally to Clermont, where he held a council, at which Eri-

bert and Conrad, archbishops of Munster and Saltzburg were present. The pope then went to Cluny to thank the monks who had sent him, on his disembarkation, sixty horses, with suitable equipages for himself and his cardinals. Innocent remained eleven days in this opulent retreat, where he dedicated a new church which was built in honour of the apostle St. Peter. This solemn reception by the monks of Cluny gave him a great preponderance throughout all France, and even in Germany, where his election was adjudged to be canonical.

During the sojourn of the holy father at the abbey of Cluny, king Louis sent Suger, abbot of St. Denis, to present him his best compliments. He then went himself, with the queen and princes, as far as St. Benedict, on the Loire, to meet the pontiff. As soon as he perceived Innocent, he dismounted from his horse, prostrated himself at his feet, took an oath of obedience and protection to him, and pledged himself, by oath, to overthrow the enemies of the church, and exterminate the schismatics. Saint Bernard, the celebrated abbot of the Citeaux, was then sent to the court of Henry of England, to induce him to recognise Innocent. The pious monk was received with great coldness, which taught him, that the English prelates, corrupted by the gold of Anaclet, had already alarmed the king by threatening him with eternal damnation. Bernard was at last able to overcome the scruples of the prince, by reasoning, and in a last audience to convince him by saying to him—"What do you fear my lord? Is it to burn in hell for having recognised the pope? Fear not; only think of obtaining pardon from God for your other sins; I take that to my own account." The king of England had no reply, and at once recognised the pontiff. On the next day he assembled an imposing train and went as far as Chartres to meet Innocent.

All had been prepared in advance for this first interview; Henry, following the example of the king of France, prostrated himself at the feet of the holy father, and swore filial obedience to him in his own name and that of his people. He then conducted him in triumph to the city of Rouen, where the pope received considerable presents from the king, the lords, and the Jews. During his sojourn at Rouen, the holy father received from his legate Gauthier, the metropolitan of Ravenna, the proceedings of the council of Wurtzburg, which informed him of the favourable turn his affairs were taking in Germany, and at the same time a letter from king Lothaire and the prelates of his kingdom, who besought him to go to Liege to preside over an assembly of Saxon, German, Bavarian, and Lorraine bishops and lords which was to be held on the 22d of March, 1131.

Innocent went at once on the invitation of the prince, who came to meet him, three miles from Liege, with the queen his wife, and a numerous train of priests and nobles. It is related that Lothaire accompanied the

pontiff as far as the cathedral, holding in one hand a rod to keep off the people, and with the other leading his horse. After the celebration of divine service, the pope went to the council to preside over its session; but Lothaire, who had intended to profit by the division in the church to regain the right of investiture, wished them above all to deliberate on this important question, and urged the holy father to restore to the crown a privilege which had been wrested from the emperor Henry, by the necessity of the circumstances.

At this proposal the cardinals, and the pontiff himself, grew pale, fearful lest they had fallen into greater danger at Liege, than that which they had so fortunately shunned at Rome. All were silent and bowed their heads. Saint Bernard, indignant at the cowardice of the pope, alone spoke; he remonstrated with the king of Germany on the dangers of a new strife between the altar and the throne, and forcibly represented to him, that he would commit an irremissible crime by reducing the churches, and compelling the prelates to become simoniacs. Lothaire, moved by the eloquence of the monk, desisted from his pretensions, only exacting a promise from the holy father to crown him emperor in the cathedral at Rome. All the conventions having been agreed on and signed, the council terminated its sessions, and Innocent returned to France to celebrate the festival of Easter at St. Denis, as he had engaged to do. Suger went in procession at the head of the community to receive him, and on Holy Thursday the pope solemnly officiated.

Three days afterwards Innocent performed a magnificent ceremony which was called the largesses of the presbytery. We find the following details of this day in the chronicles of Suger: "On the next day as soon as the light appeared, the pope left the abbey mysteriously, and went to St. Denis de l'Éstrée with his suite. The cardinals were all clad in their Roman ornaments. The pope, wearing a tiara, bordered and adorned with a circlet of gold, enriched with precious stones, advanced mounted on a white horse covered with scarlet housings; the cardinals, wearing their violet coloured mantles, followed him, two and two, mounted on horses whose reins and trapping were of glittering whiteness; then came the barons, the vassals of the church of St. Denis, and the Castellans, who marched on foot and served in turn as squires to the pontiff. Heralds at arms preceded them with large baskets filled with pieces of gold and silver, which they scattered freely among the crowd which pressed around the cortège. When the pope was near St. Denis, the nobles, the principal magistrates of Paris, and even the rabbis and wealthiest of the Jews, advanced to meet him to do him homage. Having thus passed on, he reached the great church through streets hung with tapestry and strewed with flowers, where gold, silver, and precious stones glittered around. Innocent celebrated a solemn mass, assisted by the abbot, gave his blessing to

the people, and returned to the monastery with his magnificent train. All the walls of the convent were adorned with rich hangings, and the saloons had been transformed into refectories to receive the guests; they first ate the pascal lamb, half reclining in the ancient fashion: the festival then proceeded according to the usage of ordinary ceremonies.<sup>7</sup>

After the three days of Easter, the pope came to Paris to thank the king, and to ask permission from him to travel through France. This permission having been granted to him, he started immediately on his journey. He ransacked pitilessly the churches and monasteries, under the pretext that they ought to defray the expenses of his court, and his avidity threatened to ruin the southern provinces entirely; when, fortunately for the people, he was arrested in his exactions by the death of Philip, the eldest son of the king, who was killed by a fall from his horse, at the age of fourteen. The monarch wrote to the pontiff to retrace his steps immediately, to convene a general council at Rheims, and solemnly consecrate Louis, his second son.

Innocent obeyed the prince, and fixed the time of this assembly for the 18th of October in the same year. The assembly was composed of thirteen metropolitans, two hundred and sixty-three bishops, and a great number of French, English, German, and Spanish abbots, clergy, and monks. The pope first caused his own election to be approved by the council, and excommunicated Anaclet; he then decreed seventeen canons of ecclesiastical discipline, which present nothing of importance. At the second session Louis entered the assembly, accompanied by his relative Ralph, count of Vermandois, and several other lords of his kingdom; he explained in a few words the sad accident which had snatched prince Philip from him, and besought the assembly to proceed to the coronation of his other son. The holy father replied to the prince, exhorting him to submit himself to the immutable will of the King of kings and Lord of lords, after which he gave the royal unction to Louis, the second son of the French monarch.

At the end of the ceremony, the archbishop of Magdeburg presented to the pontiff letters from Lothaire, in which that prince declared that he was disposed to invade Italy. Hugh, the metropolitan of Rouen, also produced letters of obedience from king Henry of England; and Spanish ambassadors came to offer like letters, written by the two sovereigns of the Iberian peninsula. Innocent received these marks of submission with feigned humility, and replied to the ambassadors of the different sovereigns that he was preparing to re-enter Italy to obey them.

Before, however, crossing the Alps, as he well knew the power of gold over the Roman clergy, he determined to make some fresh visits to the monasteries, to place them under contribution. For this purpose he went to Clairvaux, where he was received with great

respect by the monks who came to meet him poorly clad, and carrying a wooden cross. This ostentation of poverty discontented Innocent, and his deception was still greater when he saw the church without any ornaments; the saloons of the convent, the refectories, the dormitories, destitute of furniture, and when they told him that gold and silver were proscribed in that retreat. Black bread, milk, and herbs, were served up to the cardinals and the train of the pontiff, whilst some boiled fish, which were regarded by the good fathers as a very choice dish, were reserved for the holy father. Innocent did not sojourn long in the abbey; and on the same day he went to Cluny, and celebrated the festival of the purification of our Lady. On the next day, he confirmed the privileges of this monastery, particularly the immunity of the place which guaranteed it against the violences of the lords. He also granted to Saint Bernard, for the abbey of the Citeaux, and in consideration of the services which the abbot had rendered him, a new charter in the following terms:—"We prohibit all Christians, under penalty of anathema, whatever their rank, from exacting, or even receiving from you and your brethren, dimes for the lands which you cultivate with your own hands, nor dimes for your beasts, declaring your congregation entirely freed from such servitude."

Before quitting France, Innocent imposed on all the clergy a kind of tribute, under the name of *cueillette*, for the pious work of the conquest of the apostolic throne. At last the holy father entered Lombardy by the mountains of Genoa, and came to Placenza, where he convened in council the prelates of that province, whilst waiting the arrival of the troops of king Lothaire; the assembly confirmed the election of Innocent, and the prelates took the oath of fidelity and obedience to him. As soon as the pope was apprised that Lothaire had entered Italy, he pursued his route, entered Tuscany, and established himself at Pisa. By his exertions, the inhabitants of this city concluded a peace with the Genoese, and swore to submit to his decision in regard to the difficulties which had caused the war. Saint Bernard, who had followed the pontiff in his new journey, was the mediator of this treaty. He negotiated the peace with great skill, and determined Innocent to put an end for the future to any return of the difficulty, by erecting the city of Genoa into a metropolis, as was the city of Pisa, and to give the pallium to the bishop Syrius, with three prelates of the island of Corsica as his suffragans.

Lothaire joined the pontiff at Pisa, accompanied by only two thousand horsemen. Notwithstanding the weakness of this army, they both decided to march on Rome, the one being impatient to seat himself in the chair of the apostle, the other to be crowned emperor. After a march of two days they encamped beneath the walls of the holy city, near to the church of St. Agnes, whither Thébald, the prefect, and some nobles, came to receive

them. Anaclet, fearing treason, retired with his partizans into the fortified houses of Rome, and abandoned the palace of the Lateran to his competitor, who immediately installed himself there. On the next day, Innocent proceeded to the consecration of the emperor Lothaire, and the empress Richilda, his wife; but he was constrained to perform this august ceremony within the church of the Saviour, because the anti-pope remained master of the church of St. Peter, and the greater part of the quarters of Rome.

Before receiving the crown, Lothaire swore, as usual, to preserve safe the life and limbs of the sovereign pontiff and his successors, to defend the Holy See, to maintain the pope in the enjoyment of the regalia of St. Peter, and to use all his power to re-establish him in the provinces which had risen against him. Innocent, on his side, engaged not to excommunicate the prince, and to surrender to him the usufruct of the domains of the countess Matilda, for himself, his daughter, and his son-in-law, Henry, duke of Bavaria. This deed is dated on the 8th of June, 1133.

Anaclet remained for some months confined in his towers, from whence they hurled darts and stones at the people of the emperor, without permitting their own to come to an engagement; he obstinately declined any conference with the prince, and would not listen to any proposition, tending to cause him to abandon his dignity. As Lothaire had not sufficient force to reduce the castle of San Angelo, and the other fortresses of the anti-pope, nor to engage King Roger, who was advancing with a numerous army, to deliver Anaclet, he was obliged to return towards Germany and abandon the holy father. The latter not being longer in safety in the holy city, after the departure of the prince, was obliged to return to Pisa, where he assembled a new council. His competitor, Anaclet, was anathematized for the fourth time, as were all his defenders, especially Roger, king of Sicily, whose kingdom was declared to be under interdict. The pope also excommunicated the Milanese, to punish them for having followed the party of Anaclet, and for having declared in favour of Conrad, the usurper of the crown of Italy. Such is the justice of princes! Lothaire had pardoned his rebellious subject and received him to his friendship; whilst the destruction of the unfortunate city, which had been led into rebellion, had been sworn. The Milanese having no other resource to save their city and their lives, than to submit to Pope Innocent, declared themselves subjects of St. Peter; they wrote to Saint Bernard to beseech him to become the mediator between them and the pontiff, and entreated him to come to Milan to take off the anathema pronounced against the city.

The holy abbot, in his reply, congratulated them on their return to the unity of the church, and the desire which they evinced to restore peace to their province; he excused himself for not being able to go immediately to them, and assured them he would come as soon as

possible. In fact, when all the proceedings of the council of Pisa had been expedited into different kingdoms of the East and West, Saint Bernard went to Milan, accompanied by Guy, bishop of Pisa, and Mathew the prelate of Albano, to give to the inhabitants absolution from the anathema they had incurred. This ceremony was celebrated with great solemnity, and all the people took the oath of obedience and fidelity to the sovereign pontiff.

During the following year, (1135), Lothaire returned into Italy at the instigation of Innocent, to confer with him on the means to be employed to extirpate the party of Anaclet, and especially to detach King Roger from his alliance with the anti-pope. They consulted on this important matter with Saint Bernard, who was the pillar of the church, and who possessed the art of causing strange paradoxes to be admitted as incontestable truths. The latter engaged to write a circular letter to the schismatics, and to bring over the largest part of the partizans of Anaclet to the holy father. All these intrigues met with no great success, but it was the absolute want of money which led to the ruin of the anti-pope. His court became deserted; his festivals were no longer resplendent as in the first days of his power: his servants badly clothed, appeared enfeebled by forced abstinences, and the sad state of his dwelling announced his approaching fall.

Innocent, informed by his spies of the penury of his enemy, resolved to march a second time on Rome, and was preceded by the son-in-law of the emperor, who commanded three thousand horsemen. On his way, the pope carried by assault the cities of Albano and Beneventum, seized even on the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, and obliged the ecclesiastics, lords, monks, and people of that province, to take the oath of obedience to him.

Whilst the pontiff was conquering Campania, the emperor was chasing Roger from Apulia and Calabria. Innocent rejoined him with his army in the city of Bari, where the ambassadors of John Comnenus, emperor of the East, who had been sent to the camp of Lothaire, to congratulate him on his victory over the king of Sicily, waited for him. Unfortunately for the holy father, there was among them an audacious monk, who publicly censured the conduct of Innocent, and cast discredit on his court. In his preaching he maintained, that the pope was a Pagan Emperor, and not a Christian bishop, and affirmed that the Roman clergy was heretical.

Bernard endeavoured, uselessly, to strive with the monk; the latter turned on the holy abbot himself, and demanded from him for what motive he had abandoned his convent, instead of consecrating himself solely to prayer, and a renunciation of the world, to live in solitude as he had vowed; he reproached him for living in camps, in the midst of combats and disorders; he accused him of prevarication, adultery, and sodomy. "What then, false monk," said he, "darest thou defend this pope, whose hands, armed with the

sword, are red each day with the blood of his brethren? and, instead of anathematising such a wretch who wishes to usurp the Holy See, thou art the first to rise up to shield his infamies by that sacrilegious falsehood . . ." Several historians affirm, that the emperor, alarmed by the declamations of the Greek monk, had resolved to abandon the side of the pontiff to embrace that of his competitor, but he was suddenly seized by an unknown malady, which carried him off in two days; he died in a cottage near the city of Trent, on the night of the 3d and 4th of December, 1137.

When this was known, Roger re-assembled in haste a new army, invaded Apulia a second time, carried fire and blood every where, sacked the cities, pillaged the churches, and put the inhabitants of Capua to the edge of the sword. He then marched on Beneventum, which submitted and recognised the anti-pope anew. But Anaclet had not the satisfaction of seeing his triumph; for whilst his protector was advancing on Rome by forced marches, he died of poison. He was secretly interred by his friends, who feared lest Innocent should pursue his vengeance on the dead body of his victim.

Arnulp represents the anti-pope as an infamous man, who was soiled by the greatest crimes; he accuses him of all kinds of excesses and debaucheries, and even of incest with his sister, the wife of Roger. After his death, the schismatics, by the orders of the king of Sicily, chose the cardinal Gregory as sovereign pontiff; but they soon renounced their schism to avoid the fate of the unfortunate Anaclet, and made their submission to Innocent, who received them graciously, and loaded them with presents. The new anti-pope, abandoned on all sides, in his turn left the camp of Roger during the night, and came to seek Saint Bernard to beseech him to obtain his pardon; the abbot conducted him immediately to the palace of Innocent, who pardoned the past and re-instated him in his old dignity.

Thus terminated the schism on the 29th of May, 1138; the strife between the popes had lasted eight years; it had filled Italy with blood, ruined France, and carried off from Germany the elite of its people. Innocent was at last victorious over his enemies and absolute master in Rome.

His first care was to convene a general council, at which more than a thousand bishops were present. In this assembly Rome was declared to be the capital of the world, and the pontiff the supreme dispenser of ecclesiastical dignities. The canons of the council of Rheims were confirmed, and particularly the one against tournaments; the ordinations made by the anti-pope Anaclet, were declared null, and the pope terminated the session by a terrible sentence of excommunication against King Roger and all his partizans.

After the termination of the synod, Innocent assembled some troops and marched against his enemy, whom he met at the foot

of Monte Cassino. Both parties sent deputies to propose a treaty of alliance, in order to avoid the effusion of blood, but as the negotiations were long drawn out, the son of the king, at the head of a thousand horse, made a skilful counter-march, took the army of the pope in flank and made him prisoner.

Roger treated the holy father with the greatest respect, and proposed to him peace in exchange for his liberty; the latter not daring to refuse any thing to his conqueror, invested him by the standard with the kingdom of Sicily, gave Apulia to his eldest son, and the principality of Capua to the younger. The two princes took the oath of fidelity and obedience to him on their knees, as was the custom. Innocent then received permission to go to Beneventum, where he was received as if he had been St. Peter himself; he at length re-entered Rome on the 6th of September, 1139.

It is believed that it was during this year that Leo Stypiot, the patriarch of Constantinople, condemned in a council the heretical work Chrysomalus, at the entreaty of John Comnenus, who wished by this step to restore the unity of the Eastern and Western churches. But the Greeks persisted none the less in their hatred to the Latins, and the emperor found himself, notwithstanding his opposition to it, dragged into a war with the Christians of the West.

Several historians place at this time the new interdict, which was lanced against the kingdom of France, on the occasion of the election of Peter of Chartres, archbishop of Bourges, who was consecrated by the pope without waiting for the consent of Louis the Young. The king, irritated at the audacious prelate, sent troops into Berry, ravaged the province, destroyed the cities, and compelled Peter of Chartres to take refuge with Thébald, count of Champagne. The intrepid archbishop, in his turn, raised troops, placed himself at their head, gave battle to the army of the king and re-conquered his metropolis. Louis the Young threatened to invade Berry a second time with new armies; Peter of Chartres wrote to Rome, and claimed the aid of the Vatican. Louis was deposed and excommunicated by the authority of St. Peter, and the kingdom of France placed under interdict. In that age, the consequences of an anathema were terrible to kings, and Louis hastened to recognise the archbishop of Bourges, that the holy father should take off the sentence of excommunication.

In Italy, Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, commenced preaching on the effeminate lives of the priests and the disorders of the monks. This bold man, the precursor of reform, spoke strongly against the ecclesiastical debauchees; he reproached them with their sordid avarice, their unrestrained love of grandeur, their hypocrisy, and their lubricity; at last, by his eloquence, he raised a powerful party against the clergy. The holy father endeavoured, but in vain, to annihilate him with the thunders of the Vatican; but his doctrines had touched men's minds, and they

spread through all the cities with incredible rapidity. Rome especially, divided between the two parties of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, embraced with ardour the doctrines of the excommunicated; the citizens rose against the pope, assembled in the capitol and re-established the ancient institution of the senate, which had been abolished for some centuries.

Innocent was so chagrined at not having been able to arrest the effects of a revolution which struck so severe a blow against the pontifical authority, that he was attacked by a dangerous sickness, to which he succumbed on the 24th of September, 1143. He was interred in the church of St. John of the Lateran.

## CELESTINE THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1144.]

*Election of Celestine—Letter of the pope to Peter, abbot of Cluny—Reply of the monk—Death of Celestine after a pontificate of five months.*

On the very day of the death of Innocent, the Guelphs, the partizans of the popes, and the Ghibelines, the supporters of the emperor, disputed for the right of choosing a new pontiff; but during their discussions, the people and principal magistrates of Rome elevated Guy of Castel to the pontifical throne, and proclaimed him by the name of Celestine the Second.

As soon as he was installed on the throne of St. Peter, the new pope addressed a letter to Peter, abbot of Cluny, with whom he was on terms of friendship; he informed him that his election had taken place in the church of St. John the Lateran, amidst the acclamations of the clergy and people; and that he had only accepted the chief dignity in the church to reform the disorders of the Italian ecclesiastics and monks. Peter, in his reply, encourages the holy father to repress with severity the licentiousness of the priests, and bestows great eulogiums on Arnold of Brescia; he finishes his letter by announcing to the pontiff that he will undertake the journey to Rome to renew their former friendship. But he could not realize this plan, for the pope Celestine died on the 9th of March, 1144, after a reign of five months and a half; he was buried in the church of St. John of the Lateran.

Some months before the death of Celestine,

the patriarch Michael Oxitus renewed in the east the persecution against the Bagomiles, who had been already proceeded against, during the reign of the emperor Alexis Comnenus. Their doctrine taught that the oldest son of God, named Satanael, having revolted against his father, had drawn very many angels into rebellion; that having been exiled to the earth for this crime, he had created all things visible, and deceived Moses by giving him the old law; that God the Father had afterwards engendered a second son called Jesus Christ, who came to destroy the power of Satanael, and to shut him up in the abysses of hell, taking from his name the angelic syllable, so that he was now called Satanus. According to the Bagomiles, the incarnation of the Word, his life upon earth, his predictions, his passover, his death, his resurrection, were but deceitful appearances, and they regarded it as a folly to make them religious dogmas.

Michael found that the most expeditious mode of arresting the progress of the heresy, was to hand over the monk Niphon, the head of the doctrine, to punishment. By his orders they tore from the poor monk, one by one, all the hairs of a magnificent beard, which fell even to his sandals; they put him to torture, plucked out his eyes, and then made him mount the scaffold.

## LUCIUS THE SECOND, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1144.]

*Election of Lucius the Second—His history before his pontificate—Truce with King Roger—Differences between the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Dol—The primacy of Toledo—Consequence of a revolt of the Romans against the papacy—The citizens seize on the revenues of the city—Letters from the pope and the seditious to the Emperor Conrad—He listens favourably to the envoys of the pontiff—Lucius places himself at the head of his troops, and besieges the Roman senators in the capitol—He is slain by a stone in the mêlée.*

ON the day succeeding the death of Celestine, the cardinals and nobles of the Guelph faction, having secretly assembled in the palace of the Lateran, chose, without the participation of the clergy and people, Gerard, a cardinal priest of the order of the holy cross, as sovereign pontiff, and consecrated him by the name of Lucius the Second.

This pontiff was from Bologna, and had been destined to the ecclesiastical state from his infancy. Honorius had brought him to Rome, on the recommendation of one of his relatives, and made him a cardinal and librarian of the church. Gerard afterwards reconstructed the church of his order, augmented its revenues by extortions, and founded there a community of regular canons. Innocent the Second, who knew his skill, created him chancellor after the death of Aimeri; he afterwards made him chamberlain, and confided to him the guardianship of the treasury of St. Peter.

Instead of seeking by prudent conduct to cause his fraudulent election to be forgotten, he showed himself to be proud, avaricious, vindictive, and sought to re-establish the pontifical despotism in Rome. Before, however, entering upon an open contest with the people, he judged it prudent to assure himself of the protection of the emperor, and the other princes of Italy. He first concluded a truce with Roger, king of Sicily, whom he induced, by the payment of an enormous tribute, to lend him the aid of the royal troops to subjugate the Romans to his odious tyranny; he then sent ambassadors to the kings of France, England and Germany, to implore their aid.

Whilst his legates were on their way to the different courts of Europe, the holy father appeared to be entirely occupied in restoring harmony between the prelates of Gaul and Spain. He terminated the differences which had existed since the pontificate of Urban the Second, between the Sees of Tours and Dol, in relation to the jurisdiction of the bishoprics of Brittany, which Hugh, the metropolitan of Tours, had always claimed, by virtue of the ordinance of Pope Urban, without being able to obtain it. Innocent the Second had given, some time before, to Geoffrey the prelate of Chartres, his legate, full powers to settle it: but the death of the pontiff having prevented the matter from being definitely arranged, the bishop of Dol obtained a new reference to the

Holy See, to have a definite judgment pronounced. Lucius published the following decree on this subject: "We have examined in council the title of the metropolitan of Tours, and particularly the bull of our predecessor Urban; and after having advised with our bishops, cardinals, abbots and lords, we have invested, by the episcopal baton, the archbishop Hugh, with the right of absolute jurisdiction over all the prelates of the province of Brittany. We, however, declare that our brother Geoffrey, chief of the clergy of Dol, shall, so long as God shall spare his life, govern his diocese, without being responsible to any other authority than that of the Holy See; and we send him the pallium in recompense for the obedience he has always shown. Done at the palace of the Lateran, on the 13th of May, 1144."

Lucius rendered a second judgment in favour of the metropolitan Raymond of Toledo, to whom he accorded the primacy over all Spain, and the churches which had lost their prelates in consequence of the invasion of the Saracens. In the same session he received from the archbishop the deed by which Alphonso, Duke of Portugal, agreed to pay to the court of Rome an annual tribute of four pounds weight of gold, in exchange for the title of king.

But, if foreigners appeared submissive to the Holy See, such was not the case with the Romans, who showed themselves each day more hostile to the papacy. At last the preaching of Arnold of Brescia excited their spirit. A new revolution broke out; the people assembled in arms, declaring themselves to be independent of the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, and appointed a patrician to govern Rome. This eminent dignity was bestowed on Jourdain, the son of Peter de Leo. All the citizens took an oath of fidelity to him, as if he had been absolute sovereign, and in the same manner that their ancestors had done to Charlemagne and Otho the Great. The senate then went in a body to the palace of the Lateran, and reclaimed from Lucius all the regal rights on which the popes had seized; and declared to him, that in future he must content himself for his support with the offerings of the faithful, as the gospel commanded, and the bishops of Rome had practised for more than six centuries. Jourdain also seized the revenues of the city, appointed officers to re-

place the creatures of the pope, and administer justice in the name of the citizens.

The holy father and his cardinals wished to oppose these dangerous innovations. As they were destitute of force, they were constrained to yield to the wishes of the people. Lucius sent new legates to the emperor Conrad, with letters filled with flatteries and falsehoods, in order to induce that prince to come to the aid of the Roman church. The senate, on their side, informed of the secret measures of the pope, sent ambassadors to the court of Germany, with letters written by the principal Ghibelines. "We are desirous," said the senators to the prince, "to re-establish the Roman empire, as in the days of Constantine and Justinian, that it may be worthy to have you for its supreme chief. We have taken by force the fortified houses and towers of the lords who refuse to recognise your authority. Some have been razed: the most important are still standing, and ready to receive your troops. We beseech you to establish your residence in our city, because you will be able to rule with an absolute authority over all Italy; and you will be able to chastise the insolence of the priests, who have so often turned your kingdom upside down. Finally, we consider it our duty to inform you, that Lucius has made a treaty with Roger, king of Sicily; that he has given to him the baton and the pastoral ring, the dalmatics, the tiara, and the sandals; and the right to be no longer dependent on the Holy See in ecclesiastical affairs."

Conrad the Devout refused to admit the deputies of the Romans into his presence, and gave no reply to the letter they had sent him. On the other hand, he received the legates of the pope with great honour; among whom were Guy of Pisa, the cardinal-chancellor, the most consummate statesman of the age. Guy obtained from the emperor an assurance of his protection, and permission to levy a numerous army for the defence of the church.

But their minds were in such a state of exasperation at Rome, that the pope, excited by

the Guelphs, did not even wait the return of his envoys. He hastily assembled some troops, placed himself at their head, and went to attack the senate in the capitol. It is related, that Lucius, axe in hand, himself struck the gates of that edifice to break them, and that they were already shaking beneath his blows, when he fell, struck by a stone in the forehead. He died on the next day, the 3d of February, 1145, after a pontificate of about a year.

During his pontificate, appeared a very remarkable work, by Peter of Cluny, the celebrated friend of Celestine the Second. It was divided into two parts: the first was a refutation of the errors of Mohammed; the second was composed of the statutes for the government of the convents of his order, whose discipline was very much relaxed, if we are to judge by the statutes themselves. The following are some of them:

"The monks of Cluny are prohibited from eating water-fowl and wild ducks on Fridays, under the plea that these birds are aquatic. They are prohibited, after the evening repast, from using hypocras, that is, wine mixed with sugar, honey, and spices. They are prohibited from making more than three repasts a day; from wearing ornaments and precious stuffs; from having more than two domestics; and from remaining in the parlors with young women during the hours of night. They are prohibited from playing for gold, raising monkeys, and retiring to the cells with the novices under the pretext of instructing them to pray. They are prohibited from receiving young monks, without the special authority of the abbot, because it might fill the abbey with vagabonds and infamous debauchees.

"The abbots should endeavour to re-establish manual labour, as soon as possible; because it is deplorable to see to what extent idleness prevails in the cloisters. These residences, which the pious Saint Benedict reared to moralise Christian society, have abandoned the holy mission of their founder, and become the dwelling of corruption and infamy. . . ."

## EUGENIUS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1145.]

*Election of Eugenius—Arnold of Brescia again returns to Rome—He induces the Romans to revolt in the name of liberty—The pope escapes from the holy city—He then takes refuge at Viterba—Deputation from the bishops of Armenia—Second crusade—The pope returns to Rome—He escapes again and takes refuge in France—Combat between the officers of the pope and the canons of St. Genevieve—Ill success of the crusade—Council of Paris against Gilbert of Poree—Condemnation of Eon de l'Etoile—The king of Castile accuses the pope of having sold the title of king of Portugal to Henriquez Alphonso—Journey of Eugenius to the abbey of Clairvaux—Treaty between the emperor and the pope—New dissension between the two sovereigns—Jourdain of Ursini is sent into Germany as legate—Origin of archbishoprics in Ireland—Death of Eugenius.*

AFTER the tragical end of Lucius the Second, the patrician Jourdain, the senate and the people, met to choose a pope favourable to the new revolution. But the cardinals had already secretly assembled in the convent of St. Cæsar, and proclaimed the abbot, Peter

Bernard, sovereign pontiff, by the name of Eugenius the Third. This monk, born at Pisa, had been at first vidame of the cathedral of that city; he then took the monastic habit at Clairvaux, under the direction of Saint Bernard. Afterwards, Atenuiph, abbot of Farsa in Italy, having asked from the saint for some monks to found a community of the order of the Citeaux, Bernard of Pisa was sent to him, with several French monks. Pope Innocent brought them to Rome and gave them the church and abbey of Saint Athanasius.

Bernard had been for several years the abbot of his convent, when they came after him to conduct him to the palace of the Lateran. The cardinals and bishops, desirous of accomplishing the ceremony of the consecration, had already made all their preparations in the church of the apostle, when a deputation from the senate came to summon them to break off an election which had been made without their consent, and to choose, in conjunction with them, a pope who would take an oath to obey the laws, and maintain the new constitution. The cardinals asked for time until the next day to give their reply; but during the night they escaped from Rome with the pontiff, and took refuge in the fortress of Monticello.

On the next day, Eugenius was conducted by them to the monastery of Farsa, where he was consecrated on the following Sunday, the 28th of February, 1145. After the ceremony, he returned to the holy city, determined to strive against the partizans of popular liberty, and to employ force to subjugate the Romans to the yoke of the Holy See; but he found, that during his absence a redoubtable adversary had introduced himself into the place. It was the famous Arnold of Brescia, who had come to Rome a second time, to defend the interests of the people.

This intrepid reformer preached in the streets, in the public places, and exhorted the citizens in the name of the ancient republic, to reconquer the liberties which had rendered their fathers the masters of the world. He adjured the people to break the debasing yoke of popes and priests; he loudly announced that the time was come in which ecclesiastics and monks should really renounce the world to be engaged in the things of God, and that if they refused to follow the precepts of the gospel they should be constrained to do so. His eloquent discourses animated their minds; the Romans ran to arms, attacked the palace of the Lateran, and were on the very point of forcing the pontifical residence, when they learned that Eugenius had escaped beyond the walls by a secret outlet, and had reached Viterba in the disguise of a pilgrim. The populace then turned their rage towards the supporters of the tyranny; the palaces of the cardinals, bishops and nobles, who had declared in favour of absolutism, were pillaged, burned, and sacked. The crowd then went, armed with lances and clubs, to the church of St.

Peter; the offerings of pilgrims, which were destined for the pope, were distributed to the poor, and the priests, who wished to resist this act of justice, pitilessly massacred.

Calm succeeded this first outbreak; a new oath of fidelity was taken to the patrician by the senate and the magistrates; all with one accord, decided that they would repel by force princes or kings who should again pretend to subjugate them to an infamous theocracy, which, for eleven centuries and a half had soiled Rome by its incests and assassinations.

Whilst the people, by a return of energy, were re-establishing their old freedom, Eugenius was holding his court with his cardinals at Viterba, and receiving an embassy from the patriarch of Armenia. The clergy of that country sent to consult the Holy See, in regard to several points of ecclesiastical discipline, and as to several ceremonies in their ritual, which differed from those of the Greek church. The pope received the deputies with great honours; he even celebrated a solemn mass at their desire, and caused them to be placed in the sanctuary, that they might observe all the details in the performance of divine service. A legend relates that God exhibited his power on this occasion, and permitted one of the ambassadors to see, at the moment of the elevation of the host, a luminous aureole behind the head of the pontiff, and two doves at his side—an incontestable proof, adds the pious legendary, of the infallibility of the Holy See and the holiness of Eugenius!!

Otho, prelate of Frisingen, who relates the same fact, was then at Viterba, and pretends that he spoke to the ecclesiastic for whom God had accomplished this miracle. In his work he gives an account of the interviews he had on this subject with Hugh, bishop of Gabale, in Syria, one of those who had laboured the hardest to reduce Antioch to the See of Rome; he also repeats the complaint of the prelate against his patriarch and the mother of the prince of Antioch, who refused a dime of the spoils taken from the Saracens.

Hugh informed the Holy See of the pleasant news, that a Nestorian prince, called priest John, celebrated for his bravery and his victories over the Persians, was coming to the aid of the church of Jerusalem. The pious bishop shed floods of tears whilst relating the miseries of the Christians of the East, and of the cruelties which the infidel practised against them; he besought the pope to promise him to cross the Alps, to implore the assistance of the kings of Germany and France. But it was not necessary to excite the fanaticism of the French for the Holy Land; king Louis had already held a general assembly of the clergy and nobility of his kingdom, and declared that he desired to undertake a crusade in person, to blot out from the eyes of God, the massacre of the inhabitants of Vitry, in Pertois, and the horrid cruelty he had shown in burning alive the unfortunate persons who had taken refuge in the church of that city.

Eugenius received the deputies of the king with great honours, and sent them back laden with presents for their master; he gave them also a bull for the French nation, by which the holy father commanded the people, in the name of the apostle, to take up arms in defence of the church, and follow their lords in the holy enterprise of the crusades. He accorded plenary indulgences for all past and future crimes, to those who should obey his orders; he placed their wives, children, and property under the protection of the Holy See, and gave them permission to mortgage their fiefs to the churches, to raise the money necessary for their journey. At the same time he addressed an apostolic brief to Saint Bernard, ordering him to preach the crusade in France and Germany, and to engage the people, kings, and lords, to take the cross for the remission of their sins. The eloquence of the abbot brought out one hundred and fifty thousand fanatics, who sold their property to go to Asia, to perish by famine, pestilence, or the sword of the Mussulmen.

Hainaut relates, that the words of Saint Bernard were heard as orders from Heaven. "It appears," added he, "as if this extraordinary man had received from God, power to govern the mind; he was seen to sally from his desert to appear in courts without mission, without title. The simple monk of Clairvaux was more powerful with the king than the abbot Suger, the first minister of France, and he preserved over pope Eugenius, who had been his disciple, an incomprehensible ascendancy. Saint Bernard was not, however, as skilful a politician as he was a great orator . . ."

Whilst the crusaders were rising at the voice of Bernard, the pope was dreaming of annihilating the followers of Arnold of Brescia; for this purpose he levied numerous troops, made a treaty with the Tiburtines, the declared enemies of Rome, and went in person to besiege the apostolical city. The unfortunate inhabitants, soon reduced to the last extremity, were constrained to implore the clemency of the holy father, and engaged to abolish the patriciate, to re-establish a prefect of his choice, and to recognise that the senators only held their authority from the pontiff. Not content with having reduced them beneath his sway, Eugenius exacted that the people should come to meet him, carrying branches, and that the senators should prostrate themselves at his feet and kiss his sandals. He then made his entrance by the gate of St. Peter; but as he feared some attempt at assassination, he shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo.

His sojourn in the holy city was not of long duration; the faction of Arnold having regained its strength, obliged him once more to leave Rome, and even quit Italy.

Whilst the pope was flying disgracefully, and coming to seek an asylum in France, Louis the Seventh was assembling a parliament in Burgundy, to have Ralph of Vermandois, his brother-in-law, and the abbot Suger,

recognised as the regents of the kingdom in his absence. On this occasion Saint Bernard delivered a very remarkable discourse to obtain mercy for the Jews of France and Bavaria, whose general massacre had been resolved upon, in order to draw down the blessing of God on the Christians. Then the king, his wife Eleonora, and a great number of lords and nobles, received the cross at the hands of the abbot of Clairvaux.

This crusade resulted deplorably, especially for the emperor Conrad, and the army which he led into the holy land. Notwithstanding the prophecies of Saint Bernard, who had announced victories and conquests to the crusaders, almost all perished on the way, and those who returned from Palestine found their property seized by the clergy.

"This war," says the historian Fra Paolo, "was only advantageous to the pope, who employed the troops which went to Jerusalem in the conquest of provinces adjoining the Roman church. Besides, the large sums of money which were wrested from the superstition of the faithful, and chiefly from women and other persons who could not go to combat in the holy land, were not scrupulously employed in the crusade; the pope, the bishops, and the princes, adjudging the greater part to themselves."

Before the departure of the Christians for Syria, Eugenius held a general council at Treves, where the works of Saint Hildegarde were examined. All the fathers of the council were astonished at the wisdom exhibited in the writings of this young nun, and addressed a letter to her to urge her to publish all that the Holy Spirit had revealed to her in its divine inspirations. In the same assembly, Henry, abbot of Fulda, having been convicted of having abandoned the care of his church to secular persons, in order to abandon himself to mundane pleasures, was deposed and anathematized. After the termination of the synod, the holy father went to Paris, where he was received with great honour by Louis and bishop Thibald; both went to meet him, and conducted him to the church of Notre Dame, where he celebrated divine service, and blessed the standard which was to be borne in Palestine.

Eugenius also celebrated a solemn mass in the church of St. Genevieve, in presence of the king and his court. During the ceremony a very strange event took place; the officers of the church had laid upon the steps of the altar a magnificent cloth of silk, bordered with gold and silver, which excited the covetousness of the holy father. After the first prayer, he prostrated himself on the carpet, which, according to the custom of the court of Rome, was taking possession of it; he then went to the sacristy to clothe himself in the pontifical ornaments. The Italian priests immediately approached the altar, and seized on the carpet which had been used by the pope; the canons perceiving the intentions of these ecclesiastical strangers, precipitated themselves upon them to wrest it from their hands;

the latter resisted, a struggle took place between the French and the Romans, and they beat each other with candles and candelabras; at length the canons succeeded in rescuing their magnificent carpet, but all in strips. The officers of the pope, beaten and humiliated, took refuge in the sacristy, and showed to the holy father their torn garments and bloody faces. Eugenius re-entered the church, and imperiously demanded justice for the insult to his officers. The bigot king decided that the canons should be driven from St. Genevieve, and that their church, with its dependencies, should be given to the black monks, that is, to the monks of Cluny. Louis confided the execution of this order to the abbot Suger, and made preparations for his departure to the Holy Land.

The emperor Conrad had already set out for Palestine with a formidable army of seventy thousand men. The king of France commanded several bodies, which amounted to more than eighty thousand men, he was also followed by a guard of honour, which served as an escort for the queen, his wife. After a march of three months, the two princes arrived at Constantinople, where they found immense magazines of provisions prepared for them by the care of Manuel Comnenus, and all things necessary to transport them into Asia. But they found a great change as soon as they had crossed the Hellespont; the wary Comnenus was desirous of the aid of the crusaders, but his policy prevented him from rendering them too powerful, and he laboured to disorganize their armies; now by delaying to send provisions, now by poisoning the flour with gypsum and lime, now by giving them infidel guides, who delivered up entire bodies to the steel of the Mussulmen. The army commanded by Conrad was almost entirely exterminated, and he himself obliged to fly and go to Ephesus to the king of France. The troops of Louis soon underwent the same fate; they were cut to pieces by the infidel, and the two princes disgracefully escaped, abandoning their soldiers in distant countries. Conrad returned to Constantinople, from whence he went to Germany. Louis disembarked in Calabria, and returned to France.

Such was the result of this expedition which had been announced by prophecies and miracles. Saint Bernard lost much of his consideration, and was accused by the people of imposture and knavery. "This great saint," says Maimburg, "replied that his predictions would have been realised, if the abominable sins of the Christians had not excited the wrath of Jesus Christ, and hindered the effect of his promises. He made it appear that the crusaders had been soiled by abominations more frightful than those of the children of Israel. These facts are true, but with like reasoning," adds Maimburg, "it would be easy for all impostors to explain their false prophecies which did not come to pass."

Whilst the armies of the crusaders were wetting with their blood the sands of Palestine, the holy father was holding ecclesiastical

assemblies in France to judge the heresies of Gilbert de la Poree, one of the most learned men of the day. The accused appeared before a council of French bishops, among whom was Bernard, who had been appointed the prosecutor by virtue of his office. Bayle affirms, that the holy abbot had himself solicited the employment, not from zeal for religion, but from a base motive of jealousy of the reformers of that age. Two doctors of theology were produced against Gilbert: Adam du Petit-Pont, a canon of the church of Paris, and Hugh of Champ-Fleury, the chancellor of the king. Both affirmed that they had heard the accused offer propositions contrary to the discipline of the church; for example: "that the divine essence was not God himself; that the properties of the persons of the Holy Trinity were not the persons themselves; finally, that the divine nature could not become incarnate, and that the person of the Son had alone been made human." Gilbert denied formally having ever said that the divinity was not God; and he produced in testimony of the truth of his assertions, two of his disciples—Ralph, bishop of Evreux, who afterwards became the metropolitan of Rouen, and the doctor Ives de Chartres. Eugenius found it impossible to render a judgment on account of the diversity of the depositions, and he was obliged to refer the decision of this important matter to the general council which had been convened at Rheims for the following year. In the mean time, he sent Alberic, bishop of Ostia, as his legate into the countryp of Toulouse, with orders to pursue the monk Henry, a disciple of Peter de Bruys, a heretic who had been burned some time before at St. Gilles by order of the pope.

This intrepid monk continued to teach the precepts of his master without being alarmed by dread of the scaffold. He preached openly against the pontiff, urging the faithful to withdraw from obedience to him, and to restrain his authority within the limits of the diocese of Rome. Eugenius, fearful of the consequences of these pernicious doctrines, which threatened his temporal power and his spiritual infallibility, authorised the legate Alberic to employ all the resources which he had at his disposal to annihilate the heretics to the last man. He ordered him to use sword, fire, and poison; to pursue and follow them every where like wild beasts; and to give to this mission a character of solemnity, he sent Geoffrey of Chartres, and St. Bernard to accompany his legate.

Among the cities infected by the heresy of Peter de Bruys, Alby was especially distinguished for its hatred of the pontifical tyranny which gave to all this sect the denomination of Albigenes; thus it was towards this city that the legate of the pontiff and his associates directed their steps. They entered Alby towards the end of the month of June. The people, who had been informed of the object of their journey, came to meet them with tambours, flutes, and kitchen utensils, and accompanied them even to the bishop's resi-

dence in the midst of shouts and the discordant noise of their instruments. The legates, furious at this reception, resolved to take vengeance for it. On the following day they caused those who had been pointed out by the priests of the country to be arrested, and compelled them, by frightful tortures, to denounce the other heretics, and abjure their belief.

Notwithstanding the severity which they displayed in their punishments, the legates could only obtain a small number of conversions; and as the exasperation of the people continued to increase, they were obliged to leave the south of France without having finished their mission. St. Bernard returned with his colleagues to Rheims, whither had already come more than twelve hundred prelates from all parts of France, to assist at the council convened by the holy father. They were first engaged with the heretic Eon de l'Étoile, a Breton gentleman, who was grossly ignorant, and whose mind was wandering. This poor insensate believed himself to be the Son of God, on account of the resemblance of his name with the word Eum, by virtue of these words: "Per eum qui venturus est;" and, in his folly, committed extravagancies which the crowd took for miracles. He had been soon surrounded by a large number of disciples, who had defended him against the attempts to arrest him made by several lords; the archbishop of Rheims had at last arrested him, by drawing him into a snare, under the pretext that he was a convert to his doctrine. The pope himself interrogated him; and though he could only obtain replies which were so many proofs of his madness, he condemned him to be burned alive. This sentence was, however, moderated at the solicitation of the archbishop of Rheims, who obtained permission that the unfortunate man, who was confided to his keeping, should be confined in a cloister for the rest of his life, and submitted to a rigorous fast. The abbot Suger, who was charged with the execution of the order, sent him to a convent of his order, and the fasting clause was so barbarously observed, that the unfortunate Eon died of famine in his dungeon after three months of agony. His disciples were all delivered over to the executioner, and burned alive in expiation of their folly.

The council then passed on to other matters; they decreed several canons to arrest the debauchery of the priests, monks, and nuns; they reformed some abuses of simony, and finally examined the heresy of Gilbert de la Porea. A commission, composed of the bishops Geoffrey of Leroux, Milan, Jocelyn, and Suger, to whom St. Bernard and several cardinals were joined, were charged to write out a report of it before the pontiff, and to interrogate the accused.

At the first session, Gilbert brought in a great number of the works of the fathers, in order to read entire passages which his adversaries only cited in detached extracts, so as to force the sense of the propositions. The

holy father, fatigued with listening to these long dissertations, apostrophised him sharply, and ordered him to say briefly whether he believed the divine essence was God. "No," replied Gilbert. "We then hold him for an heretic," exclaimed St. Bernard. "Let his avowal be written down." Henry of Pisa, who filled the post of secretary of the council, was about to obey this order, when Gilbert turned towards Bernard, and said, regarding him with indignation, "Write also, monk of Clairvaux, that the divinity is God." The abbot, unmoved, continued his address to Henry: "Secretary, leave your pen and paper, and write with iron and the diamond, that the divine essence, its form, goodness, wisdom, power, all in fine, is really God." This bold proposition scandalized the cardinals, and produced a long discussion. At length St. Bernard, conquered by the arguments of the Roman prelates, and particularly by the dialectics of Henry, terminated the discussion by saying, "Well, if the form of God is not the divinity, it is more than that, since it derives its essence from itself."—The cardinals immediately broke up the sitting, declaring that they were sufficiently informed on the matter, and that they would retire to deliberate before pronouncing judgment. They then left the hall, and the pope adjourned the council for three days.

Saint Bernard, who foresaw a check, intrigued with the French bishops, and on the following day assembled in his residence ten metropolitans, with a great number of abbots, bishops, and doctors of the Gallican church, in order to decide with them as to what it was necessary to do to alarm the cardinals and constrain them to condemn the doctrines of Gilbert. It was agreed among them, that they should send the cardinals a creed at the end of the articles consecrated by the French prelates, and the tenor of it was reduced to these strange terms: "We believe that the simple nature of the divinity is God, and that God is the divinity; we also believe that God is wise by wisdom, which is himself; that he is great by greatness, which is himself; that he is good by goodness, which is himself, etc. . . . When we speak of three divine persons, we say that they are one God and one divine substance; on the other hand, when we speak of the divine substance, we say it is in three persons, and thus of the rest. . . . We affirm that God alone is eternal, and that there exists nothing else, whatever may be its denomination, that can be eternal without being God. . . . Finally, we firmly believe that the divinity itself, or the divine nature, is incarnate in Christ."

Three deputies, Hugh of Auxerre, Milon of Terouanne, and the abbot Suger, were instructed to present this creed to the pope, and when they had been admitted to his presence they made this harangue: "We have permitted from respect to you, most holy father, discourses which we ought not to hear, when we brought the tribute of our intelligence to the decision which was to be taken on the heresy

of Gilbert. But since you have preserved for yourself and cardinals the right of pronouncing on this question, we bring you our profession of faith, that you may compare it with that of the heretic, so that you may not judge without hearing both parties. There exists, however, a difference between the conduct of the accused and ours; Gilbert has declared that he was ready to correct in his profession of faith that which was not in conformity with your sentiments; we, on the other hand, protest to you, that we will persevere for ever in the creed which we deposit in writing at your feet."

Eugenius, desiring to avoid a scandal, replied to the delegates, that the Roman church partook of the belief of the Gallican; that it condemned like it the doctrines of Gilbert de la Porea, and that the interest manifested by the cardinals was only for the person of that bishop, who was commendable for his merit. On the day appointed the council re-assembled in the palace called Tan, on account of its form representing the letter T; Gilbert was interrogated by the pope himself upon different points of his doctrine. At each incriminated article the accused replied: "Holy father, if you have any other opinion on this proposition, I submit to your wisdom; if, on the other hand, you speak or write in its favour, I will do as you." On this, the assembly declared that it could not find one so docile as a schismatic, and contented itself with lacerating the writings accused of heresy. They prohibited their being read, but they pronounced no censure against the author.

In the same council Raymond, archbishop of Toledo, came in the name of Alphonso the Eighth, the sovereign of Castile, to accuse pope Eugenius of having sold to Alphonso Henriquez, the count of Portugal, the title of king, for an annual payment of four pounds weight of gold; he also complained of the metropolitan of Braga, who had insolently refused to recognise the primacy of Toledo, since the countship of Portugal had been erected into a kingdom. "Thus," added he, "for a little gold has your pope of Satan destroyed the political and ecclesiastical hierarchy of Spain, and our misfortunes call down the vengeance of God upon his head."

Eugenius rose, pale and trembling with rage, to reply to him; but a single glance around the assembly showed him that the conduct of his adversary met the approval of the fathers. He then restrained himself, and putting on an hypocritical air, said to the archbishop, "Your master is illy informed; we have never wished to diminish the greatness of his authority, nor attack the rights of his crown; on the contrary, we desire to favour his kingdom by granting to him the same indulgence as to the crusaders of the East, if he wishes to combat the infidels of Spain. We are equally desirous that Toledo should remain the seat of the primate, and we suspend from his episcopal functions the archbishop of Braga, who has refused to submit to his superior, the primate Raymond. Finally, as a

mark of our affection, we will send to king Alphonso, by the hands of the bishop of Segovia, the golden rose which the pontiffs are accustomed to bless on the fourth Sunday in Lent of each year."

After the termination of the council of Rheims, the Pope went to Clairvaux, where he ostentatiously displayed his humility and his macerations; he wore constantly next his skin his woollen tunic and never put off the cowl; his bed was covered with rich stuffs which allowed the mattress made of beaten straw and rough horse hair to be seen. He also wished to assist at a general chapter of abbots as a simple monk, and not as president or pontiff.

During his absence from Italy, the Romans had been conquered by the emperor. After their submission he hastened to leave France, and made his solemn entry into Rome in 1149. The priests and monks alone came to meet him; the people refused to join in the acclamations. Without troubling himself about the hatred of the Romans, he determined to affirm the sway of the Holy See over Italy and the people who were recently converted to Christianity. He sent into Denmark and Norway, Nicholas, bishop of Albano, with the rank of legate, to establish an archbishopric; but as the Goths and Swedes could not agree, either as to the city which was to be chosen as the metropolis, nor the prelate whom they wished to elevate to the new see, the one demanding the archbishop of Bremen, the others him of Upsal, Nicholas was obliged to return without having settled any thing. The legate, however, established the archbishop of Lund as provisional primate of Sweden, and gave him authority over all the churches of Norway, until they should have designated a metropolitan.

Conrad the Third died in Germany during the following year, leaving his crown to his nephew, Frederick the First, surnamed Barbarossa. As soon as this prince was mounted on the imperial throne, he sent as delegates to the pontifical court, Hilin, the metropolitan of Treves, and Everard, the prelate of Bamberg, to inform the pope of his advent to the empire, and to propose to him a treaty of alliance. Eugenius received the ambassadors of the monarch favourably; he appointed seven cardinals and Brunon, the abbot of Cavalla, to confer with the ambassadors of Frederick. The bases of the treaty were that the sovereign should grant neither truce nor treaty to the citizens of Rome, nor Roger, king of Sicily, without the consent of the Holy See; that he should promise to push the war against them until they had submitted to the pope, themselves, their persons, vassals, and domains; and that, finally, he would engage by oath to defend him against all his enemies, and to recover for him the domains which the church had lost.

His holiness promised, on his side, to give the imperial crown to Frederick, whenever he should come to the holy city to receive it; he engaged to aid him with all his power to maintain obedience among his people, to

employ ecclesiastical censures against his enemies, and, finally, to hinder the Greek emperor from making any conquests in Italy. This protocol is dated on the 23d of March, 1152.

But the treaty had scarcely been signed, when the old quarrel between the empire and the priesthood broke out more violently than ever, on the occasion of the investiture of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, whose titulary was about to die. Two parties disputed for this rich metropolitan church; one wished to appoint the treasurer of the chapter of the cathedral as archbishop, the other presented the provost, as being alone worthy to occupy the Episcopal See. As the two factions, equally powerful, were unwilling either of them to yield, and threatened the city with the greatest disorders, the emperor determined to appoint a metropolitan himself, to put an end to the interminable disputes of the clergy, and chose Guisman, bishop of Ceits, to occupy the archbishopric.

Frederick was doubtless in the right in so acting; for the court of Germany, in the treaty between Pascal and Henry the Fifth, had reserved to itself the power, in a case of schism in the nomination of bishops, to choose him who appeared most worthy of the episcopate, after having advised with the lords of the empire. But the ambitious Gerard, the provost of Magdeburg, seeing all his hopes cast down by this promotion, cried out scandal; threatened the prince with ecclesiastical thunders, and went immediately to Rome to have the election of Guisman, whom he regarded as an intruder into his archbishopric, annulled. Eugenius took the side of Gerard, and wrote to the emperor, that he must immediately drive his protégé away from Magdeburg, if he did not wish to incur the excommunication of the Holy See.

In vain did eight of the principal prelates of Germany address letters to the pontiff in favour of the new metropolitan. Eugenius was inflexible; he even replied to them severely, for having dared to defend a prince, who treated the canons of the church with contempt; he blamed them for what he called their cowardly condescendence to the wishes of the powers of the earth; and, finally, enjoined on them to constrain King Frederick, by energetic representation, to leave the church of Magdeburg free to choose its pastor: "for," added he, "even we ourselves would not dare to do any thing contrary to the law of God and the holy canons of the church." Father Maimburg thus interprets this last thought: "We must conclude from these last words, that the pope could not permit any thing contrary to the service of God, because he recognised himself as inferior to God. And also that he could not change the canons and decrees of general councils, because he recognised his authority as submissive to that of these councils. An opinion very different from that of a great number of popes, who pretend to be infallible and above the entire universe."

Notwithstanding the censures of the church, Frederick, persuaded that he had not exceeded his lawful rights, maintained the election of the archbishop of Magdeburg. The pope then sent prelates into Germany, commissioned to depose Guisman, but the emperor interfered, and drove them out of his kingdom, as Conrad, duke of Franconia, had already done Jourdain des Ursini.

On this subject, and to let it be seen what kind of persons were the representatives of the popes, we will cite the letter which St. Bernard himself wrote to Eugenius about his legate:—"Your Jourdain des Ursini, most holy father, has committed shameful actions everywhere. He has stolen the sacred vessels from the churches; he has conferred the ecclesiastical degree on young lads, whose beauty informs us by what act of complaisance they have merited them; he has entered the holy dwellings of nuns, where he has brought his infamies to their height. It is for you, most holy father, to judge what is to be done with such an ecclesiastic. For myself, I have done as my conscience dictated; and, I will add, with my ordinary freedom, that it were well if your palace were purged of all the abominations which it contains. It was my first intention not to lay my complaints before you; but the prior of the convent of Mont Dieu has pressed me to write, and know that I have said less than the public. . . ." This letter of St. Bernard's produced no sensation at the pontifical court; besides, Eugenius was too much occupied in establishing his sway over foreign churches, to think of undertaking the least reform in his own court.

Another of his legates, John Paperon, started for Ireland about the year 1151; but, the king of England having refused to grant him a safe-conduct, he was forced to return to Rome to confer with the pope. By the advice of the cardinals, it was decided, that he should repair to Ireland, but by passing through Scotland, which was then governed by King David, who was devoted to the Holy See. This second journey resulted more favourably than the first. He arrived safely in Ireland, and held a council in the new monastery of Mellifont, of the order of the Citeaux, where he convened the bishops, abbots, kings, dukes, and all the lords of the island. The assembly decreed the erection of archiepiscopal sees at Dublin, Tuam, Armagh, and Cassel. The legate then distributed to the new metropolitans the palliums which he had brought from Rome; he reduced the Irish priests to the law of celibacy, which they had not practised before; and reformed a great number of abuses and old superstitious practices. But he was unable to render an account of the success of his mission to Eugenius, who died before his return to Rome, on the 8th of July, 1153. The body of the pontiff was carried in great solemnity, and deposited in the church of the Apostle, where it performed several miracles.

It was during this reign, that the monk Gra-

tian published his collection of apocryphal canons and false decretals, which commenced with the pontificate of St. Clement, and finished with Pope Siricus: that is, up to the year 398. Not only did Eugenius sanction, with all his authority, this lying compilation, which placed the pontifical See above all the thrones of the earth, but even instituted the grades of bachelor and licentiate in the canon law, for young priests who made the maxims of his book their especial study.

About a month after the death of Eugenius, the celebrated St. Bernard rendered his soul to God in the abbey of Clairvaux. His body, clothed in its sacerdotal ornaments, was borne by the monks into the chapel of the Virgin, in the presence of an immense concourse of the nobility and people of the neighbouring country. For two days it was exposed to the

reverence of the faithful, who came to apply bread, pieces of money, and linen, to make relics of them, and use them in the cure of sickness. On the second day, the crowd was not content with applying the relics to the dead body; they commenced disrobing the saint of parts of his clothing; they then cut off his hair; and, finally, the profanation was carried to such a point, that the body, entirely naked, and placed upon the altar of the Virgin, became an object of scandal and horror.

During his lifetime, Bernard was one of the most ardent props of pontifical despotism, and the most implacable enemy of the heretics. This fervent apostle of the crusades infected Europe with his black monks, and founded, himself, three hundred and seventy-two monasteries. Thus the church has canonised him.

## ANASTASIUS THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1153.]

*Election of Anastasius—William, the metropolitan of York, is reinstated in his see—Quarrel between the church and the empire—Privileges granted to the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem—Death of Anastasius.*

AFTER the obsequies of Eugenius had been performed, the cardinals assembled in the church of St. John, of the Lateran, to give him a successor; and chose Conrad, bishop of Sabine, a Roman by birth, who was proclaimed pope, by the name of Anastasius the Fourth. The new pontiff was a venerable old man, who was especially distinguished for great regularity of morals, and great experience in the usages of the court of Rome. As soon as the news of his election was known in England, a metropolitan of York, named William, who had been unjustly deposed by Eugenius in the council of Rheims, hastened to Rome, to demand the revision of the sentence pronounced against him. Anastasius, after having examined the grounds of the judgment against him, discovered that his predecessor had been guilty of great iniquity in condemning an innocent man. He revoked the sentence of deposition, reinstated William in all his dignities, and even granted the pallium to him.

The holy father was then engaged in arresting the deplorable effects of the war which his predecessor had imprudently excited between the altar and the throne, and which threatened to be more terrible than any which had occurred under the preceding reigns. For this purpose, the cardinal Gerard was sent to the court of the emperor, to put an end to all differences between the Holy See and that prince, without, however, sacrificing the interests of the church. Unfortunately, the

embassador did not conform to the orders of the pontiff, but had the impudence to speak to the sovereign, at a public audience, with such arrogance, that he was driven from the royal presence. This affront exasperated the legate, and produced so violent a fit of anger, that he was strangled by an effusion of blood, before they could give him any assistance.

Frederick was desirous, however, of showing to the pontiff, that he knew how to render justice to his good intentions, and to distinguish him from his envoys. He sent the archbishop of Magdeburg to him to give him an account of his election, and to submit himself to his judgment. Anastasius received Guisman with distinction, and after having heard his explanations, he confirmed him in his archiepiscopal dignity, and even granted him the pallium. This conduct of the pope scandalised the greater part of the fanatical clergy, and if we can believe Otho of Frisingen, the priests dared accuse the holy father of criminal condescendence towards the emperor.

According to several historians, Anastasius published, during the following year, that remarkable bull concerning the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the same who afterwards took the name of the Knights of Rhodes and Malta and whose foundation goes back to the year 1113, as is indicated by a decree of Pascal the Second, addressed to Gerard, the first grand master of the order.

Anastasius in his bull, which is most explicit, confirmed the grand master Raymond, in his right of exemption from the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem; he added—

“As all your property is designed for the support of pilgrims and the poor, we prohibit laymen and ecclesiastics of any rank, from exacting tithes therefrom. We interdict all bishops from publishing suspensions or anathemas in the churches placed under your authority, and even when an interdict is obliged to be fulminated in a country in which you are located, divine service shall still be celebrated in your churches, only with closed doors, and without ringing the bells. That you may be able always to celebrate mass, we permit you to receive into your temples, priests and clergy of all nations, after having first informed yourselves of the correctness of their morals, and the regularity of their ordination. If the prelates to whom they are subjected, refuse to grant them to you, I authorize you, by virtue of the power which has been delegated to the Holy See, to take them by force, and from the moment they

shall have entered your temples, they shall be subject to your chapter and the pope alone. We also permit you to receive into your hospitals, laymen to serve the poor. We prohibit the laymen, that is the knights who shall be received into your company, from returning to the world, after having taken the habit and the cross. We prohibit them also from going into another order under the pretence of leading a more austere life. You will cause your altars and oratories to be dedicated by the diocesan bishops, if he will do it gratuitously; but if not, you will select another prelate. Finally, we confirm you in all the domains and lordships, which your order possesses in Asia or in Europe, or which it may in future acquire.”

History is silent on the other actions of this pope. It is probable that he followed the counsels of wisdom and moderation, as he did at the commencement of his reign. He held the Holy See for fourteen months and some days, and died on the 2d of December, 1154, regarded as the best pontiff who had governed the church for several centuries.

## ADRIAN THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1154.]

*Singular history of Adrian before his pontificate—His election—Troubles at Rome—The emperor goes into Italy—Arnold of Brescia is arrested—Interview between the pope and Frederick Barbarossa—Deputation of Romans—Coronation of Frederick Barbarossa—Violent sedition at Rome—Adrian quits the holy city, and the emperor goes to Germany—Excommunication of the king of Sicily—Complaints of the people against the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem—Peace is concluded between the pope and the king of Sicily—Adrian gives the crown of Ireland to the king of England—Quarrel between the emperor and the pope—Death of Adrian.*

“DIVINE Providence appears to have been careful to have drawn Adrian from the dust, to seat him on the throne of St. Peter, and to place him above the princes of his people.” Such is the exordium of Maimburg in his history of Adrian the Fourth. The holy father was an Englishman by birth, and the son of a village clerk, named Nicholas Breakspeare, who was so poor, that, having no means of living after the death of his wife, he had been obliged to serve as a domestic in the kitchen of the convent of St. Albans. The young Nicholas, abandoned by his father, lived by alms until he had attained the age of manhood; he then crossed the sea, and went to France to mend his fortune. He stopped by chance at St. Ruffus, near Avignon, a chapter of regular canons. The poor Englishman interested the superior; and as he was of an agreeable exterior, wise in his discourse, and of a mild and modest character, he insinuated himself, little by little, into the good graces of the canons, and finished by obtaining the habit of the order. For several years Nicholas exhibited a scrupulous regularity in his duties,

and applied himself to study with great aptitude. His progress in science and oratorical art acquired for him such a reputation, that after the death of the abbot, William the Second, he was chosen to succeed him in the government of the chapter, and the direction of all the cloisters of the order. As he was truly a good man, he was desirous of undertaking the reform of the canons, whose discipline was very much relaxed. They then leagued against him, and revolted against his authority, and even dared to accuse him, before Pope Eugenius, of infamous crimes, in order to procure his deposition and excommunication.

But the holy father was so touched by the wisdom and moderation which Nicholas exhibited in his defence, that he took his part, and drove the canons from his presence, saying to them:—“I now know the shameful cause of your calamities. Go, false monks, choose an abbot who tolerates your disorders; this one shall remain with me.” They retired in confusion, though inwardly satisfied with the decision of the pontiff. Nicholas

was then elevated to the bishopric of Albano, and sent, with the title of legate, into Norway, to instruct that barbarous people in evangelical truth. He had only returned into Italy eight days, when Anastasius the Fourth died. On the day succeeding his funeral ceremonies, the cardinals assembled in the palace of the Lateran, and proclaimed Nicholas sovereign pontiff by the name of Adrian the Fourth. This election filled the king of England with joy, who was flattered at seeing on the apostolic throne, a pope who was born his subject. He addressed to him a letter of congratulation, in which he exhorted him to fill the church with worthy ministers, and to procure aid for the Christians of the Holy Land.

The partizans of religious reforms, who had concurred in the election of Adrian, hoped that the pope, out of gratitude, would restore to the Roman people the rights of which they had been despoiled during the pontificate of Eugenius. The members of the senate consequently presented themselves before him, to ask that the members of the assembly should be charged with the government of the state, as during the primitive republic. But they soon discovered how much sovereign power can change men. Adrian, become pope, forgot that he owed his tiara to the people, refused this just demand, and drove away the senators; after which he retired to the Vatican, whose high walls, garnished with soldiers, placed him beyond the reach of the rage of the people.

Arnold of Brescia, immediately recommenced his eloquent preaching, and Rome was in full revolt; no excess was, however, committed by the insurgents, except against Gerard, a cardinal priest, who was discovered to be a spy of the holy father. He was met in the street by a party of rebels, who beat him with the flat side of their swords, and left him for dead on the spot; he, however, recovered from his wounds.

Adrian, alarmed by a revolt which threatened to become general, resolved to strike their superstitious minds by a blow of authority. He lanced a bull of excommunication against the holy city itself, and caused divine service and the sacraments to be every where intermitted. Then, as he had foreseen, superstition conquered hatred, and the Romans came to beseech him to pardon them, pledging themselves on the gospels to drive Arnold of Brescia, and his followers, from the city and territories. The pontiff received their oath, and promised to raise the interdict as soon as they had fulfilled their promises. The unfortunate Arnold of Brescia was sacrificed, and compelled to quit the city at the moment when the holy father sallied forth in triumph, from the city Leonine, to go to the palace of the Lateran, where he solemnly celebrated divine service.

Whilst the Romans were driving away and taking back their pontiffs, Frederick Barbarossa was laying siege to the Italian cities, which refused to recognise his authority. He had already received the iron crown at Pavia,

and was preparing to push on to the holy city to be crowned emperor, where Adrian, informed of his plans, and fearing lest his journey had a hostile end, sent three cardinals to confer with him regarding his coronation, and his intentions towards the Holy See. The ambassadors went to St. Quiricus in Tuscany, where they found Frederick; he, from considerations of policy, received them with great honours, promised entire submission to the Holy See, and even had the meanness to surrender Arnold of Brescia, who had taken refuge under his protection. This courageous apostle of liberty was immediately loaded with chains and sent to Rome, where the cardinals condemned him to be burned alive. The sentence was carried into execution on the very day of the condemnation, and the executioner cast his ashes into the Tiber. Thus died he who wished to free the people from disgraceful pontifical slavery.

Frederick, who well knew the policy of the holy father, and dreaded some perfidy in the pope, was in no hurry to ratify the treaty which had been submitted to him, and wished to await the return of Arnold and Anselm, the metropolitans of Cologne and Ravenna, who had been sent as ambassadors to the sovereign pontiff. The latter, who also distrusted Frederick, refused to give a definite answer, until the return of his ambassadors who were at St. Quiricus. During this negotiation, which was long protracted, the holy father remained retired in an impenetrable fortress, called Citta di Castello.

At last the deputies, shuffled from place to place, met on the road, and by common consent decided to go together to the king, who had advanced as far as Viterba with his army. Frederick listened to their propositions in regard to the treaty, and promised to give the pope all the sureties he asked. The cardinals immediately brought in the relics, the cross, and the Bible, and a knight swore in the name of the emperor to preserve the pontiff Adrian, and the ecclesiastics of the sacred college, safe in their lives, members, liberty, honours, and property. The legates then returned to the holy father, who determined to go to the camp of Frederick. He was received by the German lords, and a multitude of clergy and laymen, who accompanied him with great pomp as far as the tent of their sovereign; but the bishops and cardinals of his suite having perceived that the prince had refused to hold the stirrup of the pope, retired at once from the cortège, and retook their way to Citta di Castello.

Adrian at first appeared embarrassed by their departure; he, however, descended from his horse, and placed himself on the sofa which was prepared for him. The emperor then prostrated himself at his feet: and after having kissed his sandal, rose to receive the kiss of peace; but the pontiff repulsed him with his hand. "You have rendered yourself unworthy of this favour, Prince, by refusing to fill an office by which all orthodox sovereigns have regarded themselves as honoured."

In vain did Frederick observe that no ecclesiastical canon obliged him to conform to ridiculous practices. Adrian was unwilling to listen to any explanation, and two days passed in useless conferences. At last the king, on the third day, consented, by the advice of his lords, to perform the duties of squire to the holy father; and in the presence of the whole army, held his stirrup for a stone's cast, to obtain from the pontiff the kiss of peace.

On their side, the Romans, who, after the departure of the pope, had undertaken anew to obtain their liberty, dreading the pontifical vengeance, hastened to send an embassy to the prince to place themselves under his protection. The deputies addressed him as follows: "We come, great prince, in the name of the senate and Roman people, to offer you the imperial crown, and to beseech you to free us from the disgraceful yoke of priests. We have already made you our fellow citizen and our prince; in return, however, you owe us the confirmation of our ancient customs, and of the laws which your predecessors have granted us. You should re-establish the senate and the order of knights, and you should defend us from every insult, even to the shedding of blood; and for all this we ask from you guarantees by letter and oath."

. . . They were about to continue, but Frederick, astonished at the commencement of this address, interrupted them by a motion of his hand, and taking up the word said, "Rome is no longer what it has been; its power is annihilated; it was first subjugated by the Greeks, then by the Franks, and now, height of humiliation! it is governed by a priest; I do not desire to be either your fellow citizen or your prince; my predecessors, Charles and Otho, conquered Italy and Rome by their valour; like them, I am your master by the right of the sword, the only one which establishes the legitimate possession of princes; and no power under heaven can release you from my authority."

After this discourse, the courtiers of the proud monarch insolently demanded from the ambassadors, if they had any thing to reply in relation to the great truths which the emperor had so well expressed. They kept silence, and returned to Rome.

As soon as the pope was informed of the departure of the Romans, he sought out the prince, and having mildly reproached him for the vivacity of his language in regard to himself, said to him, "You have done all the better in driving away these deputies, since you are ignorant of the perfidy of the senators. They hate equally popes and kings, and if they came to you it was to betray me; and now they have returned to Rome to deceive you. Prevent this then by sending your troops at once beneath the walls of the city Leonine, and the church of St. Peter, that my officers may surrender them to you, whilst there is yet time."

The emperor followed this advice, and sent a thousand knights, under the command of

cardinal Octavian; the city and church were immediately occupied by the Germans, and on the next day, the pope, accompanied by his cardinals, went to the city Leonine to wait for the king, who followed him at the head of a numerous escort. The prince made his entry in robes of ceremony, and presented himself at the church of St. Martin of Tours, where he first took the oath of obedience to the pontiff. They both then went to the church of St. Peter.

Frederick approached the confessional of the apostle, and knelt before the prince of the cardinal bishops, who recited the first prayer; two other prelates pronounced the second prayer, and a third administered to him the sacred unction; he then received the sword, sceptre, and imperial crown from the hands of the pontiff. After the ceremony, he returned to his camp with the same train, and in the same manner, as he had come; but he had scarcely quitted Rome, when the citizens rushed on the church of St. Peter, and massacred all the priests they could seize, in revenge of the infamous treason of the pontiff. Some squires of the prince who had remained in Rome experienced the same fate, and the insurgents even wished to besiege the pontifical palace. The emperor arrested the execution of this plan by marching all his troops on Rome; the people fought bravely until night, and repulsed the Germans. On the next day the strife recommenced with new rage; at last, overcome by numbers, the citizens were compelled to yield and submit.

As the heat was excessive, and the plains were parched by the sun, forage began to fail, and the emperor was constrained to quit the environs of Rome with his cavalry; the holy father accompanied him to his new quarters at Ponte-Lucano, near to Tibur or Tivoli, where he celebrated the festival of the apostle Peter. During divine service Adrian granted absolution to all the German soldiers who had combated in his cause against the Romans, and granted them the same indulgence as if they had made war in the Holy Land against the enemies of God.

It is a political axiom, that it is difficult for a good understanding to exist between two tyrants who claim the same rights. Thus a simple accident divided the pontiff and the emperor. When they were entering Tibur, the consuls of the city came to present the keys to Frederick, declaring that they submitted to his authority and not to that of the pontiff; in this the prince acquiesced. But Adrian and his cardinals immediately protested against what they called the felony of Tibur, maintaining that this city pertained to the Roman church and had no right to choose for itself a master. This opposition irritated the emperor, who replied, that he should regard the acquisition of the city as just and equitable until he should have conferred with the lords of his court. These endeavoured to appease him, and to show him, that by exhibiting at this moment hostility to the pope, he might excite against himself the

prince of Capua, the duke of Apulia and even the king of Sicily. Frederick then restored the keys to the holy father, and confirmed him by an authentic deed in possession of this city, with, however, this clause, "Saving the imperial right." He, however, took occasion to leave the pontiff, and Adrian found himself compelled to return to Rome.

William, surnamed the Bad, had mounted the throne of Sicily and sent ambassadors to the apostolic court to demand the confirmation of the rights and privileges of his kingdom. But the pontiff, who claimed several important cities for his see, refused to satisfy the just demands of the prince. The latter, indignant at the bad faith of the pope, took up arms, attacked the territories of the Roman church, blockaded Beneventum, and seized several palaces of Campania. Adrian, on his side, lost no time; he lanced the thunders of the Vatican against William, declared his states under interdict, and invoked the wrath of God on the head of the guilty one; he then collected troops, entered Campania, and reduced the whole country as far as Beneventum. Whilst he was besieging this city he received a letter from Manuel Comneus, offering him aid in men and money to achieve the conquest of the Peninsula, if he would surrender to him three maritime cities of Apulia. William, informed of this negotiation by his spies, endeavoured to avert the storm by treating himself with the holy father. He proposed to him in exchange for the investiture of Sicily, to grant freedom to all the churches of his kingdom, to take an oath of fidelity and obedience to him, to grant him three places in full sovereignty, to furnish troops to reduce the Romans, and finally, to pay large sums as an indemnity for the war.

Adrian, in the pride of triumph, intoxicated by a new victory which had rendered him master of Beneventum, rejected the offers of the prince and replied that he would not stop until he had driven his troops into the sea. Taking counsel from his desperate position alone, William advanced into Campania with hastily levied bands, reconquered the cities he had lost, and in his turn laid siege to Beneventum, in which the pontiff was. The siege was urged with such vigour, that Adrian, having no hopes of being succoured in time, was obliged to capitulate and conclude a very different treaty from that which had been proposed to him, and in which it was agreed that the prince should preserve the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily without indemnity or condition. After the bull was signed, William was admitted to prostrate himself at the feet of Adrian, to do him liege homage and receive the kiss of peace.

During the same year (1156) Foucher, patriarch of Jerusalem, sent letters to the pope, complaining of the knights hospitallers, and of the abuses which they made of their privileges by receiving into their churches Christians who had been excommunicated by the bishops, and by causing the priests of their order to administer the viaticum, extreme

unction, and ecclesiastical sepulture. In his letter, Foucher accused them of not observing the interdicts lanced against cities, of ringing the bells of their churches in contempt of the canons, of celebrating service publicly and in a loud voice, and in receiving the offerings of the people to the prejudice of the mother churches. He finally besought the holy father to prohibit them from proceeding to the consecration or deposition of their priests without the participation of the prelates, and to order them to pay him a tithe on their lands and revenues. He further accused them of having made him undergo humiliation, by erecting a magnificent hospital opposite the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which, from the richness of its architecture, eclipsed his metropolitan church; he complained that they rung their bells with all their might whenever he rose to preach, and added, that having dared to reproach them for their conduct, he had been assailed by the knights even in the patriarchal palace, and that darts had been hurled at him even at the very altar of the Holy Sepulchre. The hospitallers had, in fact, rendered themselves so redoubtable that no one dared resist them in the kingdom of Palestine, not even the bishops and patriarch, because they were entirely independent by virtue of the bull granted them by Anastasius the Fourth.

Foucher, worn out by the continual persecutions of which himself and his clergy were the objects, determined to go to Rome to fortify his demands. He consequently embarked with two Metropolitans, and came as far as Otranto; when they arrived in that city, they learned that all Apulia was invaded by the troops of the king of Sicily, the Greeks, and the allies of the pontiff; fearful of falling into the hands of these undisciplined bands, they returned by sea as far as the March of Ancona, and sought to find the holy father by land.

But Adrian was already advised of the coming of the patriarch by the hospitallers, who had gained him to their side, and when the oriental prelates presented themselves at Ferrentina, they found an inflexible judge who refused to give them the slightest satisfaction; they were then compelled to retrace their steps in sadness to Jerusalem.

John of Salisbury, a celebrated historian, the compatriot and intimate friend of the pope, was so shocked by this denial of justice, that he addressed violent sarcasms to him, which have been preserved in his writings. "Do you know what is the opinion of wise men about the Roman church?" wrote this bold prelate. "It is not favourable to you, holy father, they affirm that your church instead of being the mother of the faithful, is the stepmother; they say that it only contains scribes and pharisees, who carry the burthen of their iniquities upon their shoulders; they say that the priests, instead of serving as models to the flock, accumulate precious furniture in their palaces, and load their tables with gold and silver; they say that their avarice is extreme,

and that they do nothing for the poor but by way of ostentation. They accuse your clergy of committing exactions through all Christendom—of encouraging collisions between the people and princes, to enrich themselves in the midst of the general confusion. Even you, holy father, have become an object of hatred; the faithful maintain that you build superb palaces at their expense, and allow the temples of Christ to go to ruins; they say that you are covered with ornaments of gold and purple, whilst the poor, covered with rags, die with hunger on the steps of the palace of the Lateran. For myself, I declare that I practice what you teach, and am careful how I imitate what you do. All the world applauds and flatters you; they call you father and sovereign. But if you are a father, why do you not listen to your children, when they present themselves before you with empty hands, and figures gaunt with famine? If you are a sovereign, why do you oppress the people who give to kings the very robes that cover them? a true Christian does not so conduct himself, and I must inform you that you are out of the evangelical way.”

Adrian, in his reply, avowed to the prior bishop, that he found only misery and turpitude in the Holy See, and that he would rather, for the safety of his soul, live still by alms in England than wear the tiara.

John of Salisbury then went to the holy city, to solicit the investiture of Ireland for the king of England. The pope yielded to his solicitations, and published the bull in favour of Henry. It is as follows: “Prince, no one doubts, and you yourself admit, that Ireland, as well as all islands which have received the faith of Christ, belong to the Holy See, and that the popes can dispose of them as they see right. As you have engaged to cause this people to submit to the religious and political laws of the Roman church, and to constrain them to pay to our see a penny a year for each house, we authorise you to subjugate them by all possible means; but always with the express condition, that you preserve the rights of the Holy See.”

As a token of investiture, the pope joined to this bull a ring of gold, set with an emerald, and a deed by which he freed the king from the solemn oath he had taken, to preserve to his brothers their appanages, on which he had already infamously seized.

On the following year, occurred a violent quarrel on account of the arrest of Esquel, archbishop of Lunden. This prelate, on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome, where he had made magnificent presents to the holy father, had been attacked in the territory of the empire by highway robbers, who had not only entirely despoiled him, but even retained him as a prisoner, to wrest a large ransom from him.

Adrian being informed of this sacrilegious arrest, wrote to the emperor to complain of the negligence of the court of Germany, in hunting up and punishing the guilty. “Several requests have already been addressed to you, prince,” he said to him, “to recall to

your justice that an unheard of crime has been committed in your kingdom, and we are astonished that you have not yet pursued the authors of this attempt. You know, however, that our venerable brother Esquel of Lunden, has been robbed by wretches who still retain him in bonds; and you are silent, instead of employing the authority and the sword which you have received from God to punish the guilty. Who are these wretches who merit such indulgence at your hands? must we believe the calumny which accuses you of protecting them? must we recall to your recollection, that we have not conferred on you the dignity of emperor to authorise crime? Hasten then to obey our orders, since you have promised us a filial obedience.”

This letter having been translated literally into German by Rinaldus, the imperial chancellor, to the lords who were assembled in council, they, indignant at the insolence of the pontiff, exclaimed, that it was disgraceful to suffer a priest to pretend that the emperors of Germany held the empire and the kingdom of Italy only by permission of the pope. They protested against this tendency of the Holy See to transmit to posterity falsehood for truth, and which it enforced by enregistering it in history, not only by its writings, but even by its decretals and monuments. In fact, in a saloon of the palace of the Lateran, Lothaire had been represented receiving the crown on his knees, from the hands of the pontiff Pascal the First; and above the picture this legend was written:—“The king stopped at the silver door, after having sworn to preserve the rights of the church; he was then admitted into the temple, and acknowledged himself to be the vassal of the pope, who conferred on him the supreme crown.”

Frederick severely reproached the legates who had dared to bring him the letter of Adrian. One of them boldly replied to him:—“Prince, from whom, then, do you believe you hold the empire, if not from the pope?” At these words the Germans sprang from their seats; and Otho, the imperial sword-bearer, rose precipitately and threw himself upon the legate to kill him. Frederick had barely time to seize his arm. He thus saved the life of the envoy of the pontiff, and contented himself with driving him from the council-chamber, enjoining on him to leave Germany at once.

Frederick then published a manifesto against the Holy See, in which the holy father was accused of altering the union between the empire and the priesthood. “The legates of this sacrilegious pope,” added the prince, “the cardinals Roland and Bernard, were the bearers of several blank letters, to be used, according to circumstances, either to despoil the churches of Germany, or to excommunicate and depose us, as if we were a bishop in subjection to the jurisdiction of the Holy See. But we foresaw their designs, and for the safety of our people and ourselves have driven them away in disgrace. For, as we hold the empire from God alone, who has subjected nations to the sword of force, as the apostle

Peter himself said, 'honour Cæsar,' we declare that clergy and laity, of every rank, who shall maintain that our crown is a dependency on the court of Rome, shall be immediately punished; for we have decided to expose our throne and our life in the maintenance of our dignity."

Well determined to punish the pope and cardinals, Frederick assembled his troops at Augsburg, and was preceded into Germany by the chancellor Rinaldus and by Otho, count palatine of Bavaria, commissioned to cause the imperial authority to be recognised in all the cities. Adrian, alarmed by the success of the lieutenants of the emperor, and fearing the effects of his vengeance, decided to send an embassy to him to treat of peace. Two cardinals, Hans and Hyacinthus, were selected for this difficult negotiation. Before their departure, the legates demanded of the commissioners of the emperor, whom they found at Modena, a safe-conduct into Germany, which was readily granted them. But, notwithstanding, two counts palatine attacked their escort in the passes of the Alps, made them prisoners, and placed them in irons. In vain did they exhibit the safe-conduct of the imperial commissioners: their captors refused to set them at liberty; and they were obliged, in order to obtain permission to continue their route, to bring the brother of Hyacinthus from Rome, who remained as a hostage for them until their ransom was entirely paid.

At last, after many fatigues and dangers, they arrived at the camp at Augsburg. Having been admitted, on the following day, to the presence of Frederick, they prostrated themselves at his feet, saluting him in the name of the pope and the sacred college, as emperor of Rome and of the world. They besought him to grant a full pardon to the pontiff for all that had passed; and presented him a letter, retracting the one which had excited his anger. Frederick, satisfied with this act of submission by the Holy See, declared, that he restored his friendship to the pontiff and clergy of Rome; and gave to the ambassadors the kiss of peace. He also made them magnificent presents and sent them back into Italy. But this quarrel had scarcely terminated, when there broke out another, still more violent, between the emperor and the pope, on account of the duke of Poland, who had refused to do liege homage on his knees to Frederick, and had placed himself under the protection of the court of Rome.

The emperor Barbarossa was now undoubtedly the most powerful monarch in Europe. Of his own authority he had given the royal crown of Bavaria to Ladislaus, and the investiture of Poland to the king of Denmark; Hungary was a tributary of the empire, and England itself sent ambassadors, carrying rich presents to this prince, to obtain his alliance. Finally, all Germany was under the absolute sway of Frederick, and throughout the whole extent of his immense estates, no enemy dared to rise against the sovereign. Milan

alone had sought to reclaim its freedom, and a numerous army had immediately invaded Italy; the country had been devastated, the people murdered, and all returned to their duty. Adrian, jealous of his exercising for himself and his own advantage a despotism which he regarded as an attribute of the Holy See, had eagerly seized on the occasion which Boleslaus furnished him to censure the emperor. He wrote a respectful and energetic letter to Frederick, to recall to his memory the solemn oath which he had sworn, before the confessional of St. Peter, to protect all the allies of the church. A priest only was commissioned to carry this missive to the court of Augsburg; but the prince received the remonstrances of the holy father very badly, and sent him the following letter, in the formula used by the emperors in the first ages of the church, placing his own name before that of the pope: "Art thou ignorant, then, bishop of Rome, that thou holdest all thou possessest from the liberality of princes? Open history, and thou wilt fully convince thyself of this truth. Therefore, why should we be prohibited from exacting homage from him who holds his royalty from us? Is it because thou hast decided that this ceremony was useless? Render then to God that which is God's, and to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's. Thou complainest that our churches and cities are closed against thy cardinals; but would it be better, false bishop, that we should open our coffers to thy pillagers, to permit them to carry off our silver and gold? Are we then so very culpable, because we wish to place a bridle on thy insatiable avarice? When thy priests shall come to preach the holy maxims of the church, we will no longer interdict their entering our dwellings! Go to! we know too well the infamous morals of thy clergy, and we know that the demon of pride and avarice has seized for ever on the throne of the apostle. . . ."

This letter was given to officers who were to carry it to Rome, and who were to avail themselves of their mission to confer with the citizens as to the best means of seizing on the principal fortresses of the city; but this project was suspended by the death of Adrian, which took place on the 1st of September, 1159, in the city of Anagnina. His remains were transported to Rome, and deposited in the church of St. Peter. Conrad of Ursperg relates a very singular story about the death of the pontiff; he affirms, that on the day on which he wrote the bull of excommunication against Frederick Barbarossa, he drank a cup of water from a fountain in which there was accidentally an insect, which fastened on his throat, and ate the œsophagus, notwithstanding all the aid of the most skilful physicians. Other historians attribute his death to a quinsy.

During a reign of about five years, Adrian was occupied in increasing the domains and treasures of Saint Peter, and his avarice was so sordid, that he constantly refused to send the least aid to his relatives at Canterbury,

preferring that they should live by alms and the charity of the parish priest, rather than see his purse diminish.

To judge of the spirit of reform during the second half of the twelfth century, it is sufficient to analyse two works which John of Salisbury published during the pontificate of Adrian. In the first, called *Polyeraticus*, he treats of the amusements of the courtiers, and the vestiges of the philosophers; he condemns play, the chase, music, and the dance, which were the sole occupations of the lords; he blames the customs of courts in maintaining troops of buffoons, magicians, and astrologers; and, finally, expresses very singular ideas, for a priest, on the subject of regicide. "Not only," says the learned prelate, "is it permitted to put a king to death, but it is even just, even meritorious, to strike down a tyrant; for he who oppresses by the right of the sword, should perish by the sword. God, in the Holy

Scriptures, commands the death of oppressors of the people, and the prophets have cited Jael and the beautiful Judith." His book terminates with maxims which recall to our minds those of Gregory the Seventh. He says, "that kings are subject to the church; that they receive from it the power to punish, as the executioner receives from justice the right to torture men, and that thus they are the instruments of the priesthood, since they exercise functions which would soil the hands of the priest."

In his second work, entitled *Metalogicus*, he treats of wholesome dialectics and true eloquence; he enumerates the great men who were his contemporaries, and criticises the rhetoricians and sophists with profound sagacity; he even attacks Aristotle, and points out the errors of that philosopher, whilst still showing himself to be an admirer of his writings.

## ALEXANDER THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH POPE.

### VICTOR THE FOURTH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1159.]

*Election of Alexander the Third—Schism in the Roman church—Election of Victor—The anti-pope persecutes his competitor—Letters for Alexander—Letters for Octavian—Deputation from the emperor to Alexander—Conduct of the pope to the ambassadors—The anti-pope is favoured by the emperor—Consequences of the schism—Alexander takes refuge in France—He excommunicates the emperor—Conferences of St. Jean de Laune—Honours rendered to the pope by the kings of France and England—Death of Victor—Election of the anti-pope, Pascal the Third—Return of the pontiff to Rome—Second flight of Alexander—Embassy from England—Assassination of the archbishop of Canterbury—Absolution of the king of England—The emperor is crowned by the anti-pope—cowardice of Frederick Barbarossa—He consents to be trampled under feet by the pontiff—Peace between the altar and the throne—Submission of the anti-pope Calixtus—History of the anti-pope Lando—Council of the Lateran—Crusade against the Albigenses—Persecution of the Waldenses—Death of Alexander the Third.*

AFTER the death of Adrian, the bishops and cardinals assembled in the church of St. Peter, to proceed to the election of a pope. But a division having broken out in the conclave, they were obliged to separate, after having discussed it for three days, without coming to any conclusion. One party wished to choose Roland, the cardinal chancellor of the Roman church, because he openly favoured William the Bad against the emperor; another party wished to name the cardinal Octavian pope, because he supported the other side. At length both parties, wishing to put an end to the struggle between the two rivals, assembled a second time, in the church of St. Peter. At the commencement of the sitting, the partizans of Roland, exclaiming with one voice, "Roland is pontiff! Roland is pontiff!" clothed him with the purple cape, and proclaimed him by the name of Alexander the Third. This scandalous proceeding exasperated

Octavian; in his rage, he fell upon his competitor, struck him a violent blow on his face, which drew blood, tore the cape from his shoulders, and would without doubt have finished him on the spot, but for the intervention of a senator, who cast himself between them.

When the tumult was quieted, the party of Octavian exclaimed in their turn, "Octavian is pope! Octavian is pope!" His chaplain immediately presented to him the cape which he had brought with him, and his haste to put it on was so great, that he placed the capouch, which should have gone behind, before, which excited the mirth of all the assistants. But, without being stopped by this, he opened the doors of the church, his partizans entered sword in hand, and he was enthroned by the name of Victor the Fourth. His competitor, and the cardinals of the opposite party, promptly escaped from the church, and took refuge in the fortress of Saint Peter, which

was that same night invested by the troops of the anti-pope, who made them all prisoners.

Alexander was closely guarded for nine days in the castle of San Angelo; he was then transferred to a prison beyond the Tiber; but all the city being excited by the bad treatment to which he was subjected, Hector Frangipani placed himself at the head of the citizens, and freed him and the cardinals of his suite. They traversed Rome amid exclamations of joy and the ringing of bells, escorted by their liberators, who accompanied them as far as *Sacra Nympha*, four leagues from the holy city, where the pope was consecrated with the usual forms by the bishop of Ostia, assisted by five other bishops, and in the presence of the cardinals, abbots, priests, deacons, chanters, and seminarists of the Roman church. They placed on his head the tiara or mitre, which was round, and pointed in form of a cone, surmounted by two crowns; the assistants were then admitted to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to him.

Octavian, on his side, had attached a great number of bishops, cardinals, and priests to his party, and had been consecrated by the bishops of Tusculum, Mehu, and Ferentina.

During all these discussions, the emperor, not losing sight of his projects, continued to push his conquests in Lombardy; but whilst he was engaged at the siege of Cremau, he received an embassy from the holy father, and an order to suspend his expedition, if he did not wish to incur the censures of the church. Frederick not having made any reply, the pontiff proceeded at once to his excommunication in the city of Terracina, where he was at the time, and by the light of candles, and the tolling of bells, all the doors of the cathedral being opened, he solemnly anathematised the emperor and the anti-pope.

Frederick replied to the excommunication of the pontiff by the following circular letter, addressed to all the bishops and abbots of Italy: "We inform you, lords bishops, that, after having advised with a great number of prelates, doctors, and pious persons, we have determined, in accordance with the decretals of popes, and the canons of councils, that it was our duty, whenever a schism occurred in the Roman church, to call the two competitors who had been chosen pontiffs, into our presence, and to decide upon their pretensions, in accordance with the judgment of orthodox ecclesiastics. In consequence of this, we have ordered the cardinals Roland and Octavian, both chosen popes, to appear before us at Pavia; and we prohibit you from taking the part of either, until the council we are about to hold has decided between them."

Two envoys were sent to carry the citation to pope Alexander, at the city of Anagni, whither he had retired. This step alarmed the cardinals of his court; after mature deliberation, however, they resumed courage, and resolved not to abandon the pontiff, who had received their oaths of fidelity, and made the following reply to the envoys of Barbarossa. "We recognise in the emperor the

avowed defender of the Roman church, and we desire to honour him as the greatest of earthly princes, unless indeed he shall pretend to elevate himself above the king of kings. We are, therefore, surprised that he has dared to convene a council without our authority, and to order the holy father into his presence, when he should know that the power of the popes is superior to that of princes. Teach him, that the church derives from Jesus Christ the power to judge all causes, without being herself submitted to the judgment of any one; tell him we cannot describe our astonishment at this privilege being attacked by the very sovereign who ought to defend it. Besides, canonical tradition, and the authority of the fathers, do not permit us to submit to his jurisdiction, and we should be guilty before God, if, through ignorance or weakness, we were to reduce the church to servitude. Our reply is, that we prefer undergoing every peril, rather than submit to such an encroachment." The two commissioners of Frederick immediately left Anagni and went to Segni, to the anti-pope, who evinced excellent dispositions towards the prince. Victor the Fourth was consequently recognised as the lawful successor of St. Peter in the kingdom of Germany.

Shortly afterwards took place the council of Pavia, which had been convened by the emperor. A great number of bishops, abbots, and priests from Germany and Lombardy were present at this synod, which was rendered still more imposing by the presence of the ambassadors of the kings of France and England, as well as by that of the deputies of other Christian princes. Frederick opened its sessions in the following speech—"Illustrious lords, we know that in our capacity as emperor, we have the right to preside over councils, especially when the church is in danger; nevertheless, from respect to this great assembly, in which we recognise the right of judging ourselves, we surrender to it the decision of the quarrels which distract Christendom." He then retired, in order to give the fathers entire freedom in their deliberations.

For five days the question was agitated, which of the two popes should be recognised as the lawful successor of St. Peter; at length, on the sixth, this piece of information, which was strangely wide from the truth, was produced. "The lord Octavian was solemnly clothed with the cape, in the church of St. Peter, on the demand of the clergy and the people; he was elevated to the pontifical chair in the presence of the chancellor Roland, without any one opposing his election; after which the cardinals and other ecclesiastics sang the *Te Deum*, and gave to the new pope the name of Victor. When the ceremonies of the consecration and the pierced chair had terminated, the clergy and principal citizens of Rome came in crowds to kiss his feet, and a secretary having mounted the tribune, exclaimed, according to custom; 'Hear, ye Romans: our father, the pontiff Adrian, has

been dead for four days, and now the lord cardinal Octavian has been chosen to succeed him; he is clothed with the purple, and enthroned by the name of Victor the Fourth; do you approve of him?" All replied in a loud voice, and three different times, 'we do.' The pope was then conducted to the palace of the Lateran, with banderoles and other marks of his dignity, in the midst of universal acclamations, and the chapter of St. Peter, as well the chiefs of the clergy of Rome, took the oath of obedience to him."

After the reading of this, they heard witnesses, who affirmed by oath the correctness of all the facts related in the writing; the council pronounced a judgment in favour of Octavian, and fulminated a decree of deposition against Roland. On the following day, the anti-pope was conducted in procession from the church of the Saviour to the cathedral church, where Frederick waited to hold his stirrup, whilst he dismounted from his horse; he led him by the hand up to the altar and kissed his feet. Candles were then distributed to all the assistants, and by their light, and to the ringing of bells, Victor the Fourth pronounced an anathema against the schismatic Roland.

The envoys of France and England alone refused to recognise him as pontiff, until they had referred the matter to their sovereigns. Notwithstanding this opposition, Frederick caused the decretals of the synod of Pavia to be published in all Christian courts, and ordered the bishops of the empire to obey pope Victor, under penalty of perpetual banishment; some prelates were self-condemned to exile, to avoid becoming schismatics, but the much larger number submitted to the wishes of the prince.

Alexander, exasperated against Frederick, excommunicated him a second time on holy Thursday, of the year 1160. Following the example of Gregory the Seventh, he declared all the subjects of the empire entirely freed from their oaths of fidelity; he also reiterated the anathema fulminated against Victor and his partizans, and sent legates to publish these bulls in all Christian kingdoms. By his intrigues he gained to his side Abbot of Alms, of the convent of Citeaux, St. Peter of Tarentaise, a monk of the same order, several French bishops, more than seven hundred abbots, and an incredible number of monks. His two legates, Anselmo and Geoffrey, by means of gold, presents, or promises, also determined all the Carthusian friars to embrace the cause of Alexander.

Victor convened a council at Lodi to resist this formidable opposition, at which were present the emperor, the duke of Bavaria, the lords of their courts, and a great number of bishops and priests. They at first read letters sent by the kings of Denmark, Norway, and Hungary, by several metropolitans and foreign bishops, recognising Victor as the sole and lawful chief of the church; they then proceeded to the deposition of the archbishop of Milan, who had declared for Alexander, and

maintained a siege against the troops of the emperor. The bishops of Placenza and of Brescia, with the consuls of those two cities, were also excommunicated; and finally they deposed the prelate of Bologna, and suspended him of Padua.

After the termination of the synod, Frederick returned to his camp, and urged the siege of Milan with such vigour, that the unfortunate inhabitants, finding themselves a prey to the most horrible famine, were obliged to surrender at discretion. The consuls presented themselves before the conquerors, having naked swords suspended from their necks, and crosses in their hands, asking for mercy! The prince spared their lives, but he razed the city without sparing the churches, and cast salt into a trench which he caused to be traced out, as a mark that he condemned the land to an eternal curse.

Whilst the anti-pope was holding his synod at Lodi, Alexander was pushing his way into Rome, to endeavour to instal himself there; but the family of Octavian was so powerful that he was compelled to leave it on the same day he entered it, to return into Campania, under the protection of the king of Sicily. The soldiers of Frederick soon pursued him, even into this retreat, and constrained him to seek another place of refuge. He then recollected that his predecessors, in their reverses, had always found in France imbecile kings disposed to employ the gold and blood of the people to replace them on the throne; he embarked at Terracina with his train, and sailed for Provence.

Montpelier was the first city which the holy father visited; he entered it in the imposing apparel of a victor, mounted on a white horse surrounded by his cardinals. A Saracen ambassador came to receive him, at the head of a brilliant escort of Moorish soldiers, bearing the crescent and singing the praises of Mohammed; the Mussulman humbly prostrated himself at the feet of the pontiff, offered him magnificent presents, and adored him as the God of the Christians. He then addressed him in Arabic—the holy father replied benevolently to him, and placed him on his right hand during the ceremonial.

As soon as king Louis was apprised that Alexander was at Montpelier, he sent Thibalt, abbot of St. Germain des Prés, and a clerk of his chapel as deputies to him; but as these ambassadors carried no money for him, he received them with insulting disdain and even threatened to drive them from his presence if they should dare to reappear with empty hands. They returned to the monarch and rendered an account to him of what had passed at Montpelier; Louis, enraged at the pontiff, immediately wrote to Manasses, bishop of Orleans, to learn from the emperor the exact circumstances attending the election of Octavian and Roland the chancellor, as he repented having too easily recognised the pretensions of Alexander.

At the end of the month of June, 1162, the pope left Montpelier, after having anathema-

tised his competitor a third time, and went to Clermont in Auvergne, with the intention of excommunicating him a fourth time. But Frederick Barbarossa, being desirous of driving him from France, had addressed the following letter to Hubert of Champ-Fleury, bishop of Soissons, and chancellor of the kingdom. "We have been apprised, illustrious prelate, that the ecclesiastic Roland, to whom our servants have left no place of retreat in Italy, has escaped with some partizans, and taken refuge in the states of your master; be careful, most venerable prelate, that this unworthy schismatic does not despoil your provinces, for he is overwhelmed with debt, and will seek to extort money from your people to pay his creditors. We pray you then, as a matter of interest to your prince, to drive away this anti-pope and his cardinals, who are our mortal enemies, and who may excite between Louis and ourselves an enmity fatal to our subjects."

Whilst this message was on its way to the court of France, Henry, count of Champagne, was advising the emperor of the new intentions of Louis. Frederick then sent an ambassador to propose to the king a meeting of an equal number of French and German prelates, who should be instructed to decide on the validity of the elections of Alexander and Victor. This offer was accepted, and the small city of St. Jean de Laune in Burgundy, which was situated on the borders of Germany and France, was selected as the place of conference; the count of Champagne, the son-in-law of the king, and the friend of the emperor, was charged by the two monarchs to propose the principal questions which were to be submitted to the prelates, and he acquitted himself so well of his mission, that he determined the king to take the side of the anti-pope.

The following considerations prevailed with the court of France: "Illustrious prince," he wrote to Louis, "it is indispensable for the interests of your crown that the decisions of the assembly which you have convened should be irrevocable; consequently the emperor pledges himself if the election of Roland is decided to be canonical, to place himself at his feet. If that of Octavian is alone recognised as regular, I have engaged in your name to recognise him immediately as the lawful chief of the church. We have still further determined to appeal to the two competitors to meet, and he who shall refuse to present himself at the conference, shall for that act alone, be judged to be unworthy of the pontificate, and shall be deposed. As a guarantee for my promise, I have sworn on the host, that if you, after so solemn a proof, refuse to confirm the judgment of the fathers, I will at once pay obeisance to the emperor: that is, I will do him homage for all the fiefs I hold from your crown."

Before breaking entirely with the pope, Louis at the entreaty of some bishops, went to Souvigny, a priory of Cluny, to induce him to accompany him to the conference at Saint Jean de Laune; but Alexander obstinately re-

fused to appear before the emperor, or even to go as far as Vergy, which was an impregnable castle. The king, irritated at his resistance, left him abruptly, saying to him—"It is very strange, holy father, that you who appear confident of the justice of your cause, make such resistance to the judgment of a council." The pontiff immediately retired to the monastery of Bourg Dieu, near to Châteauroux in Berry, and the king was obliged to renounce going alone to Saint Jean de Laune, trusting to commissioners to procure a delay. The emperor arrived at Dole on the day appointed with Octavian. Both, without loss of time, advanced as far as the middle of the bridge of Saint Jean, and as no one appeared, they left a declaration of appeal attached by a dagger to the parapet of the bridge and returned to their camp.

On the next day, the representatives of Louis arrived at Saint Jean, to ask for a delay from the representatives of Frederick; on their refusal to grant one, the cardinals sent by Alexander to assist at this interview returned to Vezelay, delighted that the negotiations had been broken off. But the count of Champagne, who was truly attached to both monarchs, and who foresaw the disagreeable consequences of such a measure, immediately started for the camp of Frederick to re-establish concord between him and his father-in-law. He represented to the former, how silly it was that a pope should be a cause of war between two such powerful sovereigns, especially when a delay of a few days might bring about a favourable solution. Frederick finally permitted himself to be gained by his eloquence, and consented to wait for three weeks for the arrival of the king of France at Saint Jean de Laune.

Satisfied with his success, the count immediately hastened to Louis, at Dijon; he told him that he could no longer avoid going himself to the emperor, since he (the king) had not fulfilled his promises; but that, by urgent entreaty, he had obtained from Frederick a delay of three weeks, on the express condition that the sovereign of France should go to Saint Jean de Laune, taking Pope Alexander with him, and that he should submit to the judgment decreed by the fathers, under penalty of becoming a prisoner of the emperor's at Besançon. These conditions were extremely rigorous, but the king could not refuse them, seeing himself on the point of losing one of the great feudatories of his crown; he accepted them unreservedly, and gave as hostages to guarantee his word, the duke of Burgundy and the counts of Nevers and Flanders.

Two days afterwards Louis set out, and sent to inform the emperor that he was coming to confer with him on some preliminary points. Frederick, who was already discontented at the first breach of his word by the king, did not answer his letter, and sent Arnold, his chancellor, with full powers. Louis at first made some difficulty about entering into a conference with the commissioner of the em-

peror; he then consented to it, provided the conventions should be reciprocal, and obligatory on both sovereigns, as had been originally arranged by the count of Champagne.

Arnold refused to take upon himself the responsibility of compromising the interests of the empire; declaring that his powers were sufficient to accept the promises of the king of France, but not to make them in the name of his master. Louis, delighted at finding an opportunity of disengaging his pledge, without losing his vassal, the count of Champagne, addressed the German and French lords, and said to them.—“You see, lords, that the emperor is not here, notwithstanding his promise to come; you are also witnesses that his commissioners desire to change the conditions of the treaty. I am thus freed from my engagements:” and immediately, without waiting for a reply, he mounted his horse and started off on a gallop. All hopes of an arrangement were now at an end, but the wary Victor availed himself of the negotiation of the count of Champagne with the emperor to increase the preponderance of his faction, and he wrote to Rome that the king of France had finally declared in his favour, and repudiated his competitor Roland, who had refused to appear at the conference at Saint Jean de Lanne.

In fact, Alexander having been apprised of the bad success of the negotiations, and fearing the anger of the king of France, had quitted Cluny to take refuge in Aquitaine, a province which was dependent on the king of England, who had already recognised him as pope. Henry on hearing of his arrival in his states, went as far as the monastery of Bourg Dieu to receive him; he prostrated himself humbly at his feet, kissed his sandals, and though the holy father urged him to take it, refused the seat which had been prepared for him by his side, and seated himself on the earth. After three days of secret conferences, the English monarch took his leave of the pontiff, promising him to determine the king of France to submit to him; which happened. At the close of the negotiations, the pope obtained permission to go to Coucy-sur-Loire, to receive the homage of Louis and Henry. The two princes gave him a magnificent reception; they conducted him as far as the palace, walking on foot, and holding on each side the reins of his horse, two kings thus serving as squires, which had never before happened to any of his predecessors.

In the beginning of the following Lent, the pope held a council at Tours, at which almost all the bishops of France and England were present. Arnold, bishop of Lissieux, was charged to deliver an address, or kind of sermon, which Alexander had composed, to exhort the assembly vigorously to oppose the schismatics, and restore unity to the church. The following is one of the passages of this long homily: “Rome, my brethren, should rule all the kings of the earth; and notwithstanding all their efforts to divide and subju-

gate it, it will remain one, and will reject its enemies from its bosom. Unity will not be broken, because several popes shall be appointed; on the contrary, those who have desired to weaken it by dividing it, will find themselves stricken by the sword of the Spirit. Rome will come forth glorious and triumphant from all these struggles; and we shall soon see its oppressors, beaten down at its feet, recognise it as the mistress of the world. The emperor, that man whose wrath is as terrible as thunder, and whose arm is more dreadful than whole legions, Frederick Barbarossa himself, will bow his forehead in the dust, exclaiming, ‘Rome, thou conquerest! Thy power exceeds that of Cæsar, for it comes from God.’ Then the bold champions who have combated and suffered to assure victory to the church, will be recompensed; then those who have cowardly abandoned the field of battle, will be blighted and condemned. Let us strive, my brethren, with perseverance and vigour; let us boldly expose our wealth, our liberty, even our lives, in this thrice holy war.”

The synod made several canons, and renewed the oath of obedience to the pontiff, as well as the anathema against the anti-pope and the emperor. After that, the ambassadors of the kings of France and England proposed to the pope to designate the city he would prefer for his residence. He selected the metropolitan city of Sens, which was situated in a fertile and pleasant country; he remained there almost two years, holding a mimic court, and sending his bulls through all kingdoms, as if he had been in the palace of the Lateran.

At length, the anti-pope Victor died at Lucca, on the 22d of April, 1164. Petrus Blesensis says, in his history, that Octavian was solely occupied during his life in increasing his wealth, “in which,” adds the historian, “he did well; for with gold he was enabled to purchase the consciences of priests, prelates, princes, and kings, who permitted him tranquilly to govern the churches of Italy.” Victor the Fourth was vain and proud, and caused himself to be adored as an idol. He had a great aversion for the poor and beggars, and took a certain pleasure in mortifying the afflicted. After his death, the canons of the cathedral of Lucca, and those of Saint Eridgian refused to inter him in their churches, declaring that they would rather abandon them than receive the body of a damned person. They buried him in a monastery, situated without the city, where it was afterwards pretended that he performed many miracles. The funeral ceremonies being terminated, his partizans met and chose, as his successor, the cardinal Guy of Crema, who was proclaimed sovereign pontiff by the name of Pascal the Third. This election was confirmed in Germany by the emperor, who sent Henry, bishop of Liege, to Lucca to consecrate the new pope.

But in the meanwhile, affairs changed; on the one side the partizans of Alexander spread

gold through Rome, subsidised all the bandits of the city, and prepared a revolution in favour of the pontiff; on the other, the emperor, by his exactions and cruelties, excited against himself a powerful league through all the Lombard cities, which, since the commencement of the century, had little by little constituted themselves into small independent republics, at the head of which was Venice.

Alexander, seeing a powerful party rise up in opposition to Frederick, determined to return to the holy city, where his party waited to decree to him the honours of a triumph; but as he was unwilling to return to Italy without leaving behind him a remembrance of his journey through France, he imposed a collection on the churches, obtained loans from all the monasteries, and finally embarked with the spoils of a people who had accorded to him so generous an hospitality.

After a passage of fifteen days, the holy father disembarked at Messina, in the states of the king of Sicily, who had already recognised him as his lord. William treated him as the successor of Saint Peter, sent him to Palermo with rich presents, and armed a red galley, magnificently adorned, which he destined for him, and four others less sumptuous, which were to transport the cardinals, bishops, and lords of his suite. Alexander arrived at Ostia with his retinue, where he was joined by a multitude of nobles, senators, clergymen, and citizens, bearing branches of olives. He mounted the Tiber, escorted in triumph by the holy standard bearers, with their ensigns displayed, and in the midst of a crowd of squires, secretaries, advocates and judges, who followed the progress of his vessel, on either bank of the river; the schools, even the Jews, bearing, as was their custom, the book of the law under their arms, followed this immense procession. On arriving at Rome, the pope descended from his vessel, and went towards the pontifical residence, conducted by many young girls, who sang sacred hymns in his honour; between each verse he was saluted by the thundering acclamations of the crowd; at last he entered the palace of the Lateran, and seated himself on the chair of St. Peter; the day closed with a splendid banquet, at which the principal members of the nobility, magistracy, and clergy assisted.

On the following day, the pontiff wrote to the princes of his party, to advise them of his happy installation, with the exception of Henry of England, his relations with that prince having been entirely broken off. This king was too skilful a politician to allow his kingdom to be subjected to the aristocracy of the lords and the government of priests. He had at first made war with the nobles, dismantled their castles, sacked their domains, and rendered them powerless to renew their seditions; that done, he had directed all his efforts against the priests, and particularly against Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, the most elevated ecclesiastic in dignity in the kingdom, who endeavoured to increase the authority of the clergy at the expense of the

crown. Henry, discontented with this priest, had caused him to be arrested in his metropolis, and had constrained him to swear to the constitution of Clarendon, in which the nobility and the church admitted that they held their privileges from the king.

Becket had no sooner, however, recovered his liberty, than he retracted his oath and took refuge with the pope. Alexander interfered in the quarrel, threatening to lanch an anathema against the prince, and place the kingdom of England under interdict, if the archbishop of Canterbury was not immediately re-instated in his see, and if the king wished to exact an oath from him, contrary to religious freedom. Henry, fearful of some rising among his people, in consequence of the superstitious ideas of the period in regard to excommunications, submitted to the orders of the pontiff, and permitted Becket to re-appear at his court. The latter, proud of having triumphed over his king, placed no bounds to his audacity. He openly persecuted those who had declared against him; anathematising some, and deposing others, by virtue of the illimitable power he had received from the pope. He even attacked in preference the favourites of the sovereign, and refused to obey him in the most indifferent affairs, under pretext that he was prohibited from touching the privileges of the church.

At last the king, fatigued by this constant strife, suffered complaints to escape him, and exclaimed, "How unfortunate I am in not having a friend who dares avenge me for the insults of a miserable priest." These words, pronounced with bitterness, made an impression on four young lords, who concerted among themselves to deliver the prince from his enemy. For this purpose they went secretly to Canterbury; and, at the moment when the archbishop was leaving his palace to go to church, they suddenly attacked him, and pierced him with nine blows of their daggers. This murder spread general grief among the clergy of Great Britain; all the churches were hung in black; Thomas Becket was declared a martyr; a magnificent tomb was reared to his memory; and he was canonised by the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Henry, alarmed at this manifestation, feigned to be much grieved by the death of the metropolitan. He immediately sent deputies to Italy to plead his cause with the holy father, and to prevent any anathema from being fulminated against Great Britain. But the pope had been already apprised of it by Gallic prelates and by Walter Flaman, who had gone to Rome to demand justice for the assassination of the archbishop. Alexander refused to permit the English envoys to enter the holy city. He manifested an extreme affliction for the unfortunate Thomas, and loudly reproached himself before the cardinals for not having sustained with sufficient vigour the cause of the church, for which Thomas had merited the palm of martyrdom. Arnolph, one of the ambassadors of the prince, fearful lest the pope should immediately pronounce a sen-

tence of excommunication against Henry, resolved to go to Tusculum, where Alexander was. Not only did the pontiff refuse to receive him, but the cardinals scarcely deigned to speak to him.

At last, by urgency and presents, he obtained an audience of the holy father. As soon as he had pronounced the name of the king of England, all the ecclesiastics exclaimed: "Stop! stop!" as if Alexander could not hear it without horror. This first interview was without any result; but in the evening, having had the happy inspiration to bribe cardinals and chamberlains, he obtained a private audience. Arnolph gave to him a faithful recital of what had occurred at Canterbury. He recalled the benefits which the king had heaped on Becket, and the injuries with which the latter had repaid the kindness of the monarch. The pope listened very attentively to the ambassador, and put him off until Holy Thursday, a day consecrated to excommunications, without apprising him at all of his intentions.

At last the terrible day arrived. Arnolph had, in the mean time, skilfully gained some members of the sacred college by gold, who informed him that he, the holy father, would in the presence of his clergy, on that very evening, pronounce the anathema against Henry and all his states. Arnolph, without losing any time, at once despatched the following protest: "We are instructed by the king, our master, to swear in your presence, most holy father, that he will defer entirely to your orders for the punishment which you shall judge necessary to inflict on the guilty, and we protest his innocence."

The cardinals decided that after such an absolute mark of submission, they could not excommunicate the king. Orders were immediately given to introduce the metropolitan of York and the bishops of Salisbury and London, who were without the walls of the city, and they made them swear on the Bible that such were the intentions of the monarch. After this, Alexander pronounced a general anathema against the murderers of the martyr St. Thomas Becket, and against all who had given them counsel, aid, assistance, or consent, or who had procured an asylum and succour for them. He confirmed the sentence of interdict which the archbishop of Sens had fulminated against the territories of England on the continent; he anathematised all the bishops of the kingdom, and suspended them from the exercise of their episcopal functions until the guilty were punished; and announced that he would send legates to see that these decrees were fully executed. The ambassadors, however, before quitting Rome, prevailed on him to raise the excommunication pronounced against the English clergy in a month, if his nuncios had not, by that time, passed the Alps.

Henry, apprised of the hostile intentions of Alexander, and fearful of treason, hastened to go to England, and closely watched the ports and shores of the island to arrest all strangers

who were the bearers of the interdict. He then assembled troops at Portsmouth, and went to Ireland with a fleet of four hundred sail to take possession of the country before the arrival of the legate, and went to Waterford, where the kings of Cork, Limerick, Ulster, and Mida, with all the lords of Ireland, who had come to do homage to him. The king of Connaught, who regarded himself as an independent sovereign, was alone absent from the meeting, declaring, through his ambassador, that he would not take an oath of obedience and fidelity to Henry.

After some useless conferences, Henry determined to subdue him by force of arms. He pursued him, drove him from all his towns, and would have certainly destroyed him in a final battle, when he was informed of the arrival of the legates in Normandy. At once, and as if from the effect of a thunderbolt, all his energy left him; he became feeble and trembling before the censures of the Vatican, quitted his army, and embarked for Normandy to obtain his pardon from the envoys of the holy father. The latter at first refused to receive him; then they permitted themselves to be softened by his supplications, and especially by his presents. They however exacted, that before being admitted to their presence he should make a public confession of all his sins in the form of an apology. Henry was base enough to assent to it, and pronounced the following words upon the Bible:

"I neither meditated nor ordered the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury; and when I was informed of the crime, I was more profoundly afflicted than if I had lost my own son. I however avow that I was the involuntary cause of the murder from the hatred which I felt towards that holy martyr. Therefore, being desirous of repenting my fault, I engage to send to Jerusalem two hundred knights, who shall serve for a year at my expense; and, if the pope exacts it, I will myself take the cross, and make the journey to Palestine. I stop for ever the unlawful customs which I have introduced against the churches, and will hereafter permit my prelates to carry their appeals to the court of Rome. I will restore to the archbishopric of Canterbury all the lands and other properties which were dependent on it before the disgrace of Thomas Becket, and will pardon the defenders of that prelate. I will submit myself to such fasts, alms, and other penal works, as the pope shall impose upon me; and I will go with naked feet to the tomb of the martyr, to receive flagellation from the hands of the monks. Finally I swear to submit always to the Roman church."

The legates made the son of Henry take the same oath, who pledged himself to fulfil the promises of his father, if the latter perjured himself. They then presented to the sovereign his deed of submission, to which he affixed the royal seal. This affair having been terminated, they proceeded to the nomination of an archbishop of Canterbury, and the king was admitted to the communion.

Since his return to the holy city, Alexander

had enjoyed the supreme authority in full security; but at the end of the year 1166 the emperor determined to re-enter Italy to drive away the pontiff and establish the anti-pope in the palace of the Lateran. For this purpose he instructed the metropolitans Rinaldus and Christian, his generals, to ravage Lombardy and advance on Rome with their divisions, whilst he himself besieged Ancona. This invasion alarmed the court of the holy father, and their fear was the greater, as the Germans, having rendered themselves masters of the neighbouring cities, kept the field and gained ground. In Rome even, parties began to move, and a great number of nobles, magistrates, and citizens, gained by the gold of the enemy, traversed the streets of the city uttering seditious cries. Alexander, on his side, sought to strengthen his party by lavishing his treasures on the Roman clergy; but those corrupt and hypocritical priests profited by the circumstances to increase their wealth, and received presents from the pontiff and the prince whilst betraying both.

In the midst of these troubles Jourdain, the son of Robert, prince of Capua, came to Rome as ambassador from Manuel Comnenus, to offer to Pope Alexander the aid of the Greek emperor against the king of Germany. He pledged himself in the name of Comnenus, to re-establish the unity between the Greek and Latin churches as it had subsisted in the best ages of Christianity, so that the Greeks and Latins should in future form but one people, submitted to one religious chief. He only asked in exchange for his protection, that the pontiff should consent to restore to him the imperial crown, which had been snatched from him by the emperor of Germany. Although it might appear difficult for that prince to collect an army to aid the Holy See, still Alexander, by the advice of his cardinals, sent the bishop of Ostia, and the cardinals of St. John and St. Paul as deputies to Manuel, to open serious negotiations. On the other hand, Frederick Barbarossa found himself arrested in his march by the troops of the confederated republics, who had assembled on the old territory of Milan to protect the citizens of that city, who were reconstructing their ramparts. The holy father at last, very fortunately, received considerable sums which William the Bad had bequeathed to him. This money, distributed among the nobles and the priests, caused the balance to bend in his favour; an army of at least forty thousand men was immediately organised, the neighbouring cities were retaken from his enemies, and an attack was pushed even as far as Tusculum, which had declared for the emperor.

Christian, who commanded the place for the emperor, endeavoured, in vain, to defend the city with his division, composed of Flemings and Brabançons; his soldiers were hurled down, and the papal army was already planting its flag on the ramparts when the archbishop Rinaldus arrived at the head of a powerful body of cavalry. The intrepid prelate charged the enemy, trampled them under

feet in the great plain, made a dreadful massacre of them, and entirely freed Tusculum. On the news of this victory, the emperor quitted the city of Ancona, on which he had seized, hastened his march, and came to encamp before Rome with all his army. Three assaults were sufficient to render him master of the lower part of the city, and of the castle of San Angelo. As he could not storm the church of St. Peter, he set it on fire and forced all its defenders to surrender.

The pope had at first maintained himself in the palace of the Lateran; then fearing lest his place of retreat should be forced, he had taken refuge in the fortified castles of the Frangipani, from whence he kindled the fire of revolt, by distributing among the people fresh sums, which William the Good, the new king of Sicily, had sent him. Rome was defended by a fanatical multitude, who obstinately disputed every house, every street, every place which Frederick attacked. At last the prince being convinced of the impossibility of seizing the person of the pope by force, determined to enter into negotiations with the clergy and magistrates. He told them that if Roland would consent to renounce the pontificate, without prejudice to his episcopal ordination, he would engage that Pascal would do the same, and that then they might all proceed together to the election of a new pope. On these conditions the prince promised to the church a durable peace, to restore to the Romans all the prisoners and all the booty he had made, and, finally, in future not to interpose his authority in the election of the pontiffs.

These proposals appeared very wise to the citizens who were tired of the war, and they replied to the envoys of the prince that they would accept them, and compel Alexander to ratify the engagements. But the impracticable pontiff refused to hear any proposals, uttered horrid blasphemies, and swore he would never renounce the pontifical throne; his obstinacy detached all his partizans from his cause, and he was obliged to quit Rome secretly in the garb of a pilgrim to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies. He went to Terracina, thence to Gaëta and finally to Beneventum.

Pascal, after the flight of his competitor, celebrated a solemn mass at Saint Peter's, and consecrated the emperor and the empress Beatrice, his wife, placing on their foreheads crowns of gold, adorned with precious stones. The Romans also consented to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to Frederick, and to recognise Pascal as the lawful pontiff, on condition that the prince would ratify the first proposals which he had made to them. All things were agreed to on both sides, and the emperor sent commissioners from the other side of the Tiber to receive the oath of the Romans.

This day, however, became the prelude to a succession of terrible reverses for the Germans; the historian Acerbo Morena, who relates the details of this affair, was himself one of the deputies. "We were in the month

of August," says he, "at a period of the greatest heat; scarcely had we crossed the river when a dreadful storm suddenly occurred, the hail fell in torrents, and, in a few minutes, the country was changed into a immense lake, and two hours afterwards the sun re-appeared beneath a heaven of fire. These sudden transitions of temperature struck all the army as if supernaturally; an epidemic broke out in the camp, and on the following day, when we returned from Rome, the mortality was so frightful that we could no longer bury the dead who fell beneath the scourge. In less than a month, this epidemic carried off one half of the German troops, and forced Frederick to remove from Rome. Alexander immediately left Beneventum and returned to the holy city, publishing every where that the hand of God had struck the sacrilegious prince. At his call the people of Lombardy rose in mass and fell on the Germans—the Milanese especially showed themselves most bitter in this war of extermination. Frederick, reduced to the last extremities, and having no longer but a very small number of troops, saw himself hemmed in in Italy without hope of escape; he then determined to dissimulate, and demanded a truce in order to negotiate with Alexander; but pending the conference he sent his relative, the Count de Murienne, secretly, who obtained a passage for him through the territory of the marquis of Mont Serrat. Under favour of a disguise, the emperor left his camp in the month of March, 1168, traversed the country of Burgundy, and arrived safely in Germany, where he made new preparations to return to Italy with a formidable army."

Pascal the Third had still remained in Rome, where he courageously maintained himself in the church of St. Peter; but in the month of September of that year, in consequence of an excess at table, he was attacked by a disease which carried him off in a few days. His party chose as his successor, John, abbot of Strum, bishop of Albano, whose morals were worse than his, and who was enthroned by the name of Calixtus the Third; notwithstanding the approval of his election by Frederick, the new pope was unable to maintain himself in Rome, but was obliged to wander about among the cities of Italy.

Alexander continued proudly to occupy the palace of the Lateran, and was engaged in repairing the loss of his treasures, "a thing which he understood marvellously well" say the chronicles. Falcand relates a very singular anecdote on this subject; he says Gauthier, the chaplain and preceptor of the king of Sicily, had been promoted to the archbishopric of Palermo, without the consent of the clergy of that church, who rejeed his election as simoniacal and sacrilegious. Complaints had been made to Rome of this appointment, and the queen herself, who wished to give this important see to the chancellor Stephen, one of her lovers, had urged the pope to annul the election; Alexander replied through the cardinal of Gaëta, his legate, that the princess had but

to count down a thousand ounces of gold and he would at once annul the nomination of Gauthier. In the mean time, the latter having been informed by the pope of the efforts against him, hastened to send to Rome an ecclesiastic of Palermo and two lords, who handed over to the holy father, from the archbishop, two thousand ounces of gold. Alexander, who had already accepted the thousand ounces from the queen to depose Gauthier, then received from the prelate this sum, which was double the first, to maintain him in his see, and he insolently replied to the princess, that the archbishop of Palermo had produced arguments of great weight against her, and that he awaited her reply. The queen was unwilling to continue this strife, and renounced the hope of seeing her favourite on the see of Palermo."

History has preserved a letter of Alexander, addressed to the sultan of Iconium. "We have been apprised by your letters, and by the relation of the faithful, who have visited your kingdom," wrote the holy father, "that you are desirous of being converted to the Christian faith, and that you have already received the pentateuch of Moses, the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the epistles of Saint Paul, and the gospels of Saint John and Saint Matthew. We send you, in order to complete your instruction in our religion, a complete exposition of its dogmas, morality, and worship, and we charge our delegates to explain them to you." We are ignorant of the result of this mission.

Albert, archbishop of Saltzburg, had for a long time declared in favour of Pope Alexander, notwithstanding the attempts of the emperor to bring him over to his party. Frederick at length, weary of his obstinacy, determined to take energetic measures, and caused him to be solemnly deposed by the diet at Ratisbon. The metropolitan immediately sent Erchempold, his chaplain, a canon of Reichenberg, to the court of Rome, to complain of the prince and the prelates of Germany. Alexander annulled the decision of the diet, anathematised the intruder in the see of Saltzburg, and declared Albert to be the sole legitimate prelate of that city.

About the same period, a singular quarrel took place in England between an abbot of Malmsbury, and the bishop of Salisbury, his diocesan, in regard to the abbatial benediction, which the prelate wished to sell at too high a price. The monk wishing to buy it for less, went to Wales, and was blessed by the bishop of Llandaff, who was more accommodating. A complaint was immediately made against the monk to the archbishop of Canterbury, by his diocesan, who condemned him to pay his diocesan for a second blessing. Whilst, however, rendering this sentence, the archbishop of Canterbury said, "Abbots are very cowardly, or very miserable, since for an ounce of gold a year they can annihilate the power of the bishops, and obtain an entire independence from the pope." In fact, simony was carried so far at the court of Rome, that

the French monks, and especially the regular abbots, obtained for money all kinds of imaginable dispensations, and even purchased the right of dissipating the wealth of their monasteries in shameful debaucheries.

Since the rout of Frederick, Alexander had consolidated his power; he governed his church without the anti-pope dreaming of disturbing him, and most of the Lombard cities recognised his authority. A single city had been able to repulse the attacks of the enemies of the Holy See; it was Alexandria, which was recently built by the Milanese in honour of the pope. The Germans experienced from it the shame of a defeat, and Alexandria had come out of the strife victorious. The holy father, from gratitude, erected it into a bishopric.

Frederick wished to take revenge, and after having repaired the losses he had suffered, entered Italy, for the fifth time, at the head of a numerous army. He pushed into the Milanese, ravaged that province, and put all to fire and sword. The confederated states assembled their troops with equal rapidity, marched to meet him, and engaged him in a furious battle, in which the Germans were cut to pieces. The emperor himself had his horse slain under him, and barely escaped from the strife. This last victory was fatal to the empire, and exalted the pride of the Roman church to the highest point.

Heis says that the emperor was overwhelmed by this new check. "Having been accustomed to conquer and reign in the midst of laurels," adds the German historian, "Frederick, whose character was indomitable, saw himself, by a single blow, compelled to bend before necessity, and to abandon a party which he had sustained for sixteen years against all Christendom. But what still added to his humiliation, was seeing most of the princes of Germany separate themselves from his cause to embrace the interests of the sovereign pontiff. The powerful duke of Saxony and Bavaria, urged on by Alexander, who engaged him to invade Germany to conquer it, showed himself one of his most ardent foes. Frederick, who knew all the plans of his adversaries, saw well that his ruin was imminent; not only were his armies destroyed, but even prince Henry, his oldest son, who commanded his fleet against the Venetians, had been conquered by the generals of the republic; all his vessels had been taken, and he himself made prisoner."

Frederick, however, waited until his generals had obtained some advantages, in order to commence negotiations with the Holy See; and chose as his ambassadors, the metropolitans of Mayence and Magdeburg, and the bishop of Worms, to whom he gave full powers to conclude a definite peace between the church and the empire. They went to Anagni, the residence of the pope, where they were received with great demonstrations of joy. "We have waited for a long time for you, my brethren," said Alexander to them on their entrance, "and we feel a sweet satisfaction at

your arrival; for we could hear no more agreeable news in this world, than that of peace between the altar and the throne. If the intentions of your sovereign are sincere, we will recognise him as the greatest of the princes of the earth. But that our union be durable, he must also grant peace to our allies, and especially to the king of Sicily, the Lombards, and the emperor of Constantinople."

Whilst the German ambassadors were treating with the pontiff, Frederick continued the war against the confederate cities; he even gained a great victory, which induced him to hope he might re-establish his affairs by force of arms, and he determined to suspend at once the negotiations which had taken place between his envoys and the holy father. These prelates, who had been already gained over by Alexander, represented to him that this rupture would excite general discontent against him, and as he replied that his resolution could not be shaken, they declared that nothing was left for them, but to retire to their dioceses, from whence they would assist him with their counsels, as they had sworn to do; but that his power extending only over temporal things, they were determined, for the salvation of their souls, to recognise Pope Alexander as the true chief of the church. Frederick, who feared the consequences of such a determination, then appeared to yield to their urgency, and said to them, "That it was but right for a king to conform to the sentiments of his ministers, and the princes of the empire." In fact, on the next day he went to Venice to conclude a definite peace with the pontiff, and especially to obtain the liberation of his son.

Fortunatus Ulmus relates, in the following terms, the humiliating ceremony to which this prince was obliged to submit. "When the emperor arrived in the presence of the pope," says the historian, "he laid aside his imperial mantle, and knelt on both knees with his breast to the earth; Alexander advanced and placed his foot on his neck, whilst the cardinals thundered forth in loud tones, 'Thou shalt tread upon the cockatrice, and crush the lion and the dragon.' Frederick exclaimed; 'Pontiff, this prediction was made of St. Peter and not of thee!' 'Thou liest,' replied Alexander; 'it is written of the apostle and of me;' and bearing all the weight of his body on the neck of the prince, he compelled him to silence; he then permitted him to rise and gave him his blessing, after which the whole assembly thundered forth the *Te Deum*."

Peace was concluded and signed on the same evening. On the next day, Alexander celebrated a solemn mass at St. Mark's, when Frederick, with a rod in his hand, performed the duties of a beadle, preceding the holy father, and causing the laity to stand aside. He remained without in the choir, with the German prelates and clergy, who chanted the service. The pope mounted the pulpit on the left side of the altar, and delivered a sermon on the concord which had been established between the two powers, touching

with pride on the predominance of the sword of St. Peter over that of Cæsar. After the sermon, the emperor came with all his train to prostrate himself before the pope, and to kiss his feet; and, finally, when the mass was finished, the holy father mounted his horse to return to his palace, and Frederick conducted him on foot, holding his horse by the bridle.

Six days afterwards, peace was solemnly sworn to in the great hall of the doge's palace. The pope presided over the assembly; he was placed on a throne above the bishops and cardinals with the prince on his right hand. He pronounced a long discourse, in which he testified the joy he felt at the conversion of the emperor, and declared that he received him with open arms into the bosom of the church, as his dear son. Frederick in turn rose from his seat, laid off his imperial mantle, and loudly declared that he admitted he had been deceived by perfidious counsellors, and accused himself of having persecuted the church whilst he thought he was defending it; he thanked God for having drawn him from this error, and swore that he abandoned the schism; that he recognised Alexander as the lawful head of the church, and that he granted peace to the king of Sicily and the people of Lombardy.

The holy Gospels, the relics, and a piece of the true cross, were brought in, and by orders of the emperor, Henry, count of Dieppe, swore by the soul of Frederick Barbarossa, that he would always maintain peace with the church, that he would grant a truce of fifteen years to the king of Sicily, and another of six years to the cities of Lombardy. Twelve princes of the empire took the same oath. On their side, the ambassadors of Sicily and the deputies of the Lombards, swore faithfully to observe the conditions of the treaty. The holy father then granted absolution to the emperor, and entirely freed him from the anathema.

In the acts which relate these proceedings it is remarkable that Frederick was only absolved from the excommunication which he had incurred as a schismatic, and that no mention is made of his reinstatement as if having been deposed by the Holy See.

After the oath had been taken, the German lords came each in their turn to abjure the heresy at the feet of the pope and receive absolution. Alexander then announced that he would hold a council in the church of St. Mark's on the Sunday of the following week. The German and Lombard prelates, the cardinals, emperor and doge, with the Sicilian ambassadors, composed this magnificent assembly. The session was commenced with the prayers from the litany and a discourse from the holy father. After this all the assistants received lighted candles, and the pontiff lanced a terrible excommunication from the pulpit against those who, in future, should dare to trouble the peace which had been sworn to. The candles were then all extinguished, and the assistants sprang to their feet exclaiming, "Amen."

Such was the termination of this bloody quarrel, brought on by the insatiable ambition of an emperor, and maintained by the indomitable pride of a pope. The people, the passive instruments of tyranny, found the chains of slavery still heavier.

Before leaving Venice the prince and the pontiff appointed three commissioners to proceed to the restitution of the territories of the church which the emperor had conquered. Frederick at last bade farewell to Alexander and returned to Césena; the pope embarked with his train on the Venetian galleys for Lepanto; from thence he went to Troja, thence to Beneventum, and finally, to Anagni, which he entered on the 14th of December, 1176, after an absence of a year.

The anti-pope Calixtus, having heard of the abjuration of the emperor, went to the holy father with some ecclesiastics, and in the presence of cardinals and bishops he abjured the schism, took the oath of fidelity, and implored his pardon. Alexander did not reproach him, but declared, on the contrary, that the Roman church received him with joy and rendered to him good for evil; he afterwards treated him with much distinction and frequently admitted him to his table.

The schism was not, however, entirely extinguished; and some obstinate persons who refused to recognise the holy father, chose in the room of Calixtus, Landosino, of the family of the Frangipani, and proclaimed him by the name of Innocent the Third. A Roman knight, a brother of Octavian, took him under his protection and gave him the castle of Palombra, an impregnable fortress which he had near Rome. But, faithful to his policy of corruption, the pontiff offered the knight a large sum for his castle and all it contained; the unworthy lord accepted the offer, and sold the fortress. Landosino was plunged into the dungeons of Cava, subjected to frightful tortures, and finally strangled. Thus was entirely terminated the schism which had for twenty years desolated Italy, France, and Germany.

In the midst of all the disorders caused by the wars, grievous abuses had been introduced into the church; the pope, under the pretext of putting an end to them, convened a general council at Rome, for the first Sunday of Lent, in the year 1179. In his letter of convocation, Alexander informed the prelates of Italy that their presence at the synod was obligatory, which did not render them more punctual; for all knew that councils were only a mode employed by the pope to levy imposts on bishops and abbots, who preferred to purchase with gold the right of not abandoning their habits of sloth and debauchery. On the appointed day, the assembly, though not very numerous, assembled in the church of the Lateran; the pope was placed on a platform with the cardinals, prefects, senators, and consuls of Rome.

Several canons were made to prevent schisms in the election of popes; they decided that a vote of two thirds of the members of the sa-

cred college was indispensable to render the promotion regular; and that an ecclesiastic not having obtained them, who should, however, assume the title of pope, should be deprived of sacred orders and be excommunicated until his death, as well as all those who should have recognised him. It was then engaged about the alienations of ecclesiastical property; it declared those prelates suspended from sacred orders and episcopal dignity who obliged their suffragans and their dioceses to pledge the revenues of the churches to give them fêtes, or to treat them magnificently, when they made their pastoral inspection. In fact, many of the bishops traversed their dioceses several times a year with all their household, and caused the priests and monks to lodge them, in order to husband their revenues.

Among the different canons made by the council of the Lateran, the last is unquestionably the most remarkable, since it is the decree which laid the foundation of the terrible inquisition. It runs thus: "The church, as the holy Leo saith, whilst it rejects bloody executions from its code of morals, does not admit them in practice, because the fear of corporal punishments sometimes causes sinners to recur to spiritual remedies. Thus the heretics who are called Catharins, Patarins, or Publicans are so strongly fortified in Gascony, among the Albigenes, and in the territory of Toulouse, that they no longer conceal themselves, but openly teach their errors; it is on that account we anathematise them as well as those who grant them an asylum or protection; and if they die in their sin, we prohibit oblations being made for them, or sepulture being granted to them. As for the Brabançons, Arragoneses, Navarese, Basques, Cotterels, Triabechins, who respect neither churches nor monasteries, who spare neither widow nor orphan, nor age nor sex, and who pillage plains and cities, we also order those who shall receive, protect or lodge them, to be denounced and excommunicated in all the churches at the solemn feasts; nor do we permit them to be absolved, until after they shall have taken up arms against these abominable Albigenes. We also declare, the faithful who are bound to them by any treaties, to be entirely freed from their oaths; and we enjoin on them for the remission of their sins, to be wanting in faith to these execrable heretics, to confiscate their goods, reduce them to slavery, and put to death all who are unwilling to be converted. We grant to all Christians who shall take up arms against the Catharins, the same indulgences as to the faithful who take the cross for the holy sepulchre."

This infamous decree, and the furious preachings of the legates of the Holy See, excited so well the superstitious zeal of the kings of England and France, that these two monarchs resolved to go in person to convert the heretics or exterminate them. The advice, however, of some lords, prevented these tyrants from directing this sacrilegious crusade in person: and they confided the execu-

tion of it to bishops, under the direction of the Roman legate, Peter Chrysogonus.

In his history of the Vaudois, Perrin relates the origin of this heresy, and of the terrible consequences which it produced in the south of France. "In the year of our Lord 1160, the penalty of death was pronounced against those who did not believe in the literal interpretation of the sacramental words pronounced by the priest over the eucharist: that is, that Christ was really in the host, in the form of bread with the tenseness and whiteness of that substance, yet preserving the primitive grossness and form of his body, when it was placed on the cross; it was also ordered, under the same penalty, to adore the host, to tapestry the streets on the days of procession, to go on the knees before it, to call it God, and to strike the breast.

"Peter Valdo, a citizen of Lyons, courageously opposed these new superstitions; he spoke against the clergy and the abominations which had crept into the bosom of the Roman church, saying that the pope had abandoned the Christian faith, that the holy city was the prostitute Babylon, the sterile fig-tree which God had cursed, and that they must no longer obey the pope, nor believe him infallible; that the monkish race was a putrified and pestilential body; and that their vows were the fatal marks of the beast of the Apocalypse. He, finally, unmasked the knaveries of the priests, showing that purgatory, masses, the dedication of churches, the veneration of saints, the commemoration of the dead, were but the inventions of the clergy to extort money from the simple. Valdo assembled a numerous audience at all his harangues, as he was held in great esteem in the country on account of his learning and sincere piety; it was also known that he generously expended in alms the great wealth which he had received from his patrimony. He taught that the material bread was for the nourishment of the body, but that the soul must be nourished by humility and charity, which were the sole and true precepts of evangelical morality. He preached still more by example than words, and led an irreproachable life, imitating the apostles, reading the Holy Scriptures unceasingly, and searching in them for the true means of safety.

"A merit so remarkable, a courage so sublime, could not fail to make the priests his enemies; and he who showed himself the most desirous of his destruction, was the metropolitan of Lyons, who was called John des Belles Maisons. This prelate, exasperated at Valdo for having dared to instruct the people and blame the vices of the popes and clergy, sent him an order to stop teaching, under penalty of being excommunicated and burned as an heretic. The philosopher replied to the archbishop, that he did not fear punishment, and that he should continue to preach against the abominable corruption of the priests, since he would rather obey his conscience and his God, than a prelate who was an atheist and an abominable sodomite. This energetic re-

ply increased the rage of John, who at once sent guards to arrest him; but the people took the side of the apostle, and drove away the minions of the archbishop. Valdo remained three years in Lyons, under the protection of his friends; but Pope Alexander, the third of that name, who was very cruel, though he affected not to appear so, having been informed that a great number of the Lyonesse doubted his sovereign authority, and fearful lest this rebellion against his authority should be propagated in France, anathematised Valdo and all his adherents, and ordered John des Belles Maisons to persecute them to their complete extermination. The reformers were then tracked like wild beasts, given up to the most frightful punishments, or compelled to quit Lyons. They spread in bands through the south of France, under the name of Vaudois, derived from Valdo, their chief; and the new doctrines soon made such rapid progress that the countship of Toulouse, and all the people of the southern provinces, declared against the pope . . . .”

It was for the purpose of arresting this religious propagation that Alexander fulminated new anathemas, and preached a crusade against the Vaudois. At his call, thousands of fanatics took up arms and marched for Toulouse, which had then for its consul a venerable old man named Peter Durand, who employed his great wealth in succouring the poor, and who was particularly distinguished for his virtues and intelligence. Regardless of his age and character, the legate, John Chrysogonus, seized all his wealth and drove him from France, prohibiting him from returning until he had served the poor for ten years at Jerusalem; he then confiscated the wealth of his relatives, and of those who had communicated with him; he exiled all the opulent citizens because they were suspected of heresy, and put several to the torture to obtain denunciations.

This first expedition against the Vaudois appeared to be terminated, when there arrived another legate named Henry, a former abbot of Clairvaux, who had been elevated to the cardinalate. This execrable prelate advanced at the head of an army of banditti, fortified with merciless orders, which had been sent to him from Rome. Then the scaffolds were erected, the instruments of torture rent anew the victims of superstition; then reappeared all the frightful apparatus which the ministers of tyrants carry with them. Thousands of heretics, old men, women, and children were hung, quartered, broken upon the wheel, or burned alive, and their property confiscated for the benefit of the king and the Holy See.

Whilst Alexander was exterminating the Vaudois or Albigenes, for refusing to recognise his supreme authority, Scotland had revolted on account of the promotion of the Doctor John to the bishopric of St. Andrew's. King William, discontented with the canons of that church for choosing a bishop without his permission, refused to confirm their candidate, and appointed his chaplain Hugh to govern the vacant see. John complained to the court of Rome, and Alexander immediately sent Alexis, a sub-deacon of the Roman church, as his legate to Scotland, who pronounced an interdict against the bishopric of St. Andrew, deposed Hugh as an intruder, and re-instated John as the lawful bishop of the diocese; prohibiting him, however, from taking off the interdict from his church until the king had consented to his election.

William appeared to submit to force, and approved of the election; but as soon as the excommunication had been raised he arrested John, and sent him out of his kingdom. Alexis uttered a new anathema, which was confirmed by the pope in a letter to the bishops of Scotland, and particularly to the clergy of St. Andrew's. Through the inspiration of his machiavelian policy, he gave the legation of Scotland to Roger, the metropolitan of York, who, as an Englishman, was the natural enemy of the Scotch, and ordered him to excommunicate William, to place his kingdom under interdict, and to depose him if he persisted in not leaving John in free possession of the diocese of St. Andrew's. Alexander commanded the prelate to return to Scotland and not to abandon his see, and to merit, if necessary, the palm of martyrdom like St. Thomas of Canterbury. All these steps did not aid the cause of John; he was a second time driven from the kingdom, and prohibited, under penalty of death, from re-entering it. It is true that the prince was immediately excommunicated and Scotland placed under interdict.

This was the last act of authority exercised by Alexander; he died at Citta di Castello, on the 30th of August, 1181, after having occupied the pontifical chair for twenty-two years. This pope, proud, vindictive, avaricious, despotic, and cruel, exhibited a cowardly hypocrisy so long as he had to fear the sword of the emperor Frederick; but as soon as he saw his authority affirmed, he cast aside the mask and revealed himself as implacable as Gregory the Seventh, and even prouder than the monk Hildebrand. How strangely blind are men who even now prostrate themselves before the successors of such monsters.

## LUCIUS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1182.]

*Election of Lucius the Third—He is driven out of Rome—He makes war on the Romans and re-enters the holy city at the head of an army—He begs for mercy in every kingdom of Europe—He is again driven from Rome—Interview between the pope and the emperor—Council of Verona—Infamous decree against the Vaudois—The affairs of Scotland—New crusade in the East—History of the patriarchess of Jerusalem—Insolence of the patriarch Heraclius—Death of Lucius.*

THE decrees of the last council of the Lateran had definitely devolved the elective power on the cardinals. The clergy and people could no longer interfere in the elections by a negative vote, since it was sufficient for the canonical election of a pope to have united two thirds of the votes of the electoral college in his favour. Thus from this time the cardinalship became the first and most important dignity in the church.

In their haste to enjoy their new prerogatives, the cardinals did not even wait until the funeral rites of Alexander were terminated. On the day succeeding his death, they secretly assembled and proclaimed Ubaldo, bishop of Ostia, sovereign pontiff, who was consecrated at Veletri, under the name of Lucius the Third, by Theodin, bishop of Porto, and the archpriest of Ostia. The new pope, born in the city of Lucca, in Tuscany, was, it is alleged, very ignorant, and possessed, as his only merit, a perfect knowledge of the ceremonies of the church.

See why this unfit prelate obtained the honours of the pontificate. The cardinals having, by virtue of the decree which conferred on them the elective power, assembled to choose a successor to Alexander, pledged themselves to each other not to choose a pope from without the college. But when this determination was agreed upon, it produced a great difficulty; all wished to be popes, and no one would vote for any other than himself. Finally, to put an end to the difficulty, they agreed to choose the cardinal Ubaldo, as being the oldest, and consequently as likely soon to give place to the ambition of the others. Notwithstanding their foresight, Lucius lived four years.

The history of the first part of this pontificate is barren, and offers nothing but uncertainty; it only commences to be interesting towards the year 1183. Lucius is accused of a defect which, among sovereigns, is a monstrous vice,—avarice. On the very day of his exaltation, he wished to reform many usages established from time immemorial; for example, the custom of bestowing largesses on the people, at the periods of great solemnities, and the distribution of clothing and food on the anniversaries of the fête of the popes, or of their enthronement.

The Romans fearing lest this rapacious old

man would finish by hoarding up all their wealth in the vaults of the palace of the Lateran, revolted against him, invaded the pontifical residence with arms, pursued him from fortress to fortress, and compelled him to quit Rome. The populace then spread themselves through the country, which belonged to him, pillaged his houses, ravaged his domains, burned his palaces, and over their smoking ruins all swore to die with arms in their hands rather than obey the infamous Lucius, who had gone to beg aid from the emperor and had obtained his consent that Christian, the metropolitan of Mayence, should replace him on the Holy See, by the aid of a German army. This prelate, who was one of the most skilful generals of the empire, would have doubtlessly re-established the affairs of the pope, if death had not arrested him on his march. After the loss of their chief, the army dared not penetrate into the heart of Italy, and retreated towards Lombardy.

Lucius found himself a second time deprived of all assistance, and far from being in a condition to reduce the rebels, he perceived that he himself would soon be forced to obey them. He then changed his tactics, and not being able to conquer the people, he resolved to corrupt their leaders. As he had no money, he sent his monks to all the courts of Europe for the purpose of extracting it from kings, lords, and the common people. All the sums which he thus procured were distributed among the leaders of the revolt, and by their aid, he returned in triumph to the palace of the Lateran. Unfortunately his success was not of long duration; the Romans, irritated at his wish to impose an extraordinary impost on the city, revolted against his fiscal agents, and drove them away with the odious pontiff.

In this second revolution it is just to say, that the people committed horrible excesses; churches were pillaged and burned, nuns violated and murdered on the public squares, priests killed by stripes and mutilated in a shameful manner, and finally, historians relate, that after sacking a convent, they tore out the eyes of all the monks, covered their heads with mitres by way of derision, and sent them forth in a procession, bound in couples, and led by a lay brother, to whom they had saved one eye.

When Lucius was informed of the cruelties which had been inflicted on his clergy, he broke out into a transport of bitter anger. He fulminated the most terrible anathemas against the Romans, and immediately retired to Verona to hasten the succours which the emperor was about to send him. Frederick joined him there, and renewed to him the oath of fidelity and obedience which he had taken to Pope Alexander, under the condition that he would grant to him an investiture of the estates of the Countess Matilda.

A council was immediately convened; and Lucius officially instructed the fathers to resolve the difficulties which had formerly arisen between the Holy See and the emperor. But, in the secret instructions, he ordered them to dally over the matters in relation to the heritage of the Countess Matilda, and principally to occupy themselves with the condemnation of the Romans, and with the measures to be taken to reduce them. The synod at the same time rendered a decree against the heretics of Italy and France, which included the principal dispositions of the council of the Lateran, with an addition of cruel measures, in order to arrive more promptly at the extermination of people who refused to submit to the court of Rome. "Ecclesiastical justice could not show too much rigour," said Lucius, in this bull, "in annihilating the heresies which now multiply in a large number of the provinces. Already has Rome braved the thunders of the Holy See; and her intractable people have dared, from hatred of our person, to lay a sacrilegious hand upon our priests. But the day of vengeance is preparing; and, until we can return to those Romans the evils they have inflicted on us, we excommunicate all heretics, whatever may be their appellation. Among others, the Catharins, the Patarins, those who falsely call themselves the Humiliated, or the Poor of Lyons, as well as the Passagins, the Josephins, the Arnaudists; and, finally, all those wretches who call themselves Vaudois, or enemies of the Holy See. We strike these abominable sectarians with a perpetual anathema; we condemn those who shall give them shelter or protection to the same penalties, and who shall call themselves Consoled, Perfect Believers, or by any other superstitious name.

"And as the severity of ecclesiastical discipline is sometimes despised and powerless, we order, that those who shall be convicted of favouring heretics, if they are clergy or monks, shall be despoiled of their sacerdotal functions, and of their benefices, and shall be abandoned to all the rigours of secular justice; if laymen, we order that they suffer the most horrid tortures, be proved by fire and sword, torn by stripes, and burned alive. We add, by advice of the bishops, and on the remonstrances of the emperor and the lords, that every prelate shall visit, several times during the year, either in person or by his archdeacon, all the cities of his diocese, and particularly the places in which he shall judge that the heretics hold their assemblies.

They shall cause the inhabitants, and especially the old men, women, and children, to be seized. They shall interrogate them to know if there are any Vaudois in their country, or people who hold secret assemblies, and who lead a life differing from that of the faithful. Those who shall hesitate to make denunciations, shall be immediately put to the torture. When the bishop or archdeacon shall discover the guilty, he shall cause them to be arrested, and shall exact from them an abjuration; or, on their refusal, shall execute the sentence we have pronounced.

"We order, besides, the counts, barons, rectors, and consuls of cities, and other places, to engage by oath, in accordance with the warning of the bishops, to persecute heretics and their accomplices, when they shall be so required to do by the church; and to execute, with all their power, all that the Holy See and the empire have appointed in regard to the crimes of heresy: otherwise, we declare them deprived of their offices and dignities, without the power ever again to hold any employment; and, moreover, they shall be excommunicated for ever, and their property placed under interdict.

"The cities which shall resist our orders, or which, having been warned by the bishops, shall neglect to pursue the heretics, shall be excluded from all commerce with other cities, and shall lose their rank and privileges. The citizens shall be excommunicated, noted with perpetual infamy, and as such declared unfit to fill any public or ecclesiastical function. All the faithful shall have the right to kill them, seize their goods, and reduce them to slavery."

After the reading of this infamous decree, the council heard the explanations of the Scotch bishops, John and Hugh, the same who had contended for the see of St. Andrew's. The pope and cardinals decided that neither had any right to the see, as both had been irregularly chosen and consecrated, and ordered them to resign the title of bishop into the hands of Lucius. A new struggle then took place between the two titulars, to obtain the protection of the holy father. John offered Lucius five hundred pennies of gold, provided he would favour his interests; Hugh gave him two thousand to declare for him against his rival. The pope took the money of the two competitors, and in order to reconcile them, he gave to Hugh the see of St. Andrew's, and to John the see of Dunkeld, with the benefices of which King William had deprived him. When the two prelates returned to Scotland, they wished to enter into the possession of their respective churches, but the king having refused to restore to John the benefices which had been granted to him by Lucius, the war commenced between the two rivals for the see of St. Andrew's, and the kingdom was again troubled by this ridiculous quarrel.

In the east the affairs of the Christians were in a deplorable state. More than a million of men had been buried in the sands of Pales-

tine, and the price of so many sacrifices was the miserable conquest of Jerusalem. On one hand, dissolution of morals, incapacity of leaders, and a want of soldiery, left the Holy Land without defence. On the other, a horrible leprosy and continual sickness rendered Baldwin the Fourth incapable of defending his new subjects against the enterprises of the infidels. In this extremity, the prince determined to send a deputation into Italy to the pope, and to the Christian kings, to lay before them the misfortunes of the East. He chose as the chief of this embassy, the infamous Heraclius, the metropolitan of Jerusalem, the same who had been elevated to this important see, notwithstanding the active opposition of William, archbishop of Tyre. This latter wished to profit by the circumstance, to go himself to Rome, and to renew his accusations before the pope, demanding the deposition of Heraclius. But the sacred college and the pope, already won by gold, refused even to hear the illustrious metropolitan. He, indignant at such cowardice, threatened Lucius to proclaim through all the courts of Christendom the traffic which he was carrying on in ecclesiastical dignities. All was useless; the rich presents of Heraclius caused the balance to declare in his favour, and he was solemnly recognised by the holy father.

Besoldus thus speaks of the morals of Heraclius:—"This patriarch became enamoured of the wife of a tavern-keeper named Pascha de Riveri, of the city of Napolis in Palestine, twelve leagues from Jerusalem. He frequently mounted his horse and came to see his mistress, who accompanied him to the patriarchal palace; after some days of debauchery, he sent her back laden with presents, in order that her journey might not be too displeasing to her husband. The latter, however, worn out by the pleasantries of his neighbours, became enraged at his wife, and threatened to put her to death, if she did not cease her intercourse with the patriarch. The beautiful tavern-keeper informed Heraclius of it, and the next day the husband was found dead in his bed. La Pascha then came to reside at Jerusalem in a rich palace, which she publicly inhabited with the metropolitan. When her lover preached at the cathedral, she went there in the equipage of a queen, followed by a crowd of servants, more richly equipped than those of the princess Sybilla, the sister of the king; and if strangers asked her people what was the name of this lady they boldly replied, the patriarchess.

Heraclius had several children whom he carried about with him publicly, to the temple and the court. It is even related that one day, in full council, in presence of the king, the barons, and the generals, one of the servants of La Pascha came to announce to him that she had been delivered of a boy.

It was, however, in the name of this unworthy priest, in the name of Arnold, grand master of the Templars, and in that of Roger, grand master of the Hospitaliers, that the metropolitan of Ravenna exposed to the coun-

cil of Verona the sad state of the eastern church; and besought Lucius to permit the Christians of the West to go to the succour of the Holy Land. The pope evinced very favourable dispositions towards the ambassadors; unfortunately it was not so with the kings; they showed very little enthusiasm, and replied to the court of Rome, that the welfare of their kingdoms would prevent them from engaging in an enterprise so perilous and so long as a crusade in Palestine. In fact, almost all of them had wars to maintain. Frederick Barbarossa was engaged in re-establishing his authority over Italy; William, king of Sicily, was repulsing the efforts at invasion of Andronicus Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople; Philip the Second, king of France, was engaged in war with the great vassals of the crown; Henry the Second, king of England, was also detained in his kingdom by the incessant revolts of his French provinces, which wished to detach themselves from his authority.

Heraclius, seeing the bad success of his negotiations, wished to make a last effort, and went himself to Paris, where he was received with great distinction by the king and young lords of the French court. All testified to the patriarch their desire to go to Jerusalem; but the wise portion of the prelates and nobles assembled in council, and decided that the sovereign, who was not yet twenty years old, could not direct a crusade, and should remain in his kingdom. Philip then promised the eastern ambassadors to cause the holy war to be preached in his kingdom, and to furnish from his own purse the necessary sums for the equipment and support of those who should take up arms.

After this first refusal, the metropolitan went to England, persuaded that king Henry could not refuse to undertake the defence of his relative, the king of Jerusalem, especially as he had to fulfil his promise made to the Holy See of going to the aid of the Holy Land, to expiate the murder of Thomas Becket.

On the arrival of the patriarch, Henry convoked the lords and prelates of his kingdom in the city of London, to deliberate on the question of a crusade. The council decided unanimously that the king should not leave his kingdom, and must be content with permitting his subjects to take the cross. Henry then rose and said to the patriarch: "Since our counsellors have decided that our presence is indispensable for the safety of our people, we will follow their decision, because, above all other things, a prince owes himself to his nation; we, however, promise to give from our treasury fifty thousand marks of silver, to succour our cousin, the king of Jerusalem."

This new disappointment exasperated Heraclius. "Prince," he exclaimed, "what matters your munificence to us? we have more gold than we want; and if we have come so far, it was to seek for a man capable of making war on the infidel, and we hoped to find him here. Since our anticipations have been deceived by him who ought to realise them,

learn in your turn, prince, that if you have reigned until this time with glory, it is because the pope reserved you for his defence; but, as you abandon his cause, know that he also will abandon you, and that injustice shall at length punish your ingratitude and your crimes. Have you forgotten, perjured vassal, that you have violated the fidelity you owe to the king of France, your sovereign? Do you no longer remember, infamous prince, the assassination of the holy archbishop of Canterbury?"

At these bitter reproaches, made before all his court, Henry changed colour, and his countenance exhibited the expression of con-

centrated rage; but Heraclius, without appearing alarmed, continued: "Do not think I fear the effects of the fury which I see on your face; strike me as you struck holy Thomas, and let my martyrdom teach the world that you are more cruel, and more impious than the Saracens." Such was the dread which the priests of that period inspired, that the king, unable longer to restrain himself, and not daring to avenge himself, quitted the assembly.

Pope Lucius died at Verona, before the return of Heraclius to Italy, on the 24th of November, 1185, and was interred in the cathedral of that city.

## URBAN THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1185.]

*Election of Urban—The emperor Frederick decrees the title of Casar to his son—Quarrel between the pope and the emperor—Complaints of Frederick Barbarossa against the pope—Letters of the German bishops to the holy father—Urban is driven from Verona—Conquests of the Sultan Saladin—Death of the pope.*

AFTER the death of Lucius, the Milanese Hubert Crivelli, cardinal of St. Lawrence and metropolitan of Milan, was proclaimed pontiff by the sacred college by the name of Urban the Third.

Frederick Barbarossa, who thought to assure to himself rule over Italy, profited by the moment of respite, which the death of the pope and the care of a new election gave him, to marry his son Henry to Constance, the posthumous daughter of King Roger and niece of William the Second, who then reigned over the states of Sicily. This marriage was celebrated at Milan, on the 27th of January, 1186, and at the conclusion of the ceremony, the emperor had been crowned by the metropolitan of Vienne—Henry by the patriarch of Aquileia, and Constance by a German prelate. Frederick then solemnly declared his son Cæsar, and yielded the imperial authority to him.

But Urban, who in the interval had been chosen pope, immediately exhibited intentions hostile to the emperor, and refused to confirm the declaration of the sovereign and the marriage of the young prince, under the pretext that this union threatened to weaken the Roman church. He reproached Frederick with his usurpation of the property bequeathed by the countess Matilda to St. Peter; he accused him of robbing the heritages of bishops after their death, and of obliging their successors to live by extortion; and he finally threatened him with excommunication if he did not restore to the monasteries of men and women the wealth of which he had deprived them by falsely accusing them of employing it in debauchery. All these imputations, how-

soever founded, were but pretexts to justify the conduct of the pope; the true motive of his opposition arose from a sentiment of cupidity. Urban coveted for the Holy See the inheritance of King William, who was childless and appeared to be threatened by a speedy death.

Henry was still in Lombardy, at the time of the declaration of the holy father: he immediately retraced his steps, resolved to take vengeance on the court of Rome. He first attacked a bishop whom he met on his way, and imperiously demanded from him, from whom he had received his investiture; on his reply that he had been ordained by Urban, because he possessed neither regalia, offices, nor a royal court, the young prince became excited against him and ordered him to be beaten by his people. He treated still more cruelly a legate who was carrying considerable sums to Rome; he seized the money by force, and in order to punish the ecclesiastic for the resistance he made, ordered his nose to be cut off.

Urban immediately cited the emperor and his son to Rome to be judged by a council, threatening them with a terrible excommunication if they refused to obey his orders. The two princes not only treated the threats of Urban with contempt, but even redoubled their severity towards the prelates who sustained the side of the pontiff; they blocked up the passages of the Alps and the neighbouring countries, to prevent ecclesiastics from passing from Italy into Germany, and to arrest the Germans who wished to go to the court of Rome: they then convened all the prelates and lords of the kingdom at Goilenhusen.

Frederick opened the sitting by the following speech: "Lords and bishops, you know in what manner we have been attacked by the Holy See, without having failed in the respect and obedience we had promised it. The ambitious pontiff however, who now governs the church, wishes to ruin the privileges of our empire in order to snatch the crown with more ease from the brows of our successors. He maintains, that no layman, whatever be his dignity, should take the tithes which the people pay to those who serve the altar; that it is unjust that kings should claim the right of advowson over lands or vassals of the church, and that prelates alone should freely enjoy them. All these exactions are contrary to the usages of the empire, and we do not believe we can change our ancient customs to obey a priest; still, to show how desirous we are of peace with the pope, we will conform to the decisions which this assembly shall make."

Then Conrad, metropolitan of Mayence, rose and replied to the prince, "this is a grave affair, my lord, and it is not possible lightly to resolve it. We will first write to the pontiff to exhort him to peace and to render you justice." All the fathers acceded to this proposal, and a synodical letter was addressed to the holy father.

In this writing, the bishops of Germany

exhibited their profound affliction at the discord which had broken out between the altar and the throne; they reproached the pontiff with the abuse which he made of his authority in wishing to annihilate the imperial power by depriving it of its privileges, and of encroaching daily upon its prerogatives.

Notwithstanding the lively discontent which Urban exhibited at the letter of the prelates of Germany, he remained none the less firm in his resolve to excommunicate the emperor, and he cited him to appear at Verona to be judged and anathematised. This new step of the holy father was unsuccessful; the inhabitants of Verona, alarmed at the consequences which might result to them from the enmity of Frederick, drove the pope from their city, and obliged him to take refuge in Venice. In this city Urban regained all the advantages of his position; he even formed a league against the emperor, and organised an army destined for the succour of the Holy Land. But at the very moment when he was commencing to embark his troops, he learned that the sultan Saladin, after having defeated the Christian army and made Guy of Lusignan prisoner on the day of Tiberiade, had seized the city of Jerusalem, and subjugated all the kingdom. Urban was so chagrined that he fell sick and died three days afterward, on the 19th of October, 1187.

## GREGORY THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1187.]

*Election of Gregory—Consternation of Christians at the news of the conquest of Jerusalem—The pope negotiates a peace between the Genoese and the Pisans—His death.*

ALBERT, a cardinal priest of the order of St. Lawrence and chancellor of the Roman church, succeeded Urban the Third, by a canonical election. He was enthroned by the name of Gregory the Eighth, and consecrated on the following Sunday.

Beneventum was the country of the new pope, who, by the testimony of historians, was learned, eloquent, and of pure and austere morals. Like his predecessor, he was much distressed by the capture of Jerusalem; so that, as soon as he was seated on the pontifical throne, he sent his monks through all Christendom, to preach new crusades for the purpose of reanimating the zeal of the faithful for the deliverance of the Holy Land. By his orders, the missionaries promised plenary indulgences to those who should undertake the journey to Palestine, or furnish money for the wants of the crusaders.

With Gregory the Eighth, as with his predecessors, religion was not the only motive which determined him to aid the Christians of the East against the infidel. The hope of

re-establishing in Asia the authority of the Holy See, and of weakening the Greek church, acted most powerfully on the minds of these popes. Besides, this was the policy which had been steadily pursued at Rome since the reign of Gregory the Great.

A contemporary author, Roger Hoveden, relates, that the conquest of Jerusalem produced so terrible an effect on all minds, that the Roman cardinals pledged themselves in writing to renounce their concubines, not to ride on horseback, and not to follow the chase as long as the Holy Land remained in the power of the infidel. Several even engaged to take the cross and to go at the head of the pilgrims into Syria. But, adds he, this increase of devotion only lasted a few days, and all soon resumed their ordinary way of living.

Gregory was diverted from his grief by a difficult negotiation, which he undertook in order to reconcile the Pisans and Genoese, two rival and very powerful cities. His intention was to unite the forces of these two republics, for the purpose of pushing the war

in Palestine. Already had his overtures been favourably listened to by the Pisans; he had even decided them to join all their land and sea forces to those of the crusaders; already had the Genoese sent ambassadors to him to treat of peace with the inhabitants of Pisa,

when, most fortunately for them, he was attacked by a violent fever which retarded the disasters of a new crusade. He died after a sickness of some days, on the 16th of December, 1187, having filled the Holy See for two months.

## CLEMENT THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1188.]

*Election of Clement—Treaty between the pope and the Romans—Clement pursues the plans of his predecessors in regard to the Holy Land—Fanaticism of the Croises of France, England, and Germany—Rules for the new crusade—Saladin's dime—Termination of the Scottish schism—Privilege granted to the king of Scotland—Quarrel between the pope and the king of France—Death of Clement the Third.*

PAUL, or Paulinus, cardinal bishop of Palestina, and a Roman by birth, was chosen to succeed Gregory the Eighth, by the name of Clement the Third. The ceremony of his consecration took place at Pisa, some days after the death of his predecessor. He was scarcely seated on the throne of St. Peter, when his first care was to put an end to the quarrel between the people of Rome and the Holy See. For this purpose, he sent deputies to the senate and the prefect, to make arrangements in regard to the city of Tusculum, which was the chief cause of the discord, and of which the popes claimed possession, to the prejudice of the city. His ambassadors displayed great skill in the negotiation; they showed to the Romans the loss they would sustain if the popes were obliged to choose another city for their residence; they besought them not, themselves, to bring about the destruction of the ancient capital of the Christian world, by refusing to receive the pontiff as their father, and unconditionally. The Romans did not fall into the snare which was laid for them, knowing too well that the presence of the pontiff produced discords and disasters among them. They however replied, that, in order to obtain peace, they would receive Clement within their walls, provided he would aid them to repair the losses suffered in their wars with the Holy See on account of Tusculum.

The pontiff, finding it impossible to deceive the Romans, finally acceded to their just demands, and signed the treaty which was imposed on him.

All things being arranged on both sides, Clement made his dispositions to return to the pontifical city. Before, however, removing from Pisa, he did not lose sight of his project of a crusade; he assembled the citizens in the great church, delivered a long exhortation to them to determine them to undertake the journey to the Holy Land, and even gave the standard of St. Peter to Hubald, the metropolitan of that diocese, with the title of legate;

after this he took the road to Rome, into which he made a triumphal entry.

As soon as the holy father had regulated the administration of the church, he sent the cardinal Henry, bishop of Albano, with William of Tyre, in the capacity of legates to France, to put an end to the quarrels between kings Henry and Philip, and to determine these two princes to unite their armies to march to the conquest of Jerusalem. This embassy was entirely successful. Henry and Philip were reconciled. They received the cross from the hands of the legates, and pledged themselves to go to Palestine. A great number of the lords of both nations following their example, took the cross. The French adopted a red cross, the English a green one.

Whilst the metropolitan of Tyre was fanaticising the people of France, the other legate, Henry of Albano, had separated from his colleague, and had gone to Germany for the same purpose. Thus, on the very day on which King Philip assembled his parliament at Paris to demand subsidies for the succour of Jerusalem, Frederick held a solemn diet at Mayence, in order to publish the crusade. The emperor took the cross with his son Frederick, the duke of Suabia, and sixty-eight of the most powerful lords of his empire. The rendezvous for their departure was fixed at Ratisbon, on the day of the festival of St. George, in the following year; but in order to prevent the disorders which the movements of such large bodies of troops produced, by the conjunction of all the vagabonds who follow armies, under the name of sutlers, valets, and others, all who could not go to the expense of three marks of silver were prohibited, under penalty of excommunication, from joining the crusaders.

Henry of England levied in his kingdom an extraordinary impost of one tenth of the revenues and moveables of all his subjects, excepting only arms, horses, the dress of the officers, as well as the books, garments, and

benefices of the clergy. This impost, known by the name of Saladin's dime, was collected in each parish by a monk, nominated by the bishop, and assisted by a sergeant of the king, and a templar or hospitaller. The king of England made, besides, different ordinances for the discipline of his army—proscribing dice and other games of chance, interdicting to his knights furs of ermine, martin, and sable, scarlet clothing, and ornamented dresses. He also prohibited the officers from blaspheming, from having more than two kinds of meat served at table, and from introducing women into the camp, with the exception of some old and homely sutlers. He authorised the crusaders who had before pledged their property, to exact from their creditors one year's revenues, without this new debt bearing interest during the expedition; finally, he permitted his subjects, even the ecclesiastics, to mortgage their estates for three years, and reserved for those who died during the journey the right of disposing of the money which they carried with them, in favour of their domestics, or for the aid of the Holy Land.

Philip Augustus levied also the Saladin dime in his kingdom, and made ordinances similar to those of king Henry.

Whilst France, England, and Germany were thus preparing for a war in Palestine, the pope was engaged in extinguishing the schism which separated Scotland from the Holy See. For this purpose he wrote to king William and the clergy of that kingdom: "We inform you, my lord, that Hugh not having presented himself at the court of Rome, as he was ordered by Urban the Third, we have declared him deprived of the bishopric of St. Andrew's, and have suspended him from all ecclesiastical functions, freeing his vassals from the oath of fidelity and obedience. We also order, in conformity with the holy canons, which prohibit churches from being left without pastors, that the chapter of St. Andrew shall immediately assemble to choose a worthy priest; and we recommend to it bishop John, whose merit we know. We exhort you, our dear son, to give your aid to this prelate. . . ." William, after having taken cognizance of these letters, was reconciled to the bishop John; he surrendered to him the see of Dunkeld, with its revenues, on condition that he would renounce the diocese of St. Andrew in favour of Hugh. This determination of the king smoothed all difficulties; John was installed in his bishopric, and Hugh went to Rome to be reinstated in his see. He received absolution from the pope, and died on his return.

William, desiring to guarantee his kingdom for the future from the censures of English metropolitans, sent deputies to Italy, instructed to negotiate with Clement for a bull which should declare the church of Scotland subject to that of Rome, and independent of that of England. The brief rendered on this occasion terminated with the following clause: "From henceforth the church of Scotland shall be immediately freed from its depend-

ency on the Holy See, and no pope, or legate ('à latere,' shall be permitted to lanch or publish, interdict or excommunication upon this kingdom. No one, for the future, shall be able to exercise the functions of a legate, unless he is a Scotchman, or taken from the body of the Roman church; and differences which shall break out in regard to benefices situated in Scotland, shall not be brought before any foreign tribunal, except that of Rome, and by way of appeal."

This dispute of the Scotch and English was scarcely settled, when a terrible war broke out between Henry the Second and Philip, on account of the sister of the latter, whom Richard, the son of the king of England, wished to espouse in despite of his father. At first the young prince placed himself at the head of a body of French troops and made war on his father, who, fearing the ambition of his son, obstinately refused to consent to this marriage. Philip then, finding the war protracted, took arms on the side of Richard; and the two people, French and English, murdered each other for a quarrel of their tyrants. As all the money of the Saladin dime was swallowed up in these interminable disputes, the holy father, fearful of seeing his hopes of the crusades vanish, sent a new legate, John of Anagni, who obtained an agreement from the princes to meet at Ferté Bernard, to confer upon a mode of terminating the war.

In this interview, Philip exhibited an inconceivable pride; he imperiously demanded the accomplishment of the marriage arrested between his sister Alice and Richard, count of Poitiers; demanding, besides, that the prince should do homage to him for his estates, and that his brother John should assume the cross. Henry of England offered to espouse Alice to the younger of his sons: but Philip rejected this proposal with insolence, and conducted himself in outrageous language; when the legate interposing between the two monarchs, threatened Philip to excommunicate him, and to place his kingdom under interdict, if he refused the conditions offered by the king of England.

Philip then protested against the decree of the legate, maintaining that it did not pertain to the Roman church to censure a kingdom, when the prince was repressing his rebellious vassals, and avenging the injuries done his crown; and soon the war recommenced more furiously than ever. Henry the Second having died at Chinon soon after, his son Richard succeeded him and restored peace to the two nations.

The two kings were then able to accomplish the vow they had made to conquer the Holy Land; they embarked together towards the end of the year 1190, and sailed for Syria, where Frederick Barbarossa had already arrived at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men. This unfortunate emperor was drowned in crossing the river Salef, or Cydnus. Henry the Sixth, his son and successor, immediately quitted the army of the crusaders, and came to Italy, to receive the crown from

the hands of the pope, and to claim at the same time the succession of William the Good, king of Sicily, who died without children. On his route, he learned that Clement the Third, attacked by a severe malady, had rendered his last sigh on the 28th of March, 1191.—This pontiff, gifted with great political skill, had re-established during his reign the supremacy of the altar over the throne and had paved the way for his successors to rule all Europe.

## CELESTIN THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1191.]

*Election of Celestin—His consecration is deferred—Coronation of the emperor Henry the Sixth—Exhumation of the dead body of Tancred—Frightful punishment of Count Jourdain—Return of King Philip to France—Troubles in England—Complaint against the bishop of Ely—The Normans refuse to receive the legates of the pope—The king of England made prisoner by the duke of Austria—New crusade—Quarrel between the courts of Rome and France—Death of the emperor—Sordid avarice of the pope and cardinals—Philip repudiates Ingerburge—Death of Celestin.*

Two days after the death of Clement, cardinal Hyacinth was chosen sovereign pontiff. He was a Roman by birth, and was eighty-five years old when he reached the papacy. He was enthroned by the name of Celestin the Third; but, before being ordained, the sacred college decided that a treaty of peace should be preliminarily made with Henry the Sixth, and that he should oblige the prince to make a composition with the Romans, for the restitution of Tusculum.

Celestin having given his adhesion to this measure, a deputation was sent to the king of Germany, to claim the restoration of Tusculum and of the other fortresses near Rome, promising, that on this condition the pope would crown Henry emperor of Italy. The king consented to this arrangement, and the ambassadors returned with this reply: "You perceive, holy father, that I occupy your estates with my army; I can ravage your farms, your vineyards, and your olive plantations; do not then put off my consecration; since, instead of injuring you, I pledge myself to do honour to your city, obey your holiness, and pay you a tribute."

Celestin replied to the king, that he accepted his proposals of alliance, and immediately made preparations to proceed to his ordination, fixing on Easter Monday for the consecration of the emperor and the empress Constance, his wife. The following was the ceremony:—The holy father was seated on his throne, with the imperial crown deposited at his feet; Henry approached the apostolic chair, and knelt to receive the diadem; the pope, without rising, placed it on the brows of the monarch; he then knocked it off with his foot, wishing to figure by this action that the Holy See was the sole dispenser of thrones, and could at its pleasure make or unmake emperors. Henry having bowed his head in sign of assent, the cardinals lifted up the crown and placed it anew upon his head.

Thus was accomplished the sacrilegious

compact which united two implacable tyrants. Celestin sacrificing the unfortunate inhabitants of Tusculum to the interests of his ambition, destroyed their city to its foundation, and drove away its citizens. Henry, on his side, abandoned himself to all the inspirations of his ferocious character. He passed over into Apulia, to punish it for having named another as king of Sicily, to the prejudice of his pretended rights; he caused the dead body of Tancred, whom he regarded as an usurper, to be exhumed, and following the example of the infamous pontiff Stephen towards Formosus, he caused his head to be cut off by the executioner! His revenge was not arrested by a sacrilege. The young William, the son of Tancred, was condemned to have his eyes burned out by a hot iron, and this unfortunate youth had his natural parts torn off in his presence. Finally, this monster, this unchained tiger, wishing to stifle the spirit of rebellion by frightening his enemies, invented an atrocious punishment, which, until his time, no tyrant had yet conceived. A Count Jourdain, one of the Norman counts, took up arms to dispute with him a fief which belonged to his family; Henry having seized him by treachery, condemned him, in derision, to die upon a burning throne. The count was bound by chains on a bed of heated iron, and crowned with a diadem of burning silver, which was fastened on his head!!

Whilst the emperor Henry was ravaging Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily, the kings of France and England were leading their armies on the shores of Syria. These two princes, who before the death of Henry the Second appeared to be united in an indissoluble friendship, soon became implacable enemies. This division was caused on the part of Philip by his opposition to the massacre of the inhabitants of Messina, whom the English army wished to put to the sword; on the part of Richard by his refusal to ratify his engagement contracted with Alice, of France,

and by his marriage with Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Navarre.

On their arrival in the Holy Land, the princes no longer dissimulated the feelings of hatred which actuated them, and their discord took the character of open hostility. Philip had declared for the marquis of Montserrat, and had recognised him as king of Jerusalem, to the detriment of Lusignan. Richard immediately took the part of Lusignan, against the king of France, and Leopold, duke or marquis of Austria, who, in the absence of the emperor of Germany had remained in command of his troops, and had joined Philip to avenge himself for an insult of the English monarch. These divisions soon disorganized the Christian army, and caused them to lose sight of the objects of the crusade.

Philip, attacked by a sickness which caused his nails and hair to fall off, was forced to abandon his troops and return to Europe. He embarked for Otranto where he arrived on the 10th of October, 1191; from thence he went to Rome, where he was received with honour by Pope Celestin, who released him from his vow, bestowing on him the emblems of a pilgrim, the palm branch and the cross. The prince then took leave of the holy father and continued his route to Paris, where he arrived during the Christmas festivities.

Soon after the departure of Philip, Duke Leopold followed his example, and returned to Germany. Richard alone remained in Syria, and performed prodigies of valour; but his courage was only of assistance to his glory, for his absence caused him even to lose the kingdom of England, rent by the factions of the earl of Morlay and of Geoffrey, metropolitan of York. These two lords, availing themselves of the absence of the king, formed a powerful party against William, bishop of Ely, chancellor of the kingdom and legate of the Holy See, and, in this capacity, invested with the supreme power. They constrained him to quit Great Britain and take refuge in Normandy. His enemies even pushed their boldness so far as to send ambassadors to the Holy See to complain of him, and to have their rebellion sanctioned. Notwithstanding the accusations brought against William, Celestin refused to condemn him; he drove his detractors from Rome and sent this reply to the English prelates:

“King Richard being absent on the service of God, we are compelled to take his kingdom under our protection. Having been apprised that John, earl of Morlay, and some other disturbers have risen against his authority, and have even driven from England our venerable brother, William, bishop of Ely, we order you to assemble and excommunicate all the guilty, to the sound of the bells and with lighted candles; we also interdict divine service in all the estates of these criminals, until they shall come to Rome to implore our pity.”

An express was also sent into the East to Richard, to inform him of the troubles which were desolating his kingdom. The prince hastened to conclude a truce of three years

with Saladin, and embarked on his return to Europe. Unfortunately he encountered a tempest in the Adriatic, and stranded on the shores of Venice. This misfortune, which retarded his arrival in his kingdom, determined him to take the land route and traverse the provinces of the duke of Austria in the disguise of a trader. During his journey he was denounced by a priest and arrested by his enemy the duke, who kept him as a prisoner at Vienna, and then sent him to the emperor, Henry the Sixth. Richard finally obtained his liberty by paying a ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver, and continued on his journey. But his brother, John Lackland, assisted by the king of France, had already seized on the crown of England, and Richard of the Lion Heart was obliged to reconquer his states.

During the following year, died the Sultan of Egypt and Syria, the celebrated Saladin, whose sword had been so redoubtable to the Christians. This illustrious conqueror left several sons, heirs of his power, but not of his courage and talents. His death revived the ambition of the Holy See. Celestin then conceived the hope of reconquering the kingdom of Jerusalem, and caused a new crusade to be preached in France and Germany. Cardinal Gregory, the legate of the pope in Germany, convened a general diet at Worms, and spoke with so much eloquence in favour of the holy sepulchre, that a great number of prelates, lords, and magistrates determined to take the cross; the emperor himself wished to command the expedition in person, and would have done it if wise counsels had not diverted him from it.

Some time after, Henry at length received the chastisement due his crimes. He died, poisoned by his wife Constance and a lord of his court, the paramour of that princess. This tragical end excited no regret, so much hatred had this monster raised against himself by his cruelties and exactions. Celestin who had excommunicated him on account of the captivity of Richard, prohibited his dead body from being interred; and only departed from his severity, on condition that his successor should restore to the Holy See the one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver which the king of England had paid. He had even the audacity to demand for the coronation of the son of Henry a thousand marks of silver for each of his cardinals, and moreover compelled the empress Constance to swear upon the consecrated host, that the young prince was really of the blood of the emperor, and not the fruit of her adulteries.

At this same period, Philip Augustus espoused Ingerburge, the daughter of Valdemar the First, and sister of Canute the Sixth, king of Denmark. All writers of the time agree in describing this princess to have been as beautiful as virtuous. According to Mezerai, she had a secret defect which rendered her unfit for marriage. Immediately, from the very first night of his marriage, Philip separated from her, and demanded from his

bishops a sentence of separation. The judgment was pronounced by the metropolitan of Rheims, the legate of the pope, and by some prelates who were moved to join in the divorce, under a pretext of relationship in the sixth degree. This unfortunate princess was confined in the convent of Soissons, and her husband left her in such destitution, that she was reduced to sell her household vessels, and even her clothing for her subsistence. The king of Denmark complained to the Holy See against his son-in-law, and obtained an annulment of the sentence of separation. Celestin even ordered the king to take Ingerburge back again, and to treat her as Queen of France: prohibiting him, under penalty of excommunication, from contracting a new alliance. Philip, without disquieting himself about the threats of the pontiff, married the daughter of the duke of Bohemia.

Notwithstanding this opposition to his orders, Celestin did not launch an anathema against the king, perhaps because he had abandoned the cause of the princess—perhaps

because, worn down by years and infirmities, he thought of nothing but dying. Towards the festival of Christmas (1197) he assembled the cardinals, and besought them to choose John of St. Paul, a cardinal priest of the order of St. Prisque, in whose favour he offered to abdicate. But as all the cardinals coveted the apostolical chair for themselves, they refused to accede to the wishes of Celestin, under the pretext, that it was irregular, and contrary to the canons, for a pontiff to lay down the tiara. Some days afterwards, on the 8th of January, 1198, the holy father died at the age of ninety-three years, having governed the church for six years and nine months.

During the twelfth century, we have seen the popes arrogate to themselves the right of disposing of the imperial crown, and deposing princes. It was from this time that the power of the Holy See could be regarded as really constituted; and it chiefly owed its new influence to the organization of the college of cardinals, which found itself charged with the election of the chiefs of the church.

## THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

### INNOCENT THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1198.]

*Reflections of the historian Mathew Paris on the church in the thirteenth century—Cardinal Lothaire chosen pope by the name of Innocent the Third—His history before his election—Commencement of his pontificate—Treaty between the pope and the queen of Sicily—Innocent preaches a new crusade—He places France under interdict—Pretensions of the pope in regard to the elections of emperors of the west—Innocent erects himself into an arbiter of peace and war between all powers—Foundation of the Latin empire of Constantinople and temporary reunion of the Greek and Latin churches—Coronation of the king of Arragon—Coronation of the emperor Otho—Massacre of the unfortunate Albigenses—St. Dominick orders the burning of Beziers—The pope bestows England on the king of France—The king of England declares himself a vassal of the pope—Council of Lateran—Curious adventure of St. Francis of Assise—The English and French refuse to obey the pope—Death of Innocent the Third—Reflections on his character.*

A MONK of St. Alban's named Mathew Paris, who wrote the cotemporaneous history of the thirteenth century, thus speaks of the church: "The little faith which still existed under the last popes, and which was but a spark of the divine fire, was extinguished during this century—all belief is annihilated; simony is no longer a crime; usury is no longer disgraceful, and greedy priests can devour without sin the substance of the people and the lords. Evangelical charity has now taken its flight towards the heavens; ecclesiastical liberty has disappeared, religion is dead, and the holy city has become an infamous prostitute, whose shamelessness surpasses that of Sodom and Gomorrah. Every country is abandoned to the rapacity of monks in rags, ignorant and unlettered, who fall upon the

provinces armed with Roman bulls, and with effrontery adjudge to themselves all the revenues granted by our ancestors for the subsistence of the poor and the exercise of hospitality. Those who resist this dilapidation of the public money, or who refuse a part of their demand to the envoys of the pope, are immediately stricken with the thunders of anathema.

"Thus the pontiffs not only exercise an odious tyranny, which is still the more insupportable, as their agents, like true harpies armed with iron talons, not only snatch even the last rags which cover the faithful to maintain the luxury of the court of Rome, but even overthrow the traditions of the first ages of the church, and drive away from the domains of St. Peter the citizens who directed them to

replace them with wretches, called Roman farmers, who leave the work of the fields to pillage the inhabitants of the provinces, and who, in hopes of meriting the good graces of the holy father, send to Rome the spoils of the unfortunate. Thus do we deplore such scandals, and say, in the grief of our soul, that we would rather die than assist at this sight of horror and abomination.<sup>77</sup>

As soon as the burial honours were rendered to pope Celestin the Third, the cardinals secretly assembled in a place called *Septa Solis*, in order to confer with more freedom upon the election of a new pontiff; they first assisted at the mass of the Holy Spirit; they then saluted one another and gave to each the kiss of peace. After this, they proceeded to an election and named the tellers. On the first ballot, the votes were proclaimed, in a loud voice, and it was ascertained that a majority of the votes were given to the cardinal Lothaire who was but thirty-seven years old. His age was discussed at length and, finally, they agreed to choose him chief of the church, and at the tenth ballot he had two thirds of the votes, and was proclaimed pope by the name of Innocent the Third. The election having been proclaimed, the clergy and people conducted him, with acclamations of praise, to the church of Constantine, and from thence to the palace of Lateran.

Lothaire was the son of Trasimond, and, according to some authors, was descended from the counts of Segni. His childhood was passed in Anagni, his native city, and it was only when he had attained the age of sixteen that his mother, named Clarina, a noble Roman dame, conducted him to the holy city and entrusted him to skilful masters to finish his education. Having become a man, he went to Paris to hear the learned dissertations of the professors of the University of that capital; finally, he returned to Bologna to enter into orders. At length Lothaire was named canon of St. Peter's at Rome. Gregory the Eighth conferred on him the subdeaconate, and Clement the Third made him a cardinal deacon of the order of St. Sergius. As he was only a deacon when he reached the papacy, they were obliged to defer his consecration, in order to confer on him the other ecclesiastical degrees.

After his consecration, he received the oath of fidelity and liege homage from Peter, prefect of Rome, who bestowed on him a mantle as the investiture of his charge, a right which belonged to the emperor. This proud beginning was followed by a series of political acts which presaged his future plans for Italy. He visited, in person, the dutchy of Spoleto, Tuscany, and the other provinces which were formerly dependent on the Holy See, in order to bring them back to his authority, affecting all the time not to be engaged in temporal affairs, and repeating, unceasingly, that sentence of scripture—"Whoso toucheth pitch shall defile himself," he loudly declared himself an enemy to the venality of offices, in order to render himself popular; and even fixed the salary of the officers of his court,

prohibiting them from exacting any thing from the faithful. He abolished the office of door-keeper of the chamber of the notaries, in order that the access to it should be free; and caused to be taken away from the palace of the Lateran, as unworthy of pontifical majesty, a counter, at which were sold, on account of the pope, vessels of plate, and where they trafficked in ornaments and false stones. He set in action the sittings of the public consistory, whose use was almost abolished. Three times a week he gave a solemn audience to all the faithful who had complaints to bring; and in the judgments he pronounced as supreme arbiter, he had no regard to the quality of persons nor their fortunes, but only to the justice of their claims.

As he anticipated, his reputation for impartiality soon drew to his tribunal appeals in all important or celebrated cases; for it must be said, that this great ostentation of equity did not take its rise only in a love for justice, but flowed more particularly from an insatiable thirst for authority and despotism, as appeared in the case of Andreas, son of Belas the Third, king of Hungary, who was obliged to go to the Holy Land under penalty of excommunication, and the loss of the inheritance of his father. It was with the same arrogance that he demanded the restitution of the prisoners whom the emperor had made in the last war, and, in particular, that the metropolitan of Salerno should be set at liberty. His legates audaciously signified to the prince that they would grant him twenty-four hours to restore the captives, if he did not wish his whole kingdom to be placed under interdict; at the same time they sent to the prelates of Spire, Strasburg, and Worms different bulls, which ordered these bishops to aid the measures of the Holy See, and to join themselves to the abbot of Sutri, and to St. Anastasius, abbot of the order of Cîteaux, who were commissioned to foment the troubles in Germany.

Thus Pope Innocent, faithful to the maxim of the church, that the hatred of the priest should be eternal and implacable, continued to pursue Barbarossa in the person of his grandson Frederick, as his predecessors had done in the person of the emperor Henry. On the day of the death of that prince, the young Frederick was hurled from his throne by two powerful factions—the one led by Philip, his uncle and tutor, who had caused himself to be chosen king of the Romans, the other by Otho, duke of Saxony, who caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, under the pretext that his competitor was incapacitated from possessing the crown because he was excommunicated. Then Philip, who was deeply interested in being absolved from the anathema pronounced against him, approached the holy father, and by means of money, obtained his absolution. The price of this felony, besides the payment of large sums, had been the promise of setting at liberty, without a ransom, the archbishop of Salerno and the prelates who were his fellow prisoners. This done, the bishops of Sutri

proceeded in his pontifical habit, with the ceremony of the coronation of Philip.

Ten years of civil war was the result to Germany of the astute policy of the court of Rome. The pope did not fail to profit by these deplorable divisions, to recover, by temporal and spiritual arms, Romagna, the March of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, and the patrimony of the countess Matilda. After this he despoiled the senate and prefects of Rome of all their rights, and sought to render the pontifical see independent of the authority of the emperors.

During this year (1198) the empress Constance, the widow of Henry the Sixth, died at Palermo; appointing Innocent the Third regent of the kingdom of Sicily, and leaving him enormous sums to assure him the reimbursement, in advance, of all the expense he would be obliged to be at in defence of the estates of her son. This regency was so profitable to the holy father, that after exercising it for one year, Innocent had not only repaired the losses of his treasury, but had been able to lay by enough money to undertake an active war against the neighbouring princes, for the purpose of re-establishing his authority over the old domains of the church.

The pope, content with his actions in Italy, wished to perform the same beyond it. He published new crusades, and sent his legions of monks through all parts of Europe, to excite the fanaticism of the nations. As usual, France was the first to range itself beneath the flag of Christ, notwithstanding the active opposition of king Philip, who was excommunicated. Thanks to the skill of Peter of Capua, the legate of the Holy See, the prince was constrained to obey the church and make peace with England, in order to send his best troops into the Holy Land. A part of his army went to Marseilles, and the rest to Venice, for the purpose of passing over into Syria more expeditiously; it, however, turned out otherwise, on account of the failure of vessels and money. Fortunately, the doge of Venice consented to place the galleys of the republic at the service of the crusaders, provided they would aid him in chastising the pirates of the Adriatic, and would besiege Zara, a maritime city belonging to the Venetians, but which had been conquered by the Hungarians. This arrangement was agreed to; and without farther delay, the French invested Zara and carried it by storm, without troubling themselves concerning the prohibition of the pope, who had taken it under his protection. This event did not make much noise, and the conquerors were excused on the payment of a sum of money to the court of Rome, to raise the excommunication they had incurred by making war against a crusader.

Innocent, whose only object was the extension of his authority over foreigners, endeavoured to enter into negotiations with the eastern empire; but his excessive pride caused him to repel all kinds of concessions; furious, then, at not having been able to subject the

Greeks to his sway, he resolved to destroy them by inciting the Bulgarians to revolt, and detaching from the empire a great part of Servia, which he gave to Vouk, the governor of that province. He had even commanded the French to march against Constantinople, when a new rupture took place between the courts of Rome and France, occasioned by the second marriage of Philip with Agnes of Meranie. The pope, whose policy was hostile to this union, ordered his legate, Peter of Capua, to place the kingdom under interdict, until the prince had retaken his first wife Ingerburge, and made his submission to the Holy See. At the same time he wrote to all the French prelates, declaring himself to be the sovereign dispenser of churches, and that they must observe and execute the sentence in the dioceses of their jurisdiction, under penalty of deposition, and the loss of their benefices. The prelates of France, fearing the thunders of Rome, obeyed the orders of the holy father with such rigour, that all the churches were closed for eight months, and the dead remained unburied. Finally, as such a state of things could not continue without serious injury to the royal authority, Philip solicited pardon, and the excommunication was raised, on condition that he would take back his wife Ingerburge, before the expiration of a delay, which was fixed at six months, six weeks, six days, and six hours.

Germany continued exposed to the horrors of a civil war, in consequence of the divisions excited by the Holy See. The empire of the West had three emperors, the young Frederick, Philip of Suabia, and Otho of Saxony, who disputed for the imperial crown with arms. Innocent had at first declared for Philip; he then suffered himself to be gained over by the presents of Otho of Saxony, and recognised him as emperor, to the prejudice of the young king of Sicily, his pupil, alleging as a pretext for such strange conduct, that Frederick would be too formidable to the Holy See, if he united on his head the crowns of Sicily and Germany, and that Philip of Suabia was unworthy of the crown, having invaded the patrimony of St. Peter with arms.

The pope consequently wrote to Otho: "By the authority which God has given us in the person of St. Peter, we declare you king, and we order the people to render you, in this capacity, homage and obedience. We, however, shall expect you to subscribe to all our desires as a return for the imperial crown." The legate charged with the publication of this bull came to Cologne, where he convened in an assembly all the partizans of Otho; in their presence he declared him emperor of Germany, and excommunicated all who bore arms against him, and, in particular, Philip of Suabia and his partizans.

The decree of the holy father was received by the people of Cologne with great demonstrations of joy; but it was not so in the northern provinces of Germany. A great number of prelates and lords refused to confirm the election of Otho, and sent the following ener-

getic letter to the pope: "Holy father, we cannot understand your conduct. From whence have you derived examples of such audacity? Who are the popes, your predecessors, who have interfered in the election of kings? Did not Jesus Christ separate the temporal from the spiritual power, in order that the apostles and their successors should not be seated on the thrones of the world? . . ."

Innocent replied to this letter: "You are ignorant, unskilful priests, and rude laymen, that princes derive the right to choose emperors from us. Is it not the Holy See which granted them this privilege, when it took from the Greeks the empire of the West, in order to transfer it to the Romans in the person of Charlemagne? Do you think the popes have not reserved the right of examining those who are chosen emperors, when it is they who bestow the crown and the consecration? Learn then, that if we judge him whom you have nominated as sovereign, unworthy of the throne, we are exercising our right in refusing to crown him, and even in choosing another prince to govern the people."

Notwithstanding this manifestation of hostility, Philip of Suabia continued to solicit the aid of the court of Rome; but every thing, entreaties and threats, was useless. Innocent replied to the ambassadors of the different powers, who had interested themselves in favour of the prince of Suabia, these words of evangelical charity, "I hate this family of the Barbarossas; either Philip must lose his crown, or I my pontificate." "In fact," says the abbôt of Ursperg, "he lighted the torch of civil war in unfortunate Germany, and committed such deplorable acts, that he deserves to be regarded as the most execrable of the popes."

Whilst the court of Rome was urging on the people of the west to wars of extermination, the crusaders were finishing their preparations for departure. Already had a part of the troops embarked, and were only waiting a favourable wind to set sail for the coasts of Syria, when the young Alexis Angelus arrived at Venice, having escaped from the prisons of Constantinople to claim the protection of the crusaders against his uncle, the usurper Alexis. They consulted the pope as to their course in such an occurrence, which promised a powerful aid to the army of Palestine, and might bring about the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. But Innocent, who had shortly before been gained to the cause of the usurper Alexis, by the large sums which had been sent to him, and by the promise of recognising him as supreme pontiff, refused to give his consent to an expedition which was to hurl that prince from his throne. He even imperiously ordered the crusaders to renounce every enterprise of this kind, and to embark immediately for Palestine.

It was not difficult for the French and Venetians to discover the secret motives which actuated the pope: thus, without stopping on account of the menaces of the court of Rome, the confederated fleets changed their first des-

tinuation; the crusaders attacked Constantinople, which they carried by assault, and reinstated Isaac Angelus and his son upon the throne. This success immediately changed the hostile dispositions of the holy father, and from being the enemy of the two princes, he became their devoted friend; he declared that the crusaders had acted for the greatest good of Christendom, and demanded the submission of the Eastern churches. But the Greeks were already tired of the Latin yoke; they refused to obey the orders of the pope, and even declared war on the crusaders. The Venetians and French then returned with their fleets beneath the walls of Constantinople, besieged it a second time, and took it on the 12th of April, 1204.

From that period until 1260, that is, for fifty-six years, the Eastern empire was subject to the sway of French princes. Baldwin, the count of Flanders, was the first who was chosen emperor, and reduced beneath his authority the provinces of Europe, which were still dependencies of the crown. All the cities of Asia, however, as well as their territories, remained with the Greeks, who founded independent kingdoms. Michael Theodore Lascaris established himself at Nice in Bithynia; Michael Comnenus reigned over a part of Epirus; David governed Heraclea, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, and his brother Alexis installed himself in the city of Trebizond, which continued to form a separate empire from that of Constantinople, even after the reunion of the other states. These princes, with the exception of Theodore, were all descendants of the family of the Comneni.

Baldwin was authorised by the pope, who had gone over to the side of the conqueror, to preserve his conquests, under the express condition that he would compel the churches to recognise the supremacy of Rome, and would restore all the domains which the emperors had taken from the Holy See, as well as the right of supreme jurisdiction, and the right of nomination of bishops. But the Greeks obstinately refused to resubmit to the yoke of the Latin church, and as neither punishment nor tortures could overcome their determination, Baldwin was forced to permit the prelates to govern their dioceses as they chose.

Towards the end of the year, Peter the Second, king of Arragon, came to Rome to be crowned by the sovereign pontiff. He took an oath in the confessional of St. Peter to be submissive to the pope, both himself and his people, to defend the liberty and immunities of the church at the price of his blood; finally, he deposited on the master altar his sceptre, his crown, and a deed, by which he bound himself to pay each year a considerable rent to the Holy See.

Affairs had changed in Germany; Philip of Suabia, after six years of strife, had finally gained a great victory over Otho of Saxony; had taken the city of Cologne by assault, and had in consequence compelled his competitor to take refuge in England, with his uncle, King John. As soon as the pope was informed

of the success of Philip, he abandoned the party of Otho, in accordance with his policy, declared for the conqueror, and recognised him as emperor. Otho, seeing no hope of again raising up his party, determined to make his submission, and even demanded Beatrice, the daughter of Philip, in marriage. But Innocent was not the man to permit his enemies to live a long time; a secret plot was formed at the instigation of the pope, and the unfortunate Philip of Suabia was assassinated by a count palatine, named Otho de Witelspach. Otho the Saxon at the same time assembled an army, which he led to Bologna, where he had convened an assembly of all the orders of the empire, to decide on the measures to be taken in this circumstance. The result of the deliberations was, as had been arranged in advance by the confidants of the prince, to send ambassadors to treat with Innocent on the conditions of his consecration.

The patriarch of Aquileia and the bishop of Spire went promptly to the pope, who gave them the formula of an oath which Otho should take to his legates. It ran as follows: "Holy father: we promise to render you the honour and obedience which our predecessors have rendered to you; we promise you not to interfere in the elections of prelates, nor in appeals to the Holy See in ecclesiastical affairs. We declare the ancient abuses, by which our predecessors seized upon the property of deceased ecclesiastics or vacant churches, abolished; and we promise to labour efficaciously in the extermination of heresies. Finally, we will leave in possession of the Roman church the property which it has obtained from emperors and other persons; and we will aid it in preserving it, and even in recovering that which has been unjustly retained by its enemies."

As every thing had been arranged in advance, it was soon agreed to; the German army received orders to march, and the prince encamped before Rome. On the next day Otho was consecrated at St. Peter's, after having sworn over the body of the apostle to be the defender of the church and its patrimony. Unfortunately, a few days after the ceremony, a fatal collision took place between the Romans and the German soldiers; all ran to arms, and it was computed that in the affray eleven hundred German knights lost their lives.

Otho immediately quitted the holy city, very much discontented with his reception, and retired towards Bologna; from thence he wrote to the pope, that regarding the unfortunate events which had occurred at Rome as traitorous, he refused to restore the patrimony of the countess Matilda; he even threatened to attack the territories of the king of Sicily, under the pretext that Apulia belonged to the empire, and advised him that he would retake several provinces which were formerly dependencies of his crown, and on which the pope had seized during the minority of the prince. Furious at having found an enemy more deceitful than himself, Innocent lanced

the thunders of excommunication against Otho, declared all his subjects relieved from their oath of fidelity, and prohibited them, under pain of anathema, from recognising him as their sovereign; at the same time he ordered his legate to excommunicate the podesta and people of Bologna, and even to threaten them with closing their schools, which were the source of the city's prosperity, if they again opened their gates to his enemies.

In the midst of all these wars with princes and kings, Innocent did not lose sight of heresies. He had already sent the monks Rainier and Guy, to the south of France, with power to constrain the Vaudois to abjure, and to employ for this purpose the sword, water, and fire, as these good monks should judge it necessary to use one or the other, or all three together, for the greater glory of God. "Thus," says Perrin, "all Christendom was agitated by the sight of unfortunate men hung to gallows, tortured on wooden horses, or burned on funeral piles, because they placed their trust in God alone and refused to believe in the vain ceremonies invented by men." As the monks, notwithstanding their utmost endeavours, failed in their task, and did not progress sufficiently in their work, in the opinion of the pope at least, three new legates left Rome commissioned to exterminate all heretics to the last man; that is to say, four fifths of the southern population. These three monks who were invested with the confidence of the holy father, were called Arnaud, Pierre de Castelnaud, and Ralph, worthy monks of the order of the Citeaux. The obstinacy of the Vaudois was such, that notwithstanding preachings and persecutions the sect increased daily, and even found recruits among the great lords of the country; amongst others, Raymond the Fourth, count of Toulouse, and Raymond Roger, count of Foix. The executions then became more difficult for the missionaries; the executioners refused to perform their duty; the people rose and in a moment of effervescence stoned Pierre de Castelnaud, who was the most cruel of the three. As soon as the pope was informed of this murder he resolved to avenge it terribly, so that its example might not affect the catholic provinces, and he caused a crusade to be preached against the unfortunate Vaudois. The count of Toulouse and his subjects were excommunicated; plenary indulgences were granted to those who should arm against the heretics; and the palm of martyrdom was promised to the fanatics who should perish in this war.

The unfortunate Raymond, foreseeing the disasters which were to fall on his states, soon made his submission to the legates of the pope and took the oath of obedience and fidelity to the Holy See. Nothing could appease the wrath of Innocent the Third; the count himself was obliged to take the cross against his own subjects, after having submitted to an infamous punishment.

Perrin in his history of the Albigenses thus relates the humiliating ceremonial to which the

count was submitted: "The legate caused Count Raymond to be stripped of all his clothing on the threshold of the church of St. Gilles; he put a stole around his neck and caused him to make the tour of the grave of Pierre de Castelnau nine times, scourging him with rods in the presence of counts, marquises, barons, prelates, and a great concourse of people. And as Raymond protested against this penance which was inflicted on him for a sin that he had not committed, the legate imposed silence on him by saying that he was guilty, as the sin had been committed in his states. He then caused him to swear on the crucifix, the gospel, and the relics, an entire submission to the Holy See, and named him chief of the crusade, in order that the Vaudois might see that they were lost, since their friends and protectors combated against them."

The crusaders could not, however, penetrate into the interior of the country until the arrival of a new legate named Dominick, and the count de Montfort, who brought with him an army of twenty-four thousand men. Then only did the operations of the campaign commence, and they laid siege to Beziers. This flourishing city courageously resisted the efforts of the fanatics for an entire month; at length a horrible famine constrained the inhabitants to make proposals of surrender; but as these infamous persecutors had sworn to exterminate this brave population, all offers were rejected. In vain did the Count de Beziers and the venerable prefect of the city cast themselves at the feet of St. Dominick, beseeching him to spare at least the Catholics, who formed a majority of the inhabitants of Beziers—the monk was inflexible, and replied, that he had received orders from the pope to burn the city and put all the population to the sword; and that, moreover, after the massacre God would recognise his friends.

The siege was pushed with more vigour than before, and, in a last assault, the city fell into the power of the crusaders. Then commenced a butchery of which history affords no second example. The frightful Dominick, with the cross in one hand and the bull of the pope in the other, animated the combatants and incited them to carnage, to rape, to incendiarism! . . . He fulfilled so well the orders of the pope that sixty thousand dead bodies of both sexes, men, women, children, and old persons, were swallowed up beneath the smoking ruins of their city, reduced to ashes! . . . Those among the unfortunate whom the soldiers spared on account of their youth, or their beauty, were reserved for new scenes of horror. Young girls and young boys were led, entirely naked, before the tomb of Pierre de Castelnau—were beaten by the monks with thongs loaded with lead, and when their bodies were entirely covered with blood, were abandoned to the brutality of the soldiers, then murdered, and their dead bodies horribly polluted!

All these atrocities were not arrested at the single city of Beziers. The executioners having no more victims at hand, pursued their march

and attacked the Count de Beziers, who had retired to Carcassonne, well resolved to defend that place to the last. But he had not foreseen that he should have all the forces of the crusaders upon him, and he was soon obliged to propose terms. At Carcassonne, as at Beziers, St. Dominick was inflexible: he replied, that the only condition he could offer was, that the inhabitants of Carcassonne, men, women, and children, should abandon their walls, without clothing, and should retire to a neighbouring place to await their fate. The lord of Beziers, knowing his enemies, refused to expose his subjects to the rage of these tigers, and continued his defence for a month longer. Treason finally came to the aid of the crusaders. Carcassonne was delivered up to the Count de Montfort, and was treated with the same cruelty as Beziers. Toulouse, Alby, Castelnau, and all the cities of the south which contained Albigenes, were also devastated by this army of assassins.

Innocent was not contented with exercising his despotism over France, Italy, Germany, and Greece, he wished to extend it also over England, and gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to one of his cardinals, Stephen Langton, without consulting King John, who had proposed another prelate to him. This act of authority was illy received by the king of England, who wrote the following energetic letter to him:—"Wherefore, pope of Satan, hast thou rejected the election of the bishop of Norwich? Is it because thou hast sold the metropolitan see of Canterbury to a prelate, who is only known to us from his intimate connection with our enemies of France? We declare that if thou dost not retract thy nomination, we will prevent our subjects from going to Rome to make their offerings, and will take from thee the jurisdiction of our churches."

Innocent became furious on reading this letter, and immediately wrote to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to place the kingdom under interdict, unless John immediately confirmed the election of Stephen Langton. They, sold to the interests of the court of Rome, immediately acquitted themselves of their mission; they sought out the king, and exhibited to him the terrible orders they had received from Rome, and which they would be forced to put in execution if he refused to obey the injunctions of the Holy See.

John, indignant at the insolence of the pope and the hypocrisy of the prelates, drove them from his presence, threatening them, that if they should have the audacity to lanch the interdict, he would banish them from England, confiscate their property, and send them to Rome to be maintained at the expense of St. Peter. Such, however, was the influence of the popes of that period, that nothing could intimidate the prelates; the bull of Innocent was published throughout the kingdom, and divine service was suspended. John endeavoured, in vain, to reduce the clergy to submission; monks preferred to

abandon their convents, and bishops to lose churches and their property, rather than contravene the orders of the pope. In the midst of this strife, a terrible sentence of the court of Rome aggravated the disorders; John was declared dispossessed of his crown; the nation freed from its oaths of fidelity; all Christians were ordered to oppose the king of England; Philip Augustus was designated to replace him, and a crusade was preached against Great Britain.

The ambitious Philip, who had recently been reconciled with Innocent, immediately made immense preparations and threatened a descent on England. In this extremity, the unfortunate king, finding himself abandoned by all the world, determined to submit to the pope, and take the oath which Innocent had pointed out, and which was as follows:—“We promise by the Christ and the holy evangelists, to be reconciled with Stephen Langton, the metropolitan of Canterbury, and with the five bishops, William of London, Eustace of Ely, Giles of Hertford, Jocelyn of Bath, and Herbert of Lincoln, as well as with all other persons, as well clerical as lay, who have opposed us by the orders of the holy father; we will restore to them all that has been taken from them, and we will liberally recompense them for the losses which we have made them suffer. We swear entire submission to the Holy See, and we recognise in it alone the right of nominating prelates, and of governing the churches of our kingdom.”

But this oath was only the prelude for new exactions of the court of Rome; and two days after, the Roman legate remitted a deed by which John declared, that for the expiation of his sins, with the advice of his barons, and of his own free and entire will, he gave to pope Innocent and his successors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, with all their rights; that he held them as the vassal of the pontiff, and in that capacity did him liege homage. In addition to all this, as a token of his subjection, he engaged to pay a thousand marks of gold annually to the court of Rome, besides Peter's pence. He bound, by the same deed, all his successors to maintain this donation, under penalty of being deprived of the crown. The English lords, according to Mathew Paris, refused to ratify this disgraceful treaty which subjected them to the popes; they revolted against the king and reclaimed their franchises.

John thus still found himself on the eve of losing his crown, by having taken the means which he believed the best fitted to preserve it. He hastened to send deputies to Rome to inform the holy father of the revolt of the English barons, and to ask from him the aid of spiritual censures, in order to reduce them to their duty. Innocent having heard the complaints of his ambassadors, frowned and exclaimed, “What! do these English barons wish to dethrone a king who is under the protection of our See, and give to another the property of the Roman church. By St. Peter, we will not suffer this effort to go unpunish-

ed.” He immediately called a scribe, and dictated this sentence to him, “We cancel all the concessions which King John has made or shall make to his barons, prohibiting him from having any regard thereto, under penalty of excommunication. We order all the English and Irish lords to renounce the privileges which they have extorted from their king, and we order them to come to Rome to lay their demands before us, in order that justice may be done them.” Neither this bull of the pope nor the threats of the bishops could arrest the disorders; and the barons continued to carry on the war to obtain new franchises.

In the same year (1215), Innocent held a general council in the palace of the Lateran, for the coronation of Frederick the Second, who was definitely recognised as the legitimate emperor, under the condition that Sicily and Germany should be separated.

The counts of Toulouse and Foix, also appeared before the fathers, demanding justice against the infamous Simon de Montfort, who had seized upon their estates, and in concert with St. Dominick, was continuing his massacres of the unfortunate Albigenses. Far from showing any indignation at the recital of the atrocities committed by his legate, the pope fiercely replied, that he had but executed his orders, and that he could not censure orthodox Christians from exhibiting too much zeal in their holy mission. He, however, appeared to yield to the urgency of these two lords, and engaged to re-establish them in their domains—a false promise—since at that very moment he was sending secret orders to Dominick and Simon de Montfort to redouble their severities towards the Albigenses.

Ferrand maintains that St. François d'Assise came also to the council of the Lateran, to have the regulations which he had made for governing his convents approved. The history of this visionary is so remarkable that we translate one of the episodes of his life, related by Ferrand, “St. François d'Assise,” says the chronicler, “at the commencement of his conversion, cast himself into a ditch full of ice, in the middle of winter, to conquer the demon of the flesh, and preserve from the fire of pleasure the white robe of his chastity. This pious anchorite preferred to suffer great cold in the flesh, than the warmth of the demon in his soul. Thus, one day, he underwent great temptation at the sight of a beautiful young girl, who came to demand his blessing. François, instead of listening to the inspirations of concupiscence, suddenly entered his cell, and reappeared, entirely naked, with a discipline of iron, striking himself redoubled blows, to the great edification of his brethren and the villagers, until his body was streaming with blood. He then rolled in the snow of the garden, crying out that the Holy Spirit had seized on him; in fact he made seven enormous balls with the snow, tinged with his blood, and his soul thus spoke to his body.—‘The largest and handsomest of these balls is your wife, the four others are your concubines, and the two last your servants; hasten then

to conduct them to your fireside, for they are dying of cold.' The saint having pushed them one after another before a brazier, they soon disappeared before the heat of the fire, and only left on the stones a large place soiled by blood and water; the soul of the saint thus continued; 'profit by this example, my body, and perceive how the delights of the flesh should vanish in the presence of the spirit.'

Bayle also relates, very gravely, a pleasant strife, which took place between Dominick, the leader of the crusade against the Albigenses, and St. François d'Assise. "These two saints," says he, "having one day quarrelled, came to blows. As François was the weakest, he escaped from the arm of his terrible adversary and concealed himself beneath a bed. Dominick not being able to reach him, armed himself with a spit from the kitchen, and inflicted on him five terrible blows; but God, who cherished the two monks, himself directed the spit, softened the blows, and preserved St. François from death; he, however, retained from this fight scars like the five wounds of Jesus Christ."

D'Aubigne has been more severe than these legends on the founder of the order of the Franciscans. "If any bishop or cardinal," says the historian, "became enamoured of his page, he need not fear to be damned; on the contrary, he would deserve to be canonized, since he would follow the example of St. François d'Assise, who called his carnal intercourse with brother Maceus sacred loves."

Notwithstanding his fight with St. Dominick, and his well-established reputation as a sodomite, François d'Assise was received with great honours at the pontifical court, and left Rome laden with presents; and, what was still more extraordinary, he alone, of all who had assisted at the synod, was not obliged to borrow from the usurers to make presents to Innocent, but even received gifts from the sovereign pontiff.

Whilst the holy father was trying the strength of his anathemas against those who refused to recognise his absolute authority, Philip undertook the conquest of England, and sent his son Louis into that kingdom,

whither a powerful party called him. The young prince was already recognised as sovereign of Great Britain in several provinces, when he had the imprudence to inform the Roman legate that his new kingdom would never be the patrimony of St. Peter. Innocent, informed of this, immediately ordered a great ceremonial in the church of St. Peter: he mounted the tribune, and preached on these words of Ezekiel: "Sword, sword, leave thy scabbard, and sharpen thyself to kill." After the sermon, he declared Louis deprived of the throne of England, and excommunicated him and his adherents.

Finally came the decisive hour in which tyrants, like other men, must go to render an account to God of their good and evil actions. This fatal day came to Innocent; at the termination of a debauch at the table he was seized with a violent fever, which brought him to the tomb on the 16th of July, 1216.

Mathew Paris, in his history, represents Pope Innocent as the proudest, the most ambitious, and the most avaricious of men; affirming that there was no crime which he was not capable of committing or favouring for money. This judgment is entirely justified by the life of this pope. St. Lutgarde, a nun of the order of the Citeaux in Brabant, relates that, in a vision which she had after the death of Innocent, she saw the holy father surrounded by flames; and as she asked him why he was thus tormented, he replied that it was chiefly for three crimes; and that he would have been infallibly condemned to have burned for ever, but for the intercession of the Mother of God, in honour of whom he had founded a monastery—that notwithstanding even this powerful protection, he could not enter heaven until the day of the last judgment—and, after having suffered tortures incomprehensible by the human mind. Thomas of Cantinpré, who relates this, adds, that he was informed by Lutgarde, herself, of the three causes of the sufferings of the holy father; but that they were so horrible he could not make them known without abandoning the memory of Innocent the Third to the execration of men.

## HONORIUS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1216.]

*History of Honorius before his pontificate—His election—Troubles in England—Death of the execrable Simon de Montfort, and of the odious St. Dominick—Theodore Comnenus, king of Epirus, submits to the pope—New persecution of the Albigenses—Apparition of the Vaudois in Lombardy—Letter of the pope to Louis the Eighth—Coronation of Frederick the Second—Honorius desires to send that prince to Palestine—Quarrels on this subject between the emperor and the pontiff—Death of Honorius.*

CENCIO SAVELLI, a Roman by birth, had been chamberlain during the pontificate of Clement the Third. This post giving him the

superintendance of all the revenues of the Holy See, had created for him numerous partizans. He himself was not without merit;

and a remarkable work, called the Book of Rents of the Roman Church, composed from old records, was attributed to him. His literary labours had augmented the reputation he had already acquired, and had procured for him the title of cardinal. He afterwards composed a complete collection of ecclesiastical ceremonies, which is known by the title of the Roman Order.

After the death of Innocent, the cardinal Cencio Savelli was chosen to succeed him, and took the name of Honorius the Third. A faithful imitator of the policy of his predecessor, like him he wished to govern at once the east and the west. On the very day of his coronation he wrote to the king of Jerusalem, that he was about to raise the people of the west against the Saracens. He also addressed letters to the French emperor, who governed Constantinople, to reanimate his zeal against the Greek schismatics, and the Mussulmen. The same instructions were sent to the Roman legates in France, England, and Germany, to again light the torches of fanaticism, by preaching a new crusade.

As the war of usurpation undertaken by Louis of France, for the crown of England, retarded the execution of his plans, Honorius resolved to put an end to the disputes by declaring in favour of king John. After the death of that prince, he took his son, Henry the Third, under his protection, recognising him as the only lawful sovereign. In consequence of the new orders of the pope, the clergy of Great Britain every Sunday regularly excommunicated the young Louis and his adherents, throughout the whole kingdom. Little by little, the English deserted his cause, and as he received no assistance from his father, he was finally obliged to quit Great Britain, to avoid falling into the power of his competitor, and to urge the departure of new troops which he was levying on the continent. But during his absence, the legate of the pope used the time to such advantage as to fulminate terrible anathemas against the rebels, and pathetically exhorted the English to return to their duty, and remain faithful to their new sovereign, that is, the Holy See. They distributed so skilfully, gold, threats, and promises, that they were enabled to organise so powerful a party, that on his return to England, though accompanied by a powerful army, Louis was repulsed from all the cities, and forced to re-embark for France.

Having obtained this great success, Honorius could direct all his efforts to the end which his ambition proposed, the conquest of Palestine and Asia. For this purpose, he sent to all the bishops of the west a letter from the grand master of the Templars, announcing that the Saracens were extremely weakened, and that a single army would be sufficient to exterminate them. At the same time, he ordered public prayers at Rome, and went in procession to St. Maria Majora's, with his clergy and people walking with naked feet and carrying before him the heads

of St. Peter and St. Paul in their shrines. Similar ceremonies took place in all the cities of Christendom, and contributed powerfully to the organization of the numerous troops of crusaders who came together from all quarters, and directed their steps towards the Holy Land.

The king of Hungary was the first who marched at the head of an army; he was soon followed by a prodigious number of undisciplined bands, which, like torrents of lava, left but ruin and desolation on their passage. The alarm which the approach of the crusaders every where excited, became the source of enormous profits to Honorius, and he extracted ransoms from cities and princes, by threatening to cause these terrible avalanches to fall on them. It was the means he used against Theodore Comnenus, the king of Epirus, to compel him to set at liberty John Colonna, one of his legates, who had been retained a prisoner at his court. Neither entreaties nor threats could induce the Greek prince to send back the ambassador of the Holy See; Honorius then promised indulgences to the crusaders who should go to Epirus to avenge the injury done to the Roman church. Theodore Comnenus immediately changed his resolve, hastened to set the legate at liberty, and even furnished him with an escort to accompany him as far as Constantinople.

Though the pope appeared to be very much occupied with the new crusade, he did not, however, lose sight of the heretics of the west, and by his orders, St. Dominick and De Montfort continued their massacres in France, and covered all the southern provinces with funeral piles and scaffolds. The two instruments of pontifical despotism at length excited such a hatred in the generous population of the south, that the cities of Marseilles and Avignon, instead of marching against the heretics, as they had been required to do by the pope, sent re-inforcements to Toulouse, which was a second time besieged by the execrable Simon de Montfort. God did not permit him to renew in this city the frightful scenes of the first siege; he was killed beneath the walls of the place whilst he was preparing the gibbets and instruments of torture which he designed for the inhabitants.

Dominick being left alone to continue the massacres, soon showed, by the new artour which he brought to the persecution, that he had promised the court of Rome to replace Simon, and alone to perform the task of two executioners. Difficult as it was, he was fulfilling his promises, when death struck him in his turn, and gave some repose to the Abigenses.

This double loss would have discouraged any other than a pope; Honorius thought only of replacing his legate; and as it appeared to him that the work of an executioner could not be performed better than by a king, he wrote to Louis the Eighth, who had succeeded Philip Augustus: "Very dear Son, you know

that Christian princes are compelled to render an account to God of their defence of the church, their mother. You should then be deeply afflicted at seeing the heretics attack religion in the provinces of the Albigenes; if it is your duty to pursue robbers in your kingdom, you should the more purge it of those who wish to ravish souls. We find the efforts we have made against the heretics have become useless; and more than three hundred thousand crusaders have fallen in this holy cause, without making it triumph. Errors are more and more propagated; and it is feared lest they may soon infect your kingdom, which, until this time, has shown itself, by a particular blessing of God, to be more strengthened in the faith than other kingdoms. It is on this account, that in the name of Christ we exhort and conjure you, Catholic prince and successor of Catholic kings, to offer up to God the first fruits of your reign, by exterminating the heretics of the south. We are informed that Amaury, the new count of Toulouse, and son of the glorious Count de Montfort, has offered you all the rights which he has over the provinces of the Albigenes, and consents to unite these lands to your domains, in exchange for your protection. We authorise you to accept his proposals for yourself and your descendents, that they may show themselves to be ardent protectors of orthodoxy, in the south of France. Finally, we inform you that Raymond, the son of the former Count of Toulouse, so dreads your power, that he will not fail to submit immediately to the church, when he shall know that you are marching against him. Act then as religion wishes! Take arms, since God and your interest command it!"

In conformity with the orders of the pope, Louis levied an army, and joined his troops to those of Amaury de Montfort, to crush the unfortunate Albigenes. Raymond, pursued by his enemies, enclosed in his states, was soon compelled to submit to the Holy See. The heretics finding themselves exposed, defenceless, to all the rage of their persecutors, abandoned France, and took refuge in Lombardy; whither sacerdotal hatred still pursued them; for Honorius wrote to the bishop of Brescia, "It is our will, that the towers of all the lords who have given an asylum to heretics, be razed to the earth, without being able to be ever rebuilt, and those of the less guilty be dismantled to the half or third part, according to the importance of the crime."

As after the departure of the king, the Albigenes had again raised their heads, the pope wrote to Louis, to put an end to his disputes with the king of England, in order to direct all his troops upon the southern provinces. "And in order," said Honorius, "that my conduct should be in conformity with evangelical morality, which orders popes to use their power to put an end to useless wars, and to direct the sword against the enemies of God. You know that it was said to the high priest Jeremy, 'I have set thee over the people to destroy and to build up.' Thus popes

have the power of disposing of armies and kingdoms, and of raising or destroying empires! It is on this account, that we order you to restore to the English prince the territories which you have invaded, to cease all hostilities against him, and to employ your troops in the extermination of your heretical subjects."

These representations acted powerfully on the superstitious mind of Louis the Eighth; he concluded a treaty with the king of England, took the cross from the hands of the Roman legate, and went towards the south of France, at the head of his army. Avignon was the first city which fell into his power; its walls were thrown down, ditches filled up, and all its courageous population put to the sword. But divine justice did not permit this monster to continue the course of his cruelties; he fell sick and died, thirty days after the capture of Avignon.

Whilst half of France, in obedience to the sacrilegious orders of the pope, was precipitating itself upon the south, Frederick the Second was endeavouring again to strengthen the great imperial edifice, so much shaken by the rough attacks which proud pontiffs, during preceding reigns, had made on it. The better to succeed in his purposes, he feigned to be animated by a great zeal for the crusades, and was among the first to enrol himself in the sacred militia; he, however, retarded his departure under new pretences, now alleging important affairs, now giving it as a reason that he could not quit his kingdom, until he had been crowned emperor.

Honorius penetrated his secret intentions, and in order not to furnish him with an excuse, he decided solemnly to consecrate him in the church of St. Peter at Rome. After the ceremony, Frederick received the cross from the hands of cardinal Hugolin, bishop of Ostia, and publicly renewed his vow to go to the Holy Land; as he however still deferred his departure, the pope, wearied with his tardiness, wrote to him:

"Would to God, prince, that you would consider with what impatience you are waited for by the eastern church, which hopes to see you abandon all other cares for the deliverance of Jerusalem. In France, England, and even in Italy, it is asked why you defer the execution of your vow, by retarding the departure of the galleys which you have armed for Syria, and where they would be of so much assistance to the crusaders in the defence of Damietta."

Frederick did not even reply to this letter, and continued to occupy himself in the administration of his estates. But when the loss of Damietta was known at Rome, the anger of the holy father broke forth; he accused the emperor of being the cause of the checks which the Christians had experienced in the east, and threatened to excommunicate him, if he did not go immediately with his army to combat the infidel.

So much insolence exasperated the young prince. He came to an open rupture with the Holy See, seized on several domains which

the pope had usurped, drove from the kingdom of Naples and Sicily all the prelates whom he suspected, and named others in their place in accordance with the privileges of the ancient monarchy of Sicily. He then wrote to the court of Rome, that the time had come to restore to him the rights of which Innocent the Third had despoiled him, and also those which Honorius had taken away at the time of his coronation, threatening in case of a refusal to march on Rome and sack it.

The pope discovering that he had been too hasty, and not daring then to engage in a strife which could only be fatal to him, immediately retracted, and replied to the prince with hypocritical mildness—"I exhort you, my dear son, to recall to your recollection that you are the protector of the Roman church; do not forget what you owe to that good mother, and take pity on her daughter the church of the East, which extends towards you her arms like an unfortunate who has no longer any hope but in you."

Notwithstanding this apparent mark of submission, the holy father none the less continued the organization of a powerful league against the emperor of Germany and Italy. Frederick, who was informed of it, immediately convened the German bishops and his nobility, in the city of Ferentina, to put the pope on his trial. Honorius, far from exhibiting fear, went to this assembly accompanied by John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and his daughter Yolande, by the commander of the templars, the grand master of the Teutonic knights, and several other great persons from various countries. The adroit pontiff knew how to avail himself skilfully of the beauty of the daughter of king John in serving his purposes; he brought about secret interviews between her and Frederick; and when the young prince, smitten by the charms

of the beautiful Yolande, expressed a wish to marry her, the pope declared to the two lovers that the marriage could only take place on condition that the king should go definitely into Syria to reconquer the throne of his father-in-law. Frederick appeared to yield to these proposals, in order to clear away the obstacles which opposed themselves to his union, and occupied himself with assembling his forces by land and sea, as if he was really going to transport them into Palestine. But as soon as the marriage was concluded, his ardour for the crusade relaxed, and he demanded further delay.

Honorius, who had had time to take his measures, refused to accede to the demands of Frederick, and immediately caused all the cities of Lombardy to revolt. The emperor essayed to re-establish order in his kingdom, and wished to levy troops in the duchy of Spoleto; but the clergy had there kindled the fire of rebellion, and the Spoletins refused to grant the troops without an order from the pope, whose vassals they declared themselves to be. This universal resistance alarmed the emperor. Through necessity he approached the Holy See, and promised to put his journey to the Holy Land in execution; and, as a proof of his submission, he placed his kingdom under the protection of the Roman church, and bound himself to pay it a considerable annual tribute.

The pope, fearful lest new obstacles to his plans should rise up, consented to make peace, and pressed the departure of the crusaders in all the countries of Europe. He died in the interval, and had not the satisfaction to see his policy triumph. His body was buried at St. Maria Majora, on the 20th of March, 1227. Honorius showed himself, in the course of his reign, to be as cruel and ambitious as his infamous predecessor.

## GREGORY THE NINTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1227.]

*Opinion of Maimburg about Gregory—Enthronement of the new pope—War against the Albigenses—Quarrel between the emperor and the pope—Frederick is excommunicated—He avenges himself on Gregory—His departure for the Holy Land—The pope makes war on his lieutenants—His return to Germany—He is again excommunicated—Great inundation at Rome—Peace between the emperor and pope—Gregory is driven from Rome by the people—He becomes reconciled with the Romans—New discords between the altar and the throne—Frederick the Second is excommunicated the fourth time—The pope offers the imperial crown to the king of France, who refuses it—Convocation of a council for a crusade—St. Louis prohibits the pope from levying dimes in his kingdom—Death of Gregory.*

MAIMBURG affirms that Gregory was well made in his person, of a majestic carriage, and especially very learned in the canon law and Holy Scriptures. He adds, however, that we must deplore the extreme severity and violence of his character, which urged him

to extremes which were frequently very prejudicial to his interests. Having become pontiff, he abandoned the title of cardinal bishop of Ostia, though still keeping the revenues of that see, and gave up his name of Hugolin to take that of Gregory. He was ori-

ginally from Anagni, and was descended from the illustrious family of the counts of Segni, as was his predecessor Innocent the Third.

His exaltation was made with unusual pomp; on the day of the ceremony he went to St. Peter's with an imposing train of cardinals and archbishops; and after having celebrated divine service, he went to take possession of the pontifical palace, traversing the streets of Rome mounted on a white horse, richly caparisoned with scarlet housings, all shining with gold and precious stones. Every where on his passage were spread flowers and perfumes; the houses were hung with tapestry resplendent with gold and silver; at the head of the cortége walked young girls singing hymns of joy; then came the monks in double file, with the children of the schools, all carrying palm branches or bunches of flowers; after these followed the officers of the magistracy and the army clothed in silk and gold; and finally, the president of the senate and the prefect of Rome, walked by the side of the pope, leading his horse by the bridle. Behind this magnificent cortége, which extended from the great palace to the banks of the Tiber, followed by an innumerable crowd of priests and citizens, Gregory thus arrived in triumph at the palace of the Lateran, where he was submitted to the usual proofs.

On the day succeeding his installation, the new pontiff wrote to all the bishops of Europe to accelerate the departure of the crusaders, under the penalty of incurring ecclesiastical censures. He sought at the same time to reanimate the persecutions against the unfortunate Albigenses, and availing himself of the ascendancy which he exercised over the mind of Blanche of Castille, the mother of St. Louis, who had been appointed regent of the kingdom during the minority of her son, he induced her to confide the command of her troops to Imbert of Beaujeu, one of the most ardent fanatics of the day. Under the command of that lord, the religious war recommenced as terribly as in the time of Simon de Montfort. All the Albigenses who fell into the power of the Catholics were massacred with extreme cruelty; and those who, to avoid death, surrendered, were pitilessly condemned to the funeral pile by Amelin, the legate of the pope. "But," says Perrin, "the more the persecution increased, the more did the number of the heretics multiply."

Gregory, though much occupied with the Albigenses, was not forgetful of Germany, and he ordered the emperor to depart for the Holy Land, in fulfilment of the vow which he had taken at the time of his marriage with the daughter of the king of Jerusalem. As it was no longer possible for Frederick to put off his departure, he promised to obey him, and in fact fixed on a general rendezvous for his troops at Brindes. It was then in the middle of summer; an epidemic soon broke out in the army, and in a few days a large number of soldiers were carried off by the scourge.

The emperor took advantage of the general panic to invent a new trick to free himself from his promise. By his orders a priest appeared in the camp of the crusaders, representing himself to be a legate from the pope, and instructed by the holy father to release them from their vows, and authorise them to return home. This trick was entirely successful; on that very day the army disbanded, and the emperor remained with his own guards; he, however, embarked for Palestine, to fulfil, as he said, the promise made to the holy father; but three days afterwards he returned to the port of Otranto, alleging as an excuse, that he had discovered the impossibility of his supporting the fatigues of a voyage.

Furious at the emperor, Gregory was no longer careful in his proceedings; he went to the cathedral of Anagni, his residence, and there, clothed in his pontifical ornaments, surrounded by the cardinals, bishops, and other prelates of his suite, he thundered forth a sermon on this text, "We must remove the scandal from Christendom;" and after the sermon, he lanced ecclesiastical thunders against the emperor. Frederick replied by a manifesto against the Holy See, in which this passage occurs: "Learn, people of Italy, that the Roman church not only swallows up, in its orgies, the wealth which it snatches from the superstition of the faithful, but that it even despoils sovereigns, and renders them tributary. We do not speak of the simony, exactions, and usury with which it has infected all the west; for every one knows that the popes are insatiable blood suckers. The priests affirm that the church is our mother, our nurse; it is, on the contrary, an infamous step-mother, which devours those whom its hypocritical voice calls children. It sends its legates into all quarters to lanch excommunications, to order massacres, and to steal the wealth of princes and people. In its hands the morality of Christ has become a terrible arm, which permits it to murder men in order to ravish from them their treasures, as a brigand would do upon the highway. Under the name of indulgences it impudently sells the right to commit every crime, and gives the best places in paradise to those who bring it the most money."

The publication of this manifesto increased still further the exasperation of the pope; he immediately returned to Rome, lanced a second excommunication against Frederick, and endeavoured to excite a rebellion in Apulia. For this purpose he addressed the following circular to the bishops of that country: "We have drawn against the emperor," said he, "the medicinal sword of St. Peter, and with a spirit full of mildness we have lanced our thunders against that proud prince who refused to fulfil his vows regarding the Holy Land." He then ordered the prelates to place all the cities and country which the emperor traversed under interdict, and to excite the inhabitants to assassinate him. On his side, Frederick, in order to resist the pon-

tiff, called to his aid the Frangipani, and other Roman lords, who were enemies to the Holy See. He bought from them all the property which they possessed at Rome in houses and lands; he then restored to them their titles to their fiefs, on condition that they would become his allies, and would aid him on all occasions against the church. This done, the Frangipani returned to Rome, excited the people against Gregory, and on Easter Monday, whilst he was celebrating mass in the church of St. Peter, a revolt broke out in the city; the pope was insulted at the very altar, pushed out of the church, driven from the city, and forced to take up his residence at Perouse.

Some months afterwards, the emperor was apprised of the death of Noraddin, the sultan of Damascus; this news changed all his policy; judging the moment favourable for passing over into Syria, and reconquering the throne of Jerusalem, to which he had rights from his marriage with the daughter of John de Brienne, he immediately sent five hundred knights into Palestine, whilst he himself prepared to embark with a formidable army. The holy father, who saw with chagrin the triumph of his enemy, prohibited him from crossing the sea, before receiving absolution from the censures of the church. But the emperor having testified no more regard for its prohibition than he had for its injunction, Gregory excommunicated him for going to the Holy Land as he had before anathematised him for his refusal to go. Then taking advantage of the absence of Frederick, the holy father declared war on Rainald of Aversum, duke of Spoleto, who had been left by that prince in the government of Sicily, Apulia and Calabria. He sent an army against him, commanded by cardinal John Colonna and John of Brienne, the father-in-law of the emperor, who had taken up arms against his son-in-law out of base jealousy, because he saw him on the point of re-seizing a kingdom which he would never have abandoned, if he had entertained a thought of ever being able to reconquer it.

The papal army obtained for this war the same dispensations as the crusaders, and the only thing which distinguished the soldiery of the pope from the soldiery of Christ, was the sign they bore on the shoulder; the one had the cross, the other the keys; as to the rest their conduct was alike. As they had a provision of plenary indulgences, they stopped, neither the one nor the other, at the commission of massacres, rapes, and burnings, and it would be difficult to tell who excelled in cruelties and sacrilege; for the Christians of Apulia were treated with such barbarities by the legates of the pope, that it appears impossible for the infidels to have suffered greater disasters from the crusaders.

Thomas of Acquin, count of Acerra, rendered an account to the emperor of the invasion by the troops of the pope, in the following terms: "After your departure, illustrious prince, Gregory assembled a numerous army by the aid of John of Brienne, and of some other lords; his legates then entered your territories, say-

ing, that they would conquer by the sword, since they had not been able to break you down by an anathema. Their troops have burned the villages, pillaged the cultivators, violated the women, devastated the fields, and, without respecting churches or cemeteries, have stolen the sacred vessels and robbed the tombs; never did a pope act so abominably. He has now caused all the ports to be guarded, in order to seize your person if you arrive with a suite too weak to defend you; he is, finally, even intriguing in the Holy Land, in which you are; and he has made a compact with the templars to put you to death by the poinard of an assassin. May God keep you from the pope and his vicars!"

This letter enlightened Frederick as to the dangers which he incurred in the camp of the crusaders, and he hastened to enter into negotiations with Melec Camel, the sultan of Egypt, to conclude a treaty. He did well: for during the conferences the templars and hospitaliers sought to betray him, and had written to the sultan to inform him that Frederick was about to make a pilgrimage on foot, and almost without an escort, to the river Jordan, on the third day succeeding the reception of that letter, and that thus the Mussulmen could, without a blow, take him a prisoner or put him to death. Fortunately, Melec Camel was a generous enemy; and after having heard the message, he informed the emperor. The latter, judging that it was not prudent to allow his indignation to appear, feigned entire ignorance, promptly concluded his arrangements with the sultan, and embarked for Italy. His arrival changed the face of affairs: the papal troops were compelled to retreat, and the Sicilian army, in its turn, acted on the offensive.

But Gregory was not the man readily to abandon his aim; and as money was wanting to him for the continuance of the war, he gave orders to squeeze all Christian countries. England was taxed with a tenth part of the moveable goods of the kingdom. "All the children of the church must come to our aid," wrote the holy father to his legates; "for if we fail in our present contest with the empire, all the clergy will perish with their chief."

This extraordinary tithe was levied with the approval of the king; the legates acted with such rapacity, that they included in moveable goods, even the crops which were yet on the ground; and, as the holy father was unwilling to wait for the realization of this impost, they sold its collection to the bishops, at a low price, in order to receive the money at once; or in default of money, chalices, reliquaries, and the other sacred vessels of their churches. After England, the pope ransacked Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and even Denmark and Sweden. With this money, drawn from the credulity of the faithful, he levied troops, and essayed to retake the country; but the new recruits were cut to pieces, and the emperor continued to advance on Rome, where his party

was all-powerful, thanks to the Frangipani, who had remained masters of the forts built since the expulsion of the pontiff.

Gregory, recognising the impossibility of subjugating Frederick by the sword, tried ecclesiastical thunders, and fulminated the following anathema. "We release all the subjects of Frederick the excommunicated, from their oaths of fidelity, especially those of the kingdom of Sicily; because Christians should not regard the sanctity of an oath towards him who is the enemy of God, and who tramples under feet the decrees of the church." Still the spiritual arms were impotent to arrest the march of the emperor, and Rome only awaited his arrival to open her gates to him, when a terrible event changed the disposition of their minds.

In a single night, at the end of a storm, the Tiber left its bed, and its waters covered the city even to the tops of the houses; a prodigious number of the inhabitants were drowned: others were crushed beneath the edifices which fell down; and, finally, others deprived of all succour, died of famine; and to heighten the disasters, when the waters had by degrees regained their bed there remained in the streets and cellars a great filth, which, mingling with the dead bodies in a state of putrefaction, engendered an epidemic which decimated the population.

The partizans of Gregory hastened to dwell on this public calamity, by representing it as a heavenly punishment; and they determined the citizens to send a deputation to Perouse to offer to restore the pope to the palace of the Lateran; it was accepted promptly, and Frederick, who knew the superstitious spirit of the Romans, dared not go further and even sought to enter into an arrangement with the holy father. His envoys were at first repulsed by the sacred college: presents then produced their usual effect, and it was decided to enter into conferences with them.

The following were the conditions of the treaty proposed by the pope:—"Frederick shall permit that, for the future, in the kingdom of Sicily, the elections, postulations, and confirmations of churches and monasteries shall be made in accordance with the decretals of the general council; he shall indemnify the templars and hospitaliers for the damages which they have sustained in defence of the church, during the divisions; he shall pay all the expenses incurred in this war; and, finally, he shall give the Holy See sufficient security to guarantee the execution of the present convention."—Frederick ratified all the clauses of this treaty, and, in token of submission, went to Anagni, after which the two allies dined together, and renewed the oath to maintain the peace which they had signed.

But each sought to deceive his enemy, having decided to seize the favourable moment to overthrow the other. The emperor continued his intrigues at Rome, and the pope was soon driven a second time from the holy city, and compelled to take refuge at Nice; on his side the pope had sent secret emissaries

to Henry king of Germany, the oldest son of Frederick, to urge the young prince to revolt against his father. He had also, under pretence of pacifying the cities of Lombardy, sent into that province a celebrated preacher named John of Vincenza, to preach to the people union against the empire in case the emperor should wish to oppress them. Finally, for the same end, Gregory had published a collection of decretals, forming a species of code, in which all the decisions of the court of Rome, upon causes in which the pope was to judge as an arbitrary sovereign, were found classified. This collection was afterwards called the Book of the Decretals of Pope Gregory the Ninth, and aided the popes in attributing to themselves the absolute government of benefices.

Such was the situation of affairs when the new revolt broke out against Gregory. He immediately wrote to Frederick to demand his aid, feigning ignorance of the part which he had taken in the matter. As the prince, in his reply, did not even take the pains to conceal the joy which he felt at the expulsion of the holy father, the latter made dispositions to take his revenge, and under pretext of a war against the Romans, sent legates into all Christian kingdoms to obtain a tenth of their revenues. The ambassadors of the pope were the bearers of the following bull: "In the war which we maintain against the Romans, we act merely, my brethren, for the interests of the whole church, we consequently order you to send us the tenth of the produce of your goods, and a proper succour of men-at-arms; that we may be enabled to crush our adversaries, so that for the future they shall not dare to rise against us." The sovereigns of France, Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Portugal, Barcelona, Roussillon, Germany and Austria, hastened to obey the orders of the pontiff, to prevent their being excommunicated. These reinforcements of men were directed not on Rome, but Milan, to aid the Lombards who were in open revolt, and who recognised king Henry as their lawful sovereign.

In this extremity, Frederick endeavoured to reconcile himself with the pope anew, and offered conditions so advantageous to the Holy See, that Gregory immediately abandoned the unfortunate prince whom he had placed at the head of the revolt. Henry, reduced to his own forces, could do nothing but submit; he laid down his arms and came to implore the clemency of his father. The emperor, justly irritated against him, confined him in a strong fortress, where he died some years afterwards.

When peace was entirely re-established in his kingdom, Frederick again dreamed of taking vengeance on the pope, and sent into Sardinia Henry, one of his bastards, with a formidable army to conquer it; after which he declared him king of it to the prejudice of the rights of the Holy See, which for ages claimed the possession of that island. Gregory, furious at the success of his enemy, immediately assembled his cardinals in council,

and fulminated this new sentence of excommunication:—

“By the authority of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and that of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, we anathematise Frederick who calls himself emperor, as sacrilegious and a heretic. We excommunicate him because he has excited seditions in Rome against the church, for the purpose of overthrowing us from the apostolic throne, and of upsetting the sacred college of our cardinals. We anathematise him, because he calls us Anti-Christ, Balaam, and Prince of Darkness; because he has hindered our legate from persecuting the Albigenses; because he has seized upon the territory of the church, and especially Sardinia; and because he refuses to return to the Holy Land. We declare all his subjects absolved from the oaths they have taken to him, and we prohibit them, under penalty of excommunication, from obeying him until he shall have come to implore our mercy.”

Frederick was at Padua when he received the bull of anathema fulminated against him, and in his rage he replied with a terrible manifesto. Thus recommenced the war between the pope and the emperor. Frederick drove from Sicily all the preaching friars; he levied subsidies upon all ecclesiastics without distinction, and prohibited his subjects from going to Rome without especial authority. On his side the pope called to his aid the crusaders, who were ready to embark for Palestine, seized upon pious legacies and alms destined for their wants, and as he was not yet strong enough to attack the emperor, he sent legates to the court of France to solicit money and troops.

St. Louis permitted the ambassadors of the Holy See to convoke an assembly of the clergy and nobility at Sens, and they there obtained permission to seize a twentieth of the revenues of the kingdom to succour Rome. Gregory was so well pleased with the conduct of the French, who for the third time, and at periods so approximate, had granted to him enormous subsidies, that he offered the imperial crown to Robert, count of Artois, the brother of the king. St. Louis rejected this odious proposal. “How has the pope dared to depose so great a prince?” he said to the legate. “If Frederick has merited the censures of the church, he ought above all to be judged in a general council, and not by his enemies. For our part, we regard him as innocent and as unjustly anathematized; we know that he has combated bravely in the Holy Land, and that he was exposed to all the dangers of war whilst the pope was seeking treacherously to deprive him of his kingdom and even to cause him to be assassinated.

“We are unwilling, then, to imitate the conduct of Gregory, and to combat against this prince to deprive him of his crown; we know that the holy father is not desirous of Christian blood when it flows for his temporal interests. Besides, if we were weak enough to subvert his fury what would it avail us? After the victory for which he would be indebted to us,

he would turn against us and trample us under foot, as his predecessors have so often done to the kings of France or emperors of Germany. You have asked for money from us: we have granted it to you, but we refuse to give you the soldiers you ask for to conquer a crown you are not permitted to dispose of.”

Gregory then wished to assemble a general council in order solemnly to depose the emperor; and as he feared lest Frederick would throw obstacles in the way of its assembling if he penetrated the true object, he entered into negotiations with him and gave out that the synod was to fix the basis of a definite peace between the altar and the throne. At the same time his legates spread themselves through France and England to distribute the letters of convocation, and to impress the bishops of these provinces favourably to him.

But Frederick was not the dupe of this ruse, and he wrote to the king of France, “You have already, prince, refused to become the instrument of the fury of Gregory, and to declare against us; the implacable pontiff has not, however, renounced the hope of ranging you on his side, and he essays a new trick to surprise your piety. No, the council which he wishes to assemble is not to be the mediator of peace; it is, on the contrary to be subservient to his ambition and to overthrow our empire. We declare to you then, to you, illustrious prince, whose interests are the same as our own, that as long as war shall exist between the empire and the Holy See we will not authorise the convocation of a council, because we consider it unbecoming in a king to submit to the decision of priests a case which has such important bearings on our secular power. We accordingly forewarn you that we will pursue to extremity those of your prelates who shall go to this assembly. We also inform you that the enormous sums which you have permitted to be raised in your estates are actually expended for the pay of the soldiers destined to make war on us; and that they are preparing to make new demands on you for money.”

In fact, the pope, seconded by his legates, had made a fourth levy of money in all the monasteries of France, and he waited for these new supplies to reinforce his army and attack the emperor. St. Louis, apprised of this by Frederick, stopped this money, already on its way towards Italy, and appropriated it to himself for the wants of his kingdom.

At the same time, the emperor surrounded all the sea-ports, and made prisoners of the cardinals and bishops who were going to the council. The war was pursued on both sides with equal vigour; at length the cardinal Colonna, the best general of the pope, having entered the service of Frederick, the party of the Ghibelins had the advantage; Beneventum, Faenza, Spoleto, Assise, and a great number of other cities fell into the power of that prince, and his troops were soon enabled to make incursions beneath the very walls of Rome.

Notwithstanding these reverses, the stubborn

Gregory obstinately refused to make peace with the empire, as a letter addressed to the king of France, by Frederick, testifies. "We learn," wrote the prince, "that the Tartars have invaded Hungary, and threaten to blot out the empire and the church; but ardent as is our desire to oppose the progress of this new invasion, we are constrained above all else to contend with the pope, our implacable enemy. It is on this account we are marching towards Rome; and we are about to besiege it, since we cannot obtain peace."

In the month of August, Frederick, having taken Tivoli, and the fortified castles of the monastery of Farsa by assault, established his camp at the grotto Ferra, from whence he ravaged the campagna of Rome.

Gregory continued to maintain himself in the holy city, although the inhabitants were divided into two powerful factions, the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, who daily came to blows, and according as one or the other were victorious, hoisted the imperial standard or the pontifical banner. In the midst of these alternatives of fear and hope, Gregory fell sick, and died on the 20th of August, 1241, after having filled Italy with disasters during a reign of fourteen years. This implacable old man was almost an hundred years old. He was buried in the church of St. John of the Lateran.

This embittered strife between the popes and the emperors is a very remarkable fact

in the history of the church. Since the pontificate of Gregory the Seyenth, the Holy See, which derived all its power from the emperors of the West, declares itself their implacable enemy. The court of Rome no longer defends its rights by invoking charters granted by princes; it is from God alone that it pretends to hold its temporal as well as its spiritual power; and this principle of theocracy once established, the popes deduce from it frightful consequences; they declare themselves the masters and rulers of the entire world; they call themselves infallible; they attribute to themselves the same prerogatives as the divinity; they proudly call themselves the vicars of Christ, the representatives of God on earth!

Thus they dispose of thrones and empires, overthrow the one, reconstruct the other, and according to the caprices of their imagination or the interests of their policy, they urge nations into interminable wars. Men are for them machines which they use to draw gold from the bowels of the earth, instruments which they employ to raise statues and palaces for them. Finally, these hypocritical pontiffs in the name of a God of humility, elevate the chair of St. Peter above the throne of kings. In the name of a God of charity, despoil the unfortunate people. In the name of a God of mercy, cause the unfortunate victims of their fanaticism to expire in tortures.

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## CELESTIN THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1241.]

*Division in the sacred college—The cardinals nominate two popes—Both compelled to abdicate—Election of Celestin the Fourth—His moderation—His plans of reform—He is poisoned by the priests.*

At the time of the death of Gregory, there were but ten cardinals at Rome. These wrote to Frederick to beseech him to set at liberty the prelates whom he retained in his camp, in order that the sacred college might be enabled to assemble and proceed to the election of a new pontiff. The prince acceded to their request, and permitted his prisoners to go to Rome to meet the conclave, on condition that they would choose the cardinal Otho, one of his creatures. He granted besides to the absent cardinals safe conduct to re-enter the holy city.—But so great a confluence of electors was not counted upon by the prelates who were assembled. As each of them had already made his terms when he sold his vote, they feared they could not control the majority of the assembly, because too numerous; and they hastened to terminate the election before the arrival of their colleagues.

Geoffrey, bishop of Sabine, had five votes, and the other three were given for Romain,

bishop of Porto. At the defeat of his protegé, the emperor declared that he would approve of the nomination of Geoffrey, who was generally esteemed for his virtues; but he pronounced with energy against that of Romain, the same prelate who had figured in the massacre of the Albigenses, and who had afterwards excited violent disputes against the university of Paris by means of the assistance of Queen Blanche, his mistress. Moreover, the two elections were null in themselves, neither of the prelates having received two thirds of the votes which the constitution of Alexander the Third required. They were both accordingly obliged to abdicate. On the next day they proceeded to a new election. On this occasion such a quarrel broke out in the conclave, that from words they would have come to blows but for the intervention of the senate and the prefect; finally, in this strife, Geoffrey gained one vote, and was solemnly proclaimed chief of the church.

The new pontiff was originally from Milan. He had first been a canon, and chancellor of the church of that city; then he had taken the monastic habit in the order of the Citeaux. Afterwards, Honorius the Third had ordained him a cardinal priest; and finally, during the pontificate of Gregory, he had been promoted to the bishopric of Sabine. After having un-

dergone the usual proofs, he was enthroned by the name of Celestin the Fourth.

This good pope endeavoured to reform the infamous morals of his clergy. Unfortunately he was not prudent enough to discard from his person the courtiers of the preceding reign; and eighteen days after his election, he died of poison, not having been consecrated.

## INNOCENT THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1241.]

*Vacancy in the Holy See—Information against the assassins of Celestin—Flight of the cardinals—Frederick orders the Romans to choose a new pope—Exaltation of Innocent the Fourth—Negotiations for peace—Treaty between Frederick and the pope—Innocent betrays the emperor and flies from Rome—His journey into France—Council of Lyons—The emperor is solemnly deposed—Henry the Second, son of Frederick, is chosen king of Germany at the instigation of the pope—Civil wars excited by Innocent—Letter from the sultan of Egypt—Innocent excommunicates the kings of Arragon and Portugal—The English revolt against the legate of the court of Rome—The pope sells his protection to the Jews, and persecutes the Christians who refuse to pay the dimes—Example of a confessor's knavery—New crusades—St. Louis departs for the Holy Land—Death of Frederick—return of the pope into Italy—Conrad, the third son of Frederick, takes the title of emperor—Complaints of Bishop Robert Grosshead against the pope—Absolute sway of the Holy See over Italy—Death of Innocent the Fourth—Reflections on the odious character of the pontiff.*

THE poisoning of Celestin the Fourth plunged Rome into consternation and alarm. The people, who had placed all their hopes on the life of this pontiff, loudly demanded the punishment of the guilty, and threatened those whom the public voice designated as the assassins, with a terrible vengeance. A rigid examination, in fact, was commenced, and it led to such strange revelations that the magistrates were compelled to stop their inquiries, the murderers being cardinals and archbishops. These, finding themselves discovered, and fearful of a just punishment, secretly escaped from the city, abandoning to their colleagues the care of choosing a new pope. There then remained in the sacred college but six cardinals, all ambitious of the papacy, and each of them unwilling to make a concession to his competitors; thus, with such pretensions, it became impossible to nominate a pontiff.

Frederick, tired of waiting for the termination of their quarrels, threatened to hang them all if they prolonged the scandal of their rivalry any more. "Is it not shameful," he wrote to them, "that the faithful can justly say, it is not Christ who is among you, but Satan himself?"—St. Louis, on his side, had also addressed several letters to them, exhorting them to put an end promptly to the long vacancy of the Holy See.

The emperor, finally discovering that they regarded neither entreaties nor threats, quitted Apulia, whither he had returned after the death of Gregory, re-entered the land of La-

bour in the month of March, 1243, and led his army beneath the walls of Rome. The city was so closely blockaded, that provisions could no longer enter it by land or water; the magistrates then sent a deputation to Frederick to represent to him that it was unjust to punish them for a fault of which the cardinals alone were guilty, since the citizens were disposed to drive from the city the authors of all the disorders—which was done on the very same day.

Frederick yielded to these representations, raised the siege and placed the members of the sacred college under the ban of the empire. By his orders, all the domains of the Guelphs were ravaged, not only their lands and castles, but even the monasteries, churches, and convents of the nuns. Those who held out for the cardinals were pitilessly massacred; the city of Albano especially, which had opened its gates to them, was treated with the greatest cruelty. These latter, finally, finding themselves driven from their domains, despoiled of their dignities, and pursued by indefatigable enemies, determined to name a pope. It is said, moreover, that that which alarmed them the most, was the news that the French were preparing to erect an independent patriarchate to govern the gallic church.

The conclave assembled anew in the city of Anagni on the 24th of June, 1243, and proclaimed as sovereign pontiff, Sinibald of Fiesca, of the family of the counts of Lavagne, and a cardinal priest of the order of St. Law-

rence. He was enthroned by the name of Innocent the Fourth, submitted to the usual tests, and consecrated some days after his promotion.

He had been the intimate friend of the emperor, therefore the ministers of Frederick congratulated him on an election which could not fail to be advantageous to the empire. But the prince, who knew the ambitious character of the new pope, interrupted them by saying: "Cease your congratulations, for this change of fortune is about to take from me the friendship of the cardinal and bring on me the hatred of the Holy See." We shall see, in the end, Innocent the Fourth, pursue his old friend with even more fury than his predecessor Gregory. Notwithstanding his sinister forebodings, the emperor caused masses to be celebrated throughout all his kingdom to render thanks to God for the election of a sovereign pontiff; and some days after, having returned into Sicily, he sent a solemn embassy to compliment Innocent, and offer him the aid of his arms, in order to assure the maintenance of the dignity and liberty of the church.

The holy father listened kindly to the ambassadors, and sent them back with three nuncios, Peter of Colmieu, the metropolitan of Rouen, William, the former bishop of Modena, and William, the abbot of St. Fagon, in Galicia, to treat of the conditions of peace with Frederick. The instructions given to his envoys were, that they should demand that he should immediately set at liberty all the ecclesiastics who had been taken by the galleys of the Genoese, but without giving any satisfaction in exchange; and that after having heard all the proposals of Frederick, they should reply, that all questions in litigation between the church and the empire could only be judged of by a general council of kings, princes, and prelates. This first negotiation was without any result, on account of the obstinacy of the pope, who rejected the just claims of the emperor on the Holy See.

Towards the end of the month of October, Innocent left the city of Anagni, and came to Rome, where every thing was prepared for his reception. He found there the young Raymond, count of Toulouse, who had come to solicit his absolution; the holy father, who was aware of the diplomatic abilities of the count, resolved to employ him for the interests of the Roman church; he granted him absolution from all the anathemas which he had incurred, and induced Frederick to appoint him one of the imperial commissioners who, with Peter of Vignes, and Thadens of Sweden, were to arrange the basis of a treaty. On his side, the pope appointed the bishop of Ostia and three other cardinals, Stephen, Giles, and Otho, to defend the privileges of the Holy See.

With such commissioners, it was easy for the holy father to have all the clauses which he dictated approved. Thus there was a speedy arrangement. The following were the conditions of the treaty: — Frederick was to restore the territories which he had taken

from the Holy See, and to recognise by a public confession that it was not from contempt that he had refused to submit to the sentences pronounced against him by Gregory the Ninth, but through the inspiration of the devil: he was to proclaim that the pope, even though the greatest of criminals, alone possessed supreme power over all Christians, whatever might be their rank: and, finally, the prince was bound to set at liberty all those who had risen against him during his excommunication, and to found churches, hospitals, and monasteries, to expiate his crime of rebellion against the church. All these articles were sworn to by the commissioners of the king, amidst the applause of the cardinals and pope; but when Frederick had been informed of the treason of his delegates, he sharply refused to execute the treaty.

Innocent, not daring to break with the emperor, whose anger he dreaded, proposed an interview with him at Sutri. The prince refused to go there before having received his letters of absolution, and declared that it was at Rome itself he would cause his rights to be recognised. This threat, and the approach of the imperial troops, alarmed the holy father—secret orders were expedited to Genoa, to make dispositions of the galleys; and when all was ready, by night, without admitting any one into his confidence, to avoid being stopped by the Ghibelines, he laid aside the insignia of his dignity, armed himself lightly, mounted a strong horse, and, accompanied by a single domestic, took the road to Civita Vecchia.—He urged his flight so rapidly, that he had traversed eleven leagues by daybreak; he then caused his domestic to return, to inform Peter of Capua, and seven cardinals of his party of his flight, that they might join him at Civita Vecchia, where twenty-three galleys, each manned by sixty well-armed men, and one hundred and twenty rowers awaited them. These vessels had come under the leading of the admiral of the republic of Genoa, and the relatives of the pope. Innocent embarked on the same night with the cardinals and some bishops, and arrived on the 5th of July, 1244, at Genoa, his country. On his disembarkation, he was harangued by the principal persons of the republic, and borne in triumph by the clergy to the cathedral, amidst the acclamations of the people.

Frederick, informed by his spies that the pontiff meditated a second flight out of Italy, blockaded all the routes by sea and land, to make him a prisoner. Innocent had already asked from the king of France permission to establish himself at Rheims, the see of which was vacant, and the latter had replied, that the barons of the kingdom, jealous of the liberties of the Gallic church, were unwilling to permit the pope to fix his residence in France. Like refusals had been received to the overtures which had been made in Spain, England, and several other kingdoms; "for," says Mathew Paris, "they knew too well the avidity and despotism of the Roman court to wish for the presence of the holy father; the

people were beginning to comprehend that religion was only a pretext made use of by the legates to pillage them; and they had learned from recent examples that popes and their cardinals, like swarms of grasshoppers, left behind them but ruin and desolation."

Disgracefully repulsed on all sides, and not daring to remain in Italy, Innocent determined to go to Lyons, a neutral city belonging to an archbishop. He had scarcely arrived when he expedited circular letters for the convocation of a general council. — His aim, he said, was to raise up the church which had bowed its forehead before an horrible tempest, to conquer the Holy Land, re-establish the empire of Romania, repulse the Tartars and other infidels, and, finally, constrain the emperor to humble himself before St. Peter.

According to the usage of his predecessors, the pope, regardless of the rights of the venerable archbishop who had received him, seized on his palace, his goods, and all his authority; he disposed of cures, prebends, and benefices, and sold them to strangers, or gave them to persons of his train. At length the Lyonese canons, indignant at the conduct of Innocent, revolted against him, and protested with oaths, that if the Italian priests showed themselves in their churches, they would cast them into the Rhone; the people took part with them, and a chamberlain of the pope having dared to strike with his wand a citizen who asked an audience of the pope, the latter drew his sword and cut off his hand.

Curiosity or fanaticism, however, drawing to Lyons bishops and French lords, the council took place, and behold, according to Mathew Paris, what were the events which passed in the assembly. "The emperor Frederick," says the historian, "sent ambassadors to defend his rights. They held, previously, a council to hear Thadeus of Sweden, who, in the name of the prince, his master, offered to re-establish concord between the empire and the church; to bring back to the obedience of the Holy See the states of Romania; to oppose the Tartars, Chorasmians, Saracens, and other enemies of the court of Rome; to go in person to deliver the Holy Land, and, finally, to restore to St. Peter that which he had taken from him, and do penance for the sins which he had committed." Innocent, who assisted at the conference, exclaimed, "Oh, these great promises! We see, my lord Thadeus, that your master fears the blow which threatens him. If I accepted his offers, and he should then break his oaths, what would be the security? Who would force him to keep his engagements?" Thadeus replied, "The kings of France and England, most holy father." Innocent immediately rejoined, "We refuse them; for if the emperor failed in his word, we should be compelled to turn to these princes and chastise them like him, which would excite against the church the three most redoubtable sovereigns of the West. No: we will not thus depart from the line of our policy, which is to reduce kings and people by making them combat each

other." "Who are the people," adds the chronicler, "who can read these terrible pages of the history of the popes, without raging with indignation? How long will kings, princes, and people consent to obey as slaves the court of Rome, and to bow before an insolent priest, who arrogates to himself the right to chastise them?"

At the close of the first session of the synod, Innocent pronounced the sentence of excommunication and deposition against Frederick, declaring the empire vacant, and ordering the electors to choose a new emperor. Philip Fontaine, bishop of Ferrara, was sent immediately into Germany with orders to cause Henry, landgrave of Thuringia and Hesse, to be chosen king of the Romans and the metropolitan of Mayence, who had taken part in all these intrigues, was charged to preach a crusade against Frederick. Not content with creating confusion in the empire by means of his intrigues, the pope took assassins into his pay, and organised a vast conspiracy, into which he induced the relatives, friends, and even familiars of the emperor to take part. But the plot was discovered, and all the conspirators payed for the treason of the pope with their heads.

"Then," says Jurien, "the empire was covered by armed men, who ravaged by turns the most beautiful provinces. In Germany, Conrad combated for his father; in Italy Frederick disputed with his enemies for his crown and life. We see nothing but leagues, revolts, factions, sieges and battles; everywhere pillage, incendiarism and massacres reigned. The landgrave Henry, he whom the pope had proclaimed king, having been killed in a skirmish, Innocent proclaimed in his place, William, Count of Holland, who, in his turn, was forced to fly before the arms of young Conrad. During an entire year the war continued with the same fury, and Christian blood was shed by torrents in the name of an execrable pope."

Innocent, who wished to raise the whole world against Frederick, so implacable was his hatred, was infamous enough, vicar of Christ, to write to the sultan Melec Saleh, to induce him to make a descent on Italy, thus violating the faith sworn to the emperor. The Mussulman replied to him, "We have received your letters and given audience to your envoy. He has spoken to us of Jesus Christ, whom we know better than you appear to, and whom we honour more than you do. We refuse your request.—Safety."

During this same year, the pope, furious at seeing all his efforts fail, wished to try his power over princes less redoubtable than the emperor; he excommunicated James, king of Arragon, to punish him for having cut out the tongue of the bishop of Gironne, who had sold to his enemies secrets of state. Upon the accusation of the prelates of Portugal, he also anathematised King Sancho the Second. The interdict was pronounced against his states, the sovereign was deposed and the regency given to count Alphonso the father of

the prince. These two communications gave rise to civil wars in Spain, and during several years the Arragonese and Portugese covered their countries with massacres and incendiarisms.

The ecclesiastical thunders were not so successful in England, and the legates of the Holy See, though armed with anathemas, were driven disgracefully from Great Britain, and prohibited from re-entering the kingdom, and levying new tithes upon the people. Innocent the Fourth, informed that a monarch dared to protect his subjects against the rapacity of his legates, immediately lanced a bull of excommunication against him, but he found no one who consented to publish it, and the holy wrath served but to unmask his hypocrisy.

In the midst, however, of all his crimes, we should give him credit for the protection which he extended to the Jews of Germany, who were crushed beneath the tyranny of bishops and archbishops. Thanks to him, the unfortunate Israelites could breathe in peace, without fear of being pillaged, robbed, and massacred by Catholics. It is true, that they paid dearly for the friendship of the pope, and that several among them, from being rich were reduced to misery.

During the sojourn of Innocent at Lyons, chance brought to that city a knight of the emperor, who had retired from his service in consequence of some discontent. As he lodged in the same hotel as Walter d'Oere, doctor and counsellor of the prince, the two Germans soon made acquaintance, and became friends. The pope, informed by his spies that two partizans of the emperor inhabited the same hotel, soon originated a great piece of scandal, and sent emissaries through the city to report that Frederick desired to assassinate him. As absurd as was this accusation, the two Germans, fearing to be submitted to the torture, hastened to quit Lyons to regain Germany. Innocent did not discontinue the investigations; and as the hotel keeper, named Renaud, fell seriously ill, he gave him, as a confessor, in his last moments, an Italian priest, who, on the succeeding day, deposed before an assembly of the chapter of the cathedral, that the dying man had revealed to him the infamous plot of the agents of Frederick. This odious falsehood was published through all Europe; and, to give it more credence, the pope feigned that he dared not leave his palace, keeping about his person a guard of fifty armed men, who accompanied him even to the altar whenever he celebrated divine service. He did not, however, obtain from this new trick any of the advantages that he hoped for. He then fell back upon preaching crusades, which were inexhaustible sources of profit for the popes; his legates traversed all Christian countries, and came as far as Norway, from whence they brought back fifteen thousand sterling marks, besides large presents, and a donation as a perpetual rent of five marks of silver for each diocese of that country; other kingdoms produced

the holy father in the same proportions as Norway.

France, according to custom, distinguished herself by her religious enthusiasm; although exacted three times during the pontificate of Gregory the Ninth, it was she who furnished the most money to the pope: she alone then consented to make a new expedition into Palestine for the remission of the sins of St. Louis. That stupid and devotee king assembled a numerous army of crusaders, and departed on the 12th of June, 1248, for the Holy Land. At first he gained some advantages over the infidel, and seized upon Damietta, but the Saracens soon took their revenge; the French army was cut to pieces, and the king himself fell into their power. This new disaster lost the kingdom all its valiant youth, and the remainder of its gold, which it had to give for the ransom of its imbecile monarch.

Thus terminated the first crusade of St. Louis. The priests did not fail to attribute the reverses of the crusaders to their sins and their abominations, in order to explain the false prophecies which had announced great victories. These accusations were well founded: for, according to contemporary historians, the French lords abandoned themselves to so many excesses, that they appeared to be rather the defenders of Satan than the servants of Christ. Behold how the *Sieur de Joinville*, one of the actors in this crusade, expresses himself:—"The barons, knights, and other nobles, who were in the camp of St. Louis, and who should have wisely kept the money which they had for their future wants, spent it foolishly in banquets and festivities. Thus, when their ruin was commenced, they were obliged, in order to live, to rob the soldiers. Misery soon led to demoralization—no woman nor girl could enter the camp without being violated on the plain, and led into the lupanars which were kept around the royal pavilion; finally, those who would wish to relate all the abominations with young pages, nay, even of the sins against nature, would risk their salvation from the terms they would be compelled to use."

*Brocardus Argentoratensis*, one of the monks who had followed the army, gives a singular explanation of these disorders. "In the Holy Land," says this chronicler, "are men of all nations, and each lives according to the customs of his country, with a license which is unequalled; and to tell the truth, the Christians are the most corrupt of all—for the following reason: in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy, when a wretch has committed all kinds of crimes, and wishes to escape from the justice of the prince, he goes to Palestine, where, thanks to the indulgences, all his sins are remitted him. When he arrives there, the theatre of his crimes is changed, but not his heart; he violates, pillages, murders, as before his departure for the promised land. Cursed be through eternity the popes who invented the crusades."

Whilst St. Louis, a victim to the councils of

the pontiff, was a captive among the Saracens, Innocent was pursuing Frederick with his hatred, and was subsidising assassins. He had gained over Peter de Vignes, ordinary physician to the prince, who was at the same time his counsellor and confidant. The emperor having fallen sick, in consequence of the fatigues and chagrin which he had undergone in the late wars, Peter de Vignes was assisted by a physician sent from Lyons, and presented a poisoned beverage to the monarch. Frederick had fortunately been apprised of this treason; when the assassins had placed the cup in his hands, he feigned to feel an insurmountable disgust for the drink which it contained, and gave it to the Italian physician, beseeching him to taste it himself. The latter, finding himself taken in his own snare, dared not refuse, and carried the cup to his lips; at the same time he made a false step, and threw it down on the ground. The guards immediately entered. Henry caused them to take up the liquor in a sponge, and ordered the condemned to drink it in his presence. Three of these unfortunate ones died in horrid convulsions. The emperor caused the Lyonese physician to be strangled immediately, and condemned Peter de Vignes to have his eyes torn out, and be given up to the Pisans, his personal enemies, to be tortured. At the moment at which the punishment was commencing, the patient beat out his brains against a column to which he had been fastened.

Frederick had scarcely escaped from this peril when he received the news that Henry, king of Sardinia, one of his natural sons, had been taken prisoner by the Bolognese, and that another of his children was dead in Apulia. So many disasters overwhelmed the unfortunate prince, and as he found himself attacked by a disease called the sacred fire, he decided to offer peace to the Holy See on advantageous conditions. Innocent rejected all his proposals; he did not even wish to receive his envoys, and persisted in declaring him deprived of the empire. Frederick languished still for a year, consumed by the fever, and died on the 4th of December, 1250, leaving his kingdom to his son Conrad.

The pope, who was still in Lyons, immediately wrote to Germany and Sicily to kindle civil war in those kingdoms, and to cause them to recognise as emperor, William, count of Holland, to whom he had already given the title of king of the Romans. This prince, notwithstanding the protection of the holy father, was constrained to retire before the victorious arms of the young Conrad, and to renounce his vain title. On his desisting, the pope then offered the imperial crown to the count of Gueldres, the duke of Brabant, and the earl of Cornwall. These three princes refused it. Finally, he offered it to the king of Norway, who declared that he did not wish a dignity so easily obtained that even the popes could dispose of it.

Notwithstanding these different checks, the faction of the Guelphs obtained the supremacy in Italy, and Innocent made his dispositions to return to Rome. Before, however, quitting

France, he reiterated the excommunication against the memory of Frederick, and anathematised the young Conrad, to punish him for having seized on the insignia of the empire without his authority. He then went to Genoa, from thence to Milan, and traversing Lombardy rapidly, he established his court at Perouse to gain time to assemble the forces of his party.

Conrad, on his side, had also profited by the time; with the assistance of the Venetians, who had furnished him with a fleet, he had embarked at Pescara and gained a brilliant victory over the counts of Aquina and Sora, two Guelphs, who wished to oppose his entrance into Sicily. This defeat, far from discouraging the pontiff, only rendered his hatred the more violent; and not being able to levy nor subsidise troops, he sent his missionaries into Brabant, Flanders, and France, to preach a crusade against the emperor Conrad, promising to those who would undertake it, indulgences more extensive than those granted to the crusaders of the Holy Land; since these latter only gained pardon for their sins, whilst the others would obtain for themselves, their children, and their families, the right of committing all crimes with impunity.

But the French, at length worn out by these incessant demands for men and money made, —so often against the infidels, so often against the emperor Frederick, so often against his son Conrad, drove the missionaries out of all the cities of the kingdom, and the regent was compelled to assemble the states to take the advice of her subjects. The deputies complained loudly of the pope, and accused him of being the cause of all the disasters which overwhelmed Europe; they blamed severely the policy of the Holy See, which not only urged on the English, Germans, and French into wars of extermination in Syria, but which even essayed to hurl one part of the West on Italy to aggrandise his power. Finally, they constrained Queen Blanche to make a decree which authorised the confiscation of the property of the fanatics who were willing to embark in a crusade against the emperor Conrad; the lords did the same towards the vassals who held under them, and this step caused the crusade of Italy to fall through.

Repulsed in France, the pope fell back on England, and wrote to the bishop of Lincoln, a venerable prelate, esteemed by all on account of his wisdom and the purity of his morals, to ask for succours from him. The latter refused to obey the injunctions of the court of Rome, and sent a circular to all the ecclesiastics of England to urge them to resistance. "The pontiff," he wrote to them, "is not ashamed to annul the wise constitutions of his predecessors; he desires to govern us as a despot, and to dispose at his will of our fortunes and our lives; before him, many popes have afflicted the church: Innocent surpasses them all in wickedness. He has covered Christian kingdoms with usurious monks, a thousand times harder than the Jews: he has ordained minor brothers and preaching friars called in at the last mo-

ments of the faithful to frighten them, in order to extort from them testaments in favour of the Holy See; under pretext of crusades he encourages the odious traffic in indulgences so well, that now they sell absolution to the laity, as in former times they sold animals in the temple; and his agents measure out salvation by the amount of money given them.

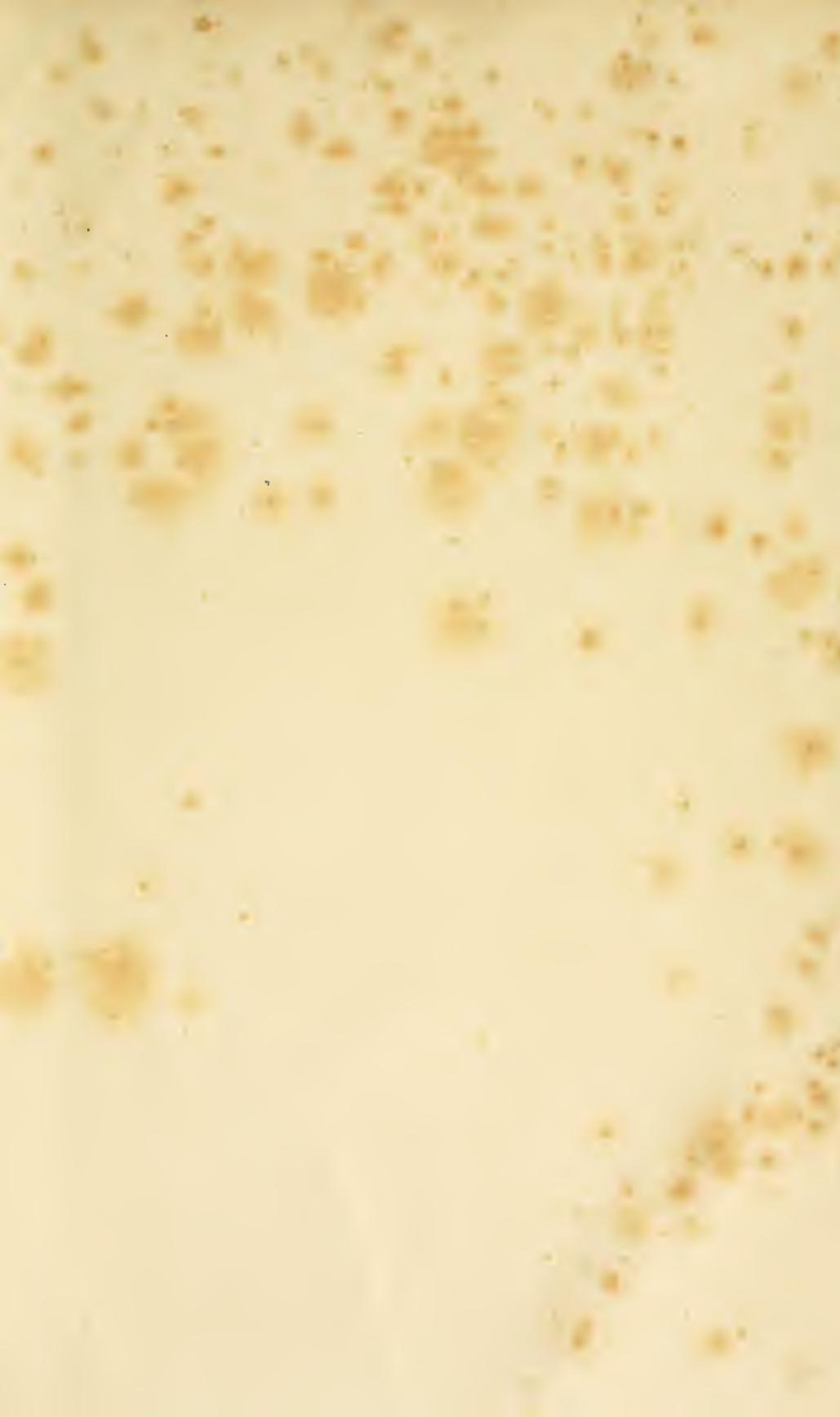
"He sells churches, prebends, benefices to strangers, ignorant and unlettered priests, and these intruders, on arriving in their new cures can neither preach, nor receive confessions, nor even succour the poor, because they do not understand the language of the inhabitants. He has introduced the custom of buying bishoprics, without having received orders and only to get the revenues. Finally, he has filled the world with so many scandals and abominations, that we cannot enumerate all his robberies, adulteries, assassinations—and as we cannot deliver Christendom from this prop of Satan, at least let us protect Great Britain against the encroachments of this enemy of humanity."

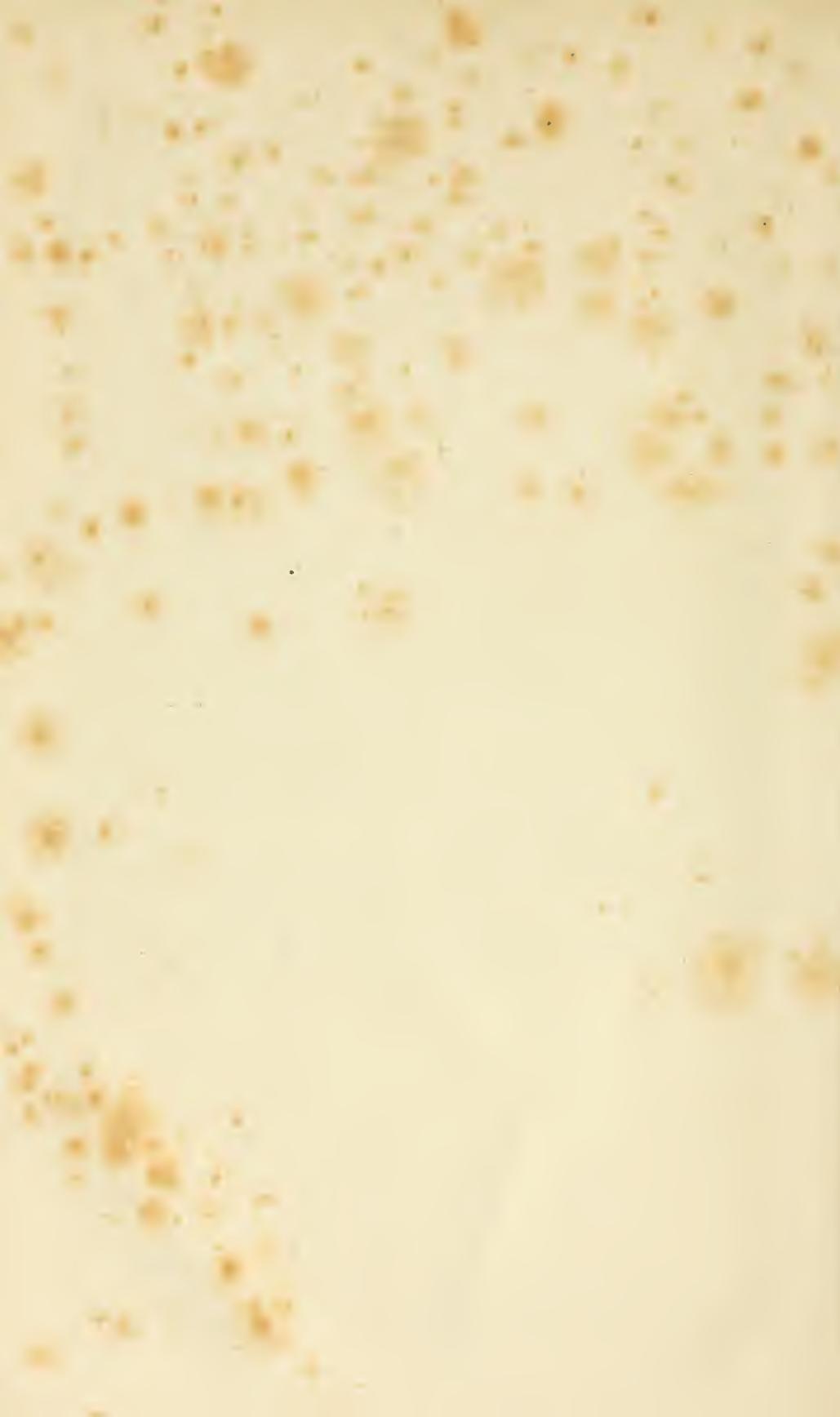
Notwithstanding the example set by England and France, the Italians, excited by the preaching of the monks, took up arms in favour of the Holy See; the Ghibelines once victorious, gradually lost all their conquests, and that which heightened their disasters was the death of Conrad, who was poisoned by his natural brother Mainfroy, at the instigation of the pope. Before yielding his last breath, the emperor perceived that the party of the court of Rome would be for a long time triumphant, and as he could not but fear for the life of his son, the young Conradin, who was only three years old, he wished to make a protector of his enemy, by giving to the pope the enjoyment of the revenues of the kingdom of Sicily.

Innocent accepted the tutelage which Conrad had bequeathed to him, and he declared that he would preserve for the young prince the kingdom of Jerusalem, the duchy of Suabia, and all his rights over the kingdom of Sicily, or his other states. He then received an oath of fidelity from the subjects of Conradin, permitting them always to add, "saving

the rights of the young prince." As to the assassin Mainfroy, who had so well served him, he caused it to be signified to him as well as to the marquis of Honebruc, and the other lords of their party, that they must leave the Roman church sovereign mistress of the kingdom of Sicily and its dependencies, granting them time to make their submission until the nativity of the Virgin; which time passed, he threatened them with excommunication, and the privation of their dignities and fortunes, which was done as he had threatened them. After this, he sent his nephew, William of Fiesca, into Sicily in the capacity of legate, and supported him with a numerous army, to govern the kingdom. He permitted him to seize on the revenues of the vacant sees, or prebends, and gave him full power to impose collections, to coin new money, and to confiscate the property of those who had supported the party of Frederick, in the last wars, to sell the domains of the crown, and, finally, to lay hands on all the deposits of money and arms he might find in the kingdom.

Mainfroy, deceived in his ambition, at first thought of avenging himself on Innocent, and kept a part of Apulia and Calabria in revolt; but having then considered every thing he could draw from his position, resolved to make his submission to the Holy See. He accordingly proposed to the pope to place him in possession of Apulia, Calabria, and a great part of Sicily, if, in return, he would appoint him tutor to Conradin, and give him the principality of Tarentum, the countships of Gravine and Tricarique, and declare him his vicar over the unsubjugated parts of the kingdom of Sicily. Innocent, who saw himself freed at a blow from his most formidable enemy, consented to all, and delivered up the son to the assassin of the father. He then resolved to visit his new states, and came to Ceperano, where Mainfroy awaited him to sign the conditions of the treaty. From Ceperano, the pontiff went to Capua and Naples; but God had marked the term of his triumphal march; he was attacked in that city by a grievous malady, which carried him off on the 7th of December, 1254.















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