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ROME :

FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

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ROME
AND
ITS PAPAL RULERS.

A HISTORY OF EIGHTEEN CENTURIES.

BY THE
REV. GEORGE TREVOR, M.A.,
CANON OF YORK.

LONDON :
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1869
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ENCLOSURE

P R E F A C E.

THIS volume is not a History of Rome; nor of the Church of Rome, properly so called. It is concerned only with the influence exerted by the Roman See on the churches and states of other countries. The peculiarity of the papacy is, that of all people the Romans have had the least to do with it; its subjects are gathered out of other peoples, and its yoke is nowhere less acceptable than in the city with whose name it would overawe the world. Rome is not so much the capital of the Papal States, or of Italy, as it is the metropolis of a faith which has long languished at home. The tombs of the apostles,¹ the temples and shrines of the Eternal City, belong to the pilgrims rather than the Romans. When the Holy Father gives his blessing, from the balcony of St. Peter's, *urbi et orbi*, the world is first in idea though last in the expression. This unique *allogtrio-episcopacy*,² is the subject of the following pages.

¹ On these "Trophies of the Apostles," the fragment of Caius referred to in p. 65, is not to be rated at more than its true worth. Its authority is solely that of Eusebius (in the fourth century), and Eusebius is by no means infallible. Other passages ascribed to Caius are now believed to belong to other writers.

² St. Peter's own word for "a busy body in other men's matters."
1 Pet. iv. 15.

The treatment is historical rather than polemical. It is history which supplies the completest refutation of the papal claims. It doubts whether St. Peter was ever in Rome; it is certain that he was not the founder or first bishop of its See. History exhibits the earliest bishops of Rome as enjoying no prerogative above their brethren in other cities. The primacy conferred by the Christian emperors acquired temporal attributes in the decay of the old Roman State: the conversion of the barbarians elevated it into a power capable of defying the effete Cæsars of the East: Pepin and Charlemagne invested it with a fief out of the spoils of the Lombards; and Leo returned the favour by consecrating the new empire, which Charlemagne had conquered for himself in the West. The long struggle which ensued between pope and emperor, culminated in the Hildebrandine supremacy. The spiritual father became the earthly sovereign of Western Christendom. The two swords were united with the two keys: the coronets which encircled the mitre, in right of its Italian principalities, were exalted into the triple crown of a supernatural dominion.

All was of the earth, earthy: the texts which successively crowned the edifice were mere accommodations of the sacred language. The *tu es Petrus*, which made not the slightest impression in the middle of the second century, when Stephen hurled his bolt at the African Church, was brandished by Gelasius, at the end of the fifth, as a Divine endowment anterior to church canons and imperial edicts. After Hildebrand, the favourite text was, "I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms to root out and to plant." Such *ex post facto*

applications have no claim to be treated as serious interpretations of the Word of God.

It is history, again, which proves the surest arbiter on the religious and political effects of the Papacy. The Churches were never so corrupt, the States never so barbarous and immoral, as where the Roman pontiff ruled with supremest sway. Every attempt at moral and religious reform, every effort at civil liberty, found itself obliged to take the form of resistance to the pope. Councils and Parliaments were powerless where his authority prevailed; freedom of conscience, liberty, and life itself, have never anywhere been secure till it was utterly renounced. Against this unvarying voice of history no theories of sacerdotal dreamers will be admitted by any practical Christian. To suppose that such a rule is ordained of God, is to suppose that He has given up the creature who was made after His own image, and redeemed by the Blood of His dear Son, to the powers of darkness.

Finally, history attests the unrelenting warfare between the papacy and the Word of God. The Holy Scriptures which formed the rule of faith in the primitive Church of Rome, and still hold the same place in every other church, are to the papacy alone, of all Christian denominations, the object of dread and persecution. Its sacrilegious hand commits to the flames the books which primitive Christians suffered martyrdom rather than betray to the heathen. Its choicest *Acts of faith* have been to burn alive at the stake those who read and believed them! History is not deceived by the compulsory moderation of modern popes. It knows the principles

of this enmity to be unchanged; it discovers them in exercise whenever their exercise was possible; and it foretells their active revival if ever "that which now letteth" be taken out of the way.

The intelligent reader will decide for himself how far this historical testimony, this unconcealed enmity to the Word of God, this usurpation of the reign of Christ, accompanied by the suppression of His Gospel, the depreciation of His Blood, and the persecution of His saints, confirm the exposition of learned men that Rome is BABYLON, and the Papacy is ANTICHRIST. The author is content to have supplied materials for the judgment. He ventures on no prophecy, though he believes the present form of popery to be at its last gasp. The temporality is expiring, but it may be that the spiritual thralldom will continue, and even wax darker and heavier in the souls of its devotees, when the pope shall no longer have a crown, or it may be a see, at Rome. The future is with God. Be it ours to dwell in the love and light of Our Father in Heaven, by cherishing the Saviour's Cross in our hearts, and submitting our lives to the sweet rule of His Holy Spirit!

BURTON ST. PETER'S, HOLDERNESS :

December, 1868.

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CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS TO THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE.

A-D.	EMPERORS.	BISHOPS OF THE PATRIARCHAL SEES.				
		Rome.	Constanti- nople.	Alexandria.	Antioch.	Jerusalem.
B-C.						
25	{ Octavianus Au- gustus.					
A-D.						
14	Tiberius.					
38	.. .. .					St. James.
36	.. .. .				St. Peter (?)	
37	Caligula.					
40	.. .. .			St. Mark (?)		
41	Claudius I.					
42	.. .. .				Euodius.	
43	.. .. .	St. Peter (?)				
54	Nero.					
62	.. .. .			Anianus		Simon Cleophas (?)
67	.. .. .	Linus (?)				
68	Galba.					
—	Otho.					
69	Vitellius.					
—	Vespasian.					
70	.. .. .				Ignatius.	
78	.. .. .	Cletus (?)				
79	Titus.					
81	Domitian.					
84	.. .. .			Abilius.		
91	.. .. .	Clement I.				
96	Nerva.					
98	Trajan			Cerdo.		
100	.. .. .	Evaristus.				
107	.. .. .			Primus.		
108	.. .. .				Heros I.	
111	.. .. .				
117	Hadrian.					
119	.. .. .	Alexander I.		Justus.		
129	.. .. .				Cornelius.	
130	.. .. .	Sixtus I.		Eumenius.		
138	Antoninus Pius					
140	.. .. .	Telesphorus.				
143	.. .. .			Maroian.		
144	.. .. .				Heros II.	
153	.. .. .	Hyginus.				
153	.. .. .			Celadion.		
156	.. .. .	Pius I.				
161	Marous Aurelius Antoninus Phil. Lucius Verus.					
165	.. .. .	Anicetus.				
167	.. .. .			Agrippinus.		
169	.. .. .				Theophilus.	
173	.. .. .	Soter.				
177	.. .. .	Elentherius.				
179	.. .. .			Julian.		
180	Commodus.					
185	.. .. .				
186	.. .. .				Maximin.	
189	.. .. .			Demetrius	Serapion.	
192	.. .. .	Victor I.				
193	Pertinax.					
—	Julian.					
—	Severus.					
201	.. .. .	Zephyrinus.				
211	Caracalla.					
213	.. .. .				Asclepiades.	
216	.. .. .				
217	Macrinus.					
218	Heliogabalus.					
219	.. .. .	Calixtus I.			Philetus.	
222	Alexander.					
223	.. .. .	Urban I.				
228	.. .. .				Zebenus.	
230	.. .. .	Pontianus.				
231	.. .. .				
235	Maximinus	Anterus.		Heraclas.		
230	.. .. .	Fabian.*				
287	{ Maximinus and Balbinus.					
238	Gordianus.					
239	.. .. .				
244	Philip.				Babylas.	
247	.. .. .				
249	Decius.			Dionysius.		

* The episcopal successions at Rome down to Fabian are variously dated by the Chronologists, and the earlier names (at least) are involved in much uncertainty.

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS TO THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE
(continued).

A.D.	EMPERORS.	BISHOPS OF THE PATRIARCHAL SEES.				
		Rome.	Constantinople.	Alexandria.	Antioch.	Jerusalem.
B.C.						
251	Gallus	Cornelius			Fabius.	
252	Valerian	Lucius I.			Demetrianus	
258		Stephen I.				
267		Sixtus II.				
268		Dionysius.			Paul of Samosata.	
269						
265				Maximus.		Hymeneus.
266						
268	Claudius II.					
269		Felix I.				
270	Aurelian				Domnus I.	
275	Tacitus	Eutyhian			Timneus.	
276	Probus.					
281					Cyrl.	
282	Carus			Theonas.		
283		Caius.				
284	{ Diocletian and Maximian.					
296		Marcellinus				Zambdas.
297					Tyrannus.	
298						Hermo.
300				Peter I.		
305	{ Constantius and Galerius.					
306	Galerius.					
—	Constantius.					
—	Severus.					
—	Maxentius.					
—	Maximin.					
308		Marcellus I.				
310		Eusebius.				
311		Melohiades.			Vitalis.	
312				Achillas		Macarius I.
313	{ Constantine I. Victor			Alexander	Philogonus.	
314		Sylvester I.				
315			Alexander.			
319					Paulinus.	
324					Eustathius.	
325	<i>First Ecumenical Council at Nicæa.</i>					
328				Athanasius.		
331						Maximus III.
336		Mark.				
337	{ Constantine II. Constantius. Constans.	Julius I.				
340			Paul.			
341			<i>Eusebius of Nicomedia.</i>			
350	Constantius.					
351			Macedonius.			Cyrl.
352		Liberius.				
360			Eudoxius.			
361	Julian Apostate				Meletius.	
363	Jovian.					
364	{ Valentinian and Valens.					
368		Damasus I.				
367	{ Valentinian, Valens and Gratian.					
370			{ Demophilus, Evagrius.		Evagrius.	
378				Peter II.		
375	{ Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian II.					
379	{ Gratian, Valentinian II., and Theodosius.					
380				Timothy.		
381	{ <i>Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople.</i>		Gregory of Nazianzum. Nectarius.		Flavian.	
384		Syricus.				
385				Theophilus.		
386						
393	Theodosius (d. 395.) Arcadius & Honorius.					John II.

ROME :

FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE.

The City—Origin—Romulus—Capitol—Forum—Three Tribes of the Populus—The Plebs—Seven-hilled City—Language—Institutions—Religion—Aqueducts—Expulsion of the Kings—Consuls, Senatus Populusque—Fall of the Republic—Dictators—Empire—Extent—Unity—Prophecy—Elective Principle—Orientalism—Diocletian—Constantine the Great—State of Religion—The Miraculous Cross—The Labarum—Establishment of Christianity—State Hierarchy—Distribution of Provinces—Ecclesiastical Organisation—Growth of Prelacy—Imperial Supremacy—Church and State—Unforeseen Results—The Fatal Donation—Constantine's Baptism—Donatist Schism—Fanaticism.

THE grand and unique phenomenon of Roman History is the growth of a City into an Empire—an empire which retained the name of the city for centuries after the government had migrated into other lands, and even when Rome was no longer included within its limits. The soverieigns of Byzantium, France, and Germany boasted the style of Roman emperors, without possessing a drop of Roman blood, or a yard of Roman territory. The Turks, who never set foot in Rome, inherit her name at this day on the shores of the Hellespont.¹

¹ *Roum* and *Roumania* still witness to the persistency both of Greek peasants and Moslem oppressors, in the strange assertion of the Roman name.

Before the Christian era, the "Roman orb" signified the civilised world: at the present hour the Roman pontiff wears the triple crown, and regards his communion as synonymous with the Catholic Church. No other city ever showed a vitality so enduring and multiform; none ever exercised so extensive an influence on the human race. Even in its degradation, Rome is, like no other place, a centre of hopes and fears; a problem to the states, and a rock of offence to the churches, of Europe.

Roman history is a library in itself: to write a single division might be the work of a life. What is to be attempted in these pages is to sketch the origin of the existing government; how it rose out of the ashes of the fallen empire, and, taking the lead in a new civilisation, drew the infant states of Europe to its embrace. Our course will skirt the most eventful developments of Christianity; it will cross the fountain-heads of almost all existing controversies. We shall touch, without embarking upon, the stream of unfulfilled prophecy. The object in view is not polemical, but historical; but as no religious argument is thoroughly convincing without an historical basis, so no history can be truly told without resulting in religious conclusions. The thoughtful reader will feel that "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty."¹ He will be reminded of the Preacher's exhortation: "If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for He that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they."²

The origin of Rome is lost in the fables of antiquity. Jotham, the grandfather of Hezekiah, was reigning at

¹ Ps. lxxxii. 1.

² Eccl. v. 8.

Jerusalem, when, according to the legend, Romulus founded a new settlement on one of the small hills forming the left bank of the River Tiber (B.C. 753). This part of Italy was at that time occupied by a number of independent tribes, of whom the most conspicuous are the Latins¹ and Sabines,² on the south side of the river, and the Etruscans on the north. Romulus was a fugitive from the Latin capital Alba Longa, the traditional city of Ascanius, son of the Trojan Æneas.³ The legend relates that he was suckled by a wolf, an object of superstitious veneration among the Sabines,⁴ who occupied two of the neighbouring hills, afterwards known as the *Capitoline* and the *Quirinal*.⁵ The mount on which Romulus built his castle was called the *Palatine*, a name transmitted to the palaces of sovereigns and bishops to the present day; but the origin of which, as of most other appellations of the period, is highly uncertain.⁶ In his new settlement, Romulus offered an asylum like the cave of Adullam, where "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them." The marsh between

¹ Dr. Donaldson connects this name with the LETTES, or Lithuanians (whom he conceives to be of the same stock), and with the German *leute*, the people, literally "freemen."—*Varronianus*, pp. 7 and 70.

² Worshippers of Sabus, son of Sancus."—*Ibid.* p. 10.

³ This tradition confirms the existence of a Pelasgic element in the population of Latium. According to Dr. Donaldson, Æneas is a Pelasgic name for a river god, whence the modern *Arno*.—*Ibid.* p. 9.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 6 and 68: the superstition was retained by the Romans.

⁵ Capitoline is obviously connected with *caput*, a head; and a man's head is said to have been found in digging the foundation for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; but the name may have denoted that it was the chief ornament and defence of the state. *Quirium*, as Niebuhr conjectures, was the name of the Sabine city on this hill. Romulus was worshipped here as Quirinus, and the Romans affected to call themselves Quirites.

⁶ Palatinus is probably in some way connected with the Pelasgi. There was a place of similar name in Arcadia. Pales, the goddess of sheep-folds, had an annual feast to commemorate the foundation of Romulus.

their hill and the Capitoline was the *forum*, or market-place where the two nations conducted their intercourse. Either by force or persuasion the Sabines were induced to supply the freebooters with wives,¹ and the two settlements became one people. A third tribe of Etruscan (or Pelasgic) origin, which had established itself on the *Cælian* and *Esquiline*² hills, was admitted into the community; and these three constituted the "Roman people." They were commemorated in the three tribes or classes which long monopolised the power of the state; the Latins in the *Ramnenses*, the Sabines in the *Titienses*, and the Etruscans in the *Luceres*. These alone were entitled to the name and franchise of the *populus Romanus*. Becoming strong enough to subdue the old Latin capital, they removed the inhabitants of Alba Longa, and settled them as a subjugated class on the *Aventine* hill, which was then without the city walls. These were the commons, or *plebs*, who, though not reduced to personal slavery, had no share in the public property, and no voice in the administration of the state: The *Aventine* was included, together with the *Viminal*, by the stone wall ascribed to *Servius Tullus*, some traces of which are still visible. This was *ROME*;³ or, according to her own favourite appellation, the *Seven-hilled City*.⁴

¹ Hence the poetical legend of the rape of the Sabines, invented, says Dr. Donaldson, to explain the marriage ceremonies in which, as among the Lithuanians of the present day, the bride was borne to her new home with an appearance of force.—*Varronianus*, p. 68.

² Probably a corruption of "excultus," from its sacred grove, or, as some think, from its being (at first) beyond the cultivated limits.

³ Of the numerous etymologies, the two most probable are—1, *Rumo*, "the stream"—compare Rhine, Rhone, Rha (Volga), the Greek $\rho\epsilon\omega$, Latin *ruo*, German *rennen*, English *run*; and 2, *Grumus*, or *groma*, the name given to the point of intersection of the streets in the Forum, where a mound or monument was erected.—*Varronianus*, p. 68, u.

⁴ Sed quæ de septem totum circumspicit orbem,
Montibus imperii, Roma detinque locus.—*Ov. Fast.*

The heterogeneous community retained the name and speech of the traditionary chief of the Palatine: the city was *Rome*, and the people *Romans*: but the language, though enriched with numerous foreign elements, was always *Latin*.

The political and religious institutions of this remarkable people, which enabled them to influence for ages the condition of mankind, were all planted during the obscure infancy of the state under the rule of the Kings. There is no doubt that, at least, the last three of these rulers belonged to an Etruscan dynasty, which had twice subjected Rome to a foreign tyranny; hence the undying hatred ever afterwards borne to the kingly name and emblems. Yet the religious rites, which more powerfully than any other affected the Roman mind, were so inseparably connected with the regal office, that a "king of the sacrifices" was always retained in the college of pontiffs, to conduct the public worship.

The settlement of Romulus was apparently without any temple or idol: its religion consisted for the most part of auspices and omens, taken after the Latin or aboriginal superstition. The Capitoline was called the *Saturnian* hill, a name which indicates the worship of the god of time, whom the Greeks called Chronos, and the Etruscans Saturnus. Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus, established, according to the legend, pontiffs, augurs, flamens, vestal virgins to watch the ever-burning fire, and the *sabii*, who danced before the god of war, and kept the sacred shield which fell down from heaven. But the Etruscans venerated the Grecian deities, and, above all, the

There was an earlier Septimontium, consisting of the smaller eminences above the Palatine, before the incorporation of the Sabines.—Arnold's "History of Rome," ch. iii.

three whom they called Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.¹ They held that every city ought to have three gates consecrated to these divinities, and it was an Etruscan king, Tarquinius Priscus, who cleared away the old gods from the Saturnian Hill, and raised a new temple to Jupiter Capitolinus with the two goddesses, his consort and offspring. The old native rites were thus permanently supplanted by the Greek mythology, and it was said that "Saturn was dethroned by his son."² The Romans, in expelling their tyrants, adhered to the foreign idols with such tenacity, that when, in the sixth century of the city, the books of Numa were discovered in his tomb under the Janiculum, the prætor ordered them to be burnt as overthrowing the Roman religion. This was the first of the autos-da-fe, for which the Eternal City is notorious.

To the kings also belonged the merit of those stupendous buildings for the draining of the marshy valleys of Rome, of which the remains are still visible: they are proofs of a powerful government and a nation of serfs. All the moral and political greatness of the state was achieved after their overthrow. When the last tyrant was expelled (B.C. 509), there remained, not a free commonwealth, but an "exclusive and tyrannical aristocracy,"³ lording it over a mob of oppressed and dispirited commons. The entire Roman territory did not exceed forty miles in length and thirty in breadth.

The senate assuming the government elected annually two *Consuls*, or, as the old name was, *Prætors*, for the

¹ The Greek names were *Zeus*, *Hera*, and *Athene*. The first is equivalent to *deus* and *dies* (day) whence the Etruscans called him *Diespiter*, or *Jupiter*, "Father of Light." *Juno* (Jovino or Dguno) was a feminine formation, and *Menerfa*, or *Minerva*, was connected with the myth which described this deity as springing from the head of Jove, for the head was the seat of the intellect (*mens*) as the heart of the *animus*.

² Justin, xliii. l.

³ Arnold's "History of Rome," i. 69.

executive. The dissensions between the privileged and the unenfranchised classes long threatened anarchy : but when these had been in some degree adjusted, the senate and people of Rome carried their arms to the farthest limits of the known world. The Mediterranean Sea was converted into a Roman lake, and the fairest portions of Europe, Africa, and Asia, received their laws from the banks of the Tiber.

The name and forms of this illustrious republic were cherished for centuries after the reality had disappeared : they are not wholly obliterated even under the Papacy. Practically, however, the commonwealth may be said to have terminated in the dictatorship of Sylla (B.C. 80), for "though he restored the republic" (as Cicero observes) "it cannot be denied that he had the power of a king." The four-and-twenty lictors attended on his person with the fasces and axes ; he repealed and enacted laws, named the consuls to be chosen by the senate, and distributed the public lands at his discretion.

The arbitrary power thus established was not abolished by the resignation of Sylla, who retired into privacy before his third year of office was completed. The senate and consuls were never afterwards without a master. In the opinion of a modern historian, who has undertaken the same task of converting a republic into an empire, "the irresolute multitude, fatigued by the action and reaction of opposing parties, aspired to order and repose."¹ The first triumvirate ended in the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar, and the second, which sprang from his ashes, culminated in the sole sovereignty of his nephew and avenger, Octavian. Under this prince the republic transformed itself into a monarchy, with so little political commotion that it seemed as if the

¹ "History of Julius Cæsar," by the Emperor Napoleon III., vol. i.

popular rule found its crown and consummation in the imperial.¹

The empire increased its population in twenty years from 4,000,000 to 6,844,000, and the social benefits of the revolution were expressed in the boast of Augustus, that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. He was ignorant of the more glorious revolution which was to date from his reign. In the twenty-third year of the first Augustus the true PRINCE OF PEACE was born in a hostelry of Judea.

The Roman empire attained its widest limits under Trajan (A.D. 117), when it extended over all Europe south of the Rhine and Danube, with Dacia and Britain; Asia from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf; with Egypt and the northern coast of Africa to the Atlantic Ocean. The subsequent partition of these enormous territories between contemporaneous emperors did not destroy the unity of the empire. It was still one state, administered from different centres, but cleaving to the ægis of one parent and capital—the Seven-hilled City. Even the more formal division of East and West, at the death of Theodosius the Great (A.D. 395), could not efface the sentiment. When at the expiry of the twelve centuries, believed to have been foreboded by the twelve vultures of her founder,² Rome fell a prey to the Goths, and the Western Empire was extinguished, her name and

¹ Some commentators explain the "seven kings" (Rev. xvii. 10) of these successive forms of government: 1, kings; 2, consuls; 3, dictators; 4, decemviri; 5, military tribunes; 6, emperors. Of these five were fallen, the sixth in existence, and a seventh to succeed at a future period. It is difficult, however, to regard these forms of government as properly *successive*. Nos. 3, 4, and 5 were but temporary invasions of No. 2, which subsisted from the expulsion of the kings to the rise of the empire.

² This tradition was at least as old as Cicero.

authority survived at Constantinople. And when this New Rome yielded in her turn, first to the luxury, and then to the arms, of barbarians, the Eternal City took the conquerors to her bosom, and, vanquishing them by the power of religion, raised a new empire out of the ashes of the old.

Throughout these changes Rome was ever the mother and mistress of the subject world. Republican, Imperial, or Papal, it was the Seven-hilled City which set her stamp on ages and generations. She glorified herself, and lived deliciously. She said in her heart "I sit a queen." The kings and inhabitants of the earth drank of her cup, and in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth. The woman, arrayed in purple and scarlet, with the inscription on her tiara, "Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots and abominations," is by common consent acknowledged to be Rome. Papal writers, applying the vision to Pagan Rome, imagine the judgments to be fulfilled, but less partial students of prophecy discern its criteria still more distinctly in Papal Rome, and look for a yet future judgment, when "her plagues shall come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. That great city Babylon shall be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all."¹

It should be observed that the *empire* and the *emperor* were not originally terms of cognate signification. Both were in use under the republic; but while *imperium* was applied to the entire dominions, in the modern sense of "empire,"² the *imperator* was simply a general in the

¹ Rev. xvii. 5, 6; xviii. 3, 7, 8, 21.

² In strictness of speech *imperium* signified the military power, and *potestas* the civil; but the *Imperium Romanum* was a popular term for the

army. It was the title by which the soldiers were accustomed to salute a victorious commander, as they raised him on their shields, and bore him in triumph through the ranks. The appellation was retained, if confirmed by the senate, till the honours of the more formal triumph had been duly earned. Julius Cæsar selected this popular designation to disguise the monarchy which he extorted from the senate on the death of his great rival Pompey. A dictatorship for life, with the power of raising men and money at discretion, fell short of royalty only in name; but the name, he was aware, would create more odium at Rome than the thing; and while the vain-glorious Antony pressed him to assume a crown, Cæsar wisely contented himself with the unpretending laurel of imperator. Under this familiar title, so often bestowed upon him by his victorious legions, he possessed himself of all the practical powers of an Oriental despot, and it became to his successors the received designation of more than regal majesty.

The ambition of the second Cæsar was to found an empire of peace more than of arms. Octavian aimed, like Julius, at absorbing rather than abrogating the republic—to be a despot by election instead of force. He was elected *Consul* for ten years, and by renewal for life. As *Princeps Senatus*, the title he most affected, he suggested the decrees which he executed as Consul. He was the head of the state religion as *Chief Pontiff*; he commanded the army as *Imperator*; regulated the finances as *Censor*; and held the Comitia as *Tribune of the People*. These offices involved the entire administration of the Roman State. Their union requiring a

whole government, like our own British, or Indian, Empire. It is in this sense that Russia and China are called empires, and their sovereigns emperors. In Germany, on the other hand, the title was claimed as a continuation of the peculiar majesty of Rome.—See the author's "Russia, Ancient and Modern," p. 87.

title of larger significance than the old Latin emperor, Octavian proposed to assume the name of Romulus, as though a second founder of the state. The senate preferred to regard him as the consecrator of a new era; and selecting a term of religious import, they hailed the new sovereign as *Augustus*. This was ever after the sovereign title. The family name of *Cæsar* was retained by the first twelve, though the blood of Julius perished with Nero.¹ Succeeding emperors granted it to their intended heirs, who were thus created (as it were) princes of the blood, and admitted to the honours of the purple. The *Cæsar* was generally invested also with the government of part of the empire as viceroy. Later still, the style of *Augustus* was granted after the same fashion, with a joint instead of a subordinate authority; still the senior *Augustus* was considered the head of the whole empire.

In one point the republican principle remained to the last. The emperor reigned by election, not by hereditary right. Under all forms of sovereignty, since the expulsion of the Tarquins, Rome, republican, imperial, papal, never admitted the principle of hereditary succession. The *Cæsarship* was never a simple birthright; it was conferred by the sovereign and approved by the senate. When there was no *Cæsar*, the senate claimed to elect the *Augustus*. Here, however, they came into collision with the army, who could not forget the origin of the emperor. The legions persisted in saluting their favourite commander, and the contest fell to the decision of arms. On the death of *Pertinax* (A.D. 193) the soldiers put the purple up to sale, and forced the pur-

¹ The full style was at first written thus:—Imperator *Cæsar* *Domitianus Augustus*. With the thirteenth emperor, the proper family name was introduced instead of *Cæsar*, and other honorific appellations were assumed. The first Christian sovereign wrote himself “Imperator *Victor Maximus Constantinus Augustus*.”

chaser on the senate at the point of the sword. Fifty years later, as many as thirty military emperors appeared in the field, during the captivity of Valerian. Their discord encouraged the famous Zenobia to usurp the purple at Damascus, and Aurelian was glad to concede her the name and honours of *Augusta*.

After this the usages of Oriental courts began to taint the air of the Palatine. The laurel crown was replaced by a jewelled diadem; the military pallium expanded into a robe of flowing silk, embroidered with gold; the once detested titles of lord and king were claimed without scruple. All who approached the imperial presence were required to prostrate themselves on the ground. Instead of the old frank salute of cheek or hand, the haughty Roman learned to kiss his sovereign's foot, encased in a gorgeous slipper. The first to exact this degrading ceremonial was the slave-born Diocletian, a persecutor whose accession was stigmatised in Christian annals as the "era of the martyrs" (A.D. 284). It is at Rome alone, of all the courts of Europe, that the slavish homage still survives, and the monarch who demands it is the only one that is still raised by the suffrage of his fellows from servitude to the purple. Though never ceasing to persecute the Gospel, thousands venerate him as the father and priest of Christendom, the sole successor of the apostles, and the Vicar of the Lord himself.

Diocletian was the first to create a second Augustus to share the burdens of empire; after that the emperors were seldom seen in Rome. Diocletian fixed his residence at Nicomedia, on the eastern side of the Bosphorus, while Maximian reigned at Milan, as Augustus of the West. In these cities each abdicated the purple on the same day (A.D. 304); the first to plant cabbages at his birthplace in Dalmatia—an occupation in which he was wont to say that he then began to live,—the other to consume

himself with repinings for the loss of a dignity which no intrigues were able to recover.

The emperors, up to this time, had been all more or less persecutors of Christianity. Diocletian vowed to extinguish it in the blood of its disciples: his retirement from the contest, worsted and despairing, was the first omen of the change about to pass on the state religion. Galerius, who succeeded in the East, was a still bitterer persecutor: the dawn came from the West, where Constantius, the new Augustus, was "almost a Christian," and in dying soon after encouraged his son to become one altogether. It was a joyful day to the long-afflicted disciples of the Cross, when they heard that Constantine was saluted Augustus by the legions at York (A.D. 305). The struggle that immediately ensued was sharp but decisive. Maxentius, son of Maximian, being at Rome when the senate received the intelligence, was so exasperated by the arrival of the laurel-wreathed image of the new Augustus, that he seized on the city, and proclaimed himself emperor. Maximian rushed from his retirement, not to assist his son, but to reassert his own pretensions. Galerius, rejecting all the aspirants alike, took Severus and afterwards Licinius for his colleague, but dying soon after, left the East to the latter.

Meantime the battle of the Milvian Bridge (A.D. 312) opened the gates of Rome to Constantine, who was already master of Helvetia, Gaul, and Britain. Maxentius perished in the engagement, and the senate joyfully proclaimed the victor. Giving his sister in marriage to Licinius, he was content to share the empire between them, till the other renewing the persecution in the East, Constantine resolved to put himself once for all at the head of the Christians, and advance the banner of the Cross against his perfidious brother-

in-law. The struggle terminated in the re-union of the Roman orb, under the sole monarchy of the first Christian emperor (A.D. 323).

This was the second great revolution of the civilised world. Heathen Rome, while reducing every independent state within reach of its legions to the yoke of one empire, found it impossible to incorporate them into one religion. The deities, rites, and sacrifices of subject nations could not be dragged with their kings and chieftains in the conqueror's triumph. The gods of the capitol tolerated no barbarian associates, and the indigenous rite would have lost its significance in being divorced from the soil it was supposed to sanctify. The unity of the human race might be indicated in a community of political rights, but the central bond was wanting in the absence of a common object of worship. To the empire the central object was the Emperor: whence his image was not unnaturally associated with the idols. Temples and altars were built to Cæsar, and his worship—to ardent politicians the most genuine of any—was the only common prop to which the various idolatries could cling for protection.¹

All thoughtful minds must have distrusted a religion which could not trust itself. Altars that could exchange compliments with the throne of Cæsar offered little attraction to spirits in quest of God. The Oriental systems, which professed to know Him best, declined to subject their mysteries to imperial law. And it was from the East, to which all eyes had been long wistfully turned, that the New Man, the Central Light and Life, was revealed. The conquests of the Cæsars had combined in their measure, with the cravings of philosophy and the utterances of the prophets, to prepare His

See Ranke's "History of the Popes," i. 1.

way upon earth. The birth of JESUS CHRIST at this particular stage of human affairs was not merely the most glorious phenomenon of universal history ; it was the seal of God impressed on the pre-appointed fulness of time. He came to replace the failing oracles by the words of eternal life ; to reveal the universal hope to the newly-constituted State ; to initiate its broken populations into the Kingdom of Heaven. When He stirred the flame that still burned on the altar at Jerusalem, it leapt up and lightened the earth like a sunbeam.

The greatest obstacle to the progress of the new religion was not Jupiter or Isis, but Cæsar. The old idolatries were already smitten and flying ; it was the recent usurper who gave combat to the Gospel, and felt himself assailed in its progress. Cæsar's altar consummated the servitude of mankind through a political reunion of discordant superstitions. By refusing to burn incense to Cæsar, Christianity proclaimed, as with the voice of a trumpet, the emancipation of the human soul. It drew a line between the things of Cæsar and the things of God. Hence the emperors, who tolerated other forms of faith, had no mercy for Christianity. In their eyes, as in those of some modern politicians, it was not the rule of faith, the assent of conscience, the practical life in this world, or the expectations of another, which constituted religion : to them religion had but one act—"sacrifice to Cæsar." He who refused this must be an atheist.

But now the emperor was himself a Christian. The date and extent of Constantine's conversion are indeed hard to be ascertained. His private character affords no satisfactory evidence of personal piety.¹ He

¹ Constantine, like the Czar Peter of Russia, put his eldest son to death, and actually inflicted the same penalty, which Peter only threatened, on his own wife. The cause was buried in mystery, but it would seem that the empress Fausta was the accuser of the Cæsar, and was sacrificed

was never a partaker of the Sacrament which is the ordinary seal of Christian communion; he was not even baptised till at the point of death. He himself dated his conversion from the victory of the Milvian Bridge, which secured him Rome and the western empire. He said that, previous to the engagement, there appeared to himself and *the whole army*, just above the sun, a cross of light, with the inscription—"Conquer by this;"¹ that in the night Christ appeared to him in a dream with the same symbol, commanding him to make a banner like it, which should protect him against all assailants. This story the emperor confirmed to Eusebius by an oath, after which the courtly historian demands, "who will refrain from giving credit to the narrative?"² Nevertheless it is omitted from the histories of Sozomen and Ruffinus, and it was not supported by any eye-witness, though the entire army was said to have seen the vision. Pagan authors relate a vision of a celestial army fighting in the air, but they are silent on the cross in the heavens.

It would seem, too, that as Constantine told the story at the time, the *dream* was the only marvel: the

in turn to the revenge of the empress-mother Helena. Constantine lived to know that both accusations were false, and his enemies said he turned Christian because no other religion offered pardon for such enormous crimes. His remorse, which rendered the scene of blood intolerable, was one cause of his leaving Rome, but vengeance pursued him to the East. His last will (if not a forgery) accused his two brothers of poisoning him, and on this suspicion they were massacred, with seven others of the royal blood, by the enraged soldiery. A tenth fell a victim to the jealousy of Constantius at a later period, and the sole regret which that tyrant expressed on his death-bed was, that he had permitted Julian to live. This single survivor justified his own apostasy by the crimes of the first Christian emperor and his sons.

¹ The narrators differ as to the language, some giving the words in Latin, *hac vince*, others in Greek *τουτῆ νικα*. Eusebius omits to determine this point.

² Vit. Const., i. 28.

cross in the sky was an after-thought, when the tale had been often told, and was thought to be in need of further embellishment.¹

The standard referred to was undoubtedly displayed in the battle of the Milvian Bridge, as well as in all subsequent fields; but it supplies no independent confirmation. It was simply a banner of purple silk, depending from a bar which obliquely crossed a long gilded spear. The spear was surmounted by a crown, in which the first two letters of the name of Christ were interwoven; but the *field* of the flag was occupied by the heads of the emperor and his sons, and it was only the "initiated eyes" of Christian soldiers that would discern the sacred monogram at the top. The heathen might adore the emperor as of old, while the Christian looked above him to his Lord.² Neither this spear nor the banner resembled the alleged cross in the heavens, and it is not till the reign of Constantius that the coins supply the motto, "By this thou shalt conquer." The legend of the miraculous cross, however universally received in after ages, must be classed with the legion which have no historical foundation, and is altogether derogatory to the character and teaching of our blessed Lord.³

The fact appears to be that Constantine felt the value of securing the Christians to his side in the contest for the empire. They were now a numerous and influential party, alienated from his competitors by persecution, and already well disposed to himself. His father's experience and example showed him the superior weight, even in worldly repute, of the Christian faith and morals. He had learned to despise the idols which Licinius vainly

¹ Lardner.

² Milman's "History of Christianity," ii. 356.

³ See the author's "Egypt from Alexander to Bonaparte," p. 170, note.

invoked, and when the issue lay between them and the God of the Christians, Constantine cheerfully sided with the latter. The victory which crowned his first field decided his future policy; and it is observable that all his proclamations refer to Christ as the giver of victory rather than of salvation and grace.

That the religion by which he had profited so largely should partake of his triumph was only natural. It would be equally his policy to discourage and weaken the pagan priesthood. Still his earlier edicts went no farther than to recognise Christianity as a legal religion, to restore the property of which the churches had been unrighteously deprived, and to secure freedom and respect for Christian worship. A similar immunity was preserved to the heathen. The emperor's edict declares it to be untrue that he had abolished the temple rites; he would gladly have persuaded all to forsake them, but the force of error was too strong, and acknowledging that only those whom God calls can acquiesce in His laws, and live holily and purely, he expressly commands that no one shall be injured in the cause of religion.¹

Constantine did indeed gradually establish Christianity as the State religion, but there was no such sudden universal conversion as has sometimes been imagined. Rome itself continued openly and professedly pagan. The altar of Victory stood in the senate house all the reign of Constantine; removed by Constantius and restored by Julian, it was only finally banished by Gratian, when Christianity had made considerable progress. Even then above four hundred idol temples were left to the hundred thousand gods which once crowded the ancient capital; and it was not till a full century after Constantine that idolatry was prohibited by law.

¹ Eus. Vit. Const., ii. 56, 60.

In truth, Constantine never went to the full extent of his recognised powers as *Pontifex Maximus* of the Roman empire. His predecessors not only founded temples and altars at the public cost, appointed and removed priests, prescribed sacrifices, and enrolled new deities, but they compelled everyone to the observance of their rites as matter of state law. Constantine was the first emperor who recognised a *conscience* in religion, because he was the first who believed in Divine Revelation. It is not every private conviction, but only such as are based on the Word of God, which have a right to the sacred claim of conscience. The heathen who had no such word neither made the claim, nor understood it when advanced by others. With them religion was wholly a question of law and usage. So far from thinking any form of worship of Divine obligation, every people and district boasted their own rites, and all were held equally acceptable.

Neither did they admit the connection between outward rites and inward belief. Every one must conform to the prescribed rite, but no one was required to believe so much as the existence of the deity to whom it was offered. In point of fact, few of the educated classes did believe in the State gods, or in the future world of the authorised religion. Julius Cæsar openly avowed his disbelief of both, when he voted in the senate to punish the Catiline conspirators with imprisonment rather than death, for death, he affirmed, was the end of all misery.¹ The audacity of such a defiance of established tenets was reproved by Cato, but the scepticism was too common to be seriously censured.

No such questions were necessarily involved in the ceremonies performed by the priests, and guarded by law. They were content with the *opus operatum*; of

¹ Sall. Bell. Cat. 51. "Ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse."

the spiritual result every one had his own opinion. The Divine nature, the immortality of the soul, the distinctions of right and wrong—all that we now consider moral or religious truth—were in the province of the philosopher, not of the priest. The philosopher might despise the superstition of the priest, and yet conform without scruple to the requisition of the law. It was the chief ground of complaint against the Christians that they obstinately refused to sacrifice to Cæsar, when they were at liberty to give their souls to Christ if they chose. In the Roman empire, religion was not a question of theological truth, on which no one pretended to certainty, but one of public law, on which there could be no dispute.

These distinctions have to be borne in mind in order to realise the true nature of the revolution inaugurated by the accession of a Christian emperor. The State sacrifices offered by imperial command were replaced, as a matter of course, by Christian rites. Having the sole control of the public funds, without a shadow of that responsibility to the subject which belongs to a free state, the emperor would build and endow churches for his own religion. He would protect and dignify their ministers, give his assistance in the settlement of Church questions, and lend all the power and influence of the head of the state to the propagation of the Gospel. Beyond this the first Christian emperor never advanced. His successors went farther as their religion acquired more and more political importance. Gratian refused to bear the customary title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and Theodosius formally put the question in the senate whether Christ or Jupiter should be worshipped.

By this time the Gospel had implanted the sense of conscience. A choice was to be made; and a large majority having declared for Christianity, the heathen

temples were closed, the priesthood dissolved, and pagan rites proscribed as illegal. The bulk of the population was now, at least nominally, Christian; and the decree was received in most places with popular acclamations.

The first effect of imperial Christianity on Rome was to deprive the Eternal City of the seat of government by its permanent removal to a rival capital. Constantine longed for a "virgin city" — a residence free from the idolatrous pollutions that tainted every valley, and grove, and height, of the Seven Hills of the Tiber. He determined to remove from Nicomedia to the edge of the strait, but being induced to follow the course of an eagle, whose appearance was regarded as an omen, he crossed to the European side, where, more than nine centuries before, the Greek navigator Byzas, at the head of a feeble colony, had planted a republic which long defied the neighbouring monarchies.

The town was named Byzantium. Its natural advantages are such that Napoleon Bonaparte declared them able to ensure the command of the world. A triangular peninsula, forming the eastern extremity of Europe, projects into the strait at the point where the narrow channel of the Thracian Bosphorus, after a course of sixteen miles from the Black Sea, opens into the Propontis or Sea of Marmora. The northern side of this triangle is washed for seven miles by a gulf receiving the Sweet Waters of the River Lycus, and denominated the Golden Horn. This noble harbour afforded a safe anchorage for 1,200 ships, unaffected by tides, and was easily closed by a chain at the mouth. At the eastern extremity, where Constantine placed his palace, and Justinian reared the church of St. Sophia, the peninsula looks upon the adjoining shore of Asia, at the distance of three-quarters of a mile. It was here that

Darius crossed on his bridge of boats.¹ To defend the new city from a similar invasion, the Asiatic promontory was crowned with two castles, which rendered the neighbouring town of Chrysopolis (Scutari) an outwork and suburb of the capital. The south of the triangle lies open to the sunny Propontis, which, at a distance of 100 miles, contracts again into the straits of the Hellespont. A winding channel of sixty miles, with an average breadth of only three, completes the defences of this remarkable city, and at the same time opens a communication with the commerce of the Mediterranean, and the world.

Across the base of the triangle, where it joins the continent, Constantine drew a wall of prodigious thickness, one end resting on the Golden Horn, and the other at the castle of the Seven Towers on the Propontis. The enclosure contained five of the Seven Hills in which the new capital vied with the old; a sixth was enclosed by Theodosius (A.D. 413), and the seventh by Heraclius, two centuries later. The entire length of the city, from the Golden Gate to the eastern extremity, was about three Roman miles; the circumference measured between ten and eleven; and, taking in the suburbs of Pera and Galata, on the other side of the harbour, the circuit was sixteen Greek or fourteen Roman miles,—an area far inferior to that of Rome, of modern London, and even of Paris.

The city was constructed with a rapidity and magnificence attainable only by the master of the Roman empire. Two millions and a half of money were allotted to the walls, the porticoes, and the aqueducts. An inexhaustible supply of white marble was at hand in the little island of Proconnesus. The cities of Greece and

¹ Herod, iv. 85.

Asia were ruthlessly despoiled of their art treasures for the embellishment of the buildings and streets. A colossal statue of Apollo, by Phidias, with the head of Constantine substituted for the god of day, was raised on a pillar of porphyry 120 feet high, in the centre of the Forum. In the Hippodrome stood a pillar of brass, representing three serpents twining together, which had once borne the golden tripod consecrated in the temple of Delphi on the defeat of Xerxes. An obelisk from some Egyptian temple rose in the area. The "palace" was scarcely less magnificent than the imperial residence on the Palatine hill, from which the name was borrowed. The very baths were adorned with lofty columns, marbles of various colours, and more than threescore statues of bronze. About a century after its foundation, the city contained a capitol or school of learning, a circus, 2 theatres, 8 public and 153 private baths, 52 porticoes, 5 granaries, 8 aqueducts, 4 halls of justice, 14 churches, 14 palaces, and 4,388 houses, which, for size and beauty, deserved to be distinguished from the multitude of plebian habitations.¹

To populate his new capital the founder invited patricians and opulent senators from Rome. Some were allured by the attractions of office and court honours, others by grants of lands conditional on maintaining town-houses. Thousands flocked to the seat of power, luxury, and commerce; the narrow streets were choked by the throng; the area of the city was increased by new foundations thrown out into the sea, and in a hundred years the new capital disputed with the old the pre-eminence in population and wealth. The foundations were begun in the 23rd year of the emperor's reign (A.D. 328), and in two years the city was finished

¹ Dec. and Fall, chap. xvii.

and dedicated. The emperor removed from Nicomedia, and proclaiming it to be henceforth the seat of government, commanded it to be called New Rome. The edict was engraved on a column of white marble in the Strategium, and the name was made use of in official documents, but the courtiers and the populace called it the City of Constantine, and Constantinople it continues to this day. The Turkish appellation, *Istamboul*, is only a barbarous corruption of the Greek phrase, which, as at Athens, Rome, and modern London, distinguished the capital as "the city" of the nation.¹

This new capital was the centre of a new system of government, in which the simple manners of Rome were lost in a blaze of oriental splendour and servility. In place of the few official distinctions of the republic, the emperor established a "Divine Hierarehy" (as it was profanely called), extending from the steps of the throne down to the meanest official. Within the favoured circle, each had his exact rank minutely subordinated; outside it, as in eastern despotisms, all were either the slaves or the victims of power.² The principal dignitaries were addressed by the titles of "your Sincerity," "your Gravity," "your Excellency," "your Eminence," "your sublime and wonderful Magnitude," "your illustrious and magnificent Highness." Their patents, emblazoned with curious emblems, were carried before them in public; each had his exact precedence, and elaborate distinctions of dress to denote it.³

The empire was divided into four administrative

¹ Attic use appropriated the word *ἄστυ* to Athens, as with the Romans, *Urbs* was always Rome. In the same way the peasants of Thrace, on their way to market, said they were going *εἰς τὴν βόλην*, which the Turks corrupted into *Istamboul*.

² The *Tschin* in Russia very much resembles Constantine's State Hierarchy. See "Russia, Ancient and Modern," p. 319.

³ Decl. and Fall, cap. xvii.

departments, called *prætoria*, the Prefects of which attended the emperor like modern Secretaries of State. Their orders were issued to fourteen Vicars, or governors of dioceses. These again were subdivided into 120 provinces, the lieutenant-governors of which were variously denominated Pro-consuls, Consulars, Correctors, and Presidents. The two Romes, exempt from the prætorian prefect, were granted prefects of their own, with a suburbicarian jurisdiction, extending (it is stated) a hundred miles round the city.

All these civil officers united the judicial and executive powers, the military command being carefully kept apart. The system was one of strict subordination, with an appeal at each step to the superior authority, whose word was the law. Thus the prefect was not only secretary of state, but the supreme court of justice for his prætorium, and one of them alone found employment for 150 advocates.

The Civil Service was divided into three ranks, with the titles of Illustrious, Respectable, and Honourable. The first comprised the prefects, seven great officers of the imperial household,¹ and the masters-general of the forces. The second included the exarchs and pro-consuls, with the counts and dukes of the army. The lower governors and magistrates enjoyed the third designation.

The title of Patrician, with the rank of Illustrious, bestowed, like the modern dignity of privy councillor, on retired ministers and other objects of imperial favour, carried the privilege of access to the emperor.

¹ 1. The Prefect of the sacred bed-chamber, or Lord High Chamberlain : he was an eunuch, and though discharging menial duties, was the chief officer of State. 2. The Master of Offices, equivalent to the Lord High Steward. 3. The Quæstor, who (if the emperor used a seal) might be called the Lord Chancellor. 4. The Count of the Sacred Largesses, *i.e.*, Lord High Treasurer. 5. The Count of the Private Estate—(Privy Seal, Woods, Forests, &c.) 6. Two Counts of Domestics, commanding the *bodyguárd*, *i.e.*, Gold Sticks in Waiting.

Still greater distinctions were assigned to the two Consuls, the last shadows of the buried republic. This was the highest honour attainable by a subject. The consuls were created annually by imperial rescript. On the first of January they assumed their purple silk robes embroidered with gold, and went in procession from the palace to the capitol. The old axes and fasces were borne before them by lictors; they were attended by the state functionaries attired as senators, and ascending their curule chairs they signalled their accession to office by manumitting a slave introduced for the purpose. This was their one act of power. All that remained was to entertain the public with festivities, which lasted several days, and to leave their names in the legal date of the current year.

The army, of which the emperor was always the chief, was commanded under him by two Masters-general of horse and foot respectively: these were afterwards increased to eight. Under their orders were thirty-five Generals or Dukes, decorated with gold belts; ten of these were further dignified with the new court rank of Count. The legions which were anciently a force of 6,000 strong, were reduced to battalions of 1,000 or 1,500 men. Under Constantine the entire army amounted to 645,000 men.

After his death one of the four prætoria was suppressed, and its dioceses divided between Italy and the East. The territorial distribution of the empire then stood as follows:—

EASTERN EMPIRE.

I. Prætorium of THE EAST: Six Dioceses—		Provinces
1. <i>Egypt</i> ¹ (Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis)	. . .	6
2. <i>The East</i> ² (Syria, Palestine, Arabia)	. . .	15

¹ The Vicar of this ancient kingdom was called the *Augustal Prefect*.

² The Vicar here bore the title of Count of the East.

	Provinces
3. <i>Pontus</i> (Eastern Provinces of Asia Minor)	11
4. <i>Asia</i> (Western ditto)	11
5. <i>Thrace</i> (Roumelia and Bulgaria)	6
6. <i>East Illyricum</i> , i.e., Dacia and Greece, comprising Modern Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Macedon, Thessaly, and Greece	12

WESTERN EMPIRE.

II. Prætorium of ITALY: Four Dioceses—

1. <i>Rome</i> , containing the Ten <i>Suburbicarian</i> Provinces (Campania, Apulia, Lucania, Etruria, Umbria, Picenum, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Valeria)	10
2. <i>Italy</i> (rest of Italy, Helvetia, and Rhætia)	7
3. <i>Western Illyricum</i> (Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Hungary)	7
4. <i>Africa</i> (Proconsular Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, and modern Barbary)	6

III. Prætorium of GAUL: Three Dioceses—

1. <i>Britain</i> (England)	5
2. <i>Gaul</i> (France, Netherlands, and part of Germany)	17
3. <i>Hispania</i> (Spain and Portugal)	7
	120

The outline and nomenclature of this imperial constitution long survived the empire, and may still be traced in the titles, dignities, and offices of the existing states of Europe. Its chief interest to us lies in the fact that the ecclesiastical organisation of all existing episcopal Churches was formed on the same model. The distinction between secular and spiritual authority had never yet been clearly recognised. As the heathen emperors directed the religious ceremonies of the state, so the Christians under heathen rule committed their temporal affairs to the arbitration

of their pastors. They would have been afraid to invoke the notice of a persecuting magistrate, even if their religion had not forbidden them "to go to law before the unbelievers."¹ Elected by the free choice of ministers and people, the chief pastor enjoyed the full confidence of his flock; he was, in fact as well as name, their father, friend, and representative. In his little synod he heard and adjudicated disputes after the Gospel rule,² and the contumacious were simply excluded from the congregation. If they wished for re-admission they must submit to the judgment of the Church. Bishops so constituted were naturally the mouthpieces of their flocks, whenever it was safe and expedient to approach the public authorities: in turn they were held responsible for their taxes and good behaviour. A similar state of things still exists among the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and has the same effect of uniting ecclesiastical and secular authority in the bishop.

The bishops were originally of equal power, as fellow ministers in the Gospel of Christ; but when a parish (as the bishop's district was called)³ required to be subdivided, the mother church (metropolis) retained a general superintendence over the daughters. The metropolitan bishop presided at the meetings of his brethren, and in elections to a vacant charge he was referred to as the common adviser and moderator. When there was no recognised metropolis, the meetings of neighbouring bishops were presided over by the senior bishop.⁴ The advantages of union were so manifest that a bishop seldom acted without consulting his

¹ 2 Cor. vi. 1-6.

² Matt. xviii. 15, 17.

³ A bishop's charge was called his *parochia*, i.e., the district round his house; *diocese* was a State word of later date, and signified a union of many bishoprics. There is no example in the primitive Church of such extensive dioceses as are now unhappily common under a single bishop.

⁴ Eus. H. E. v. 23—Valesius's note.

own flock in the synod of the parish, and his brethren of the same nation or province in the synod of bishops. Hence we meet with a very early rule, that "the bishops of every nation should know their primate and esteem him as head."¹ This rule is referred to by the First Œcumenical Council (A.D. 325) as of ancient observance, and every Church is declared entitled to its own usages.²

This simple organisation, springing out of the natural divisions of nation and language, and adapted to the circumstances of every people, was gradually swallowed up, after the union of Church and State, in a great centralised hierarchy copied from the secular administration. The metropolitans assumed ecclesiastical authority equivalent to that of the provincial presidents in the state. The bishop of the chief city in the secular diocese aspired to rule the metropolitans as the state Vicar did the presidents. These prelates were called patriarchs, or popes,—titles afterwards limited to the principal capitals of the empire, where the bishops engrossed the supremacy of the whole Church, like the prætorian prefect in the State. Over all, the emperor, though not clothed with spiritual functions, assumed what he called an "external bishopric."³ He assembled councils, granted titles and jurisdictions, received appeals, enquired into abuses, brought offenders to trial and deposition, and exercised a potential voice in the appointment to bishoprics.

The ecclesiastical hierarchy developed itself more fully in the East than in the West. The bishop of Alexandria, the genuine metropolis of Egypt and Libya,

¹ Ap. Can. xxxiv. The Apostolical canons, though not the work either of the Apostles, or as some pretend of Clement their fellow-labourer, were the general code of the Church in the second and third centuries.—*Beveridge*.

² Con. Nic. Can. vi.

³ Soc. E. H. i. 9.

ruled his hundred bishops with patriarchal authority under the title of Pope. The "diocese of the East" obeyed the patriarch of Antioch; those of Pontus, Asia, Thrace, and Illyricum were subjugated, though not without many a struggle, to the new imperial patriarchate of Constantinople. The patriarch of Jerusalem enjoyed the title in honour of the Holy City, and had precedence in the councils, but his jurisdiction was never more than metropolitan.¹

In the West the bishop of Rome ruled the suburbican provinces, with the Alexandrian title of Pope. The bishop of Milan was the independent metropolitan of Northern Italy, and, on account of the imperial residence in his city, the great ecclesiastic of the West.² The bishop or pope of Carthage held a similar position in proconsular Africa, the rest of the African Churches preserving the primacy of the senior bishop. Throughout Gaul, Britain, and Spain the metropolitans of the several provinces kept their independence. Leo the Great, in writing to the French bishops, expressly disclaimed the right of ordaining them,³ and there is no instance of its being claimed for Rome down to the sixth century. In Britain the Roman primacy was never heard of till the mission of Augustine (A.D. 686).⁴

¹ Nic. Conc. Can. vii. The metropolitan city of Palestine was the imperial capital Cæsarea, and its privileges are expressly reserved in the canon. Nevertheless, the honorary rank accorded to the Holy City eventually supplanted the other. The rank assigned to Constantinople was probably intended also to be honorary, since Heraclea was the old metropolis of the Thracian province; but in all these questions the imperial will was supreme.

² Milman's "History of Christianity," iii. 10.

³ Leo, ep. lxxxix. This right, involving all other ecclesiastical powers, practically excluded any intervention from other quarters beyond brotherly counsel. (Nic. Con. Can. iv.)

⁴ Britain was subdued to Christ, "even where inaccessible to the Romans," by the middle of the second century. (Tert. Adv. Jud. c. vii.)

The process of these usurpations is plainly traceable in the acts of the first three Œcumenical Councils. At Nicæa (A.D. 325) we read of no higher jurisdiction than the metropolitan, which is to be obeyed at Alexandria, Rome, Antioch, and in the other provinces according to ancient usage (Can. vi.). At Constantinople (A.D. 381), the same rank is granted to the imperial city (built in the interval) with precedence next to Rome, for the reason that it is "New Rome" (Can. iii.). At Chalcedon (A.D. 451), the patriarch of Constantinople is sanctioned in extending his authority over the dioceses of Pontus and Asia, with the churches among the barbarians (Can. xxviii.), and further empowered to receive appeals from other patriarchates (Can. ix.). The reason for these extraordinary powers is declared to be the translation of the empire, but neither Rome nor Alexandria ever consented to these canons.

The metropolitans reduced under this yoke lost their old title of patriarchs, and were denominated Exarchs, a word which, in the Greek Church, still signifies a deputy. Archbishop was a title of honour conferred by the emperor, and properly without any spiritual jurisdiction: at the Council of Chalcedon it was applied to the Roman prelate. Honorary titles, however (as exemplified in the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople), have a strong tendency to convert themselves into substantial power.

A Church establishment, endowed and privileged by law, implies the supremacy of the law to secure the due execution of the trust. The emperor was as

The silence of Eusebius discredits the story told by Bede (i. 4) of a mission sent from Pope Eleutherius (A.D. 176–192). There can be little doubt that Christianity was introduced into England (as the population was) from Gaul, probably by the agency of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons (A.D. 180). He was a disciple of Polycarp, who had been instructed by the Apostle John.

necessarily at the head of the ecclesiastical, as of the civil and military, establishments of the empire. Power and property annexed to spiritual ministrations may be abused as well as those of lay functionaries. The imperial duty was to hear the complaint and enforce a remedy. Constantine was the last man to divest himself of the government of all estates of the realm, or to refuse the obligation of doing justice to all classes of his subjects. On the other hand, the Christian emperor was not entitled, like the heathen, to officiate in religious offices, or to decide on the faith received by revelation, and preached for the salvation of souls. He could neither give nor take away the Christian ministry; neither could the Church abandon the right, vindicated at so great a cost against paganism, to obey God rather than man. Constantine proposed to meet the necessity of the case by distinguishing between the internal and the external government of the Church. The former, comprehending all questions of doctrine, sacraments, and spiritual discipline, he yielded to the ecclesiastical hierarchy: what he assumed to himself was to see that the ecclesiastics did their duty according to the Church laws. In this sense he called himself "bishop of the bishops." It was a new office, extrinsic to the spiritual function, and designed to protect it alike from attack and abuse.¹

In this capacity the emperor summoned the councils called General, but whose proper appellation is Œcumenical, or councils of the Empire. The highest prelate could assemble only the bishops within his own jurisdiction; the emperor convoked the representative Christianity of the Roman world. The assembled fathers were to debate and decide according to the Word of God;

¹ Eus. V. C., i. 44. Soc. E. H., i. 9.

the emperor was there to keep order and enforce the decree.

The immediate effect of this organisation was to cover the empire with a network of religious agencies, which powerfully advanced the conversion of the heathen, and the edification of the Christian flock. Other results, however, followed which had been little calculated upon. The burst of imperial favour, which now took the place of persecution, crowded the churches with merely nominal converts. These undisciplined flocks were not to be trusted with the election of their pastors. The old metropolitan power of approving and ordaining was extended into a claim to appoint the bishop. Offices once only a step to martyrdom began to excite the ambition or avarice of the worldly-minded. Litigation increased, and men objected to be stripped of privileges which had become valuable by the sentence of an obscure consistory. Offenders refused to submit; and when the complications of heresy were added, the appeals became numerous and persistent.

All tended to increase the power of the higher prelates, and who was to control these but the emperor? To enforce their decisions he had to fine, imprison, or exile his subjects: these were his only weapons. Roman justice forbade them to be used till he had ascertained the propriety of the sentence. Two enormous evils resulted to the State and to the Church: on the one side, ecclesiastical censures, directed against errors in faith and morals, were attended by heavy temporal penalties; on the other hand, the civil power intruded itself into the domain of religion and conscience.

These unforeseen consequences were serious enough. Constantine was not guilty of the "Fatal Donation," for which the papacy reveres, and the poet reproaches, his

mémory.¹ The legend, that he bestowed Rome and Italy on the bishop Sylvester as a baptismal fee (A.D. 324), is, indeed, as old as the eighth century; and the font, with a painting of the baptism, are exhibited in the Sistine baptistery, near the Lateran; but contemporary history has no allusion to any such endowment. A law in the Theodosian Code proves that Constantine was at Thessalonica at the time assigned, and it is certain that Sylvester was not the minister, nor Rome the place, of the emperor's baptism. Eusebius gives a full account of that ceremony, which took place at Nicomedia, but a short time before the emperor's death, and more than a year after Sylvester's.²

Constantine never intended that his bishops should be princes: they were mostly poor men whose ambition was limited to spiritual and ecclesiastical victories. But great passions can be excited even by unworldly motives, and the emperor early experienced the troubles, anxieties, and perplexities of Church government. The clergy and people of Carthage elected their archdeacon Cæcilian to the vacant bishopric, and concluded the consecration before the arrival of the Numidian bishops, who claimed a share in the ceremonial. The bishops summoned Cæcilian to explain this affront, and on his refusing to obey they proceeded to examine into the consecration, and pronounced it void by reason of the participation of one Felix, alleged to be a *traditor*.³ Not content with this, they annulled the

¹ "Ah! Constantine, to how much ill gave birth
Not thy conversion, but that fatal dower
Which the first wealthy Father gained from thee."

Dante Dell' Infern. xix. 115.

² Vit. Const. iv. 62.

³ This was the name applied to those who, in the persecution of Diocletian, had given up the sacred books to be burnt. They were universally excluded from communion till restored as penitents.

election on the ground of the archdeacon's former misconduct, and finally elected and consecrated another person by their own authority. The leaders in this manifest usurpation were two bishops, both named Donatus, and from them the schism received its appellation. Cæcilian and his party keeping possession of the churches, the Donatists complained to the emperor, who, at their request referred the matter to the bishops of Gaul and Italy. Nineteen of these met at Rome under the presidency of Melchiades, the bishop, and decided in favour of Cæcilian (A.D. 313). The accusation against Felix was relegated to the pro-consul of Africa, who reported that the fact was not sustained by the evidence.

The questions, both of law and fact, were thus investigated by competent tribunals, but the Donatists objected to both. Seventy bishops of Numidia had affirmed the truth of their charges on the spot, and they were not to be overruled by a few foreigners at Rome. The emperor procured them a second hearing at the council of Arles (A.D. 314), composed of bishops from Italy, Gaul, Germany, Spain, and Britain; and again the Donatists were defeated. Thereupon they appealed to the emperor's own judgment; and Constantine, though indignant at such unchristian pertinacity,¹ could not refuse their demand. He sat in person at Milan (A.D. 316), and, after a full hearing, confirmed the two previous decisions.

The Donatists next assailed their own judge with charges of corruption and favouritism. Constantine retaliated by depriving them of their churches and driving their leaders into banishment. Some were even put to

¹ "Oh! the outrageous audacity of fanaticism," exclaimed the weary monarch; "they have actually put in an appeal, like the Gentiles."—*Soc. Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 40. Note by *Valesius*.

death for sedition. These proceedings only aggravated and extended the feud. The fierce African populace took part against the government, and a set of savages, termed Circumcelliones, perambulated the province, carrying rapine and death to the Cæcilian party. The troops were called out, and a civil war was at hand, when Constantine took the advice of his officers in Africa, and, repealing all his edicts, left each party to follow the bishop it liked best. The troubles continued for thirteen years, and, after all, were only put down by force of arms. The Circumcelliones were defeated in a pitched battle with the imperial troops, and the Donatists then falling under the full vengeance of the incensed monarch, were expelled and scattered with cruel severity. Still they had four hundred bishops at the close of the century; and in spite of the vehement opposition of Augustine, they only disappeared at last from dissensions among themselves.

The singularity of this schism was that it involved no point of doctrine or discipline. The whole arose on matters of fact asserted without evidence, and disproved before the proper tribunal. The schismatics refused to accept the acquittal of Felix, because their own bishops were committed to an assertion of his guilt. His guilt contaminated the party on whom he laid hands, and all who communicated with either. Hence every one who supported Cæcilian was deprived of the Spirit, and *ipso facto* excommunicated. The Catholic Church was reduced to their own party. Against this destructive logic no ecclesiastical decisions had any weight; and though the first to demand judgment from the civil magistrate on an ecclesiastical dispute, judgment was no sooner pronounced than they flew to arms to resist it.

So difficult is the task of constituting a tribunal

upon earth, spiritual or temporal, which shall silence religious convictions, however mistaken! So easy is it, by attempts at violent repression, to give force and dignity to a fanaticism, which, if left to itself, expires of neglect!

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS.

WESTERN EMPIRE.			EASTERN EMPIRE.	
A.D.	EMPERORS.	POPES OF ROME.	EMPERORS.	PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLÉ.
395	Honorius... ..	... ..	Arcadius.	
397	... ..	... ..	... ..	John Chrysostom.
398	... ..	Anastasius I.		
402	... ..	Innocent I.		
403	... ..	... ..	Arcadius and Theodosius II.	
404	... ..	... ..	... ..	Arsacius.
406	... ..	... ..	... ..	Atticus.
408	... ..	... ..	Theodosius II.	
417	... ..	Zosimus.		
418	Honorius and			
419	Constantius	Boniface I.		
423	Valentinian III.	Celestine I.		
426	... ..	... ..	... ..	Sisinnius I.
428	... ..	... ..	... ..	Nestorins.
431	<i>Third Œcumenical</i>	<i>Council at Ephesus.</i>		
432	... ..	Sixtus III.	... ..	Maximian.
434	... ..	... ..	... ..	Proclus.
440	... ..	Leo I.	... ..
447	... ..	... ..	... ..	Flavian.
449	... ..	... ..	... ..	Anatolius.
450	... ..	... ..	Marcian.	
451	<i>Fourth Œcumenical</i>	<i>Council at Chalcedon.</i>		
455	Maximus, A vitus.			
457	... ..	... ..	Leo I.	
458	Majorianus	... ..	... ..	Gennadius.
461	Severus II.	Hilary.		
467	Anthemius	Simplicius.		
471	... ..	... ..	... ..	Acacius.
472	Olybrius.			
473	Glycerius.			
474	Julius Nepos	... ..	Zeno.	
475	Romulus Augus- tulus.			
476	<i>Odoacer, King of Italy.</i>			
483	... ..	Felix II.		
488	... ..	... ..	... ..	Flavita.
486	... ..	... ..	... ..	Euphemius.
491	... ..	... ..	Anastasius.	
492	... ..	Gelasius I.		
493	<i>Theodoric.</i>			
495	... ..	... ..	... ..	Macedonius.
496	... ..	Anastasius II.		
498	... ..	Symmachus.		
511	... ..	... ..	... ..	Timothy.
514	... ..	Hormisdas.		
518	... ..	... ..	Justin I.	John II.
520	... ..	... ..	... ..	Epiphanius.
523	... ..	John I.		
526	<i>Athalaric</i>	Felix III.		
527	... ..	... ..	Justinian.	
530	... ..	Boniface II.		
532	... ..	John II.		
534	<i>Theodatus.</i>			
535	... ..	Agapetus I.	... ..	Anthemius.
536	Justinian, Emp.	Silverius	... ..	Mennas.
537	... ..	Vigilius.	... ..

CHAPTER II.

FALL OF THE WEST.

Division of the Empire—Milan—Ravenna—Invasion of Alaric—Triumph at Rome—Abolition of the Gladiators—Revolt in Britain—Second Invasion of the Goths—Their Rise and Progress—Three Divisions—Vandals, Franks, Alemans—Ravages of the Barbarians—Fulfillment of Prophecy—Capitulation of Rome—Sack of the City—Abandonment of Britain—Augustine's City of God—Vandal Corsairs—Valentinian III.—Second Sack of Rome—The Temple Spoils—Irruption of the Huns—Attila—Majorianus—Anthemius—Third Sack of Rome—Glycerius—Augustulus—Odoacer—Fall of Rome—Kingdom of the Heruli—Of the Ostrogoths—Excesses—Intervention from the East—Belisarius—Extinction of Gothic Kingdom.

ON the death of Theodosius the Great (A.D. 395), the empire was divided, by the provisions of his will, between his sons Arcadius and Honorius. This partition, which had been more or less in force from the time of Diocletian and Maximian, was now designed to be permanent, but, taking place just when the most united front was required against the barbarians, it proved the destruction both of East and West. Rome had ceased to be the seat of government from the time of Constantine. The western capital was Milan, which quite eclipsed the ancient city in political importance, and, from the celebrity of its schools, was called the "Athens of the West." Here Ambrose the prefect became by popular acclamation Ambrose the bishop (A.D. 374). Here he erected a moral power, which rebuked the imperial tyranny, and a form of worship which rivalled and excelled the Roman liturgy. The great African bishop

Augustine passed from one to the other with the freedom which was then the glory of the Catholic communion. At Milan he sang the Ambrosian chants with the Milanese, and when at Rome he prayed as the Romans did. There was a third ritual in his native Africa, all acknowledging "one Lord, one faith, one baptism."

Theodosius died at Milan, and was followed by Ambrose in two years. The great emperor's death was the signal of rebellion to the whole Gothic nation. Alaric, a descendant of the race which gave its name to the Baltic,¹ after threatening Constantinople, burst into Greece, and wasted its valleys with fire and sword. Being bought off with the command of Illyricum, he thence invaded Italy, and, from the defenceless palace of Milan, Honorius fled to a safer retreat in the marshes of Ravenna. This strong fortress on the Adriatic sea was ever after the imperial and royal capital of Italy.

The skill and courage of Stilicho gained his falling lord a triumph at Rome for the expulsion of the Goths (A.D. 404). On this occasion the city enjoyed the rare honour of the imperial residence for several months,² and Honorius signalled it by an edict abolishing the games of the amphitheatre, with the hecatombs of human sacrifices that fell in the combats of the gladiators. The ruins of the Coliseum still attest the beauty and majesty of the noble building, where 100,000 spectators looked down upon the arena, while pagan Rome glutted its thirst for blood to the full, and men fought with wild beasts, or, fiercer than any beasts, with each other. The highest and most refined, the priests and vestal virgins, the purple-robed patrician, and the Roman matron with her children, crowded to these cruel sports. They applauded when

¹ *Balti*, "bold," a name long preserved in Languedoc under the corrupted form of *Baux*.—*Dec. and Fall*, cap. xxx.

² It was only the fourth imperial visit since Constantine.

the Christian was thrown to the lions, and, with laughing countenances, turned down their thumbs as a signal to the victorious gladiator to slaughter his fallen companion.¹ As the eyes of the despairing victim travelled round the circus in quest of mercy, the ladies gaily chatting with each other would exhibit the fatal sign with less concern than is now exhibited for a song at the opera.

The abolition of this frightful sport was the true triumph of Honorius. His military honours soon faded. The legions in Britain having raised a common soldier to the purple, from the accident of his possessing the name of Constantine, the usurper received the submission of Gaul and Spain, and Honorius only saved his throne by consenting to divide it with this ignoble rival.

A second irruption of the Goths, under the pagan king Radagaisus, was repelled by Stilicho (A.D. 406), but two years after he was obliged to assemble the senate and propose that Attila should be entrusted with the defence of the city. Their remonstrances were in vain; no alternative remained. The senators reluctantly decreed the Gothic king four thousand pieces of gold for his services; but one of their number had the foresight to avow that it was a treaty of servitude rather than of peace.

The Goths and Vandals were divisions of a great nation, who formerly dwelt in Scandinavia. Crossing the Baltic into Germany some time before the Christian era, they migrated through Prussia and the

¹ At Trajan's triumph for the defeat of the Dacians, the games were exhibited daily for four months, during which 10,000 gladiators fought, and 11,000 wild beasts were killed.—*Dio.* xlviii., 15. When a gladiator fell, the victor looked to the spectators for directions. If they held their thumbs upwards his life was spared; if the reverse, the conqueror murdered him on the spot, and the body was dragged away to make room for another game.

Ukraine in the middle of the third century, and signalled their appearance in the Roman provinces by the sack of Philippopolis, and the defeat and death of the Emperor Decius (A.D. 251). After much fighting, they were allowed a settlement in Dacia, and there forsook their idols Woden and Thor at the preaching of Ulphilas. At his intercession they were then permitted to cross the river into the more fertile valleys of Mœsia. The exchange was like another Exodus, and their leader and legislator was styled a second Moses. Unhappily this apostle of the Goths was an Arian, and the sons of Odin, embracing his heresy with at least as much ardour as his religion, regarded their civilised and Catholic neighbours much as the Saracens, at a later period, regarded the Christian idolaters.

On the death of Theodosius these warlike Arians rose in arms, and after threatening Constantinople, turned their steps, at the secret instigation of the Byzantine court, in the direction of the West. The Goths were divided into eastern or Ostrogoths, western or Visigoths, and Lepidæ or Lingerers, so denominated (it is said) from having been the last of the three yawls in which the emigration quitted Scandinavia. The Vandals were distinguished by the various names of Heruli, Burgundians, Lombards, etc. The number and variety of the tribes who thronged across the Danube gave the province the name of Pannonia. Here they menaced Constantinople on one side and Rome on the other. Further swarms poured out of Germany into Gaul. The Franks were a miscellaneous confederacy, who substituted the common name of *Freemen* for their tribal appellations. A similar origin is ascribed to the Alemans or *Allmen*. Both crossed the Rhine at the instance of Constantius, to harass Magnentius; the Alemans established themselves in Alsace and Lorraine, the Franks in the Batavian marshes. The

last alone of all the barbarians retained their idols ; the rest were Arian Christians, and to the orthodox Italians the heretic was more formidable than the idolater. The Franks, in fact, proved their best allies, and suffered severely in resisting the southward rush of their more savage compatriots.

It is hardly possible, in this happier age, to form an adequate conception of the miseries inflicted on the Roman empire by the irruption of these barbarians. All expressions drawn from the language of ordinary warfare fail to meet the facts of the case. The bulk of the population, as in modern times, left their defence to the regular army, employing themselves in the usual pursuits of industry. The barbarians, on the contrary, were a nation of armed savages, fighting not for military conquest but for plunder or settlement. They broke in on the civilised population like an ocean which has burst its boundaries, ravaging the fields, burning and pillaging the towns, massacring or carrying captive whole populations. Neither rank, sex, or age obtained mercy. Their object was to extirpate the existing proprietors, and dwell in their places. The legions might defeat a particular expedition in a pitched battle ; but no troops could exclude a continually recurring inundation of savages, with nothing to lose, and everything to gain, whose fresh hosts supplied the place of the fallen. Their track was like the simoom of the desert. The land was stripped of its produce, or if any fruits remained they perished on the ground for lack of hands to harvest them. Famine and pestilence destroyed the surviving inhabitants, and in some of the fairest parts of the world the human race received a check, which the prosperity of succeeding ages has not even yet been able to repair.

In this dreadful inundation four several waves have been distinguished, as corresponding with the four

earlier trumpets of the seventh seal in the Apocalypse.¹ The first was the invasion of Alaric, who returned to Italy A.D. 408, and, passing between the emperor's palace at Ravenna and the camp of Stilicho at Pavia, marched straight to the gates of Rome. The city was then twenty-one miles in circumference,² and contained a population of 1,200,000 souls. The patricians, who boasted their descent from the conquerors of Hannibal, would spend £100,000 in the inauguration feasts of their prætorship. They could show a rent-roll of £160,000 per annum, arising from vast estates cultivated by slaves. Their marble palaces were filled with treasures of art. A train of fifty slaves followed the lordly senator as he rode in his chariot, with his long robe of purple silk floating on the wind. If he went into the country, his household marched like an army, the rear being brought up by a band of eunuchs. Enormous sums were lavished on a dinner, while the bulk of the lazy population subsisted on a daily distribution of bread, bacon, and oil from the public stores supplied by the provinces. This dole being curtailed by the siege, famine and pestilence stalked through the city. Some were ready to invoke the pagan deities by sacrifice,³ but none had the courage to face the invader in arms. Alaric, accepting a ransom of all the gold, silver, and other valuables in the city, granted his victims a temporary respite; but he returned the next year, and the Eternal City, opening its gates to the barbarian, created a new emperor at his dictation.

The vengeance was arrested but for a brief space. The

¹ Rev. viii. 6-12.

² This is less than half the extent which Varro ascribes to the walls of Aurelian.

³ Zosimus accuses Pope Innocent of having sanctioned this proposal, on condition that it was done in private; which Baronius indignantly denies. Gibbon says it was rejected in the senate, but Sozomen admits that the pagan rite was actually celebrated.

Goths quickly cast away their tool, and on the 24th of August, 410, the Romans were awakened at midnight by the trumpet of the dreaded barbarian in their streets. Rome was delivered up to pillage and fire; the streets were filled with the bodies of the slain, the palaces were stripped of their costly furniture, the gold, jewels, and wardrobes of the luxurious patricians loaded the waggons of the Goths, and flames devoured the houses. The forum, decorated with countless statues of gods and heroes, from the fabled Æneas down to the deified Cæsars, was levelled in the dust.¹ For six days the despairing inhabitants suffered all that could be inflicted from the horrors of war, and the still more terrible revenge of their liberated slaves. Those who had the means fled from the storm, and the wealth and power of the senators stood them in such stead, that only one of their number is said to have perished. The consternation and misery created by this irruption have been thought to be represented in the "hail and fire mingled with blood, cast upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up."²

After evacuating Rome, the Goths ravaged the south of Italy, but were prevented from seizing Sicily and Africa by the sudden death of Alaric. His successor Adolphus found among the Roman captives the emperor's sister Placidia, and, having persuaded her to accept his hand, he granted peace to her trembling brother. The empire, however, had received its death-blow. Honorius enjoyed a second triumph at Rome, after recovering Gaul and Spain by the swords of the Goths (A.D. 418); but his allies were now his masters; he was obliged to turn a deaf ear to the groans of the Britons, and recalling the legions to his own support he

¹ According to Orosius, by lightning.

² Rev. viii. 7. Elliott's *Hor. Apoc.*

abandoned the island for ever, leaving the habitations of Roman luxury and the productions of Roman art to be seized by the unpolished Saxons.

The judgments now poured on pagan Rome suggested the theme of Augustine's great work, the "City of God." Designating the fallen capital as the Great Babylon of the West, he triumphs grandly in the humiliation of idolatry. Heathen Rome, with all its abominations, was doomed for ever: its place is to be occupied by the City of God, the Church of Christ. A fine contrast is drawn between Paganism and Christianity, both in this world and the next. The new religion is represented as changing the framework of society, and culminating in the Kingdom of Christ. But Augustine foresaw not the new Babylon that was to hold out her cup from the seven hills of the Tiber. He had no vision of the Papacy. It was the persuasive voice of the Gospel, and the influence of the Holy Spirit, not the craft and violence of earthly power, from which he anticipated the extension and unity of the City of God.

The Goths were followed by the Vandals, who after a similar course of plunder, submission, and settlement, had been allowed by Theodosius to populate the villages of Thrace. Driven thence by the Huns, they penetrated through France and Spain into Africa, subdued the Carthaginian territory, and, from both sides the Straits of Gibraltar, harassed the Mediterranean with incessant piracies. These sanguinary corsairs have been traced in the fiery mountain which was cast into *the sea*: "and the third part of the sea became blood; and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed."¹

The Vandals were even more ferocious than the Goths; and the name of their pirate-chief, Genseric,

¹ Rev. viii. 8, 9.

was more terrible in Rome than Alaric himself. Valentinian III., who on the death of Honorius was nominated by the Greek emperor to the Latin throne, paid for the favour by ceding Western Illyricum to the eastern empire. He drew his sword only to slay the gallant Ætius, his bravest general, and was himself cut down by a meaner assassin in revenge for a yet fouler crime. The widowed empress applied to Genseric to punish the usurper; and the dreaded Vandals quickly appeared at the mouth of the Tiber. Rome was again delivered up to be sacked. The blind passions of a fallen nature wrought their terrible will for a whole fortnight on the helpless inhabitants. All that remained, or had been recovered, from the Goths fell a prey to their ruder successors. The churches, which Alaric spared, were plundered without scruple. The spoils of Jerusalem—the holy vessels, the table of gold, and the seven-branched candlestick, which Titus brought from the Holy Place on Mount Zion—were taken from the Temple of Peace and shipped in triumph to Carthage. The horror-stricken empress, with many thousand captives of both sexes, were dragged away in the train of the barbarians, and found their only solace in the charity of the good bishop of Carthage, Deogratias (A.D. 455).

In the meantime Gaul and Italy were ravaged by a third devastator, who took the name of the "Scourge of God:" he has been found in the third trumpet, "the star which is called Wormwood."¹ The Goths and Vandals had been driven westward by the pressure of the Huns in their rear; and in the year 442 the Huns themselves crossed the Danube, under the command of their terrible king Attila, and burst upon the empire in a new tide of desolation. After ravaging Mysia, Thrace, and Illyricum with incredible slaughter, Attila accepted

¹ Rev. viii. 10, 11.

a thousand pounds of gold and an annual subsidy from the Emperor Theodosius II. as the price of his withdrawal (A.D. 434).

A brief respite ensued in both empires, but Attila again burst into Illyricum (A.D. 447), and three years after invaded Gaul at the head of 700,000 Tartars, Poles, Germans, and Muscovites. Putting all to fire and sword, he pursued his course as far as Orleans, where he was arrested by Ætius, whose legions inflicted a severe defeat. Retreating into Pannonia the Huns returned at the head of a more numerous force, and fell upon Venetia. The inhabitants fled to the islands of the Adriatic, and there laid the foundations of the modern Venice. Having taken Aquilea, the invader marched to the Po, where he was met by Pope Leo, and prevailed upon again to withdraw. The next year, however, he once more invaded Gaul, where he perished of intemperance (A.D. 453).

The rapid and eccentric movements of this destroyer would be not inaptly figured by a flashing meteor, and how "many men died" by his means may be judged by the fact that the single battle of Chalons cost the lives of nearly 300,000 persons. He was accustomed to say that the grass never grew where his horse had set his foot. It is further observed that his principal operations were directed to the "rivers and fountains of waters," and finally that his Huns were eventually dissipated and absorbed, like a blazing star quenched in the deep.

The western empire was now reduced to the kingdom of Italy, and its purple was made the sport of the barbarians. The emperor Leo I. made an effort for its assistance, by sending his Master-General Majorianus to occupy the throne, and fitting out a fleet against the Vandals; but Majorianus was slain by means of Ricimer, a Goth whom he had nominated to the command of the

army, and the fleet was destroyed by the mismanagement of the admiral. No better fate befell Anthemius, the next emperor. Ricimer, though honoured with the hand of his daughter, besieged him in Rome, which, after enduring the miseries of famine and pestilence, was taken and pillaged by her own troops, with a fury not exceeded by the Goths or Vandals (A.D. 462). Anthemius was put to death, soon followed by Ricimer.

Glycerius, who was saluted Augustus by the Gothic troops, yielded to Nepos, sent from Constantinople, and he in turn to the Gothic general Orestes.¹ The latter having allied himself with the daughter of a Roman senator, conceived their son to be eligible to the prize for which his own birth disqualified him. The youth was declared emperor by the high-sounding name of Romulus Augustus, recalling the memories of the two founders of Rome, only to witness the extinction of the imperial dignity.

The fated twelve centuries now expired, and the last destroyer was at hand. Odoacer king of the Heruli was already in Italy at the head of a mixed confederacy of barbarians, and master of all its provinces. He defeated Orestes in a succession of engagements, and finally put him to death. At Pavia his soldiers proclaimed him King of Italy. Though unwilling to wear the imperial ensigns himself, he resolved not to concede them to another, and advanced to Rome, where Augustus had taken refuge. The citizens went out to meet him, the helpless emperor laid down the purple, and the abject senate wrote to Constantinople that it was no longer desirable to continue the imperial succession in the West. One Augustus would suffice, and, renouncing any further voice in his election,

¹ Glycerius was ordained Bishop of Salonæ, and there entertained Nepos, when his turn came to fly.

they besought the emperor to entrust his Italian Diocese to the government of Odoacer, with the title of Patrician, assured that the Republic (for Rome still clung to that departed phantom) might safely confide in his arms (A.D. 476).

The son of Orestes received a pension of six thousand pieces of gold; and, retiring to a villa on the bay of Naples, ended his days in an inglorious obscurity which reduced his lofty appellation to a contemptible diminutive—from Augustus to Augustulus.

No imagination can realise the amount of splendour, luxury, and guilt, which had accumulated during these five centuries in the “Babylon of the West;” and no words can paint the miseries with which she was chastised. Three times in sixty years the city had been sacked by a furious enemy. The harvests of Egypt and Africa, which supported the populace, were lost; the country was exhausted by war, famine, and pestilence. The loss of life is incalculable: in Æmilia, Tuscany, and some other provinces, the human species was almost extinct. Rome “saw her glories, star by star, expire.” A cloud of barbarian ignorance eclipsed the classic renown of Augustus, and the religious splendour of Constantine was overcast with idolatry and Arianism.

Of her subject nations not one remained to the Church and the Gospel. The Saxons were treading out the light of Christianity in England. Gaul was divided between the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks. Spain groaned under the Goths, Suevi, and Alans. Africa was a prey to the Vandals. All these were either Arians or idolaters, persecuting the Church. The Greek emperors were scarcely less hostile to the faith and morals of the Gospel, while Rome herself was laid low under a barbarian king. It is not surprising that commentators should find in these calamities the signs

of the fourth woe: "the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it."¹

Odoacer ruled in Rome as patrician, and in Italy as king, for seventeen years, alleviating the humiliation of barbarian rule by a strict administration of the imperial laws. Wisely resigning to the Visigoths all pretensions to the countries beyond the Alps, he protected Italy by his arms, and acquired so great a reputation that the intrigues of the Byzantine Court were put in motion for his destruction. The Pannonian provinces had been occupied on the retreat of the Huns by the Ostrogoths. Their king Theodoric was a prince of commanding genius: if he could be incited to carry his arms westward, Constantinople might hope to regain some of her lost territory in his rear. Theodoric, who had once lived in the imperial court as a hostage, readily listened to the proposal. Breaking into Italy, he defeated Odoacer in a succession of engagements, and having blockaded him in Ravenna, compelled him to share his royalty with himself. The Herulian prince, with his son, were shortly after murdered at a banquet given by their conqueror. Theodoric made terms with their followers; and, having secured the consent of the emperor, annexed the kingdom to his own possessions, amidst the acclamations of the senate and the people of Rome (A.D. 493).

Theodoric reigned with prudence and propriety thirty-three years. His visit to Rome to appease the civil war that had arisen between the contending parties at the election of Pope Symmachus, recalled the memory of the ancient triumphs. He repelled the Bulgarians from Pan-

¹ Rev. viii. 12.

nonia (A.D. 507), and defeated the French king Clovis in Gaul. His Arianism was of a milder type than others, and though his conduct towards the senate still savoured of the barbarian, his death was justly regretted as the dissolution of a wise and powerful government (A.D. 526).

He left his throne to an infant grandson, under the enlightened guardianship of his mother Amalsont. The regent being a princess of remarkable attainments in literature, sought to impart to her son some of the refinements of education. But the illiterate chiefs resented the notion of a Gothic king learning Latin and Greek;—Theodoric was a great monarch, and he could never write his name. They dismissed the tutors, and in a few years the youth drank himself to death. Amalsont sought out a cousin, who was studying Plato in retirement, and placed him on the throne by her side. The philosopher, preferring to reign alone, caused his benefactress to be strangled.

These excesses afforded the Greek emperor the long-desired pretext for intervention. He was still nominally paramount Suzerain. The arms of the renowned Belisarius had just recovered Africa to the empire, and restored the holy vessels to Jerusalem, where they were deposited in the sanctuary of the Italian Church. Constantinople had been gratified by the unprecedented spectacle of a triumph, and Belisarius was ready to win a second in Italy. Justinian, having ascended the Byzantine throne, sent this distinguished soldier at once to avenge recent barbarities, and to restore the imperial rule.

The Church hailed him as a liberator. After reducing Sicily and Naples he advanced to Rome, where the gates were joyfully opened by means of Pope Silverius (A.D. 536). The Goths at once deposed their philosophical king, and raising Vitiges on their shields,

blockaded the city for more than twelve months. It was during this memorable siege that Belisarius constructed or restored the existing walls of Rome. Their circuit was now reduced to twelve miles, scarcely more than half of what is reported at the siege of Alaric, a hundred years before. A gap was left in the fortifications between the Pincian and Flaminian gates, where the Romans believed, and still believe, that the apostle Peter stands sentry. The arches of the aqueducts were made impervious, and the mole or sepulchre of Hadrian was converted into a citadel, since dedicated to the archangel. Its white covering of Parian marble, with the statues and decorations, are said to have been used as missiles to hurl on the heads of the besiegers in the ditch. Thirty thousand of the barbarians fell at the first assault. Having received, at last, the promised reinforcements from Constantinople, Belisarius assumed the aggressive, advanced upon the Goths, and forced them gradually back to Ravenna.

His progress was delayed by the contumacy of Narses, his second in command, and during these dissensions Milan was left to surrender to the Goths and Burgundians. The barbarians, in scornful violation of the articles, gave up the inhabitants, to the number of 300,000, to indiscriminate massacre, and levelled the walls with the ground. The ecclesiastics were butchered at the altars, the women made slaves, and Dacius the bishop, escaping to Constantinople, carried tidings which induced Justinian to recall Narses.

These barbarous wars had so wasted Italy that the lands were no longer cultivated, and bread was made from acorns. No less than 50,000 persons died of hunger in the Picentine province: others tried to subsist upon grass, and some on the horrible expedient of human flesh. The dead lay unburied; to add to the horrors,

the Franks invaded the prostrate kingdom, and while each party expected their assistance, they plundered both Roman and Gothic camps with scrupulous impartiality. In their despair the Goths offered the Western purple to Belisarius, but eluding their negotiations, he completed the subjugation of Italy, and sent the keys of Ravenna to Justinian (A.D. 540).

On his return to the East all was lost again, both in Africa and Italy. Belisarius coming back, neither sated with glory nor discouraged by ingratitude, found the Goths in the field under the famous king Totila, and the orthodox alienated by the ill-usage of the pope and the excesses of the imperial troops. In 546 Rome was again taken by the Goths. Totila pulled down a large part of the walls, and threatened to convert the entire city into pasture ground. The remonstrances of the Roman general arrested this barbarous intention, and when he retired, dragging the senators into captivity, Belisarius reoccupied and restored the Eternal City.

The jealousy of Justinian having a second time recalled the conqueror, of the West,¹ Totila reigned without opposition over Rome, Italy, and Epirus, with the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Roused at last by the appeals of the bishops, Justinian despatched Narses to restore the imperial rule. Totila

¹ Ten years later (after having saved Constantinople from the barbarians) Belisarius was imprisoned on a charge of treason, the favourite expedient at that court, in all ages, for confiscating private property to the emperor's use. The popular story adds, that he was deprived of his eyes, and turned out to beg in the streets. Here the general, who had been decreed the only triumph which New Rome ever witnessed, might be seen uttering the feeble cry: "Give an obolus to Belisarius; him whom you once saw a commander, you now see a beggar." Gibbon calls this "an idle fable," and says that Belisarius was restored to his honours on a full investigation of the charge, but the "fable" is maintained not only by Baronius but by Greg. Leti, and other good writers.—*Istor. dell. Imp. Rom.* ii. p. 66.

fell in battle (A.D. 552); the Franks who had come to his assistance retired behind the Alps, the Gothic kingdom was extinguished, and, after suffering five sieges and captures, Rome once more reposed under the empire: but it was no longer the Rome of ancient days. The senators never came back from their Gothic captivity, and the long beadroll of consuls, after existing 1047 years, came to an end with the name of Basilius (A.D. 541). The office had long ceased to possess any authority, and only served as the official date of the year. Henceforth the Byzantine emperors declared themselves consuls of Rome on the day of their accession, and the public acts were dated by the year of their reign. The fall of the West was complete.

CHAPTER III.

THE APOSTOLIC SEE.

Rise of the Ecclesiastical Government—Spiritual Titles—Foundation of the Roman Church—Visits of St. Paul—Martyrdom—Traditions of St. Peter as First Bishop—Legend of Simon Magus—Scripture Contradiction—Historical Notices—Babylon not Rome—Modern Hypothesis—Dionysius of Corinth—Irenæus—Caius of Rome—The Vatican—Peter not buried there—The Supremacy—Power of the Keys—Growth of the Roman See.

THE decay of imperial authority naturally threw the government of Rome more and more into the hands of the bishop and clergy. The capture and removal of the senate left the people no other leaders, and their sacred office was respected even by the barbarian. In the contest with the Byzantine Court, again, the bishop was the champion at once of the civil and religious liberties of Rome. Often the first to suffer, he was always on the spot to relieve and console the sufferings of others. These claims to authority, for a time, contented the ambition of the Church. The love of power, however, notoriously increases with its possession. The popes began to dream of a divine supremacy. They called themselves successors of St. Peter and Vicars of Jesus Christ—titles originally attributed to all orthodox bishops, but which, at

Rome, became invested with a portentous significance.¹ The remarkable words addressed by our Lord to St. Peter² were supposed to invest him with a supremacy over the Universal Church, which the apostle had in some peculiar manner deposited in the see of Rome. St. Peter was claimed as its founder and first bishop. Pilgrimages were made to his tomb on the Vatican hill, and an elaborate system, first of spiritual and then of temporal authority, was built out of traditions, which prove, on examination, to be absolutely destitute of historical proof.

It is true that, as early as the third century, the graves of the apostles Peter and Paul were exhibited at Rome, the first on the Vatican, the other on the Ostian road.³ The Pauline monument is corroborated by the Scripture, which leaves the apostle at Rome, and in expectation of immediate martyrdom,⁴ but for Peter, there is no shadow of evidence that he was ever at Rome at all.

That he was not the founder of the Church (any further than by being the first to preach the Gospel on the day of Pentecost) is clear from the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul, at the date of this letter, had not yet visited Rome,⁵ and the terms on which he acknowledges its claim on himself as the apostle of the Gentiles,⁶ coupled with his well-known repugnance to intrude on

¹ Every bishopric supposed to be planted by an apostle took the title of Apostolic. For the same reason, Alexandria called itself the Evangelical see, as founded by the evangelist Mark. All bishops were, in like manner, called successors of St. Peter, regarded as the representative of the whole apostolate. In the east Antioch claimed the chair of St. Peter in a peculiar sense, and the Syrian see had the advantage over the Italian, that St. Peter did unquestionably visit it (Gal. ii. 11), though here, again, it was Paul, not Peter, who laid the foundation (Acts xi. 26).

² Matt. xvi. 18, 19.

³ Eus. E. H., ii. 25.

⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 6.

⁵ Rom. i. 10.

⁶ Rom. i. 14, 15.

the field of another,¹ necessitate a similar conclusion with regard to St. Peter. Yet the salutations in this epistle prove that a flourishing Church was already organised.²

It was probably planted by some of those Jews of Rome who heard St. Peter preach on the day of Pentecost.³ The Jews had several synagogues at Rome, and their dissensions respecting the new doctrines may have led to the commotions which provoked the emperor Claudius to banish the whole race.⁴ Among the exiles were Aquila and Priscilla, who taking refuge at Corinth were there converted by St. Paul, and afterwards accompanied him to Ephesus.⁵ Returning to Rome, where the interdict on the Jews was not long maintained, this Christian couple would add, to what was previously known of the Gospel, the teaching which they had themselves received from the mouth of St. Paul. The names of the two great apostles might be bandied about, as at Corinth,⁶ for the watchwords of contending parties; and hence the tradition of later days that Peter and Paul were joint founders of the Roman See. St. Paul was entreated to come and appease these disorders: he had both kinsmen and fellow-prisoners⁷ to visit, and he had long purposed to do so,⁸ when the providence of God conducted him to the capital in bonds (A.D. 61).⁹ The apostle remained two years preaching and teaching freely the things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁰

¹ 2 Cor. x. 13, 16 ² Rom. i. 8; xvi. 5, 7, 9. ³ Acts ii. 10.

⁴ Acts xviii. 2. Suetonius ascribes the disturbance to "one Chrestus."

⁵ Acts xxiii. 18, comp. vv. 1, 7, showing that Aquila and Priscilla were then indisposed to retain the apostle under their roof.

⁶ 1 Cor. i. 12.

⁷ Rom. xvi. 7-11.

⁸ Rom. i. 13.

⁹ Felix was succeeded by Festus, A.D. 60 (Conybeare and Howson, ii. n. c.); and St. Paul, sailing from Cæsarea in the autumn of that year (Acts xxvii. 1, 9), after wintering at Malta (xxviii. 11), reached Rome in the following spring.

¹⁰ Acts xxviii. 31.

Here the sacred history terminates, not, however, from the death or final separation of the writer, for St. Luke appears again as the apostle's sole companion at the close of his life.¹ We may gather from incidental allusions that St. Paul obtained his release, and, perhaps, prosecuted his intended journey into Spain.² Thence he must have returned to Asia Minor, revisiting Ephesus,³ Colosse,⁴ Miletus,⁵ Troas,⁶ and crossed the sea to winter at Nicopolis in Epirus.⁷ Thence he may have proceeded to Corinth,⁸ and, finally, again to Rome, where we find him once more in custody, under more rigorous confinement, and looking forward to immediate death; "ready to be offered;" the fight fought, his course finished, and only the crown to receive.⁹

Between these two visits of St. Paul to Rome, the great fire occurred (A.D. 64), which Nero charged upon the Christians, in order to avert the suspicion justly due to himself. On this charge some were sewn up in skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs; many were crucified; for others the new torture was invented of enclosing them in rolls of waxed cloth, and burning them alive, with a stake under their chins to keep them upright. With these horrible torches the tyrant actually illuminated his gardens.¹⁰

St. Paul was absent during the heat of the persecu-

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 11.

² Rom. xv. 24, 28.

³ 2 Tim. i. 18.

⁴ Philem. 22.

⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 20.

⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 13.

⁷ Tit. iii. 12.

⁸ 2 Tim. iv. 20.

⁹ 2 Tim. iv. 6-8. The original expression is very striking: "I am already sacrificed, as it were a victim bound on the altar, and only awaiting the fatal blow."

¹⁰ Tac. Ann., xv. 60, 61. The historian, who does not conceal his conviction that the emperor was the guilty party, says the victims perished, not for the conflagration, but for their universal hatred of the human race. (*Odio generis humani convicti sunt.*) This was a common charge against the Jews, with whom the Christians were confounded by the early historians.

tion, but it would seem that he was seized on his return, and, according to tradition, beheaded in the Ostian way, in the last year of Nero's reign (A.D. 67-8). This result is perfectly consistent with the sacred history, and the probability of the case; nor is it unlikely that the church which bears his name marks the actual spot of the apostle's martyrdom.

The tradition, however, is not content with St. Paul; it claims St. Peter also as the companion of his martyrdom, and, moreover, as Bishop of Rome for a considerable period before they suffered. This was the belief of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerome. According to Eusebius, St. Peter went to Rome in the reign of Claudius (who died A.D. 54), and continued there twenty years: Jerome expands the time to twenty-five years. The exact period as assigned in the Roman annals is twenty-four years, five months, and ten days, and to these "years of St. Peter" it is a standing tradition that no successor is ever to attain.¹

The story is that St. Peter went in pursuit of Simon Magus, who after his defeat at Samaria fled to Rome, and was there worshipped as God.² Justin Martyr appeals, in support of this tradition, to an image with the inscription "*Simoni Deo Sancto*,"³ which he had seen in an island in the Tiber; but the reference only proves the little dependence to be placed on such stories; for this very inscription was discovered on a stone found in the Tiber (A.D. 1574), and proves to be "*Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio Sacrum*." The name belonged to a Sabine deity,⁴ and was imposed upon Justin, who did not understand Latin, as that of Simon Magus.⁵

¹ The charm was nearly broken by Pius VII., who died far advanced in the twenty-third year of his pontificate.

² Eus. E. H., ii. 13, 14.

³ Just. Apol., i. (ad Ant.) 26.

⁴ See page 3, note 2.

⁵ Alford's Gr. Test., Acts viii. 9, note.

The legend adds that Simon flew up in the air in the presence of Nero, but on St. Peter invoking the name of Christ he fell down and broke his legs.¹ To escape the resentment of Simon's adherents the apostle secretly left the city, but was encountered at the gate by our blessed Lord, who, in reply to his inquiry, "*Domine, quo vadis?*" (Lord, whither goest thou?) answered, "I am going to Rome to be crucified." The apostle, understanding this as a reproach on his timidity, returned, and being seized, was crucified by the emperor's order.² It is added that, at his own request, he suffered with his head downwards, as unworthy to share the posture of his Lord.³

Such is the story now confidently received at Rome, and it must stand or fall as a whole. The attempt of some Protestant writers to sustain the martyrdom, while disallowing the episcopacy, is a merely arbitrary divorce of closely-united testimony. If we turn to the Scripture, there is reason to think that St. Peter had indeed been put to death by crucifixion when John wrote his Gospel (A.D. 78),⁴ but the evangelist makes no allusion to the place of his suffering; and no other part of the New Testament in any way connects St. Peter with Rome. On the other hand, it is clear that, during the larger part, at least, of the period assigned for his episcopacy at Rome, the apostle was preaching and journeying in Asia. In the Acts of the Apostles we find him in

¹ Among the sights at Rome are the prints of the apostle's knees on one stone, and the blood of the magician on another. The legend is probably a confusion of the story told of an unlucky conjuror in Suet. vi. 12, with Peter's real controversy with Simon Magus at Samaria (Acts viii.).

² Tillemont, *Mem.* i, 187, and 555. This story is fathered on Ambrose, but does not appear in the Bened. edition of his works.

³ Eus. E. H., iii. 1.

⁴ John xxi. 18, 19. This last chapter, however, is thought to have been added by the evangelist at a later date (Alford, *ad fn.*).

Judæa, Samaria, and Cæsarea. St. Paul mentions a visit to Antioch, adding that it had been agreed at Jerusalem that he and Barnabas should go to the heathen, while Peter, James, and John employed themselves among the Jews.¹ In perfect accordance with this distribution of labour, Peter's first epistle is addressed to the Jewish dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,² provinces of Asia Minor, which Eusebius records as the field of this apostle's preaching.³

These notices are clearly incompatible with any continuous residence at Rome. If the apostle went there at all in the reign of Claudius, he would have been expelled with Aquila and Priscilla; if he returned with them, he must have again fled with them,⁴ or have perished in the persecution during Paul's absence. But the silence of St. Paul, both in the epistles to the Romans and in those written from Rome, while mentioning many other Christians,⁵ is conclusive against any visit by St. Peter up to the writing of the second epistle to Timothy. In that, St. Paul expressly states that only Luke was with him, and that all men had forsaken him.⁶ Consequently, St. Peter was not then at Rome; nor, when summoning Timothy and Mark to his side, does St. Paul anticipate any visit from his brother-apostle.

Peter was at this time probably at Babylon, the place from which his epistle is dated; and though Eusebius with most of the fathers, in deference to the tradition, interpreted this word as a mystical name

¹ Gal. ii. 9, 11.

² 1 Pet. i. 1.

³ E. H., iii. 4.

⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 19.

⁵ Among them Linus and Clement (2 Tim. iv. 21; Phil. iv. 3), who, according to Eusebius, were the first and third bishops of Rome.

⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 11, 16.

for Rome,¹ that interpretation is now universally exploded. The visions of the Apocalypse, which, however, had not then been revealed, do indeed call Rome by this name; but the date of a letter must, in all reason, be the actual name of the place. This was either the well-known city on the Euphrates, or, more probably, Babylon on the Nile.² These were the two largest seats of Jewish population out of Palestine, and therefore as appropriate to Peter's mission, as Rome, the capital of the Gentile world, was to St. Paul's.

It follows that if St. Peter ever was at Rome he must have arrived after the latest scriptural date, and only just in time to suffer with his brother-apostle. This is the theory of those who would fain concede *something* to the tradition, while they feel the strength of the scriptural evidence;³ but this modern hypothesis, halting between two opinions, has no support, either from Scripture or the fathers. The Romanists insist on the life and preaching of the apostle at Rome: his death alone would do nothing for the foundation of the Holy See, nor the primacy of the Universal Church. In rejecting these, the martyrdom is left without motive, object, or independent testimony.

All that can be said for it is this: Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (A.D. 180), supposed Peter and Paul to be joint founders both of the Roman and the Corinthian Churches, and going together into Italy, to have suffered martyrdom at the same time.⁴ Here, again, the martyrdom is combined with other particulars manifestly untrue. That the Corinthian Church was founded by

¹ E. H., ii: 15.

² See the author's "Egypt," p. 115. Babylon on the Euphrates was then in ruins. Churton's New Test., Prol. to St. Mark.

³ Smith's Bible Dict., ii, 797—PETER.

⁴ Eus. E. H., ii, 25.

St. Paul alone, is distinctly related in the New Testament,¹ and there is no evidence that Peter ever visited it at all. The Judaizing party alleged his authority against Paul, as the same party probably did at Rome, and this may have given rise in both places to the tradition of a joint foundation with St. Paul; but it is no proof of St. Peter's actual presence in either city.² As for the two apostles going in company to Italy, it is certain that Peter was not the companion of Paul's first voyage to Rome, and if they were together in the voyage supposed to be made by St. Paul from Corinth, just before his death, how could the latter omit all allusion to his brother-apostle in his last letter, and even write, "Only Luke is with me?"

Irenæus is also quoted for the martyrdom, but besides telling us what has been shown to be disproved in Scripture, that Peter and Paul preached the Gospel at Rome, and founded the Church together, he adds, that at the same time Matthew wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*, and Mark wrote his after *their death*;³ whereas Clement and Papias affirm that Peter was alive and approved the design of Mark.⁴

The only other piece of evidence is a letter from Caius, a Roman presbyter, in the time of Zephyrinus (A.D. 201-18), stating that the trophies of the apostles who founded that Church were shown in the Vatican, and on the Ostian Way. This carries up the tradition to little more than a century from the time of the martyrdom. Still there is a difficulty which is absolutely insuperable. The Vatican was a sequestered hill beyond

¹ Acts xviii. 1—comp. 1 Cor. iv. 15; ix. 2; 2 Cor. x. 14.

² It appears from 1 Cor. iv. 6, that St. Paul did not refer to the apostles themselves, but to other teachers who made use of their names without authority.

³ Adv. Hæres., iii. 1.

⁴ Eus. E. H., ii. 15.

the walls of Rome and on the other side the Tiber; it derived its name from an ancient oracle, which was, perhaps, connected with the sportive echo celebrated by Horace.¹ It was the site of Pompey's theatre, and of Nero's magnificent circus, surrounded by altars and oracles.² That a corpse—and that a crucified Jew's—should be interred amid these sacred objects is so improbable, that the supporters of the legend are obliged to take refuge in a miraculous conversion of the emperor.³

Lastly, we must observe that St. Peter's was not the first, or the most venerated, name at Rome. The old cathedral church was St. John Lateran,⁴ supposed to mark the spot where the evangelist was thrown into a caldron of boiling oil, by order of Domitian, on emerging from which without injury he was exiled into Patmos.⁵ At this church the popes had

¹ Od., i. 20.

² The site is identified by the obelisk, which, made for Nectanebus the last of the Pharaohs, but left without inscription in the quarry, was erected by Ptolemy Philadelphus before the temple of his queen Arsinoe at Alexandria; thence it was removed to Rome, and placed in the centre of Nero's Circus. In the time of pope Sixtus v. this obelisk was close to St. Peter's Church, where the sacristy now stands; to make room for this building it was removed to its present position in the centre of the Piazza.

³ "If the bodies of St. Peter and the martyrs were buried where St. Peter's Church now stands, it is strange that the circus could still remain there. Perhaps Nero, the inhuman author of the Christian massacres, was compassionate enough to destroy his circus, in order to provide them a place of sepulture; yet the circus was certainly standing in the time of Pliny. Perhaps Nero permitted it to serve two ends at once—a circus for the Gentiles, and a catacomb for the faithful." (Nardini *Roma Antica*.) The irony of this passage is sufficiently obvious.

⁴ The Lateran Palace was the house of Plautus Lateranus, a patrician, condemned for conspiring against Nero. (Tac. Ann., xv.) Juvenal styles it, "Egregias Lateranorum Ædes." (Sat., x. 7.) In this palace the empress Fausta had apartments, in which the council against the Donatists was held (A.D. 313). Baronius infers that it was then granted for the bishop's residence, but this is far from probable.

⁵ Eusebius (H. E., iii. 18) records the exile of St. John, and his return into Asia after Domitian's death; but he knows nothing of the boiling oil,

their chair and their residence for many centuries before they removed to the Vatican. Constantine, who was a great believer in holy places, built a magnificent basilica for each; but St. John's, which represented the older tradition, had the precedence in rank.¹

The conclusion is that not a particle of historical evidence exists that the apostle Peter ever visited Rome at all, while the legends of his death and burial there are contrary to Scripture and common sense. It was what the French call a "grand idea" to suppose that the Gospel, beginning at Jerusalem and extending to the utmost parts of the earth, returned from the east and west in the persons of its two chief apostles, to cement with their blood the foundations of an universal see in the metropolis of the world. Standing at the present hour under the mighty dome, and looking down upon the apostolic tomb, lighted by ever-burning lamps, which forms the centre of a pile decorated by the labours and pilgrimages of many ages, rich with the wealth of kingdoms, the treasures of art, and the priceless sympathies of earnest souls out of every nation and people and language, it is hard to think that all is one grand imposture, and that the dust of the inspired fisherman no more rests in that vault than the Spirit of God rests upon the superstition that worships it. Yet, when the illusion is

or of any visit to Rome. The authority for the miracle is Tertullian; but Mosheim suspects the passage to be a metaphorical expression, afterwards converted into a fact.—"De Reb. Christ. ant. Const.," p. 111.

¹ There are seven basilicas at Rome, which offer the privilege of one thousand years' indulgence to the pilgrims who visit them all in one day, and all are popularly ascribed to Constantine. They are: 1. St. John Lateran. 2. St. Peter's. 3. St. Mary-the-Great. 4. St. Paul. 5. St. Sebastian. 6. St. Lawrence. And 7. The Holy Cross of Jerusalem, built to receive and store the relics brought from Jerusalem by the empress Helena. (Soc. E. H., i. 17.) Of these the most venerable, perhaps the only authentic, monument was St. Paul's, a noble and undoubted remnant of the Constantine age, which was consumed by fire 14th July, 1823.

touched by the Ithuriel spear of history, it “returns of force to its own likeness.”

“Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,
Blown up with high conceits ingendering pride.”¹

The Catholic Church was not planted at Rome in the blood of the apostles, but—blessed be God!—at Jerusalem, by the true High Priest, and “in His own blood, having obtained eternal redemption for us.” Our access to God does not depend on pilgrimages to dead men’s bones, but in drawing near to Jesus “with a true heart, in full assurance of faith.”

Could the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome be granted, still the tradition only associates him with St. Paul, and (when corrected by Holy Scripture) would limit his presence to a very brief period at an advanced stage of the organisation of the Church. St. Paul entered the field as his own; we see him in possession of it for some years; singularly enough, too, in connection with the supposed first bishops. Supposing his brother-apostle to come in at the last, and join in his dying testimony, the see would still have been the chair of St. Paul—not of St. Peter—had the legend reposed on any historical basis.

The legend, however, is not historical, but polemical. The authority of St. Peter was asserted for the sake of the primacy supposed to be devolved on that apostle in the famous text, “Thou art Peter;”² and to this argument we must now advance. Roman divines interpret this passage as conferring an infallible supremacy over the Universal Church, first on the apostle Peter, and secondly on the bishops of Rome as his perpetual successors. This interpretation was certainly unknown to the apostle himself, and to the first three centuries of

¹ “Paradise Lost,” iv. 808.

² Matt. xvi. 18, 19.

the Christian Church.¹ It was never admitted by any of the Churches which speak the language of the New Testament; and it has been rejected in every age by the great majority of Christians.

With regard to the apostle himself, it is obvious that St. Paul knew nothing of his supremacy when he "withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed;"² nor when he expressly asserted his own equality in the apostleship.³ The (so-called) Council of Jerusalem must have been equally ignorant when they placed James in the chair, and permitted St. Peter to take part in the debate as an ordinary member.⁴ Peter himself makes no allusion to any such authority in his epistles, but exhorts the elders, "as a fellow-elder, to feed the flock of God, not as being lords over his heritage, but being ensamples to the flock, that when the Chief Shepherd shall appear they may receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."⁵ It may be observed, also, that among the parties at Corinth who distinguished themselves by apostolic names, no priority is attributed to St. Peter⁶ over Paul or Apollos: he does not always enjoy even a nominal precedence when named along with other apostles.⁷

¹ It must have been unknown at Rome when St. John's Church ranked above St. Peter's.

² Gal. ii. 11.

⁴ Acts xv. 7, 12, 13.

³ *Ib.*, 6, 9.

⁵ 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 4.

⁶ 1 Cor. i. 12; iii. 22. Comparing these passages with 1 Cor. iv. 6, they by no means prove the actual presence of St. Peter at Corinth. St. Paul appears to have put the case these distinguished names were quoted in order to expose more strongly the unjustifiable character of the pretensions actually asserted. The true leaders were thus spared the confusion of a public reproof, when it was their followers that were most to blame.

⁷ Gal. ii. 9. By Eusebius, and the fathers generally, when the two apostles are named together, the usage is to place Paul before Peter. See *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 21. Valesius remarks that in the seals of the Romish Church itself Paul is placed on the right and Peter on the left.

The early bishops of Rome appear to have been as little instructed in their supremacy as the apostles. Clement, who according to Eusebius was the third bishop, and like Linus a fellow-labourer with St. Paul,¹ wrote a letter in the name of the whole Church of Rome to that of Corinth. In this letter, which is still extant, Clement reproveth, after St. Paul's example, the schismatical spirit still raging in that Church. He complains of their having ejected ministers whom the apostles and their successors had appointed.² This was eminently a case for the chair of St. Peter, if its supremacy had then been known. But all that Clement says of St. Peter is, that having "undergone many suf-

¹ Phil. iv. 3. Eus. H. E., iii. 15. Coteler has collected (Pat. Apos., i. 414) a large number of passages to the same effect. In the early Church "the Apostle" meant always St. Paul.

² "The apostles have preached to us from our Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ from God. Christ, therefore, was sent by God; the apostles by Christ. So both were orderly sent, according to the will of God. For, having received their command, and being thoroughly assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and convinced by the Word of God, with the fullness of the Holy Spirit, they went abroad publishing that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus, preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first fruits of their conversions to be bishops and ministers over such as should afterwards believe, having first proved them by the Spirit. Nor was this any new thing: seeing that long before it was written concerning bishops and deacons, for thus saith the Scripture in a certain place: 'I will appoint their overseers in righteousness, and their ministers in faith.'

"So, likewise, our apostles knew, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that there should contentions arise on account of the ministry. And, therefore, having a perfect foreknowledge of this, they appointed persons, as we have before said, and then gave direction how, when they should die, other chosen and approved men should succeed in their ministry. Wherefore we cannot think that those may justly be thrown out of their ministry, who were either appointed by them, or afterwards chosen by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church; and who have, with all lowliness and innocency, ministered to the flock of Christ in peace, and without self-interest, and were for a long time commended by all. For it would be no small sin in us should we cast off those from their ministry who holily, and without blame, fulfil the duties of it."—Sects. xlii.—xliv.

ferings, he was at last martyred and sent to the place of glory.”

Of St. Paul he writes at greater length, referring particularly to his Epistles to the Corinthians: from these he exhorts them to replace their ministers, and return to unity and concord. He reminds them that all cannot be chiliarchs, centurions, or other commanders; but that the whole body is saved in Jesus Christ. “Christ,” he declared, “is theirs who are humble and exalt not themselves over His flock.” “Let us reverence our Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us: let us honour those who are set over us, respect the aged, and instruct the younger, even in the fear of the Lord.”¹ There is not the most distant allusion to any prerogative at Rome, and instead of “health and the apostolic benediction,” the epistle closes with this evangelical petition: “Now God, the Inspector of all things, the Father of spirits, and the Lord of all flesh, who hath chosen our Lord Jesus Christ, and us by Him to be His peculiar people, grant to every soul of man, that calleth upon His glorious and holy name, faith, fear, peace, long-suffering, patience, temperance, holiness, and sobriety, unto all well-pleasing in His sight; through our High Priest and Protector, Jesus Christ, by whom be glory and majesty, and power, and honour, unto Him now, and for evermore. Amen.”

The other apostolical fathers are equally silent; and no point of history is more certain than that the primacy of St. Peter was never heard of during the first three centuries of the Church.

With regard to the text in Matt. xvi., Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Juvenal of Jerusalem agree in understanding the *Rock* to be,

¹ Sects. xvi.—xxi.

not Peter, but the faith which he had just professed, that Christ is the Son of God. The same interpretation was held by Hilary, Ambrose, and Augustine, in the west; and even by some of the popes, as by Gregory the Great, Felix III., Nicholas I., and John VIII.¹ Jerome was of opinion that our Lord referred to Himself, the Christ whom Peter confessed, as the Rock: while others, as Origen, Cyprian, and Basil, understood the promise as belonging to Peter in common with the other apostles, the twelve foundations of the New Jerusalem.²

In regard to the remainder of the text, the substance of it is repeated to the other apostles, and to the whole Church, in Matt. xviii. 18. The grant of the keys was understood to mean the commission to preach the Gospel, baptize disciples, guide the flock, and exclude the refractory from communion. Thus St. Peter opened the kingdom of heaven to the Jews on the day of Pentecost, and to the Gentiles in the baptism of Cornelius. He shut the door upon Ananias and Sapphira. But although he was the first to execute these functions, and is called the first apostle,³ yet he was followed with equal authority

¹ Barrow's "Supremacy." It should be observed, that although Peter is commonly translated Rock, it is not the same word with the Rock on which Christ founds the Church. *Petros* is properly a rock-stone—a stone which can be thrown or moved. When the living Rock is meant (Matt. vii. 24; xxvii. 51, 60. Mark xv. 46. Luke vi. 48; viii. 6, 13. Rev. vi. 15, 16. 1 Cor. x. 4), the word is always *Petra*; and this is the word employed by our Lord to denote the foundation of His Church. The only other places in the New Testament where *Petra* occurs are Rom. ix. 33, and 1 Peter ii. 8, where it signifies, not a foundation, but a stumbling-stone: the idea is still that of a point of the living Rock jutting out of the ground. *Petros* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, but in the name of the apostle; and though it is used in a few places of the Septuagint, in the meaning of *Petra*, our Lord in varying the word must naturally be understood to imply a varied signification. "Thou art *Petros*, and on this *Petra* I will build my Church"—is very different from: "I will build my Church on thee,"

² Rev. xxi. 14; comp. 1 Cor. x. 4.

³ Matt. x. 2,

by the others. "For the rest of the apostles," says Cyprian, "were the same also that Peter was; endowed with equal fellowship of honour and power; but the original proceeds from unity, that the Church may be shown to be one."¹

Such were the received interpretations of this celebrated text, down to the fourth and fifth centuries; none agreeing with modern Rome, or recognising any Scriptural authority in that see over others. The equal right of all bishops and their Churches (as regulated by the canons) was then the invariable doctrine. They differed from one another, on points not prescribed in Scripture, with perfect independence. Thus the eastern Churches kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the first month, while in the West the feast was deferred to the following Sunday. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, visited Rome for the purpose of discussing this point with Anicetus (A.D. 157-168). Each pleaded the custom of his Church, and ended by allowing the same benefit to the other; but it is remarkable that while Polycarp alleged the authority of St. John (by whom he was said to have been placed at Smyrna) and of other apostles, we hear nothing from Anicetus of the authority of St. Peter: he only said he must retain the usage of the elders, his predecessors.²

The same controversy was more hotly conducted by Victor (A.D. 192-201). Some of the eastern Churches then agreed with the Roman usage; but those of Asia adhering to their own tradition, Victor threatened them with excommunication. He was answered by a long letter from Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, alleging that he had seven relations of his own, bishops who had always

¹ "De Unitate Eccl.," 113: Ed. Bas. 1558. The other apostles were not ordained or governed by Peter.

² Ep. Irenæi. ap. Eus. H. E., v. 24.

observed the same custom, and that having reached sixty-five years of age, "and read the whole Scripture through," he was not at all terrified by the threats of Rome; for greater men than himself had said "we ought to obey God rather than men." These were St. Peter's own words. Victor issued his excommunication, but it was not acknowledged even by the Churches which agreed with him on the point in dispute. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, wrote to him in the name of the Gallic Church, that whole Churches were not to be cut off for observing their ancient customs; and the Asiatics continued their practice till it was changed by common consent at the Council of Nicæa.

In all this controversy nothing was said of the authority of St. Peter. The first Roman bishop who claimed obedience on this account was Stephen (A.D. 253-257), just at the time that we first hear of the monuments on the Vatican. He had a difference with the African Church, then presided over by pope Cyprian. A council at Carthage had decided, some years before, that heretics must be re-baptized before they could be admitted into the Catholic Church. The same practice was pursued in some of the eastern Churches, but it was always condemned in Italy, Gaul, and Spain. This order was renewed by two councils under Cyprian, who sent their resolutions to Stephen. The latter replied in a violent letter, asserting his authority as successor of St. Peter, and threatening the Africans with excommunication.¹ Cyprian retorted by accusing his brother-pope of impertinence, ignorance, and childishness. He styles him an abettor of heretics; and, calling another council, protested against any one setting up for a bishop of bishops, and presuming to reduce his colleagues

¹ Cyp., ep. lxxiv. 1, 10; ep. lxxv.

to subjugation.¹ The African Church retained its practice in spite of the pope, till it was condemned by agreement in the Councils of Arles and Nicæa. In the course of this dispute, Firmilian of Cappadocia went so far as to liken the pope to Iscariot rather than Peter, affirming that his excommunication of others would only cut off himself from the unity of the Church.²

The First General Council placed Rome on a level with Alexandria, Antioch, and other Churches: it was simply the metropolitan see of southern Italy. In the controversies which subsequently desolated the eastern Church each party sought the sympathy of the West. Athanasius and his adversaries both appealed to Julius, but when he summoned them to a council to discuss the question, the Eusebians fell back upon the fact "that all bishops were of equal authority, without regard to the magnitude of their cities." This was true, but, as the pope replied, they had themselves invited his decision, and it was not his own opinion, but that of the bishops of Italy and those parts, that he communicated. There is not a word of St. Peter in the whole letter.³

At a later period of the contest, when Liberius forsook the truth under the menaces of Constantius, no one admitted either the infallibility or the authority of the

¹ Cyp. Conc. Carth., A.D. 256.

² Baronius affirms that Stephen excommunicated the Churches of Africa, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Egypt; but Valesius thinks he was content to threaten them. (Note on Eus., vii. 5.) The Alexandrian pope Dionysius was certainly not aware of his misfortune, for he corresponded with Stephen, tried to moderate his anger, and induced his successor to drop the dispute.

³ See Julius' Letter in Ath. Apol. Adv. Ar., 11. In one place he claims a right to be consulted before any decision is taken with respect to a bishop of Alexandria. The allusion is not clear whether Rome had some special connection with Alexandria, or, as seems more probable, that a patriarch of Antioch should not have incriminated a brother-patriarch without first referring to Rome, the only other see of equal rank.

Roman prelate. Athanasius stood alone against the world for the Divinity and Atonement of his Redeemer. Liberius himself repented of his apostasy when the courage and moderation of the Alexandrian pope had stemmed the tide of heresy; and the emperor's death brought happier days.

The Roman see was ever after the champion of orthodoxy. The barbarians who broke up the empire were either heathens or Arians, and the Greek emperors and patriarchs were perpetually involved in new heresies. At Rome the senate was too feeble, the nobles too luxurious, to furnish men of action for the times. The dissolution of the old Pagan hierarchy left the bishops and clergy to take the conduct of the religious emotions. Paganism had fallen, but the ground was still cumbered with its ruins; society was to be reorganised; the opulent were to be taught almsgiving; the middle classes to be set to work; the vast pauper population to be sought out and relieved. These evangelical labours could not fail to raise the bishop to influence. The magistrates were constantly changing, and conspiring for their own advantage; the troops were more dreaded than the enemy; but the bishop was always at his post, preaching, visiting, blessing, and praying for all. Hence the Roman see became in the fourth century the centre and rallying-point of all who were animated by a sentiment of patriotism, or a zeal for the integrity of the faith. It gained, in short, a practical influence which was independent of ecclesiastical theories, and was not subverted by the scandals which too frequently disgraced the ecclesiastical order.

By the middle of the fourth century the Roman see was become rich and ambitious. The account which an eye-witness gives of the admission of Damasus (A.D. 366) reads more like a conquest than an election. Ursinius

was already chosen and consecrated, when Damasus, at the head of an armed party, broke into the church, massacred the people, and finally fought his way into the Lateran, where he received the episcopate. Jerome, who was a friend to Damasus, reverses the parts; but all agree that the city was involved in a civil war till the prefect banished the competitor who had the weaker party. Even after that, Damasus commanded in person an assault on the church where his opponents were assembled, fired it, and slaughtered about one hundred persons.¹

It appears that Damasus enjoyed the suffrages of the rich ladies. His friend calls him the virgin doctor of the virgin Church;² but Ammianus Marcellinus the heathen historian, who was then at Rome, gives another picture: "I do not wonder," he says, "that men who are fond of show and parade should quarrel and fight for the episcopal chair. If they succeed they are sure to be enriched by the offerings of the ladies; they appear no more on foot, but in stately chariots and gorgeously attired. They keep costly and sumptuous tables, nay, surpass the emperors themselves in the splendour and magnificence of their entertainments."³ "Make me bishop of Rome," said the Pagan prefect, "and I will turn Christian directly."⁴ This luxury drew down some severe laws of mortmain from the emperor, of which Ambrose and Jerome complain bitterly.⁵ They were abrogated in A.D. 455. Clearly nothing had then been heard of Constantine's "donation."

The emperors, however, found it expedient to favour the growth of a great patriarchal authority in the west. Valentinian II. granted the pope authority to

¹ Bower, i. 183.

² Hier., ep. xlix.

³ Amm. Mar., xxvii. p. 237.

⁴ Hier., ep. lxi.

⁵ Amb., ep. xii.; Hier., ep. ii.

hear and decide causes relating to bishops, whom he altogether exempted from the civil jurisdiction.¹ This was a great boon at a time when the secular court freely applied torture both to witnesses and accused persons. Though intended, perhaps, to apply only to the suburbicarian provinces, the privilege was claimed by other bishops, and contributed to augment the papal jurisdiction. A constitution of Theodosius the Great (379-395) ordains that all nations subject to his sway shall receive the religion delivered by St. Peter to the Romans.²

These grants were, beyond question, the foundation of the papal jurisdiction in the western Empire. Proceeding from the secular power, they were not understood as superseding any episcopal rights, as appears from the opposition which continued to be offered on the question of appeals. The First General Council ordained that controversies should be determined in the provinces where they arose, but the Council of Sardica (347) granted an appeal to Rome under conditions, the extent of which is much disputed. The Greeks repudiated this canon altogether, affirming that it was passed after their bishops had left the council; and it was superseded by the second canon of the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381), one of the four General Councils whose authority was declared by Gregory the Great to be equal to that of the four Gospels. Nevertheless, in the Roman code, the Sardican constitution was inserted among the acts of the Council of Nicæa, and the decree of Constantinople was interpolated with a proviso, to save "the rights of the Roman see."³ The African Church detected the fraud, and strictly prohibited all appeals beyond sea.

¹ Bar. ad Ann., 368; Cod. Theod., cap. 80; Bower, i. 187.

² Cod. Theod., xvi. 1, 2; Ranke, i. 12.

³ Conc., tom. ii., 1148.

The divisions in the eastern Church were afterwards carried to an extent which forced the common sense and common piety of Christianity to take refuge in the West. The Nestorian controversy, followed, through a natural reaction, by the Eutychian and Monophysite heresies, involved the deposition of all the oriental patriarchs, the death of several, and the conversion of a General Council into a "den of thieves." Amid the crash of falling columns, Rome alone stood unshaken. Cyril held the proxy of Celestine I. in the deposition of Nestorius, and, according to papal writers, this was the ground of his authority in that proceeding. But Alexandria always laid claim to the first authority in the East, and Cyril had assumed his place before his brother-pope came to his support.¹ Celestine's intervention was censured by some of the patriarchs, and at the Council of Ephesus, after the removal of Cyril, not the Roman legates, but the patriarch of Jerusalem, became president.

It was at the Council of Chalcedon that the Roman see first attained to authority in the East. The patriarch of Constantinople was the person originally incriminated. In the proceedings against him, Dioscorus of Alexandria presided above the Roman legates. The violence of the Alexandrian prelate produced counter-charges, on which he also was deposed, and in these charges the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem were both implicated. Leo of Rome remained the only patriarch not under personal disability. His writings, though not without some hesitation, were adopted by the wearied orientals as the true exposition of the Catholic faith. His legates, for

¹ The sentence of deposition pronounced against Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus is based on the "canons and the letter from our most holy father and colleague, Celestine bishop of the Roman Church." This is no more than would be said of any other absent patriarch. Celestine's own letter to the Council allows the equal share of all bishops in the guardianship of the faith.

the first time in the East, were allowed to preside, and the sentence against Dioscorus ran in the name of "the most holy archbishop of Rome with the apostle Peter, by his legate, and the assembled Council" (A.D. 451).

In yielding this precedence, however, the eastern bishops insisted on re-enacting in larger terms the canon of the Second General Council which defined the relations of Rome and Constantinople to the other sees: "Whereas (they say) the see of Old Rome had been not undeservedly distinguished by the fathers with some privilege, *because that city was the seat of the Empire*; the fathers of Constantinople were prompted by the same motive to distinguish the most holy see of New Rome with equal privileges, thinking it fit that the city which they saw honoured with the empire and the senate, and equalled in every civil privilege to Old Rome, should be equalled in ecclesiastical matters."¹ A canon was therefore passed that the bishop of New Rome should enjoy the same honour as the Old, on account of the translation of the empire.² The canon was so offensive to Leo, that, though enacted by a General Council, it was never admitted into the Roman Code.

Soon after, the Pelagian heresy calling for similar exertions in the West, Celestine I. sent letters to the bishops of Gaul, entreating them to defend the doctrine of Augustine and St. Paul. He is said to have despatched Palladius into Britain with the same object; but other accounts represent Palladius as a disciple of Germaine, bishop of Auxerre, whom the British Church invited to its assistance. Germaine, obeying the summons, was present with Lupus, bishop of Troyes, at the Council of Verulam (A.D. 429), where Pelagius

¹ Conc. iv., 838; Bower, ii. 80. ² Conc. Chalc. Can., xxviii.

(who was a native of Wales) was condemned.¹ A letter of Fastidius, supposed to be bishop of London at the time, is still extant, but neither this letter nor the Council make any allusion to the pope.²

The right of appeal naturally conceded to the mother Church, by daughter or dependent bodies, was warmly denied to Rome by the Churches of Gaul. They were sensible of no obligations to Rome, and had, in fact, received their Christianity from the East. Leo the Great expressly disclaimed the authority of *ordaining* the Gallic bishops, yet he was so offended with Hilary of Arles for resisting the right of appeal, that he resorted to the unprecedented step of arresting his person at a conference in Rome. Hilary escaped from prison, and was pursued by an excommunication, from which he refused to purchase absolution at the cost of his independence. Leo then applied to the emperor Valentinian III., and obtained a rescript requiring the bishops of Gaul and of the other provinces to submit to the orders of the Apostolic see, and enjoining the magistrates to compel their obedience (A.D. 445).³ This law was cited by pope Hilary (A.D. 464) as the ground of a jurisdiction confessedly beyond the canons of the Church.⁴

In this state the question rested till the fall of the western Empire, when Rome, having sunk to be the capital of the Italian kingdom, and Constantinople alone retaining the imperial dignity, pope Gelasius saw fit to

¹ Pelagius is supposed to be the Latin for Morgan. The bishop's name survives at St. Germain's, in Cornwall, and at Llanarmon (the town of Germain) in Denbighshire.

² Palladius, it would appear, passed on to Ireland, where the natives were then called Scots; after making some conversions, he returned to Rome, and by the pope was appointed bishop of that island. He died A.D. 431, and was succeeded by St. Patrick.

³ Conc., iii. 1401; Leo, ep. x.; Bower, ii. 14.

⁴ Conc., iv. 1045; Bower, ii. 151.

repudiate the support both of ecclesiastical canons and secular law, and rest the primacy absolutely on apostolic authority. In the last year of his pontificate (A.D. 496) he issued a decree declaring that "It was not to the councils or decrees of men that the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church owed her primacy, but to the words of Christ, saying in the Gospel, 'Thou art Peter,' thereby building the Church on him as upon a rock, that nothing could shake:—That the Roman Church, not having spot or wrinkle, is consecrated and exalted above all churches by the presence, death, and martyrdom of the two chief apostles Peter and Paul, who suffered at Rome under Nero, not at different times, as the heretics say, but on the same day:—That the Roman Church is the first church, because founded by the apostle; the Church of Alexandria the second, because founded by his disciple Mark in his name; and that of Antioch the third, because St. Peter dwelt there before he came to Rome, and in that city the faithful were first called Christians."¹

To the imperial see of Constantinople the pope vouchsafed no precedence at all, as not being of "apostolic" foundation: a piece of singular ingratitude to the great emperor, on whom the papacy seeks to father so many of her privileges. But Rome was now preparing for that long struggle with the Byzantine Court, which resulted in the rupture of all her relations with the eastern empire, and the erection of the papal see itself into a political power.

The doctrine thus developed by Gelasius was always denounced in the eastern Church as false and heretical; it was long resisted by the western metropolitans, but, being taken up by the barbarians,² as they rose into

¹ Conc., iv. 1260; Bower, ii. 233.

² An example of this kind is recorded by Bede (iii. 25) in the synod at Whitby, held to decide between Wilfrid and Colman respecting the observance of Easter (A.D. 664). Colman, who came from Scotland, and

importance, it established itself amid the decay of letters and religion as the central dogma of the Latin Communion.

with the British Churches, professed the eastern rule, quoted the authority of St. John and St. Columba for the time of the feast. His opponent, besides pointing out a discrepancy between the British usage and the Asiatic, affirmed that St. Peter was the author of the Roman custom, and demanded if they meant to prefer St. Columba to the blessed prince of the apostles, to whom our Lord said, "Thou art Peter," etc. King Oswy at once interposed, to ask Colman if it were true that this was said to Peter. The bishop assented. "Then," exclaimed the royal theologian, "I will obey St. Peter, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he should refuse to open me the door."

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS (EXARCHATE).

A.D.	EMPERORS.	EXARCHS.	POPE OF ROME.	KINGS OF LOMBARDY.	PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.
527	Justinian I.				
553	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Eutychius.
555	.. .. .	.. .. .	Pelagius I.	.. .. .
559	.. .. .	.. .. .	John III.	.. .. .	John III.
564	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
566	Justin II.				
567	.. .. .	Longinus.	.. .. .	Alboin.	
570	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
573	.. .. .	.. .. .	Benedict I.	Clepho.	
574	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Thirty Dukes.	
576	.. .. .	.. .. .	Pelagius II.	.. .. .	Eutychius restored.
577	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
578	Tiberius.				
582	Mauritius.				
583	.. .. .	Smaragdus.	.. .. .	Antharis ..	John IV. (the Faster)
586	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
587	.. .. .	Romanus.	.. .. .	.. .. .
590	.. .. .	.. .. .	Gregory I.	.. .. .
591	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
591	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Theudelinda.	
592	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Agilulph.	
596	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Cyriacus.
598	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
602	Phocas ..	Callinichus.	.. .. .	.. .. .
604	.. .. .	Smaragdus rest.	.. .. .	.. .. .
606	.. .. .	.. .. .	Sabinian.	.. .. .
608	.. .. .	.. .. .	Boniface III.	.. .. .	Thomas I.
610	Heraclius ..	John Demiges.	Boniface IV.	.. .. .	Sergius.
612	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Adelwald.	
615	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
615	.. .. .	Eleutherius ..	.. .. .	.. .. .
619	.. .. .	Isaac	.. .. .	.. .. .
625	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
625	.. .. .	.. .. .	Honorius I.	.. .. .
638	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
638	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Ariwald.	
640	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Rotharis.	
640	.. .. .	.. .. .	Severinus	.. .. .	Pyrrhus.
641	.. .. .	.. .. .	John IV.	.. .. .
641	Constantine III				
641	Heracleon				
641	Conetans II.				
642	.. .. .	.. .. .	Theodore ..	.. .. .	Paul II.
649	.. .. .	Olympus	Martin I.	.. .. .
650	.. .. .	T. Calliopas ..	Eugenius I.	.. .. .
652	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Pyrrhus restored.
653	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Peter.
653	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
656	.. .. .	.. .. .	Eugenius I.	.. .. .	Thomas II.
657	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Rodoald ..	
658	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Aribert I.	John V.
662	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
664	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Grimoald.	Constantine I.
666	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Theodore.
666	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
668	Constantine IV.				
668	Pogonatus.				
672	.. .. .	.. .. .	Adeodatus.	.. .. .
673	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Bertharith.	
676	.. .. .	.. .. .	Donus.	.. .. .
678	.. .. .	.. .. .	Agatho ..	.. .. .	George.
682	.. .. .	.. .. .	Leo II. ..	.. .. .	Theodore restored.
684	.. .. .	.. .. .	Benedict II.	.. .. .	Paul III.
684	.. .. .	.. .. .	John V.	.. .. .
685	Justinian II.		Conon.	.. .. .
686	.. .. .	Theodore ..	Sergius I.	.. .. .
687	.. .. .	John	.. .. .	Cunibert.	
689	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Callinicus.
691	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
694	Leontius.				
698	Tiberius.				
701	.. .. .	.. .. .	John VI.	Luitbert.	
702	.. .. .	Theophylact	.. .. .	Aribert II.	
703	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Cyrus.
705	Justinian II. rest.		.. .. .	.. .. .
710	.. .. .	John Rizocope	John VII.	.. .. .
710	.. .. .	.. .. .	Sisinnius.	.. .. .
710	.. .. .	.. .. .	Constantine.	.. .. .
711	Phillipicus.				
712	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
718	Anastasius II.	Scholasticus ..	.. .. .	Ansprand. ..	John VI.
714	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Luitprand.	
715	Theodosius III.		Gregory II. ..	.. .. .	Germanus.
717	Leo II.		.. .. .	.. .. .
725	.. .. .	Paul.	.. .. .	.. .. .
728	.. .. .	Eutychius	.. .. .	.. .. .	Anastasius.
732	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
732	.. .. .	.. .. .	Gregory III.	.. .. .
741	Constantine } Opronimus }	.. .. .	Zachary.	.. .. .
744	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
750	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Rachis.	
751	.. .. .	.. .. .	Stephen III.	Astulphus.	

CHAPTER IV.

THE EXARCHATE.

The Justinian Code—Influence of Christianity upon Roman Law—The Lombard Kingdom—The Exarchate of Ravenna—Subjugation of the City and Church of Rome—*The Three Chapters*—Deposition and Death of Vigilius—Gregory the Great—Mission to Britain—Conversion of the English—Dissensions with the East—The Monothelite Heresy—Martyrdom of Pope Martin—Theodore of Canterbury—Pope and Patriarch—Dissensions with the Emperor—Conversion of the Germans—Leo the Isaurian—Image Worship.

BITTERLY as Rome had resented the indignity of barbarian domination, her return under the imperial sceptre was only a change of servitude. Though still boasting the Roman name, the empire was now altogether Greek, and Greek of the Byzantine not the Athenian stamp. The court, the language, the church, were Greek. The true Romans were styled *Latin*, and under cover of that rustic appellation, the insolent Orientals regarded the mother West as a tributary province. Its government was confided to an Exarch who resided at Ravenna with the entire civil, military, and ecclesiastical power. The Seven-hilled City became a subject municipality, and the prefect of Rome was compelled to receive the commands of a barbarian emperor,¹ through a satrap who was not unfrequently a eunuch. This degrading bondage lasted sixty years, during which the allegiance of Rome was naturally more and more centred on the resident bishop.

The chief benefit connected with this period was

¹ Justinian was by birth a Dacian peasant, adopted by his uncle Justin, who, enlisting in the army as a private soldier, rose to the command, and thence to the possession, of the palace.

the promulgation of the famous Roman Code, to which Justinian has been allowed the honour of giving his name, though he had little to do with it beyond encumbering the laws of his predecessors with his own inferior *Novels*.¹ The portions of real authority are the CODE, the PANDECTS, and the INSTITUTES; the first contained the written laws, the second, the judicial rulings, and the last, a review of the principles or elements of Roman jurisprudence. All were collected and arranged by the most eminent civilians, and being published with imperial authority (A.D. 529), the work became the text-book not only of the colleges of Constantinople, Rome, and Berytus, but of all the schools and universities which have since pursued the study of the civil law. This was the most systematic effort that had yet appeared to arrange the principles of natural and social law by the light of Christianity: and it will help to illustrate the advantage which legislation has derived from revelation, to compare some of its features with the wisdom of heathen antiquity.

1. In Pagan Rome, all citizens were declared equal before the law; but only the free-born, *i.e.* the children of two free parents, were recognised as citizens. The offspring of unequal unions followed the inferior parent, and the taint of a servile birth descended to the remotest posterity. Even emancipated slaves were only *libertini*, not *liberi*. Their position and rights were broadly separated from those of genuine citizens. Moreover, emancipation was itself restricted by numerous limitations; in fine, the so-called republic was a small society of privileged citizens, intolerant of the slightest restraint

¹ "These are the decisions which Justinian affected to deliver from his own imperial wisdom; so far as they depart from previous rulings, they may be safely attributed to the bribes which were shamelessly received by this selfish and vainglorious prince."—Decline and Fall, c. xliv.

on themselves, but tyrannising without mercy over a disfranchised population. When the emperors assumed the prerogative of creating freemen, the privilege was often purchased at their hands;¹ but by that time the freedom was reduced to a name as regarded political power, and only availed to save the person from the stripes and tortures freely lavished on others. Justinian's Code abolished the distinction of *libertine* with all restraints upon emancipation. The manumitted slave became absolutely free, and his blood was no longer servile. The Gospel had not yet effected full emancipation, but its spirit was, from the first, to ameliorate and extinguish slavery.

2. The Pagan law gave the father absolute power over his family; he could punish wife and son with disherison, death, or slavery, at pleasure: a brutal parent might even sell his daughter to shame and irredeemable bondage. This despotism was now utterly abolished. Again, new-born children were left on the ground until the father should take them up: if he declined they perished unpitied. This was made murder by the civil law and punished with death.

3. Marriage, by the old Pagan law, was the reduction of the wife to perpetual slavery: her life might be taken, and was taken, at the will of the husband. To protect themselves, women resorted to a less solemn ceremonial which allowed of divorce, and the result was that wedlock degenerated into a purely temporary alliance. Justinian's Code regulated marriage and abolished divorce; but the corruptions of the times induced his successor to restore the permission of divorce by mutual consent, lest murder should be the result. Such are some of the rights of *persons* secured by the civil law.

¹ Acts xxii. 28.

4. With respect to *things*, the Code defined the conditions of acquiring property, and established the principle of hereditary succession, with equal share to all sons and daughters. The power of prolonging the dominion of the dead by means of wills, had been granted by the law of the Twelve Tables: and in accordance with the old parental despotism, it extended to the entire disinheriting of wife or child at the caprice of the testator. This unnatural authority was limited by the Christian Code. The testator was obliged to specify the offence of his disinherited offspring, and if a fourth portion of the estate were not assigned to them, they could appeal from parental tyranny to the justice of the magistrate.

5. Crimes were still punished with inhuman severity, especially when committed against the emperor; but the Code was far less sanguinary than the old Twelve Tables. Its greatest fault was the union of civil, criminal, and what is now called equitable, jurisdiction in a single judge, and that judge appointed and removed at the will of the emperor. These magistrates were further empowered to apply torture to the witnesses and the accused, and this power was so frightfully abused that the Italian bishops hailed it as a great privilege to be allowed the judgment of the pope and his council.

The publication of this Code, with all its faults, was one of the greatest and most permanent blessings ever experienced from the labours of mankind. It laid the basis for a consistent administration of law and justice. It rescued a large part of the world at a stroke from the narrow despotism of local magistrates. The Church accepted it with gratitude, and though it was overborne for a time in the barbarous convulsions of the West, the nations of Europe, as they emerged out of anarchy, were glad to mould their legislation on its principles.

This celebrated Code, with the valour of his generals and the skill of his architects, have rendered the reign of Justinian illustrious ; but he was a weak, cruel prince, whose misgovernment both of Church and State rapidly hastened the downfall of the empire. To dispossess the Lepidæ, who had seized on the intrenchments vacated by the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, he invited the "Longbeards" across the Danube, and saw without concern the advance of these formidable barbarians to the shores of the Adriatic. With the same selfish policy he saved Constantinople from his dangerous auxiliaries, the Avars, by permitting them to pass into the heart of Poland and Germany, and spread over the region between the Danube and the Elbe. The ruinous consequence was precipitated by Greek treachery. The eunuch Narses revenged his dismissal from command by secretly inviting the Lombard into Italy ; and all its provinces, from the Trentine Hills to Ravenna and the gates of Rome, became their prey without a battle or a siege. Alboin was proclaimed king of Italy at Pavia (A.D. 570), and thirty Lombard dukes planted their banners in different cities, levying a third of the produce from the subjugated population for the support of their armed retainers.

The Lombard kingdom extended from the Alps to the sea. The exarch remained shut up in Ravenna, and Rome was only saved from destruction by the courage and piety of pope Gregory the Great, who encountered the Arian conqueror with the arms of religion, and succeeded, by the help of his queen Theolinda, in converting a large part of the nation. The Iron Crown of Lombardy was the reward of their submission to the Church.¹

¹ This famous crown, presented by Gregory to Theolinda, is a jointed band of gold, enriched with jewels and lined with an inner circlet of iron, said to be forged out of one the nails of the True Cross which the empress

The Lombard conquests reduced the empire to the immediate jurisdiction of Ravenna, the provinces of Rome and Naples, with the islands of Venice, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. Calabria, which forms the foot of the Italian boot, was subsequently recovered, but the rest of Italy obeyed the Lombards for a period of 200 years.¹

The exarch ruled at Ravenna over the modern Romagna, Ferrara, and Commachio, with five cities on the Adriatic between Rimini and Ancona. Naples, being separated by hostile lands, was granted the privilege of electing her own duke, while Venice, becoming independent through commerce, rose to the rank of an ally rather than a subject to the empire. The Roman duchy extended along the coast from Civita Vecchia to Terracina, and up the Tiber as far as Narni, including all the Tuscan, Sabine, and Latin conquests of the old republic. The prefect of the city received his orders from the exarch, who occasionally came in person to receive the homage and appropriate the treasures of the humiliated capital.

This ignominious subjection was especially galling to the Church of Rome. The bishop and clergy had espoused the cause of the orthodox emperor against their barbarian neighbours, partly from a proper zeal

Helena sent to Rome. It is still in the cathedral of Monza, about ten miles from Milan, where it is used in the coronation of the kings of Italy. Napoleon I. placed it on his own head in the year 1805, and Victor Emmanuel was crowned with the same relic in 1861. A far richer specimen of Lombard art was the crown of Theolinda's second husband, Agilulph, duke of Milan. It was of gold, adorned with images of Christ between two angels, surrounded by the twelve apostles. The French stole it from the Italians in 1799, and some meaner thief stole it from the Imperial Library at Paris, in 1804.

¹ The Lombards learnt architecture from the Italians; their buildings belong to the *Romanesque* style; a chapel erected at Friuli, in the eighth century, presents one of the earliest specimens of the intersecting vault, which afterwards became the chief feature of what is called the Gothic style.

for religious truth, but more, perhaps, with the desire of removing the temporal sovereignty to a greater distance from the Holy see. They expected in return the respect and confidence of a grateful prince, the full enjoyment of their ecclesiastical rights, with the temporal honour and authority which they felt to be due to their moral influence in the State. But Justinian possessed neither the gratitude, the good sense, nor the statesmanship of Constantine. Instead of allying himself to the Church as a disciple, protector, and friend, he was bent on asserting the imperial prerogative, in matters of faith and worship. He found the spirit of western churchmanship to be very different from that of his own ecclesiastical creatures in the East, and the Roman see, which was often employed as its mouthpiece, became an object of jealousy and suspicion at Constantinople. The emperor retained and tightened the bonds of State control over the popes. No election could be made to the vacant see without the permission of the exarch; his confirmation or the emperor's must be obtained before enthroning the elect. The imperial orders were issued to the pope as to an officer of the crown, and implicit obedience was demanded in the name at once of loyalty and religion.

Such a position must be intolerable to any church which believes itself entrusted with the ministry of a Kingdom which is not of this world, and it was easy to see that, of all churches, that of Rome was the least likely to accept it. In the conflict which ensued the popes were not the first aggressors. Justinian, who believed himself to be the light and rule of orthodoxy, shared his throne with a beautiful actress whose caprice it was to patronise the heretics. The patriarch Anthemius having incurred the emperor's displeasure by embracing one of the many forms of Eutychianism, was deposed by

pope Agapetus, whom Justinian summoned from Rome for the purpose. The pope died at Constantinople, after consecrating a new patriarch; whereupon the empress Theodora secretly wrote to his successor to reverse the proceedings at Rome. Silverius refusing, the empress had recourse to the archdeacon Vigilius, who had attended Agapetus to the East, and was still at Constantinople. This man, being a disappointed candidate for the papacy,¹ eagerly caught at her offers. Though he had himself assisted in all the proceedings of Agapetus, he returned to Rome carrying orders from Theodora to Belisarius, to expel Silverius and place himself in the chair of St. Peter. The brave old soldier hesitated; for it was mainly through the influence of Silverius that Rome had admitted the imperial garrison. Theodora, however, by the uxoriousness of the emperor, possessed imperial authority, and Vigilius having backed her mandate with a promise of two hundred gold pieces for himself, the general decided that obedience was the first duty of a soldier. Silverius was arrested on a charge of treasonable intercourse with the Goths, and having been stripped of his pall, was transported into Greece in the garb of a monk. A new election took place under the orders of Belisarius, and Vigilius was chosen.

Having thus attained the object of his ambition, the new pope discovered the sinfulness of heresy and simony, and refused to complete his bargain either with the empress or the general! Meantime Silverius managed to gain an audience of Justinian (who had been kept in ignorance of his wife's proceedings),

¹ Vigilius was nominated by Boniface II. to succeed himself in virtue of a power conceded to the pope by the Roman synod. But the nomination was set aside as an infraction of the rights of the crown, and three elections were subsequently carried into effect without any regard to Vigilius.

and obtained an order for a new trial. His reappearance at Rome filled the conspirators with dismay. Vigilius hastened to renew his engagements, and Belisarius having delivered their victim into his hands, Silverius was hurried off to an uninhabited island, where he perished by starvation, or some swifter murder.

Vigilius was now compelled to pay the stipulated price of his elevation. Belisarius received his bribe, and the pope sent letters of communion to the deposed patriarch, in which he openly anathematised the Catholic creed of Chalcedon. To save the Roman see from the taint of heresy, it is suggested that if Silverius had not yet breathed his last, Vigilius was but an anti-pope. Moreover, as there was no second election after the completion of the murder, Vigilius was perhaps never a genuine pope at all.

Justinian, when informed that Silverius was dead, wrote to congratulate his successor, and Vigilius replied with a solemn profession of the very faith which he had as solemnly abjured to the Eutychians: to the same effect he wrote to the orthodox patriarch, with whom he had promised Theodora to hold no communion. His duplicity, however, did not long avail. The emperor falling into one of his orthodox veins, issued an edict condemning six propositions imputed to Origen, and required all the patriarchs, including the pope, to receive and register the imperial censure. Next he wanted to anathematise the Eutychians, in whose favour his wife was employing all her intrigues, but being diverted by her creatures, he fell upon some deceased bishops¹ who had taken part in the Nestorian controversy, and thundered out an edict against the writings known as the *Three Chapters*.

¹ Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Ibas of Edessa, and Theodoret of Cyprus.

The prelates now found it high time to look about them. The Three Chapters, if not approved, were certainly not censured at Chalcedon, and it was new to have an emperor binding what the Church had left free. The patriarchs remonstrated, but on being threatened with exile, they submitted and subscribed. Vigilius, who had the most reason to acquiesce, had now recovered his orthodoxy, and boldly headed the western bishops in a unanimous refusal. The incensed emperor ordered him to Constantinople: there being told he should never return to Italy till he submitted, he drew up a *Judicatum* which condemned the Three Chapters, but with a salvo for the full authority of the Council of Chalcedon. This prevarication so disgusted his own ecclesiastics that two deacons separated from his communion on the spot, and wrote home to acquaint the Church with the fall and apostasy of its head. The whole West rose in rebellion. The Illyrian bishops solemnly condemned the *Judicatum*, and the African Church excommunicated its author.

Vigilius once more saw his error, and desirous to retrace his false step, he proposed the favourite remedy of a general council. The western bishops mostly declined to attend; the pope refused to meet a Greek majority pledged to oppose him; and the emperor, deeming himself trifled with, republished his edict in stronger language than before. The pope then assembling his own bishops, declared all who should receive the edict to be out of the communion of the Prime Apostle and his see. Having launched this bolt, he fled to the church of St. Peter. The emperor sent the prætor to drag him from the sanctuary. The pope, who was a strong man, clung to the pillars of the altar: the soldiers, who were far stronger, pulled at his feet, till shrine, altar, and all fell together. Thereupon the populace rose and drove the soldiers out of the church.

The emperor then induced the pope by a solemn oath to return to his apartments, but he had no sooner left his asylum than he found himself a prisoner. Climbing over a wall in the night, he reached the seaside, and having crossed the strait in a boat, once more took sanctuary in the church of the celebrated martyr, St. Euphemia of Chalcedon. Justinian was obliged to revoke his edict before he could draw the pope from this inviolable refuge.

Still Vigilius refused to meet a council which he knew was eager to vote against his opinion and authority. The Greeks assembling without him repeated their condemnation, and Vigilius retorted by a Constitution affirming the entire orthodoxy of the inculpated Chapters. As this was contradicting his own *Judicatum*, the emperor and his bishops lost all patience. The pope was arrested and sent into exile to Proconessus. His name was struck out of the diptychs,¹ and a mandate went to Rome for a new election.

Five months' meditation in a solitary island produced a fourth revolution in the religious convictions of Vigilius. He examined the writings with greater care, found out heresies which had escaped him when deliberating with his bishops, and purchased his restoration to imperial favour by signing an unqualified condemnation of the Three Chapters, with all their abettors, not excepting the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon. This decree was confirmed in the so-called Fifth General Council, then sitting at Constantinople (A.D. 554-5).

Justinian now sent the humbled pontiff home, after seven years' captivity, loaded with favours for Italy and Rome; but death overtaking him in Sicily, he was spared

¹ The diptychs contained the roll of orthodox patriarchs, living or dead, who were commemorated in the Church services as in the communion of saints.

the pain of explaining his aberrations to the rigid Catholics of the Apostolic see. Baronius, like a true continental, regards this pope's death in Sicily as a just judgment on his inhumanity in leaving his predecessor to expire *on an island!* But though this writer admits him to be a schismatic, a simoniac, and a murderer, he assures us he was yet a good Catholic, and when on the completion of his crimes by the death of Silverius he became pope, he was straightway another man, for "it is the privilege of the Apostolic see to convert the greatest of sinners into saints!"¹

These ecclesiastical dissensions greatly widened the breach between Rome and Constantinople. The Latins learned to hate the Greeks worse than the Lombards. Little help was received by the imperial arms, while much money was swept into the imperial treasury. The calamities of the period were aggravated by a terrible pestilence, which, originating between the Nile and the great Serbonian marsh, travelled eastward through Syria to Persia and India, and along the African coast to Europe. It raged almost without intermission, from the year 542 to 549, effecting a destruction of human life which has hardly ever been equalled. The deaths at Constantinople numbered ten thousand a day. In Italy the diminished population was unable to cultivate the fields, and famine followed in the train. Rome was in the lowest stage of depression, scourged by want, sickness and war, when the chair of St. Peter was ascended by a prelate, on whom the English reader at least must pause with respect.

Gregory the Great was the descendant of a patrician house, the great grandson of Felix III., and himself a

¹ "Quos iniquos accepit, solet mox reddere sanctos."—Bar. Ann., an. 540; comp. an. 538, 553.

senator. Inheriting a large estate, and distinguished by superior abilities, he held the office (second only to the exarch's) of Prefect of the City. After discharging it for some time in great magnificence and with universal applause, he obtained (in his own phrase) "the grace of conversion," and according to the form of piety then in fashion, at once devoted himself to the cloister. Turning his patrician palace into the monastery of St. Andrew, he founded six other religious houses in Sicily, and then distributing all the rest of his patrimony among the poor, he retired penniless to a small apartment in the mansion of his fathers, to submit himself as a simple monk to the abbot of St. Andrew's.

It was while in this retreat that he encountered the Yorkshire lads in the slave market at Rome. The story has been often told, but will always in England bear telling again. Attracted by the fair hair and blue eyes of the handsome Saxons, who had been kidnapped in the trade produced by the barbarous wars of the time, Gregory stopped to inquire of what nation they were. The reply was "*Angli*," "Surely they would be *angeli*" (angels), returned the monk, "if they were Christians." He then asked the name of their country: "*Deira*"¹ was the answer. "*De ira Dei*" (from the wrath of God), cried Gregory, "we must deliver them! And what is your king's name?" The lads answered, "*Alla*." "*Alleluia*," rejoined the incorrigible punster, "is the song they shall learn to sing." The good monk went at once to the pope and asked leave to go to England as a missionary.

Obtaining the boon, he departed without a moment's delay, but had hardly quitted the city when he was overtaken and recalled. The pope had other employment more worthy, as he thought, of Gregory's

¹ The name of the kingdom which is now the county of York.

abilities, and the monk had lost the power of obeying the call of God in his heart, by giving himself and his property to the will of another man. He was ordained a deacon, and sent nuncio to Constantinople to implore assistance against the assaults of the Lombards. Protection from the barbarous Arian seemed a more pressing necessity at Rome than the conversion of the heathen. The emperor, however, would neither protect nor relinquish his Latin subjects; Gregory came back without success, and again buried himself in his cloister.

Before he had time to determine on another mission, the unanimous voice of the clergy and people called him to the episcopal chair. He entreated the emperor to withhold his approval, but the prefect, suppressing his letters, wrote others of an opposite nature. The monk fled to the woods; the clergy followed and captured him. The imperial confirmation arrived, and Gregory was consecrated (A.D. 590).

The first five years of his pontificate were passed in alleviating the miseries of Rome, afflicted by pestilence and famine, besieged by the Lombards, and suffering, as the pope often complains in his letters, more from the imperialist than the enemy. He instituted processional litanies to deprecate the Divine judgments,¹ spent the goods of the Church in relieving the poor, and preached daily, with the Lombards raging at the gates. Finding, at last, that nothing was to be done with the Greek emperor, Gregory took upon himself to conclude a separate peace with Agilulph for the city and territory of Rome.

By thus separating the fortunes of his see from those of a doomed and falling empire, the pope was left

¹ The legend runs, that while reciting one of these processional chants, the pope saw the angel of destruction, on the top of Hadrian's sepulchre, sheathing his sword. The building was hence called the Castle of St. Angelo, and the huge bronze angel still folds his wings on the summit.

at liberty to return, with all the ardour of his nature, to the project of an English mission. He bought native lads in the slave market to return them to their families instructed in the tidings of spiritual redemption. He expostulated with the French bishops on their remissness in communicating the Gospel to their kinsmen across the channel. At last he despatched a little band from his own monastery of St. Andrew, to undertake the work which he had so coveted for himself.

On reaching Provence the missionaries received such discouraging accounts of the people they were going to evangelise, that they lost heart and returned to Rome. The pope told them it was better not to put the hand to the plough than to turn back from the Lord's work. He sent them again with letters to the bishops of Arles, Aix, Vienne, and Autun: all were exhorted, with mingled reproaches and entreaties, to redeem the past and effectually promote the good cause. To the same effect he wrote to the governor of Provence, the French kings Theodore and Théodoret, and their grandmother Brunehild.

His reproaches were perhaps not better deserved than those which our querulous Gildas heaps on the British Churches for a similar neglect. It is little likely that any Christians ever so hated their Pagan neighbours as actually to refuse them the Gospel of Salvation.¹ The ferocity of the Saxons had probably opposed insurmountable barriers to evangelical efforts: but Gregory knew that a great and effectual door was now opened. Ethelbert king of Kent, and *bretwalda* (or war-king) of the

¹ Moreover it is certain that the first conversions among the Saxons in the north and east of England, were due to the labours of Celtic missionaries from Scotland. Columban passed over from Ireland to Scotland (A.D. 565), and still earlier, Ninias, a British bishop, was preaching to the Picts.

Saxon confederacy, had married the French princess Bertha, and one of the conditions of the alliance was the free enjoyment of her religion. She was accompanied to her island home by the French bishop Luithard, who soon had a church at Canterbury.¹ The pope was apprised that a spirit had appeared among the English which promised a good reception to the Gospel. The secret workings of Providence had prepared a success, which the leader of the mission was not a man to achieve from his own resources.

Of little mind and slender acquirements, Augustine exhibited a spirit at once timid and arrogant. Landing in Thanet (A.D. 597) with his forty missionaries, he approached the king with the dramatic display which already characterised the Roman Church. A silver cross and a picture of Christ were carried before him, while the procession chanted a Gregorian litany. The missionaries consisted of Roman monks and French priests, whose language was then the same with the Saxons.² They began at once to declare "how the merciful Jesus, by His own passion, redeemed this guilty world, and opened to believers an entrance into the kingdom of heaven." No other preaching but the preaching of the Cross ever converted a people. Augustine himself, though weak enough to lay claim to miracles (which Gregory never did), has left some favourable specimens of his preaching,³ and we almost forgive the superstition which clouded the message, when we read that among the few books which he possessed and valued

¹ This church had been built during the Roman dominion, and was now dedicated to St. Martin, bishop of Tours: a plain proof that the Gallic Churches (which were planted from the East and not from Rome) had been labouring in Britain.

² Maimbourg's "Histoire du Pontificat de S. Gregoire," iii. 206.

³ See Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," i. 56.

were a Bible in two volumes, a Testament, a Psalter, an exposition of the Gospels and Epistles, besides a book of martyrs, and some lives of the apostles.¹ The Inspired Word was diligently preached among the idolaters. The king's baptism was followed by a wide-spread nominal conversion, and the delighted Gregory wrote to his brother-pope at Alexandria, that ten thousand Angles were baptised on Christmas-day 597.²

Ethelbert's influence extended from the English Channel to the Humber; from thence to the border of Scotland stretched the kingdom of Northumbria, whose king Edwin married his daughter Ethelburga. This princess, following her mother's example, took Paulinus with her, and equal success attended his preaching in the North. Edwin was baptised in a wooden chapel, erected on the site now enclosed by the walls of York Minster, on Easter-day 627, and the Yorkshire rivers were crowded with converts eager to follow his example.³

Gregory did not live to receive these refreshing tidings. He never appears to more advantage than in the replies which he returned to Augustine's frivolous and ambitious inquiries. Referring him to the Epistles to Timothy for instructions "how to behave himself in the house of God," he advises him not to trouble himself about the differences between the Roman and the Gallic liturgies, but to select from both what was most pious and religious,⁴ to remember charity in

¹ Bede, i. 25.

² Greg., ep. vii. 30.

³ Nennius ascribes the conversion of Edwin and his subjects to a British chief, Rum, the son of Urien (sect. lxiii.). It has been conjectured that this is the same person, who, having been defeated and fled to Rome, returned with the Latin name Paulinus, to evangelise his conquerors.—Raine's "Lives of Abps. of York," i. 17, 18.

⁴ Gregory was himself the chief compiler of the present Roman mass-book: so groundless is the assertion that conformity to the ritual of Rome is in any way obligatory on other Churches.

all his censures, and to exclude no one from communion on the silly scruples detailed by the monk. "As in the Old Testament the outward works are observed, so in the New Testament that which is outwardly done is not so diligently regarded as that which is inwardly thought: for our Lord says in the Gospel, 'Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which cometh out of the man, this defileth a man.' Almighty God declares that to be polluted in fact, which springs from the root of a polluted thought; whence also the apostle Paul says, 'Unto the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving, nothing is pure.'" He forbids the new archbishop from attempting to lord it over the Gallic bishops, but mindless of his own text, "Thou shalt not move a sickle to thy neighbour's corn," he freely bestows on him the rule of the British Churches, over which no Italian ever had a shadow of just authority.

The pope was not superior to the prejudices of his time and place. He put a prodigious value upon relics, sending about presents of little gold keys consecrated by filings from Peter's chains,¹ hairs of John the Baptist, and similar trash. He strove also to elevate his authority by sending the *pall* to other metropolitans; for though granted to himself by the emperor, and notoriously a state decoration,² this vestment was already considered

¹ He presented king Childebert, son of Brunchild, with one of these gold keys, telling him it would preserve him from all evil if he hung it round his neck. Of another, he told his correspondent, that an Arian Lombard had been struck dead for attempting to cut it. Possibly he believed these fables, but Gregory could not have thought (what he left his ignorant correspondent to believe) that these Peter's keys—made by his own order—came in some miraculous way from the apostle, and were sure passports to his presence, if not the very keys which opened the doors of the kingdom of heaven.

² The origin of this vestment, so famous in ecclesiastical history, was mean enough. The *pallium* was the Roman soldier's cloak, covering the

a badge of spiritual jurisdiction. With all this he was a man of earnest and Christian spirit, and the great nation

whole person like that of a lifeguardsman in our own day. Similar garments were in common use; probably St. Paul's was such an one (2 Tim. iv. 13). People who despised the vanities of dress were known by their coarse old-fashioned cloaks, as Elijah and the Baptist by their garments of hair-cloth. Hence we read of the "philosopher's pall" being retained by the Alexandrian clergy after they became Christians. Such garments easily acquire peculiarities of party or sect. The monks distinguished their orders by the colour and shape of their cloaks and hoods, and similar distinctions have descended to our judges, barristers, and university graduates. As the Roman emperors chose to take a military title, they naturally used the military *pallium*: on their shoulders it expanded into the rich imperial robe which has been imitated by modern sovereigns. The great dignitaries of the empire were permitted to copy the imperial mantle, as the knights companions of our modern orders are arrayed like the sovereign. From the State the fashion passed into the Church, where no distinctive attire existed during the first three centuries. Court robes naturally followed on the hierarchical expansion of the episcopacy; the imperial pall was allowed to the chief rulers of the Church, but it was neither of silk nor fine linen, but of simple white woollen cloth;—designed, the symbolists say, to represent the sheep whom the Good Shepherd bears on His shoulder. Hence the prelates took it off while the Gospel was read because the Sovereign Pastor was then ministering. The eastern patriarchs took their palls from the altar during the ceremony of their consecration: they sent the pall to the metropolitans under them on confirming their election, and the metropolitans did the same to the bishops. The Latin Church was not so liberally decorated. It is not till the sixth century that we hear of the pall at all, and then as a special grant of the emperor. The Roman pontiff himself could not wear it till he received the imperial confirmation of his election; and Gregory's letters show that he often applied to the emperor for leave to bestow it on other prelates. It appears, too, that there was a Gallican pall, which differed from the Roman, and was obtained by the metropolitans of Gaul without the pope's intervention. In the year 742 Boniface, the English apostle of the Germans, held a synod which required all metropolitans to apply for new palls at Rome; and this resulted in the entire subjection of the western Church to that see. The Latin pall, it seems, was never (like the Greek) extended to ordinary bishops, but was the badge, first of metropolitan, and afterwards of papal authority. The robe has now dwindled to a mere collar, with slips hanging down before and behind, but it continues to be made of white wool, ornamented with red crosses, and is fastened over the pontifical robes by three gold pins.—Maimbourg's "Histoire du Pont. de Gregoire," iii.; Collier's Ecc. Hist., ii. cent. vii.; Peter de Marca (Abp. of Paris) de "Concord. Sac. et Imp.," vi. 6, 7.

which suffered so much from his successors, and now enjoys a blessed emancipation from their yoke, preserves with gratitude the memory of the warm-hearted, if somewhat crafty and superstitious, "Apostle of the English."

Gregory was far less successful in his intercourse with the emperor and the eastern Church. Maurice, who was angry at his concluding a separate peace with the Lombards, formed a very unjust opinion of the pope's abilities. His feeling was not softened by Gregory's attack on the famous John the Faster, patriarch of Constantinople. The great eastern prelates had long denominated themselves "Œcumenical patriarchs;" they gave the same title to pope Leo in the Council of Chalcedon. The phrase was odious at Rome as asserting the equality of the eastern patriarchs with the successor of St. Peter; but Gregory put a new and invidious construction on the style. He contended that whoever called himself "Universal bishop," undermined the episcopate, and was to be held for an Anti-Christ. Writing so warmly, it would be uncharitable not to think him in earnest, yet it is certain both that no eastern patriarch ever did pretend to be either sole or supreme bishop of the Universal Church, and that the result of the contest was to transfer the disputed title to Gregory's successor, in the identical meaning which he denounced as Anti-Christian. The usurper Phocas repaid the pope's alliance,¹ by depriving his own patriarchs of the

¹ One of the darkest stains on Gregory's character is his countenancing this sanguinary tyrant, who waded to the throne through the blood of the emperor Maurice, after causing his five sons to be butchered before his eyes. Yet Gregory welcomed his accession as the salvation of the empire! He was guilty of equal adulation to the infamous queen of the French, Brunehild. She was daughter to the Visigoth king of Spain, and married first to Siegbert king of Austrasia, and secondly to his nephew Meroveus. Having acted as regent of Austrasia in the minority of her son Childe-

appellation, and conferring it, in all its offensive signification, on the Roman prelate. The grant was of little avail, for the patriarchs resumed their customary style on the death of the usurper, and after popes disdained to owe their pre-eminence to a secular grant.

The fall of Phocas transferred the empire to Heraclius, the gallant exarch of Africa, but his virtues could not avert the judgments provoked by the crimes of his predecessor. To revenge the murder of Maurice, Chosroes, the Persian king, passed the Euphrates and seized the chief cities of Syria. Aleppo, Antioch, Cæsarea, Damascus, fell without resistance. The capture of Jerusalem followed. The Holy Sepulchre, the churches of Constantine and Helena, with all their accumulated treasures, were rifled and fired. The massacre of 90,000 Christians, and the loss of Egypt and

bert II., she was suspected of poisoning him in order to retain the same power in the name of her infant grandsons. From the dominions of one of these princes she was driven, for many further crimes, to take refuge with the other. There she procured a bishop to be stoned for reproving her vices. Next she incited her grandsons to attack their cousin Clotaire, her own nephew by the second marriage, but they losing their lives in the quarrel, Clotaire reunited the French States under his sole monarchy, and took signal vengeance on the old queen. He accused her, before a general court-martial, of the death of ten kings. She was paraded through the camp on a camel, and then dragged by the feet at a horse's tail, till her head was dashed to pieces. Her body was afterwards committed to the flames.

To this abandoned wretch, Gregory not only displayed the respect which the apostle enjoined towards a Nero, but placed what he esteemed one of the highest exercises of his sacred ministry at her disposal. He wrote at her request to the emperor, soliciting the pall for the bishop of Autun, who not being a metropolitan had no claim to the distinction. In return, he secured her good offices for the English mission, which her displeasure might have arrested. It was an act of prudence to conciliate the savage queen, but no motive of policy could justify a Christian pastor in flattering a woman, whom Roman Catholic historians do not scruple to style Jezebel, on the possession of so many virtues, "that the French might be deemed the happiest of nations in living under her rule."—Greg., ep. ii. 8.

Asia Minor, which followed in rapid succession, excited less grief and indignation in Europe than the tidings that the True Cross had been transported into Persia. The exploits of six adventurous campaigns, in which Heraclius recovered all his losses, did not call forth such devout thanksgivings as those which hailed the return of that treasure of superstition to the orthodox Church.

The emperor entered Jerusalem on foot, bearing the prize on his shoulder, the 14th September, 629: he deposited it in the great church amid the tears and acclamations of thousands, and the day was ever after observed as the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

The wood to which these semi-divine honours were paid, was believed to be genuine. Helena's "Invention of the Cross" had been greedily accepted by the credulity of the age, and the fragments exhibited did not as yet notoriously exceed the bulk of the original. The stains supposed to be made by that "most precious fountain of water and blood," the sight of which so powerfully affected the evangelist, might well kindle the deepest emotions. But the result confirmed the Scripture-doctrine that our walk is by faith, not by sight. While contemplating what they believed to be the very wood on which the Saviour died, Christians permitted the true doctrines of the Cross to disappear under the beggarly elements of superstition. A reverence denied to the Inspired Word of the crucified Redeemer, and the spiritual testimony of His saints, was lavished on senseless pieces of wood and bone, of which the vast majority were forgeries, and all utterly delusive. The honour really earned to the Cross by such observances was seen a few years later, when all was again lost to the Saracens, and those sturdy monotheists, nothing questioning the authenticity of the relic, burnt the "True

Cross" for an idol. Still the Church was so little inclined to abandon the superstition, that, notwithstanding this notorious destruction, a new discovery was proclaimed by the Crusaders, and the fragments of the True Cross at present exhibited are computed to be equal to all the timber in one of our largest ships of the line!

While rivalling the Greeks in such objects of superstition, the Latin Church stoutly maintained the doctrinal war against them. The gallant Heraclius, unable to escape the theological infection of the purple, brought out an exposition of the faith, designed to reconcile all parties, but which, like most attempts at comprehension, only added to the schism and confusion of the times. As if the Monophysite controversy were not enough to poison the wells of evangelical faith, the Greeks found a new *crux*, in the question whether the two Natures in our blessed Lord implied also the possession of *two Wills*, one as God, and another as Man? The solution was involved in a cloud of ambiguity, inasmuch as two wills seem to imply *contrariety*,¹ and the agreement of two persons is expressed by saying that they have but one will. On the other hand, if Christ had no true human will, He would no longer be a true Man, the Mediator and Example of Adam's race. The "one-will" (Monothelite) doctrine proved to be the one-nature (Monophysite) heresy over again: in fact, it was started by a professed Eutychian. Heraclius, persuaded, like Justinian, that he could steer between these theological rocks, embraced the new heresy, and his patriarch Sergius not only sanctioned it, but falsely inserted it among the Acts of the Fifth General Council.

The Roman prelate Honorius, falling into the snare, accepted the doctrine, but at the same time very properly

¹ See Gal. v. 17.

denounced the discussion as frivolous and full of mischief. The emperor so far complied with his wish as to issue an "Exposition" (*Ecthesis*), forbidding further dispute, but as the edict ended with anathematising those who should refuse the one-will definition, the strife waxed hotter than before. The see of Rome was kept vacant after the death of Honorius¹ for a year and a half, because the pope elect refused to receive the Exposition, and the exarch took advantage of the vacancy to enter the Lateran, and plunder it of all the Church treasures. John IV. condemned the imperial edict in a council at Rome, thereby, as the angry emperor declared, condemning the Apostolic see itself since Honorius had approved it. The pope replied (not without reason) that his predecessor had agreed with Sergius in condemning the doctrine of two contrary wills: but that a Divine and a human will unalterably agreed, was a proposition never submitted to his notice.

The miserable quarrel could not die with its authors. Hundreds of angry ecclesiastics continued thundering out censures without an idea of their opponents' meaning, or perhaps their own. The emperor Constans issued an edict called the "Type," commanding silence; but no one was silent. Pope Theodore excommunicated two patriarchs. The patriarch retaliated by pulling down the altar in the Latin residency, and causing the papal servants to be scourged. Pope Martin condemned the Type as wicked and in every respect impious. He even sent a circular letter into the East, declaring the patriarchs of Antioch and

¹ Though this pope was finally decided to be a heretic, he may be thanked for enlarging the English mission by sending the pall to Paulinus of York (A.D. 634). Honorius is further famed for transferring the gilt copper covering from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to the roof of St. Peter's Church. Was the *idol* also transferred at the same time?

Jerusalem heretics, and appointing a Vicar-General to administer their forfeited trusts.

This spiritual aggression was aggravated by some political negotiations with the French, to whom the Latins were already turning their eyes for relief. The enraged emperor ordered his exarch to seize the pope and send him prisoner to Constantinople. The officer having carried off his prisoner by night, to avoid a popular insurrection, landed him in Naxos, where he was kept a year before he reached Constantinople. After lying three months in a dungeon, Martin was brought to trial for high treason. He was carried to the tribunal in a chair, being unable to stand for the gout, but the presiding judge ordered him to be held up on his feet by force. He was accused of abetting Olympius, a late exarch, in an intended revolt which death had prevented from taking effect. There was never any doubt of the pope's innocence. It was the emperor's book, not his sceptre, that Martin had insulted. Nevertheless, he was found guilty and sentenced to be cut to pieces. The guards stripped him of all his garments: he was dragged in chains through the city, with an executioner carrying a drawn sword before him, and then cast into a dungeon with such inhumanity that he must have died, but for the secret succour of two compassionate women.

The day before the intended execution, the emperor going to visit the patriarch on his death-bed, found him bewailing the cruelties inflicted on his brother-bishop. He besought the despot to relent, alleging that he himself would have to answer for the injustice at the tribunal to which he was going. Constans listened, and countermanded the execution. The pope was transported to the Crimea, and there, after appealing piteously for the necessaries of life to the clergy at Rome, who

had once offered to die with him, the poor man expired, neglected and destitute, A.D. 655. He is honoured as a martyr, yet, when we remember that the Type did but enjoin silence, on a question which could receive no treatment so advantageous, our sympathy for the sufferer undergoes a chill, without in the least abating our horror at his persecutors.

Two things are apparent in these transactions: first, that the emperor enjoyed equal authority over Church and State at Rome, down to the close of the seventh century; and secondly, that power so exercised would not long be tolerated in either. In every age, theories, whether of religion or loyalty, are tempered by a convenient though often unconscious expediency. Men do not long submit to an authority which is seen to be incompatible with the public welfare. What retards the march of improvement is the self-deception which so often hides the path to freedom and happiness: for this the truest remedy is the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and the power of the Holy Spirit enlightening and sanctifying the heart.

Eight years after the death of Martin, Constans came into Italy, at the head of a large body of troops, to prosecute the war against the Lombards; but after suffering three defeats, he was glad to retreat into Sicily, where he continued till his death. The murder of his brother, with other crimes committed at Constantinople, had filled his guilty conscience with a horrible dread of that place. He even attempted to remove the seat of government back to Rome, but the populace of Constantinople prevented the embarkation of his family by force. The emperor was received by the pope and clergy, six miles from the city, and conducted in procession to St. Peter's. He stayed but five days, which were occupied in stripping the public buildings and

churches of their most valuable monuments. Retiring with his plunder to Syracuse, he left a name as odious in Old Rome as in the New.

In the year 668, Wighard archbishop elect of Canterbury, having come to Rome for consecration, died of the plague, and the pope appointed Theodore in his place. The new prelate was a Greek monk, born like St. Paul at Tarsus in Cilicia, and further resembling that apostle in having shorn his head in sign of a vow. The latter circumstance was a sore trouble to the pope, not from the Judaical but the schismatical character of the tonsure. Theodore had shaved his head all over, leaving only a fringe of hair at the back. This was the Greek fashion, and was called the tonsure of St. Paul. The Roman fashion, called the tonsure of St. Peter, required the fringe of hair to encircle the head like a crown, and was termed the *coronal* tonsure.¹ Now the British Churches being of eastern origin, had adopted the Greek tonsure, while the new Roman missionaries were obstinate for the Latin. It would never do to let the archbishop of Canterbury look like a Briton, and as wigs were not yet in fashion, the only remedy was to keep him at Rome till the hair was grown, and shave him anew as a disciple of St. Peter. Happily the hair did not refuse to sprout, though the archbishop was above sixty-five years of age, and with his Roman tonsure and a Roman chaplain to keep him in order, this Greek prelate was sent to rule our English Church.

He proved the most zealous and active archbishop yet seen in the country. By his exertions the Church was organised on the Roman plan throughout the island. The South Saxons inhabiting Sussex and Surrey (the

¹ Some have fancied in this circle a resemblance to the crown of thorns.

only Pagan state remaining) were converted by the preaching of Wilfrid, and the king of Northumbria having yielded the ancient right of York, Theodore reigned sole archbishop in England for twenty-two years. Cherishing, like other proselytes, a special detestation of the usages which he had deserted, he never ceased his endeavours to reduce the British Churches to conformity with Rome.

The pope, however, was as yet far from being absolute, even in Italy. Maurus bishop of Ravenna flatly refused to obey his citation; and when Vitalian thundered out his excommunication, excommunicated the pope in return. The latter pronounced the offender deprived and reduced to a layman, but the exarch maintained him in his see, where with all his clergy, he and his successor bade absolute defiance to Rome. They even obtained an imperial rescript exempting Ravenna from subjection to the pope. Nor was the new province of England less resolute. Shortly after, Wilfrid appealing to the pope against the sentence of Theodore, who deprived him of the see of York, was restored in full synod. But on his return, the king of Northumbria, by the archbishop's advice, sent him to prison, and only released him on condition of his quitting the kingdom.¹

The emperor Constans was assassinated in Sicily, after a reign of twenty-seven years, A.D. 668. His son Constantine succeeded in recovering Sicily from the

¹ Theodore being afterwards reconciled to Wilfrid, induced the next king to restore him to his see, but he was again deprived by a council under Bertwald archbishop of Canterbury, at which king Aldfrith was present (A.D. 702). Again he appealed to Rome, and the archbishop pronounced the appeal an ample justification of the sentence. Again, too, the pope absolved him in a council of bishops, and again the king refused to allow the decision of his own synod to be overruled by the so-called "Apostolic

usurper, and having made peace with the Saracens, called the Sixth General Council at Constantinople, A.D. 680. The One-will heresy was here finally condemned, and Sergius of Constantinople, with Honorius of Rome, and others, were struck out of the diptych as heretics: The decree was passed at the instance of the Roman legates, who showed no desire to claim for their see, any more than others, the infallibility now supposed to attach to the chair of St. Peter.¹ This council was the most unanimous of any; the single dissentient being the patriarch of Antioch, who was deprived and expelled on the spot: and its decrees were received by all but the Monophysites, both in the East and West. On this occasion the emperor settled the question of titles by styling the Roman pontiff "Universal Pope," and his rival at Constantinople "Universal Patriarch."

At this time it appears there were three distinct parties to the election of a pope of Rome—the Clergy, the Citizens, and the *Army*. The usual course was for the clergy to assemble first and agree upon a candidate, who was then proposed to the acceptance of the people and soldiery. If the clergy could not agree, one of the other bodies assumed the initiative; sometimes they did not wait for the clergy. The election being made, it

see." Aldfrith relented on his death-bed, and the archbishop, by his desire, proposed the restoration of Wilfrid in a council called by himself as regent of the kingdom. Still it was warmly opposed by the bishops: they denied the pope's power to revoke the decree of an English synod, and the matter was compromised by placing John of Beverley in the see of York, and permitting Wilfrid to occupy the see of Hagulstad (or Hexham) so vacated.—Edd. in Vit. Wilfrid, c. 56, 57; Bed., v. 3, 20.

¹ To save the new doctrine, Baronius affirms that the name of Honorius has been falsely inserted in the Acts: but the assertion is unsupported by any authority, and was no doubt an invention of the cardinal's own. The Roman legates brought home a copy of the Acts, and Leo II., in acknowledging their receipt to the emperor, accepts and repeats the censures expressly naming Honorius.—Baron., ad an. 683.

was certified by all three parties to the exarch at Ravenna, who was empowered to add the imperial confirmation. When the electors differed and made double returns, the exarch settled the dispute in his own fashion; by admitting the candidate most useful to the emperor or himself.¹

The emperor's authority daily growing less in Italy, Rome was again virtually a republic. The exarch was known only as a receiver of tribute. The city made its own terms with the Lombards, and managed its domestic affairs by its own magistracy. The pope was naturally at the head of the senate, and any gratitude for imperial favours was repressed by the inveterate feud with the rival see of Constantinople. The despotic policy of compelling agreement by force of arms was no longer effective. When Justinian II. sent his sword-bearer to arrest pope Sergius and bring him prisoner to Constantinople, for rejecting the canons of the Quinisextine Council² (A.D. 691), the Romans showed such a menacing aspect, that the trembling official hid himself under the pope's bed, and was glad to escape with his life.

The exarch was equally unsuccessful in attempting to exclude pope John VI., elected 701, and again it was his own soldiers who resisted the emperor's orders. The

¹ The exarch was not unfrequently bribed by the candidate or his friends.

² So called from being intended to supplement the Fifth and Sixth General Councils, neither of which passed any canons of discipline. It was also called the Council *in Trullo*, from the name of the apartment of the palace of Constantinople in which it assembled. This council (Can. ii.) adopted the eighty-five "Apostolical canons," which pope Gelasius had pronounced apocryphal. It condemned the Roman canon, which required married clergymen to separate from their wives (Can. xiii.), and prohibited the Roman practice of fasting on the Saturdays in Lent (Can. iv.). These and some other matters, on which the assembled prelates assumed superiority over the chair of St. Peter, so offended the pope that he rejected the council altogether.

pope was the real commander of the army. His power was sustained by the profits accruing to the clergy and city from the increasing pilgrimages to Rome. The visits of the metropolitans to fetch their palls, with the appeals now made to the pope, brought travellers of every rank to visit the city. Ceadwalla and Ina, kings of the West Saxons, Coenred of Mercia, Offa, a prince of Essex, followed rapidly in the steps of Wilfrid, and all embraced the monastic life at Rome. When pope Constantine went to Constantinople to discuss the Quinisextine canons with the second Justinian, he met with a very different reception from that which the first gave to his predecessor in the matter of the Three Chapters. The emperor kissed the pope's feet, implored his intercession, and confirmed every privilege granted to his see. The pope in return vouchsafed to accept such of the canons *in Trullo* as did not interfere with Roman customs.

Shortly after, the citizens of Rome refused to admit the emperor's image, because he was a heretic. His name was omitted from the liturgy, and his viceroy had to fight his way into the city.

About the same time, the papal power received enormous augmentation from the conversion of the Germans. Winfrid a monk of Crediton, in Devonshire, came to Rome in the year 721, to report the result of a brief preaching in Friesland. Gregory II. constituted him his legate to the German nations, ordaining him a bishop, and changing his name to Boniface; as if to obliterate his national connection with the objects of his labours. He took an oath at the tomb of the apostle, "to the blessed St. Peter and his vicar Gregory, to consult, in all things, the interests of their Church, and to communicate with none that acted contrary to its canons." With a book of these canons; and a plentiful

supply of relics, the second Gregory sent forth the apostle of the Germans. We look in vain for the Bible and the Gospels, which the first Gregory put into the hand of Augustine.

The Germans, however, were weary of the Pagan deities, and perhaps the easier to be converted from finding not a little Paganism in the religion proposed to their acceptance. Boniface had great success. In less than twenty years he wrote that the Synod of Mentz had decreed the Apostolic see to be the centre of Christian communion, and ordered the metropolitans both of France and Germany to seek their palls at Rome.¹

The last shadow of Greek empire perished in Rome during the great controversy upon image worship, initiated by Leo the Isaurian, who ascended the throne A.D. 717. This prince was the first to give expression to the horror, which must have filled all enlightened Christians, at the rank idolatry openly practised in the Church. He beheld pictures and statues not only placed in the sanctuaries, but, in direct violation of the second commandment, bowed down to and worshiped. The practice was new, and had never been authoritatively sanctioned,² but on consulting the patriarch, the emperor was told it would be dangerous to interfere. The gifts made to

¹ Bon., ep. cv.

² The subject of images was not mentioned at either of the Six General Councils, nor at any other synod upon record except the Spanish Council of Eliberis (A.D. 305), when the introduction of pictures into churches was forbidden, lest "that which is worshiped be painted upon walls." They were admitted into some churches as ornaments about the end of the fourth century. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, in Italy, having built a new church, embellished it with pictures of martyrs and Scriptural incidents for the instruction of the people. He acknowledges the practice to be unusual (Paulin. Natal., ix.). His own picture was placed in another church with one of Martin of Tours, and an epigram was written under, representing the one as an example to saints, the other to sinners (Paul. Epig., xii.). St. Augustine complains of the practice of seeking Christ and His apostles on painted walls, instead of the Holy Scriptures (De Cons. Evang., i. 20), he

images brought wealth to the churches; hence they were everywhere exalted by monks and miracle-mongers. Nevertheless, Leo having called a council both of the clergy and senate, issued an edict forbidding any kind of worship to be henceforth given to images (A.D. 726). They were not at once expelled from the churches, but only ordered to be raised above the reach of the worshippers. It was not till these precautions had failed that a second order was issued to remove and break the idols.

The execution of this order occasioned serious riots in Constantinople, where the monks were numerous, and the populace always ready for sedition. The excitement extending to the provinces, the troops were required, and much blood was spilled. The patriarch remonstrated, but the emperor adhering to his orders, further commanded the edict to be published and observed in Italy. Gregory II. immediately headed the opposition. Though nothing was more notoriously untrue, he declared that image worship had been ever sanctioned in the Church. The people rose in rebellion at Ravenna, blood was shed, and the Lombard king, marching to the cause of the images, entered Ravenna without opposition A.D. 725.

reproaches the Manichees with their fondness for images (Cont. Adamant., xiii.). The practice, however, became almost universal in the fifth century, growing not unnaturally as the study of the Scriptures declined. The Virgin Mary, the apostles, and the martyrs, were painted on the walls; still no statues were allowed of wood, stone, or metal. Paintings were not thought "graven images," nor were they as yet worshiped. Of Christ, only the type of a lamb was allowed to be painted; the human form was deemed improper for one who is God and Man. This continued till the Quinisextine Council, when the pictures beginning to be worshiped, it was thought more decent to adore a man's form than a beast's. This was one of the canons that Rome refused to accept. Gregory the Great terms pictures the books of the ignorant, but declares that nothing made with hands is to be worshiped, and this was the received doctrine of the Church, down to the Quinisext Council.

The pope, with the aid of the Venetians, rescued Rome from the hands of the invader, and in that hour the emperor ceased to reign in Italy. When he threatened to break the image of St. Peter himself, and drag his successor in chains to Constantinople, the pontiff replied, that four-and-twenty furlongs would place him beyond the imperial dominion; but even that was unnecessary. He excommunicated the exarch, and called a council which menaced the emperor himself with the Church's anathema.¹ The populace pulled down his statues and renounced his obedience as an enemy of the faith. The duchy of Rome took the oath of allegiance to the pope. "All the nations of the West (he wrote) have their eyes turned to our humble person, they regard me as a God upon earth."

The emperor could only retort by transferring Calabria and Sicily, which remained to him together with the Illyrian dioceses, to the patriarchate of Constantinople. The pope felt the blow, and condescended to temporise, but in a few years the Lombard king Astulphus burst again into Ravenna, and driving the imperialists to their ships, put an end to the exarchate A.D. 753. The Greek was for ever driven from the Seven-hilled City, and it remained with the pope to determine its future government.

¹ Baronius (ad an. 730) says the excommunication was actually pronounced.



CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS (CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY).

A.D.	EMPERORS.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF LOMBARDY.	KINGS OF THE FRANKS.		
751	...	Stephen II. ¹		Pepin. Charlemagne.		
752	...	Stephen III.	...			
756	...	...	Didier.	
757	...	Paul I.				
768	...	Stephen IV. ...	...		
772	...	Adrian I....	Didier, <i>de-throned.</i>			
774						
775	Leo III.			Charlemagne, Emperor. Louis le Débonnaire.		
780	Constantine Porphyrogenitus					
795	...	Leo III.				
797	Irene.					
800	...	...		
802	Nicephorus.					
811	Michael I.					
813	Leo IV.					
814	...	...		
816	...	Stephen V.				
817	...	Paschal I.				
820	Michael II.					
824	...	Eugenius II.				
827	...	Valentine.				
	...	Gregory IV.				
829	Theophilus.			ITALY.	GERMANY.	FRANCE.
840	Lothaire.	Louis.	Charles the [Bald.	
842	Michael III.					
844	...	Sergius II.				
847	...	Leo IV.				
855	...	Benedict III. ...	Louis II.			
858	...	Nicholas I.				
866	Basil.					
867	...	Adrian II.				
872	...	John VIII				
875	[Bald. Charles the			
880	Charles the Fat, <i>dethroned and died</i> , 888.			
882	...	Martin II.				
884	...	Adrian III.				

¹ Having died before ordination, he is omitted in early catalogues, and his successor styled Stephen II.

CHAPTER V.

THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

Rise of the Franks — Clovis — Pepin — Charles Martel — Deposition of Childebert — Fall of Lombard Kingdom — Patrimony of St. Peter — Cardinals of Rome — Charlemagne — Renewal of the Image Controversy — Councils of Verulam and Frankfort — Adrian — Leo III. — Translation of the Empire — Dominions — Two-headed Eagle — Union of Church and State — Martial Proselytism — Canonisation of Charlemagne — Separation of Germany, France, and Italy — Schism of the East and West.

THE fall of Ravenna left the Lombards masters of Italy from the Alps to the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. Astulphus possessed an unbounded veneration for the Holy see. Rome was the natural capital of his dominions, but he would reign there as protector of the Church, and invest the pope with more than imperial primacy. Rome, however, little valued the expulsion of the Greeks if the Lombards were to occupy their place. The pope disdained the primacy of a barbarian empire, and preferred a more distant defender of the faith. His eyes were already turned to the country which has so often interposed itself between the capital and the princes of Italy.

The Franks were the first-fruits of the barbarians to the Latin Church. Their kingdom stretched from the Rhine to the Somme, when Meroveus, son of the long-haired¹ Clodion, and grandson of Pharamond, was a

¹ Long hair was the distinction of princes among these barbarians, as among the ancient Egyptians.

guest at the court of Valentinian III. Oppressed by the Visigoths, the Merovingian dynasty retired into exile, but reappeared on the death of Euric, when the youthful Clovis re-united the Franks, overthrew the Goths and Alemans, and established the French monarchy throughout Gaul. While yet a Pagan, Clovis was married to Clotilda, a Burgundian princess of the Catholic faith. Her influence, backed by an unlooked-for success in the crisis of battle, determined him to embrace her religion. He was baptised with three thousand of his followers on Christmas-day 406, and the example was followed by the entire nation.¹

So important a conversion was hailed with transports by the Latin Church. Clovis was her "Eldest Son," and the only Catholic king; for the emperor, as well as the other sovereigns of the West, were involved in heresy. The emperor Anastasius sent to him a purple mantle and a crown (still exhibited at Rome) with the titles of

¹ Ranke justly observes that many Catholics must have been numbered among the subjects of the Arian princes, who secretly aided the Franks. He suggests that the miracles related in the history of Clovis, "how St. Martin sent a hind to show him the ford through the Vienne, and St. Hilary went before him in a pillar of fire," were but types of the succours which the natives afforded to their fellow-believers."—"Lives of Popes," i. 15.

The baptism of Clovis was performed by Remigius, or St. Remy of Rheims, amid a crowd of pretended miracles, the fame of which descended with the French crown to the end of the monarchy. The coronations were always at Rheims, and the *ampullâ* or golden vial of oil used in the ceremony was said to have been brought down by a dove out of heaven for the baptism of Clovis. On the same occasion an angel supplied the royal shield, *séné* with *fleurs de lis*, and the *oriflamme*, a flame-coloured banner attached by green cords to a gilt lance. This standard was kept with the royal treasures in the abbey of St. Denis, and borne by the defender of the abbey before the king in the field. After the conquest of France by our Henry V., the *oriflamme* was supplanted by the white flag which continued to our own day. To Clovis also is ascribed the gift of healing the king's-evil, long supposed to be inherited by the rightful kings of France.—Morery's Dict.

Consul and Augustus; even Justinian was content to acknowledge the French sovereignty over the provinces beyond the Alps.

Clovis—or as the name is also written, Clodovix, Ludovin, and Louis—died at Paris, after a reign of thirty years, A.D. 511. The French realm, though divided among his descendants, continued so powerful that Gregory the Great speaks of it as exceeding other monarchies as much as a monarch exceeds a private man. Its kings have always asserted precedence in Europe next to the pope and the emperor. The Merovingian line, however, quickly degenerated from the valour and policy of their great ancestor. Dagobert, the sixth from Clovis, was the last who really exercised the royal power. Pepin, governor or duke of Austrasia,¹ rose in arms against Dagobert's successor, and though nominally resuming his allegiance he retained all the power of the kingdom in his own hands with the hereditary office of *Mayor of the Palace*.

His son Charles Martel was the greatest warrior of his age, and to his prowess Europe is still indebted for her freedom and religion. The Saracens, after overrunning Egypt, Syria, and Persia, like the locusts of the Apocalypse,² descended on the coast of Africa, and thence passing into Spain and Portugal, drove the Christians into the mountains of Asturia. Their conquests extended into France as far as the Loire, and they were meditating the subjugation of Europe, when arrested by Charles Martel at Poitiers (732).

¹ A district between the Rhine and the Meuse, which was at different times a separate kingdom under one of the Merovingian princes.

² Rev. ix. 3-11. Mr. Elliott (Hor. Ap., i. 410) gives an engraving of the symbolical locust, designed to exemplify the "horses," the yellow turbans ("crowns like gold"), the bearded faces ("as the faces of men"), the long hair ("as the hair of women"), and the "breast-plates," by which the Saracens were distinguished.

After seven days of incessant conflict, the Saracen host disappeared under the iron blows of the Franks.¹ The Moslem leader was slain, and the remains of his army broke up and fled. The victory was complete and final. The Arabs retired beyond the Pyrenees, and never again attempted the conquest of France.

The same year witnessed the death of pope Gregory II., and the elevation of the third of that name. The Roman see was then in the heat of its conflict with the iconoclast emperor. A council at Rome pronounced excommunicate all who should pull down, profane, or blaspheme the sacred images of our Lord and His immaculate mother, of the holy apostles and other saints.² New images were zealously erected in all the churches, and the pope, now in open rebellion, rejoiced in the loss of the Greek fleet, sent for his subjugation. When the Lombard triumphs threatened him with a more formidable yoke, he had recourse to Charles Martel, offering to renounce the imperial allegiance, and place the Roman territory under the great leader's protection as consul. The death of Charles arrested the treaty, but his son Pepin obtained a more substantial succour from Rome. He persuaded the Franks to inquire of pope Zachary whether the kingdom belonged to the Merovingian prince who wore the crown, or the master of the palace, who exercised the power? Zachary, of course, replied to Pepin's satisfaction; king Childbert was sent to a cloister, and his minister ascended the throne (A.D. 752). This consummation of a foregone conclusion was quoted at a later period as undeniable evidence of the power of the Apostolic see to depose and create kings.

This was the monarch on whom pope Stephen now

¹ Martel signifies a *hammer*.

² Coar., tom. vi. 1458.

threw himself for protection against the Lombards. He anointed him and his two sons "Patricians" of Rome, while Pepin undertook in return to make over the dominions of the exarchate to the Holy see. To give a better colour to the transaction, the fable was invented that Constantine had given Rome to Sylvester as a baptismal fee. Pepin crossed the Alps, and after defeating the Lombards with great slaughter, captured Pavia, and obliged Astulphus to recognise the pope's pretensions. On a second summons from the apostle,¹ the French returned, and having possessed themselves of the whole exarchate, Pepin conveyed it to the Holy see under the designation of "St. Peter's Patrimony."

By this donation, the fruit of a double rapine—for the emperor was still the legitimate sovereign—the pope became a temporal prince. But neither the sanctity nor the safety of the mitre was promoted by encircling it with a coronet. The neighbouring chiefs were guilty of so much violence at the elections, that a canon was passed (A.D. 769), prohibiting the presence of strangers and armed parties, and further limiting the succession to the cardinal priests and deacons of Rome. This title, which has since been elevated to princely dignity, was then applied, as the word denotes, to the principal parish clergy,² but it is disputed whether it belonged to the

¹ The pope dated his letter from the tomb of the apostle, and opened it with the address, "Simon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ, to the three most excellent kings, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman. I am the apostle Peter, to whom it was said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.'" Further on, the apostle is made to say, "If you care to be cleansed from your sins, and to earn an eternal reward, hasten to the relief of my city, my Church, and the people committed to my care." The Lombards, though quite as good Catholics as the French, are styled "The wicked and merciless enemies of all three."—Bower, iii. 373, 4.

² The word is derived from *cardo*, a hinge; whence the "cardinal virtues," "cardinal points," &c.

chief of each order, like archpriests and archdeacons, or to the clergy of the principal churches, which had the privilege of administering the sacraments. It was not peculiar to Rome till limited to that city by a Bull of Paul III. (A.D. 1543).¹

The Lombards still proving intractable, the pope again invoked the French, and at last Charles entered Italy with all his forces, and having taken Desiderius prisoner, put a final end to the Lombard dynasty (A.D. 774).

Charlemagne, who of the many styled "great" alone enjoys the distinction of incorporating the epithet with his proper name, transferred the Lombard kingdom to himself, and having received the iron crown from the archbishop of Milan in the cathedral of Monza, hastened to put the pope in possession of his father's donation. The duchy of Spoleto was added, either in right of conquest or by the voluntary submission of the duke. The Lombard dukes of Friuli and Benevento rendered similar homage. Naples, with the island of Sicily, still kept their allegiance to the imperial sceptre; the Venetians maintained their independence, and the rest of Italy fell to the French king.

The papal writers boast of many splendid additions to the temporal states of the Church granted by Charlemagne. Pope Adrian produced the fictitious grant of Constantine,² and reminded the most Christian king of several others (besides the donation of king Pepin) which had been made by divers emperors, in Tuscany; Spoleto, Benevento, Corsica, and Pavia. All these, with

¹ The red hat was granted by Innocent IV. (A.D. 1244), and the title of "Eminence," by Urban VIII. (A.D. 1623).—Bower, iv. 22. The title of cardinal is still borne by two of the minor canons of St. Paul's, London.

² Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.*, cent. viii. 2. Hence the legend of Constantine's grant was not forged, as is often supposed, in the tenth century, but was current as early as the eighth.

new gifts of his own, Charlemagne is supposed to have now confirmed to St. Peter: but the true extent of these grants is obscured by the fictions with which papal forgeries have enveloped the whole subject. The important point is that, whatever the territories, they were held by the pope as a feudal principality under the suzerainty-in-chief of the king, like the principalities of the German empire down to recent times. It was the policy of Charlemagne to endow the Church with tenures of this description, supposing that his clerical vassals would be more trustworthy than secular counts and barons. Thenceforward bishops and abbots were seen heading their troops in the field at the summons of their liege lord; and the scandal ensued of placing youths and infants in ecclesiastical dignities for the sake of their temporal possessions. The Italian dukes, however, proved troublesome neighbours; and the French king was wearied by repeated appeals for assistance.

The original ground of separation from the empire was taken away by the Second Council of Nicæa (A.D. 787), which restored the worship of images to as ample an extent as the pope himself could desire: their opponents were declared worse than Jews, Pagans, or Mohammedans. These decrees were confirmed by the empress Irene, and fondly supposing that she had thereby reconciled the Latin Church, she sent an army the next year to drive the Franks out of Italy.

Charlemagne not only repelled this invasion; but set himself with great vigour to confute the Greek idolatry. In the four "Caroline Books," written by the assistance of his librarian, Alcuin of York, the king denounced the late council as a false synod of the Greeks, and their doctrine as repugnant to the Scriptures, the fathers, and the tradition of the whole

Church. While condemning the destruction of sacred images, and defending their use as books to the unlearned, he strenuously repudiates all manner of worship. This was the doctrine of pope Gregory the Great, and though experience had proved it to be impracticable, the English prelates repeated it at the Council of Verulam (A.D. 793). Alcuin then wrote to Charlemagne in the name of the bishops and princes of England, refuting image worship from the testimony of Holy Scripture, and denouncing it as a thing "which the Church of God utterly abhors."¹

The Church of England enjoyed at this time a high reputation for learning, and fortified by its authority, the king convened a council at Frankfort (A.D. 794), which was attended by a large number of bishops from England, France, Germany, and Italy, including the pope's legates. Alcuin was again present, the Caroline Books were declared irrefragable, and all worship, adoration, and service of images was condemned as execrable in the Church of God.²

Charlemagne had good reason to maintain the religious no less than the political separation of the West; but it was an unpleasant position for pope Adrian, who had taken an active part in promoting the rejected council. He had accepted its canons, and transmitted them to the French king in expectation of his ready acquiescence, and this contumelious rejection, in the presence of his own legates, was a rude shock to his spiritual authority. The pope, however, had no idea of restoring his dominions to the emperor, nor consequently of breaking with the only power that could

¹ Howell's Synopsis Conc. Brit., p. 22. Sim. Dun., ad an. 792.

² Conc., tom. vii. 103.

defend them. While venturing to write against the Caroline Books, he preserved a tone of the utmost respect to the royal author. He was willing enough to pronounce the Greek emperor a heretic for retaining the Church's patrimony in Sicily. But Charlemagne was inflexible. He wept at the pope's death, as for a brother, and composed a tender, if not elegant, epitaph in Latin elegiacs, which is still inscribed in gold letters on the tomb at the door of St. Peter's.¹ But Adrian's arguments made no impression; they were even censured as absurd in the Council of Paris (A.D. 824).

Leo III. succeeded to greater troubles and greater honours. Two of Adrian's nephews, incensed by their loss of influence under a new pontificate, surprised his person, and beat him till left for dead. When brought to trial they accused the pope of a number of crimes which are not recorded. They were important enough to bring Charlemagne for the fourth time to Rome. He assembled a council in St. Peter's, where he sat on the same throne with the pope, and proposed to inquire into these allegations: but the council refused to judge the Apostolic see, the head of all Churches, and Leo purged himself by his own oath.

The Holy see was plainly in need of a powerful protector, and the king was never indisposed for new honours or influence. Charles had filled Rome with magnificent presents, the spoils of his many victories; he always affirmed that he desired nothing in return but the favour of the apostle, but it may be concluded he was not altogether unprepared for the scene that was now enacted.

On Christmas-day 800, he appeared in St. Peter's arrayed in the patrician purple. Suddenly a shout

¹ This pope is famed for absolving the Mercian king Offa from the murder of Ethelbert, king of the East Angles. On this occasion Offa, as

arose among his attendants, the church resounded with acclamations of "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, most pious and pacific emperor, created by God!" The pope immediately placed a crown upon his head, and after anointing him with sacred oil, conducted him to a throne, where Leo with all the clergy and people did homage to him, after the fashion of the Cæsars. He returned to the palace attired in imperial robes, and the same day issued regulations for the government of the Church, subscribed with the signature, "Charles, emperor of the Romans."¹

This transaction, which is termed the "translation of the empire," is affirmed to have been so wholly unpremeditated that the pope was not in coronation vestments, and the crown was hastily fashioned out of the ornaments of the altar. The imperialist writers represent it as a celestial inspiration, the pope officiating as chief prelate of an empire, which God had already allotted to Charles by the dispensation of conquest. The Papists, on the contrary, regard the empire as the free gift of the sovereign pontiff whom God has "set over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant."² In later days this text was a familiar weapon in the armoury of the Vatican, but it may be doubted whether the perversion was yet in vogue. The fact appears to be that the pope acted as the existing governor of Rome, wishing to pay a compliment to the great monarch. Stephen had invested the same prince and his father with the patrician

Ina did before, and Ethelwulf after, granted a tax of a penny from every family in his dominions, to the English College at Rome. This was afterwards made the pretence of claiming "Peter pence," or "Rome scot," as tribute to the pope.

¹ Hist. dell. Imp. Rom. in Germ. di Greg. Letti., i. 107-9.

² Jer. i. 10.

purple, and Leo, acknowledging him for the suzerain of whom the see held its temporal possessions, saluted him emperor.¹ The old senate, to whose authority the pope had practically succeeded, did the same to Augustus, only the senate conferred the sovereignty of their own territories, while the pope affected to give away those of others. Charlemagne, however, like Augustus, had already established his title by the sword, and no one was disposed to question the legitimacy of his claim. His accession was greeted with universal acclamations at Rome, and a gold medal was struck bearing the inscription, "*Renovatio Imperii.*"

The empire, which fell with Augustulus, rose in greater majesty under Charlemagne. Two-thirds of the old western empire obeyed his sway, and the remainder was more than compensated by his acquisitions in Germany. His hereditary kingdom embraced all France and the Netherlands, from the sea to the Rhine. Thirty years of conquest added Germany as far as the Vistula, and from the Elbe to the Danube. To the south, he was lord of Italy, down to Calabria, and of the Spanish march which reached from the Pyrenees to the Ebro.² Eastward, he ruled Dalmatia, Hungary, and the Danubian provinces. Had he pushed his arms in that direction, instead of the north, there was nothing to resist his advance to the Bosphorus, and Rome might have recovered in his person the reunited empire of the Cæsars.³ His imperial

¹ Leo had previously recognised the sovereignty of Charles, by soliciting his confirmation of his own election to the see.

² It was on Charlemagne's return from one of his Spanish expeditions (A.D. 778) that he met with the disaster at Roncevaux, in the passes of the Pyrenees, which form the subject of the romance of Roland his nephew.

³ The Byzantine Court was certainly not inclined to provoke the experiment. The empress Irene tempted the western Augustus with a treacherous offer of marriage, and her successor recognised his right to

grandeur was augmented by the absence of all competition. Great Britain and Ireland were divided as yet into petty states. Southern Spain languished under the Arabs, and the Greek empire was rapidly decaying. Charlemagne was recognised, as the second great sovereign of the world, by the famous Haroun al Raschid, whose empire extended from Africa to India.

He assumed the double-headed eagle for the imperial cognizance, signifying (as some authors report) the union of the Roman and German empires; but a similar monster has been traced on the column of Trajan, and its adoption as the imperial ensign has been variously ascribed to the times of Constantine, and to the division of the empire between Arcadius and Honorius. Others reduce it as low as the reign of Sigismund (A.D. 1387); it would appear, however, to have been used by the Greek emperors, and so passed to the crown of Russia, which still claims to represent the eastern empire.¹

The eagle was the ancient standard of the Romans, adored by the legions as the omen and instrument of victory. In the fourth century of Christianity, this ensign was largely supplanted by the red dragon² (introduced perhaps by the barbarians), which on that account (according to some expositors) is adopted in the Apocalypse to symbolise the power which, after persecuting the primitive Church,³ gave its authority and seat to the beast,⁴ and at a later stage of the

Italy north of Benevento, retaining only Calabria and Sicily to the Greek empire.

¹ "Russia, Ancient and Modern," p. 87. The Russian eagle is distinguished by the heads being crowned, and the claws grasping a sceptre and orb. Morery says that its wings are turned downwards, while those of the German eagle are elevated, but in ordinary representations, this position is often reversed. Under the German empire the heir who bore the title of "King of the Romans" used a single-headed eagle.

² Amm. Marc., xvi. 10.

³ Rev. xii. 3, 13.

⁴ Rev. xiii. 1, 2, 5; comp. Dan. vii. 3, 7, 21.

vision is seen carrying the mother of harlots on its back.¹ Certainly, the alliance now inaugurated between the empire and the see laid the foundation of the temporal supremacy of the pope, as Constantine's establishment did of his spiritual primacy. In both cases the imperial favour was transformed into a Divine and inalienable right. Charlemagne was honoured as the patron and protector of the see. But his successors were made to feel that another power was, in fact, seated upon their empire and directed its energies.

The authority and ritual of the Roman Church were now propagated with all the power of the State. Charlemagne was a missionary of the Mohammedan rather than the Apostolical type. His wars were all religious; as fast as any nation submitted to his arms, he compelled it to share his faith. In this way he dragooned the Saxons into baptism, and, once baptised, apostasy was punished with death. Bishoprics, schools, colleges, churches, were planted in rapid succession. The emperor's mental and bodily vigour was astonishing; the sword, the Church, and literature were propagated with equal ardour. But

¹ Rev. xvii. 3, 4. Mr. Elliott understands the first beast to symbolise pagan Rome, and the second papal Rome. An expositor of a different school identifies the first beast with the "scarlet-coloured beast" of Rev. vii. 3, which takes the harlot on its back (Rev. F. Meyrick on Anti-Christ. Smith's Bible Dict., Appx. to vol. i. p. 68. See also Dr. Wordsworth's "Babylon"). All expositions concur in representing the papacy, "the mother of abominations," as rising to power on the back of the Roman empire, and this is in striking accordance with the historical relations of the popes with Charlemagne and his successors. The "number of the beast," or "the number of his name" (Rev. xiii. 17, 18), is interpreted by an exposition as old as Irenæus to signify *Latēnos* (Latin). This is the true orthography of the word in Greek—the language of the Apocalypse, and the numerical value of its letters in that tongue amount to the specified number 666; viz. :— $\lambda = 30$, $\alpha = 1$, $\tau = 300$, $\epsilon = 5$, $\iota = 10$, $\nu = 50$, $\omicron = 70$, $\varsigma = 200 = 666$.

while his military arguments sufficed to exterminate Paganism, his literary efforts only kindled a few watch-fires which soon died out in the blackness of the surrounding night. It was possible to extirpate idolatry by slaying its votaries,¹ but ignorance, which could not receive sentence of death, took its revenge by transferring Paganism into the precincts of the Church. The emperor's exertions, however, deserved so well of the Roman Church, that he was canonised by pope Pascal III. (A.D. 1161). It is not exactly the honour one would have expected from the character of his private life; but the devil's advocate is often merciful at Rome, and St. Charlemagne may be no worse than some of his neighbours.²

Charlemagne died at Aix-la-Chapelle, full of years and honours; 28th January 814. His son and successor Louis le Débonnaire (translated *pious* and *mEEK*) inherited his dominions and his defects, without his

¹ Four thousand Saxons were put to death at one time by Charlemagne's order.

² The emperor's matrimonial relations might have been hard to defend. He divorced his first wife, Himiltrude, in order to marry Hermengarde, daughter to the Lombard king, but returned her to her father the next year, when his dethronement was in view. His third queen, Hildegarde, princess of Suevia, who brought him four sons and five daughters, died April 783, and before the year was out her place was supplied by Fastrade of Franconia. This princess dying, somewhat suspiciously, the next year, the imperial widower took a fifth wife in Luitgarde, a German lady, equally renowned for letters and hunting, who narrowly escaped the imperial dignity by dying just before it was conferred. Pepin rejected the hand of the Greek emperor Leo for his daughter, on the ground of his heresy; but Charlemagne's orthodoxy did not prevent his accepting Leo's son for his daughter Rotrude, nor from listening to proposals for his own marriage with Leo's widow, though stained with the blood of that same son, and the great champion of the image worship which Charlemagne denounced as "execrated by the Church of God." This sixth wife would have united the eastern empire with his own, but Irene's proposals (though not sincere) were so resented by her own court as to hasten her second deposition and death.

virtues. Equal to his father in violence and cruelty, he was vastly his inferior in all regal and manly accomplishments.¹ Louis associated his son Lothaire in the empire, giving him the kingdom of Italy; he assigned other kingdoms to his younger sons, retaining the sovereignty of France to himself.

The rebellion and quarrels of these princes, with the vices of the younger Lothaire, led to continual wars, in which the popes obtained opportunities of interfering in the disposal of the imperial crown, which materially augmented their own authority. On several occasions they eluded the emperor's confirmation of their elections; but the tumults and disorders which ensued made them glad to return to the protection of a prerogative, which was invariably insisted upon by every emperor strong enough to assert it. In the end, the youngest brother Charles, surnamed the Bald, obtained the crown of France, which was thenceforth permanently separated from Germany; and in 875 he compelled or persuaded pope John VIII. to crown him emperor and king of Italy, to the prejudice of the German monarch, his elder brother. The pope added the ill-merited title of "Most Christian King," formerly given to Charlemagne, and still borne by the French sovereigns.

His son Charles the Fat becoming imbecile, without

¹ Mosheim, ix. 1. Gratian has fathered upon this prince a decree which adds the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica to the donations made to the Holy see by his father and grandfather; but Sicily was in the possession of the Greek emperor, and was not included in the western empire till recovered from the Saracens by the Normans in the eleventh century. The same decree pretends to authorise the ordination of the pope elect, without waiting for the imperial confirmation, a privilege certainly not attempted at this time. The decree is first mentioned by Leo Ostiensis, who died in the beginning of the twelfth century, and was doubtless one of the numerous forgeries of that age.—Bower, iv. 188.

male issue, pope Adrian III. claimed for the Italians the exclusive right to elect and consecrate their own king and emperor. The states of Germany, incensed at this pretension, immediately set aside Charles, and elected Arnulph, an illegitimate cousin, on the sole ground of his German birth. The Italians on their part chose Guido, duke of Spoleto, who was of the blood of Charlemagne by the female line. He received the imperial crown from the pope in St. Peter's (A.D. 891), and the Italian succession was continued for nearly a century.

The Germans never ceased to consider Italy and the imperial crown as their inalienable appendages; so that during this time there were always two, and sometimes more, rival "emperors of the west." The monarch who received the silver crown of Germany deemed himself *ipso facto* emperor and king of the Romans; he demanded at his leisure the iron crown of Lombardy at the hands of the archbishop of Milan, and the golden diadem of the empire from the chief metropolitan at Rome. The Italian princes, on the other hand, conceived themselves vastly more concerned in the election of a Roman emperor than the barbarians of Germany. The idea of submitting the Eternal City to a Transalpine yoke was intolerable, and the pope was cordially of their mind. Unfortunately, neither pope nor princes possessed the patriotism which gave to Germany its bond of union and the surest pledge of success.

The power and influence of the Roman see throve, in fact, by means of the divisions among other rulers. On one pretence and another, appeals were multiplied from all parts of western Christendom; even the eastern Church stooped to the same humiliation, in the great controversy which attended the elevation of Photius to

the see of Constantinople. The pope, eagerly leaping into the chair of judgment, gave sentence against the patriarch, and pronounced him excommunicated. Photius angrily retorted with a similar anathema fulminated in a council at Constantinople (A.D. 867). In this document the Latin Church was accused of sundry grievous departures from Catholic faith and practice; but except for the lasting schism which it occasioned in the Church, the controversy would be too frivolous for the notice of history. The articles of accusation were eight:¹— 1. Fasting on Saturdays.² 2. Cutting off the first week of Lent, and indulging in milk and cheese. 3. Forbidding the marriage of priests. 4. Restricting the chrism to bishops.³ 5. Asserting “the horrid blasphemy” of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and the Son*. 6. Raising deacons to the episcopate without passing through the priesthood. 7. Offering a lamb with the Eucharist at Easter, in imitation of the Jews.⁴ And 8. Requiring the clergy to shave their beards. Such was the strange medley of doctrine and discipline then accounted among the weightier matters of the Gospel. Neither Church censured the other for its defects in

¹ Bower’s “Lives of the Popes,” iv. 330. Some authors augment the articles of accusation, but Mosheim reduces them to five, alleging that the others were added at a later period of the schism.—Ec. Hist., cent. viii. 2.

² Saturday was observed as a feast day in the primitive Church, and was so kept at Milan as late as Ambrose, when it was a fast at Rome. That bishop writes to Augustine, that when at Rome he did as the Romans did, and when at Milan as the Milanese.

³ This chrism the Greek Church administered to children immediately after baptism, and by the hands of Presbyters. The Latin Church, by restricting its use to bishops, rendered some postponement necessary; and so the ceremony was changed into the present office of Confirmation, which, at a later period still, the Church of Rome erected into a sacrament.

⁴ The old *Ordo Romanus* contains a form for the consecration of a lamb at Easter; but it is not probable that it was offered along with the Eucharist. Cardinal Bona calls the assertion a *putidum mendacium*.—*Rer. Liturg.*, ii. 8.

righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Neither complained of Mariolatry, saint-worship, and the gross superstitions universally practised with respect to pilgrimages, relics, pictures, and images. Neither demanded the free circulation of the Word of God, or the preaching of that saving faith through which the sinner, justified by Christ, receives the sanctifying Spirit of God. Only one of these eight charges touches a real heresy—the enforced celibacy of the priesthood. The fifth relates to a difference in words more than meaning, though the Greeks still reject every explanation.¹ It is certain that the clause was originally interpolated into the Nicene Creed without sufficient ecclesiastical authority; but it has been repeatedly explained, that it is not intended to assert (as the Greeks object) a double procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, as two original independent principles of being, but only what our Lord Himself affirms, that the Son partakes of all things with the Father; and therefore the Holy Spirit is of the Father *by* and *with* the Son. This the Greeks also believe; but their zeal for a formulary elaborated with so much pains in the first two General Councils, has hitherto rendered them deaf to all explanation.

The six remaining points are questions of discipline hardly calling for discussion.

¹ The western doctrine of the Double Procession, though so indignantly denounced by the whole East, is, in fact, easy to be reconciled with their own, and was so admitted at the Council of Florence, A.D. 1439 (“Russia, Ancient and Modern,” p. 249). The word “Filioque” (and from the Son) were first interpolated into the Nicene Creed by some of the Spanish Churches, in the fifth or sixth century. The Council of Gentili, under Pepin I., sanctioned them (A.D. 764), and Charlemagne confirmed them at Aix-la-Chapelle (A.D. 808); but Leo III. disapproved the interpolation, though upholding the doctrine. He omitted the clause in the creed which he affixed in Greek and Latin to the tomb of St. Peter, but it was again inserted.

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS (GERMAN EMPIRE).

WESTERN EMPIRE.					EASTERN EMPERORS.
A.D.	ITALY.	GERMANY.	FRANCE.	POPES OF ROME.	
885	Guido of Spo- leto	Arnulph ...	Endes ...	Stephen VI.	Leo V.
886	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
890	... ..	... ..	... ..	Formosus.	
893	Lambert ...	... ..	Charles III.	... ..
897	... ..	... ..	... ..	Stephen VII.	
899	... ..	Louis III.	... ..	... ..
900	Louis of Arles.	... ..	... ..	{ Theodore II.	
901	... ..	... ..	... ..	{ John IX.	
904	Berenger of Friuli.	... ..	... ..	Benedict IV.	
905	... ..	... ..	... ..	{ Leo V.	
906	... ..	... ..	... ..	{ Christopher.	
907	... ..	... ..	... ..	Sergius III.	
910	... ..	... ..	... ..	Anastasius III.	
911	... ..	Conrad I. ...	... ..	... ..	Alexander.
912	... ..	... ..	... ..	Lando ...	Constantine VI.
913	... ..	... ..	... ..	John X.	
919	... ..	Henry I.	... ..	... ..
923	... ..	... ..	Raoul.	... ..
924	Raoul.	... ..	... ..	... ..
926	Hugo, King of Arles.	... ..	... ..	Leo VI.	
928	... ..	... ..	... ..	Stephen VIII.	
929	... ..	... ..	... ..	John XI.	
931	... ..	... ..	... ..	Leo VII.	
936	... ..	Otho I. ...	Louis IV. ...	Stephen IX.	
939	... ..	... ..	... ..	Martin III.	
943	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
945	Lothaire.	... ..	... ..	Agapetus II.	
949	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
950	Bereuger.	... ..	Lothaire.	John XII.	
954	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	Romanus.
955	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..
959	... ..	... ..	... ..	Leo VIII.	
962	Otho, Emperor	... ..	... ..	... ..	{ Nicephorus.
963	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	{ Phocas.
964	... ..	... ..	... ..	Benedict V.	
965	... ..	... ..	... ..	John XIII.	
969	... ..	... ..	... ..	... ..	John Zimiscea.
972	... ..	... ..	... ..	{ Domnus II.	
973	Otho II.	... ..	... ..	{ Benedict VI.	
975	... ..	... ..	... ..	Benedict VII.	Basil II.
982	Otho III.	... ..	... ..	... ..
984	... ..	... ..	... ..	John XIV.	
985	... ..	... ..	... ..	John XV.	
986	... ..	... ..	Louis V.	... ..
987	... ..	... ..	Hugh Capet.	... ..
996	... ..	... ..	... ..	Gregory V.	
997	... ..	... ..	Robert ...	John XVI., An- tipope.	
999	... ..	... ..	... ..	Sylvester II.	
1001	Henry II.	... ..	... ..	... ..
1003	... ..	... ..	... ..	{ John XVII.	
1009	... ..	... ..	... ..	{ John XVIII.	
1012	... ..	... ..	... ..	Sergius IV.	
1024	Conrad II.	... ..	... ..	Benedict VIII.	
1025	... ..	... ..	... ..	John XIX.	Constantino VII.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

Saracen Alarms—Leonine City—Distractions of the Empire—State of the Papacy—Root of the Evil—Italian Princes—Reign of Profligacy—Reunion with Germany—Imperial Supremacy—Struggles of the Papacy—Otho the Bloody—Otho III.—Electors of Germany—Henry II.—Conrad—Henry III.—Grandeur of the Empire—Simony at Rome—Political Power—Forged Decretals—Canon Law—Heathen Acquisitions—State of Religion—Monks—Saints—Relics—Purgatory—Transubstantiation—Pious Frauds—Vices of the Clergy—Universal Panic.

THE Italians were not without good reason in demanding a sovereign of their own. The French and German armies had enough to do in defending their own coasts from the incursions of the Northmen, while the Saracens, after passing from Spain into Africa, had seized Sardinia, Sicily,¹ and Calabria, and were beginning to ravage the Tuscan shore. They had even appeared at the mouth of the Tiber, and threatened the capital of Christendom (A.D. 834). Three years after, their corsairs burnt the suburbs of Rome, and, after plundering the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, retired with enormous spoils and a crowd of miserable captives. This outrage determined Leo IV. to enclose the Vatican Hill, which had been hitherto without the walls, and the magnificent buildings called the Leonine City were begun and finished in four

¹ Euphemius, the Greek exarch in Sicily, revolted A.D. 828, and called the Saracens to his assistance. He was slain in the war, and the Moslems having gained possession of that island and Calabria, all that remained to the Greek emperor in Italy, kept them till expelled by the Normans in the eleventh century.

years (848–52) by the help of munificent contributions from the western nations.

The Saracens, making a new attempt during the progress of the works, were repulsed by the Italian fleet with great slaughter; numbers of prisoners were taken and gibbeted on the coast, while others were condemned to work in chains at the churches of the conquerors. Still the corsairs swarmed on the coasts. A few years later they compelled the duke of Naples to purchase immunity by joining their expedition against Rome. John VIII., after excommunicating the duke, and his brother the bishop, to very little purpose, ransomed the Eternal City by agreeing to pay a tribute of twenty-five thousand mancuses yearly (877).

The pope was hardly free from the Moslems, when he fell into the hands of the lords of Spoleto and Tuscany, who seized him in his palace and plundered the city. The pontiff fled to France, where he excommunicated the aggressors, and crowned Charles the Fat emperor (880). This prince, however, was too much occupied with the Normans at home to render aid to Italy; and the necessity for an Italian emperor grew daily more imperative. The design failed from want of union among the princes and states of Italy. They could neither agree in their choice, nor submit to the vote of the majority. The popes, wearied of mediating between their petty factions, began again to look beyond the Alps for a *Defensor Ecclesie*. Formosus invited the German emperor Arnulph to drive out the Italian claimants and crowned him at Rome (A.D. 896).

On this occasion, to guard against the violence repeatedly practised at papal elections, the order was renewed to await the imperial confirmation before consecrating the elect. The empire itself, however, was now in dispute: Arnulph left Rome after a

sojourn of fifteen days, and returned to Bavaria. In Italy the most profligate characters pursued one another in the chase for power, and the effect on the Holy see has been described by its most devoted historian. In entering on the tenth century, Cardinal Baronius denounces it as “an iron age, barren of all goodness: a leaden age, abounding with all wickedness: a dark age, remarkable for the scarcity of writers and men of learning.” “In this century,” he continues, “the abomination of desolation was seen in the temple of the Lord: in the see of St. Peter, revered by the angels, were placed the most wicked of men — not pontiffs, but monsters. And how hideous was the face of the Roman Church, when filthy and impudent courtesans governed all at Rome, changed sees at their pleasure, disposed of bishoprics, and intruded their lovers into the see of St. Peter. No mention was then made of the clergy electing or consenting; the canons were trodden under foot, the decrees of the popes were despised, the ancient traditions turned out of doors; the old customs, the sacred rites and former method of choosing popes, were quite laid aside. *The Church was then without a pope, but not without a head; its SPIRITUAL HEAD never abandoned it.*”¹

Such, by the confession of the Papists themselves, was the result of erecting the bishop of Rome into universal primate and a temporal prince. The papal claims were never so extensively submitted to as at this very time. The Churches of France and Germany were subjugated by the power of Charlemagne. The troublesome Africans had been taken out of the way by the Saracens. Constantinople and the East rendered a homaige never conceded before or since. The emperor Leo v. humbly asked Stephen’s permission to appoint

¹ Baron., ad an. 900.

his own brother to the patriarchal see, and was refused, though the Greek bishops supported the recommendation in terms of the most abject submission: "We know that we are to be corrected and reprimanded by your Apostolic see; we humbly beseech you to deal mercifully with us, and receive those who have gone astray but repent and return to the fold; that by your means peace may be restored in our days to a Church that has been so long divided and rent into factions."¹ There was absolutely no dissenting voice. Reformation was a word as yet unspoken. From all quarters of the world Greeks and barbarians, kings, lords, and pilgrims of every rank and both sexes, sought the oracle of the Vatican for the remission of their sins; or the gratification of their desires. To exempt the sacred arbitrator from all secular control, the temporal sword had been united to the spiritual, yet, by the confession of its advocate, the Church was never so enslaved, nor the Christian world so corrupt! "Vaulting ambition that o'erleaps itself" had destroyed the pope by exalting the papacy. The papal chair was filled, but "the Church was without a pope!"

Happy had it been for Rome and for Christendom, if they who then made the discovery that the Church's life is in her Spiritual Head, had been content to abandon a deceitful phantom, and return to the SHEPHERD AND BISHOP OF SOULS, who says indeed to His Church, "I will never leave you nor forsake you."

The disorders complained of flowed directly from the attempt to erect in the Roman pontiff a master for all

¹ Bar., ad an. 886. The objection to the emperor's brother was that he had been ordained deacon by Photius, and the pope had prohibited the promotion of any of his clergy. This trifle the Roman pontiff haughtily refused to dispense with, notwithstanding the entreaty of the Greeks. To Photius himself the pope's objection was that he had been elevated from a layman to the episcopate—a thing of constant occurrence in the primitive Church, and in Rome itself.

churches and all consciences. The splendour and influence of the position exposed it to the worst passions of a corrupt nature. The robber-princes of Italy had only to secure Rome and the pope to obtain the imperial title. Each, as he captured a feebly-garrisoned capital, was solemnly crowned by the representative of Heaven, and when expelled by a rival was as quickly deposed, and perhaps excommunicated. Bishops and clergy veered about with every shifting wind from the Vatican. Absolutions, divorces, benedictions, and curses were in the power of any ruffian who could seize the person of a trembling priest. Popes themselves were deposed and created at the will of the temporary master of Rome.

In this way Guy duke of Spoleto, and Lambert his son, Berenger duke of Friuli, and Louis, son of Boso king of Arles, enjoyed the coveted purple by turns; but a more formidable prerogative was wielded by Adalbert marquess of Tuscany, when he seized the castle of St. Angelo, and made himself, more than any emperor, lord of the Eternal City. His wife Marozia was the most abandoned woman of the age, save her mother Theodora: these two beautiful profligates not only ruled the Roman Court, but disposed of the pontifical chair at their pleasure. John x., the paramour of the mother, was by her influence raised successively to the sees of Bologna, Ravenna, and Rome. He was the first pope who was seen at the head of his troops, levying war like a secular prince. On Theodora's death, he fell a prey to the intrigues of Marozia, who caused him to be seized and put to death. Marozia, left a widow, married her husband's son and successor, Guy, and upon his death contracted another incestuous union with his half-brother Hugh, count of Provence and king of Lombardy. In spite of these

alliances, she had a son by pope Sergius III., whom Baronius calls "the slave of every vice, and the most wicked of men." This child she intruded on the Holy see at a tender age as John XI., but his half-brother Alberic, son of Adalbert, was so incensed at his mother's marriage with Hugh, that rallying his father's partisans, he gained possession of the castle and kept Marozia and the pope her son in custody for the rest of their lives. The pontiff lay above two years in his dungeon before death vacated the see, and left the new lord to place his own puppet in St. Peter's chair. Twenty years later, Octavian, son and heir of Alberic, nominated himself pope, and, though only eighteen years old, was dutifully elected by the enslaved Church. This pontiff, who called himself John XII., introduced the practice observed by all his successors of taking a new name on elevation to the Holy see.

The Romans now saw the value of freedom of election, under the tyrant of St. Angelo. No relief was attainable from Lombardy, which was ruled by king Berenger with an iron hand, and all eyes were turned again to Germany. The blood of Charlemagne had become extinct with Louis IV., A.D. 912, when the States elected Conrad duke of Franconia, who was followed by Henry of Saxony. The Italian historians please themselves by denying the title of emperor to these three monarchs, because they were never crowned at Rome. Otho, son of Henry, after subduing the Slaves and Bohemians, and driving the French out of Lorraine, listened to the groans of Italy. Marching to the relief of Adelaide, widow of Lothaire II., whom Berenger was besieging in her castle of Canossa, he obtained her hand and queenly dowry for his reward.¹

¹ Otho had previously wedded an English princess, the daughter of Edmund I., and Sigebert affirms that she was still living.

Then proceeding to Rome at the supplication of pope John XII., he received the imperial crown at St. Peter's (A.D. 962). The Italian empire expired with Berenger the same year, and Italy returned under the shadow of the German throne.

The pope and all the Romans took the oath of allegiance to Otho, who confirmed to the Holy see all the grants of Pepin and Charlemagne. By a diploma dated 13th February, 962, which is still extant in letters of gold, the ancient right of confirming the election of the pope was restored to the imperial crown, and its sovereignty recognised as supreme in the administration of justice.¹ The emperor, however, had no sooner returned to Germany than pope John conspired with Adalbert, son of Berenger, to bring back the reign of misrule. Otho again entered Rome, and convoking a council, cited the pontiff to answer for his crimes. John, who had fled with the Church treasures, replied by excommunicating all the ecclesiastics, in order that they might have no power to depose him or ordain a successor. The council proceeded, nevertheless, to pass sentence, and Leo VIII. was elected, confirmed, and consecrated, 6th December, 963. But the moment the emperor withdrew his troops, John's brigands drove the new pope out of Rome, and restored that unworthy pontiff. At his bidding, a council of sixteen bishops, with the cardinal priests and deacons, excommunicated the pope whom they had just elected, and grovelled before the tyrant whom they had just excommunicated. John being killed in a midnight intrigue, his faction placed one Benedict in the see, but the emperor returning with his troops, the council once more faced about, and restored Leo. According

¹ Bower, v. 106.

to De Marca and some other writers, they vested in the emperor the absolute right of appointing the pope for the future.

Otho's death (974) was the signal for fresh commotions at Rome. Benedict VI. was attacked in the Lateran, dragged to St. Angelo, and there strangled in the second year of his pontificate. The castle was now in the possession of a Roman chief named Cencio : he was opposed by a Tuscan faction, and by their alternate triumphs, no less than five "Apostolicals" crossed the papal stage in ten years.¹ Otho II. marched into Italy to recover Calabria and Apulia, the dowry of his wife Theophania, daughter of the Greek emperor Romanus ; but the Saracens and Greeks defeated him in a great battle. The emperor making his escape in a boat was captured by a Greek corsair, who, taking him for a countryman, accepted a ransom after forty days' captivity. Imputing this disaster to the treachery of the Romans and Beneventines, who fled in the crisis of the action, Otho collected his forces, and marching on Beneventum, put the bulk of the inhabitants to death. Proceeding to Rome, he invited to a great feast above a hundred senators, with the commanders and military officers who had abandoned his standard in the field. All these were remorselessly massacred by his order in the banqueting-room. His coronation was to have followed, but death intervened, and Otho the Bloody received a grave instead of a crown, in the church of St. Peter (983). His son Otho was in Rome at the time, but being only twelve years old, and not yet declared "King of the Romans," the Italians refused to elect him emperor, and the German lords rescuing

¹ Boniface VII. deposed, 974 ; Donus II. died, 975 ; Benedict VII. died, 984 ; John XIV. murdered, 985 ; Boniface VII. restored and died, 985 ; John elected, but died before consecration, 985.

his person with some difficulty, carried him off and crowned him at Aix-la-Chapelle.¹

Rome being again left a prey to her domestic factions, Crescentius the consul, son of the younger Theodora, obtained possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and overawed the successor of St. Peter. On the death of pope John xv. (996), Otho III., who had an army before Ravenna, was solicited by the terrified clergy to name them a successor, and his nephew Bruno, a young man of twenty-four, was elected, on his mandate, as Gregory v. Otho following him to Rome, received the imperial crown (A.D. 996),² then besieging Crescentius in his castle, he induced him to quit the fortress on a promise of safety, and put him to death. The perfidious emperor was in turn compelled to flee from the exasperated populace. Having recovered his authority, he promised to marry the widow of the deceased consul, but the lady finding herself deluded and insulted, sent him a pair of poisoned gloves, which occasioned his death (A.D. 1002).

Otho III. had conceived the design of restoring the imperial residence to the Palatine Hill. To prevent the civil wars that usually accompanied the election to the German throne, he procured a law in which the pope concurred, substituting the seven chief princes as Electors in the room of the national estates. The proceedings were thus reduced into a more manageable form, but the state of Germany never admitted the

¹ Leti., lib. iii. Morery's Dict.

² On this occasion a decree was approved by the pope and cardinals to this effect: that the Roman pontiffs should neither enjoy, nor pretend to, any authority over the empire or the person of the emperor in all that respected his temporal authority, but that the Holy see should be supported in all spiritual matters as it was then commonly revered, and in the jurisdiction conceded to it by Charlemagne.—Leti., iii.

fulfilment of Otho's dream. At his death the Electors chose Henry duke of Bavaria, who obtained the title of *Saint* and Apostle of Hungary, from his zeal in the conversion of the duke, his brother-in-law. He presided at councils, erected bishoprics, monasteries, and hospitals, and regulated, even at Rome itself, the liturgical usages of the Church.¹ Still his wars with France and Bohemia admitted of only one visit to the Eternal City, when he restored Benedict VIII. to his see, and received the imperial crown at his hands (A. D. 1014).

To prevent the recurrence of similar disorders, the old obligations were repeated on either side. The emperor confirmed the donations of Pepin, Charlemagne, and the others: on the other hand, with the entire consent of the Church, he renewed the imperial rights in the election and confirmation of the pope. Both, however, died in the same year (1024), and while the empire lay vacant for two years, the papacy was simoniacally purchased by Benedict's brother, a layman, who was ordained and enthroned by the name of John XIX. By this pontiff the new emperor Conrad II. (called the Salic) was crowned in St. Peter's, in the presence of Canute, king of Denmark and England, whose daughter afterwards became the wife of the emperor's son.²

Conrad was the first emperor who procured his son to be elected "King of the Romans" during his own lifetime. Still Henry III. was not admitted to the imperial throne without opposition, though the German empire rose under him to the plenitude of its lustre. "From the eastern frontiers, where the

¹ The vigils of the saints were instituted in his council at Dortmund, and they also introduced at Rome the practice of singing the creed after the Gospel.

² It was decreed by this emperor, that, in addition to the imperial and Lombardic crowns, a third crown of Italy was to be assumed by the Cæsar at Modena.—Leti., iii.

king of Poland had been compelled to do homage and submit to a partition of his territories, and where the duke of Bohemia was condemned to imprisonment, we see Conrad II. march westward to defend Burgundy against the pretensions of the French nobles. He defeated them on the plains of Champagne. His Italian vassals crossed Mount St. Bernard to his assistance. He caused himself to be crowned at Geneva, and held his diet in Soleure. Immediately afterwards we meet him in Lower Italy. Not less powerful and glorious was the reign of Henry III."¹ From Flanders to Hungary, from Denmark to Spain, he was the liege lord of the sovereigns of Christendom.

In Rome the imperial sovereignty had been suffered to relax, and the city, in consequence, was the prey of contending factions, which disposed of the papacy by violence or simony. The brothers Benedict VIII. and John XIX. were kinsmen and nominees of the count of Tusculum. On the death of John, the count procured the election of his own son, a youth of eighteen, who took the name of Benedict IX. A later pontiff describes him as a successor of Simon Magus, not of Simon Peter. His notorious immoralities provoked frequent insurrections, but the emperor Conrad supported him, and though more than once expelled, he was always restored. At last he sold the papacy to John, archpriest of Rome, for a large sum of money, and betook himself to a career of unrestrained debauchery.

Indignant at the tidings which reached him from the imperial metropolis, Henry III. repaired to Italy, and assembling a council at Sutri, deposed both the simoniacs; then proceeding to Rome for a new election,

¹ Ranke, i. 1.

Henry himself nominated the candidate, who was immediately chosen, and taking the name of Clement II., crowned the emperor the same day.

Aware of the slender hold on Italian allegiance to be obtained by means of occasional descents from across the Alps, the German emperors cordially favoured the growth of papal authority, only seeking to turn it to their own purposes by exercising a strict control over the appointment of the pope. The old restrictions were carefully renewed by Henry III. No election was to take place without the emperor's license, and the person elected was to be approved and confirmed by imperial authority before he entered on the office. These were the regulations observed with respect to other bishoprics, and as both in Germany and Lombardy a large measure of civil authority pertained to the bishops, the imperial rights were strictly enforced. So long as the emperor exercised the same prerogative at Rome, the political subjection of the pope was complete, and the Cæsar gladly promoted his spiritual primacy as a second hold on the allegiance of the empire. Though stigmatised by Gregory the Great as a designation of Anti-Christ, the universal bishopric of the pope was now generally conceded. Other prelates regarded him as the source of their spiritual authority, and though the French and some Italian bishops stood out for primitive rights and the authority of councils, the almost universal doctrine of the tenth century made the Roman pontiff vicegerent of Christ, and infallible judge of His Church.¹

This persuasion was maintained by forged autho-

¹ Mosh. E. H., cent. x. The dogma of papal *infallibility* has never yet been formally authorised, and it is virtually denied whenever one pope differs from another. Nevertheless, it is invariably implied in every pontifical bull, and practically allowed by all Papists.

rities, with which the popes never scrupled to silence any who hesitated at their increasing demands. The famous donation of Constantine to pope Sylvester was forged in the decline of the Greek empire, in order to induce Pepin to imitate so illustrious an example. Acts of Councils and writings of ancient authors were freely interpolated; above all, in the ninth century, the famous collection of "Decretal Epistles" was manufactured, and ascribed to the learned Isidore bishop of Seville, who died some three hundred years before.¹ These "Decretals" were a collection of canons and papal decrees, after the manner of the Code of Justinian; they became the text-book of a new faculty, called the *Canon Law*, and being unhesitatingly acted upon in the Roman Court, were imposed on the ecclesiastical tribunals of the empire.

New accessions of power followed from the exertions made in the conversion of the heathen, partly by pious missionaries earnest for souls, but much oftener by monarchs bent upon conquest. The Huns, Saxons, and Frieslanders were driven to the baptismal font by the sword of Charlemagne. The Cimbrians, Jutes, Swedes, and Danes were evangelised by the milder voice of the good monks Ausgar and Authbert.² The Norwegian pirate Rollo accepted Christianity together with the hand of the French king's daughter, and the maritime province thenceforth denominated Normandy. His army following his example embraced without a scruple a religion in which no one even pretended to instruct them. Their paternal country had been visited with some beams of Gospel light from the efforts of the king Hagen Adelsteen, who was educated in England (933),

¹ See the authorities quoted by Mosheim, cent. ix. 2.

² Ausgar was created archbishop of Hamburg, with the primacy of the North, by Louis le Débonnaire (844).

diligently followed up by the sainted Olaus, who burnt the idol Thor in the presence of his worshippers at Drontheim. The conquests of Swein, who annexed the crown of Norway to that of Sweden (A.D. 1031), completed the conversion. From Norway the good tidings spread to the Orkneys, to Iceland, and Greenland, all of which were evangelised in the tenth century.

Otho the Great was scarcely inferior to Charlemagne in the zeal with which he extirpated the remaining seeds of Paganism, and fostered the infant Churches of his dominions. The Hungarians, who had almost forgotten their military catechisings, were reclaimed by Adalbert archbishop of Prague, who baptised their leader's son Stephen; and this prince, by a lavish administration of rewards and punishments, coupled with some little Christian instruction, succeeded in extirpating the ancient idolatries.¹ The popes doing little themselves in the missionary field, entered freely into the labours of all others. John XIII., hearing that Micislaus duke of Poland had been baptised at the instigation of his wife (a Bohemian princess), sent a bishop with a numerous train of ecclesiastics to advance the cause. The missionaries proved utterly ignorant of the language, but the duke coming to their assistance, by dint of pains and penalties compelled the reluctant Poles to follow his example.²

¹ Sylvester II. sent him a crown with the titles of king and legate, and appointed him Vicar-General of the Holy see within his dominions, with the privilege of having the cross carried before him.

² Russia owed her Christianity about the same time to the Greek Church, through the marriage of Vladimir the Great with the princess Anne, as we have related in another work ("Russia, Ancient and Modern," p. 57). To the Greeks belonged also the honour of Christianising Bulgaria, though the popes thought fit to claim the spiritual jurisdiction by reason of some abortive efforts of Charlemagne. The monks Cyril and

These conversions were very different from the spiritual awakening and renewing of primitive Christianity. The religion now proposed to the Pagans consisted, like their own, far more in external worship than in inward saving faith. The first rank in the favour of God was assigned to monks and nuns, styled, by way of pre-eminence, the "religious" orders. Others were accounted religious in proportion as they imitated the observances of these recluses.¹ The core and essence of religion was made to consist in the worship of images and dead men. God could only be approached by the intercession of the saints. Even the merciful Redeemer was supposed to need the entreaties of His mother, to recommend to His favour the sinners for whom He died. The Virgin and saints were thought to be most effectually invoked by worshipping some relic of their bodies or clothes. Heads, limbs, hairs, petticoats, even the filings of St. Peter's chains had a magical effect in compelling the attention and securing the favour of the glorified spirits. The mummy-pits of Egypt, and the catacombs of Pagan Rome, furnished most of the relics; but according to the monks, He whom the psalmist adored as "taking His way in the sea, and His path in the great waters, whose footsteps are not known," was constantly interposing,—not to attest revealed truth, or impart discoveries beneficial to mankind,—but to disclose the spot where the mouldering bones of some saint, real or imaginary,

Methodius, sent by the empress Theodora, were the real evangelists of the Bulgarians, Moesians, Bohemians, and Moravians.

¹ Sacred virgins are mentioned as early as the fourth century, but the first *convents* of females were the colleges of canonesses instituted by Charlemagne on the same footing with his canons (A.D. 817). The popes disapproved these orders because they imposed no vow of poverty, but allowed the members to retain their property, and expend it on good works at their own discretion.

lay concealed. Miracles were asserted in greater abundance than those of Christ and the apostles, but their object was almost invariably to verify a relic, and increase the profit of those who exhibited it.

The saints were multiplied in proportion to the demand; but as the privilege was precious, the manufacture, once free to bishops and councils, was reserved to the pope. John xv. was the first to exercise the right of his sole prerogative in the canonisation of the bishop Udalric (A.D. 993).

Purgatory was now also an established doctrine, and next to relics for the living, prayers for the dead were the most meritorious objects in the eyes of a "religious" Christian. Such prayers were originally offered for friends and benefactors from motives of private piety; then companies and colleges agreed to pray for the souls specially commended to their devotion. The monks of Cluny established a yearly festival to implore the deliverance of all departed spirits from the expiatory flames, and the feast was added to the Latin calendar as All Souls-day (A.D. 998). It followed that the celebration of the Eucharist, as the highest act of the liturgy on earth, was deemed to extend to the departed also, and when the figment of transubstantiation was added, this completed the doctrine of the mass as a sacrifice for quick and dead.

The rites and ceremonies of the Church multiplied inordinately. A large part of them were copied directly from the Pagans; not only the same temples and altars, but the same images, and probably the same relics, served alike the old worship and the new. Great powers of invention were shown in adapting the popular superstitions to Christian uses, and then assigning them a Christian history. The explanation of the "Divine Offices" afforded scope for the ingenuity of several writers, and these

works, though full of puerilities, are the most important of the times.

The ignorance which enveloped all classes of society has no parallel in our own day, except perhaps in the interior of Africa. Charlemagne himself learnt to write in mature age. The bulk of the laity, and not a few of the clergy, were unable to read. Printing not being invented, and manuscripts scarce, the price of books was enormous, and they were seldom seen out of the monasteries. The Holy Scriptures were only known to the people from the portions recited in the Church services, and these were often either in a foreign tongue, or made unintelligible by a foreign or uneducated reader. The clergy themselves had but little knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. The commentaries published for their assistance consisted either of a dry summary of ancient expositions, or of new and fanciful allegories. There was very little preaching of a solid Scriptural kind. The sum and substance of human wisdom was supposed to reside in Aristotle's logic, yet Aristotle, being only known through the medium of the Arabs, was really as little understood as St. Paul, and the most vital doctrines were miserably perverted by a fantastic application.

Reasoning in this fashion, Paschasius Radbert, a monk of Corby, in Saxony (A. D. 831), propounded the novel doctrine, that after the consecration of the Holy Eucharist, though there be still the figure of bread and wine, no other substance remains but the body and blood of Christ our Lord; the very flesh which was born of the Virgin and suffered on the cross. This absurdity was refuted by Rabanus Maurus archbishop of Mentz—then the great light of Germany and France, by Johannes Scotus, the learned Irish divine and logician, and by Ratramn or Bertram,

another monk of Corby, unless Bertram be only another name for one of the other two.¹ Radbert's doctrine gave great offence to the French Church, and the king requested Scotus to answer it. The teaching of the monk was generally repudiated by the learned; but in the ignorance of the next two centuries his opinion prevailed so widely, that when Berengarius (A.D. 1050) revived the argument of Scotus, both were severely censured, and the logical fallacy of transubstantiation was formally received as a divine mystery.

The theological errors of the clergy may be palliated on the ground of ignorance, but no amount of charity can doubt their complicity in the impostures daily practised with respect to relics and miracles, nor exempt them from the awful guilt implied in the very conception of a "pious fraud."

A candid mind might hesitate to receive statements of the appalling wickedness of an order of men separated from others to maintain the influence of religion and morals. But the man who can impose a falsehood in the name of the all-seeing God, with the view of turning the remorse of another's conscience to his own profit of power, has forfeited all claim upon Christian candour. He has lost the conscience of right and wrong, and is so

¹ Mosheim conceives Bertram and Ratramn to be the same person, but Bower has given good reasons for identifying Bertram with Scotus (v. 173). Scotus was one of the few really learned divines of the day. He was the friend and companion of the emperor Charles the Bald. William of Malmshury makes him a companion of Alcuin, preceptor of Alfred the Great, and one of the first founders of the University of Paris. The ultramontane writers contend there were two John Scotts, an orthodox and a heretic—a desperate hypothesis which is contradicted by the fact of the treatise against transubstantiation being written by the emperor's desire. There is no doubt that the dispute originated in the subtleties of the two great logical schools, the nominalists and the realists. Radbert's was an offensive illustration of the realist hypothesis, which properly startled the divines. It was first ignorance, then gain, and finally arrogance, which made it an article of religious belief.

plainly prepared for every species of villany that we cease to be surprised at the unspeakable abominations of the Latin clergy.

As if by a kind of judicial reprobation, the two iniquities universally charged on all orders, from the pope to the parish priest, were concubinage and simony. The former was, indeed, impudently alleged of the married clergy for retaining their wives, as the whole clergy of the eastern Churches do to this day. But where the papal interdict of marriage prevailed, the charge was in most cases too accurately worded. Repudiating the Divine ordinance in the affectation of a higher life, the celibate priesthood wallowed in impurities which it would be polluting to describe. Claiming the awful power of retaining and remitting sins at discretion, they bought and sold the Divine trust with an audacity exceeding the sin of Simon Magus. The most ignorant and the most wicked of men obtained ordination as priests and bishops, and churches were sold, without shame, to the highest bidder. The pope himself sold the Holy see; and, what is more surprising, after receiving the purchase-money, actually delivered possession.

Such were the results of the imperial and pontifical alliance, when the horrible cloud of vice and ignorance was suddenly pierced as by a flash of lightning. At the close of the century a cry arose that the end of the world was at hand. An exposition spread with amazing rapidity that the thousand years of the Apocalypse dated from the birth of Christ, and being now expired, Satan was to be let loose, Anti-Christ to appear, and the immediate conflagration of the world to ensue.¹ It might well be said that already "there were many Anti-Christ,"² whose presence was far from being generally

¹ Rev. xx. 2-4.

² 1 John ii. 18.

unwelcome ; but the near prospect of judgment created a wide and terrible panic. Numbers hastened to Palestine, where they supposed Christ would appear ; others, not so eager to meet Him, gave themselves as bondsmen to the Church, trusting by that humiliation to diminish the rigour of the approaching sentence. An eclipse of the sun or moon drove crowds of trembling sinners to the rocks and caves. The opulent tried to bribe the coming Judge by lavish donations to priests and monks. Stately edifices were allowed to decay, or pulled down as useless ; and no language can express the confusion and despair that prevailed till the fated time had passed.¹

It would be unjust to charge this melancholy panic on the religious system prevalent at the time, because daily experience shows that numbers remain unmoved under the most evangelical teaching, and the Scripture warns us that this fatal unbelief will continue to the last. But it may well be questioned whether a Church which grasps at temporal dominion, and places the essence of faith in unreasoning submission to its own decrees, can ever duly prepare the soul to "meet the Lord in the air."² The only genuine hope for that day lies in personal union with the Lord our Righteousness, in the living faith of our justification by His blood, and the Spirit of adoption bearing witness with our spirit that we are the children of God.³ Of this kind of faith and holiness we read, alas ! nothing in the history of the papacy during the tenth or any succeeding century.

¹ Mosheim, x. 2.

² 1 Thess. iv. 17.

³ Rom. viii. 16.

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS.

A.D.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF FRANCE	DUKES OF APULIA.	ENGLAND.
1025	Canute.
1031	Henry I.	...	
1034	...	Benedict IX.	...	...
1035	Harold I.
1039	Henry III.	...	...	...
1040	Hardicanute.
1042	Edward, <i>Confessor</i> .
1044	...	Gregory VI.	...	...
1046	...	Clement II.	...	...
1048	...	Damasus II.	...	...
1049	...	Leo IX.	...	...
1053	William, <i>Bras de Fer</i> .	
1054	...	Victor II.	...	...
1056	Henry IV.	...	...	...
1057	...	Stephen X.	...	...
1059	...	Nicolas II.	...	Robert Guiscard.	
1060	Philip I.	...	
1061	...	Alexander II.	...	...
1066	} Harold II. } William I.
1073	...	Gregory VII.	...	...
				KINGS OF THE TWO SICILIES.	
1085	Robert, <i>the Hunchback</i> .	
1086	...	Victor III.	...	...
1087	...	Urban II.	...	...	William II.
1099	...	Paschal II.	...	...
1100	Henry I.
1102	Roger II.	
1106	Henry V.	...	...	...
1108	Louis VI.	...	
1118	...	Gelasius II.	...	...
1119	...	Calixtus II.	...	...
1123	<i>First Lateran Council, called the Ninth General Council.</i>				

CHAPTER VII.

HILDEBRAND,

Relations of the See to the Empire—Early Life of Hildebrand—Monk of Cluny—Legate in France—In Germany—Cardinal Archdeacon—Election of Alexander II.—Cadolus Anti-pope—Seizure of the Emperor—His vicious Life—Hildebrand Pope—Styled Gregory VII.—Lay Investiture and Marriage of the Clergy—Theory of Virginitv—Council of Elvira—Nicaea—Apostolical Canons—Quinisext Council—Greek Practice—Latin Church—Resistance of the Clergy—Efforts of Gregory—Consequent Immortality—Legantine Synods—Councils at Rome—Controversy on the Investiture—State of Germany and Italy—Vices of the Kings—Conflict of the Pope and the Emperor—Deposition and Excommunication of Henry—Regalia of St. Peter—Power of the Curse—Submission of the Emperor—Absolution and Second Excommunication—Rival Emperors and Popes—Death of Rodolph—Gregory relieved by the Normans—His Flight and Death—Continuance of his Policy—Decrees of Victor and Otho—Rebellion of the Emperor's Sons—His Imprisonment, Escape, and Death—Contest continued by Henry V.—Same Question in France and England—Anselm—Concordats—Arrest of Pope Paschal—His Duplicity and Death—Excommunication of the Emperor by Calixtus—Final Concordat—Conflict of Obligations.

Down to the eleventh century the popes were content to claim the spiritual primacy of the Catholic Church. Though never seriously conceded—hardly very seriously urged—in the East, this claim was now generally established in the West. The pope was acknowledged as chief pastor, and his see as the centre of communion, by the Latin Church. He was the general referee and arbitrator on religious questions. He reprovcd the vices of princes too great to be admonished by their own bishops, and remonstrated with metropolitans when their decisions violated the canons of the Church. As general superintendent of the faith and morals of the clergy, it

was his office to exhort them everywhere to do their duty. His admonitions commanded respect with many who, in the absence of a free press and an enlightened public opinion, were glad to uphold an ecclesiastical chief against the wickedness of secular lords.

Still this primacy was not an arbitrary power : it was subject to the canons of the Church and the law of the land. The pope himself was removable by a General Council ; his decrees were disregarded, even by ecclesiastics, when they trenched on the rights or privileges of their churches. The archbishops, in accepting the office of papal legates, had not lost sight of their own national primacy ; and the kings had no intention of surrendering any rights of the crown.

The work of the eleventh century was to convert this great pastoral authority into an absolute sovereignty over all churches and nations. The clergy of every country were claimed as the pope's subjects to the exclusion of their native allegiance. Bishops were merely his deputies, holding office by his appointment, and deriving all their spiritual authority out of the Holy see. Finally, the spiritual authority was declared to supersede, or rather incorporate in itself, all temporal power. All power in heaven and in earth — such was the blasphemous assertion — belonged to the vicar of Christ. Kingdoms, no less than bishoprics, were subject to the keys of St. Peter : it appertained to his successor to give and to take away crowns. Their wearers were to be guided by the pope's counsels ; their revenues liable to the pope's demands. Disobedience to the pope incurred the penalty of deposition and excommunication ; persons excommunicated by the see of Rome might be assassinated without the guilt of murder.

This prodigious stride in the papacy was mainly due to the genius, perseverance, and indomitable ambition

of one man. The monk Hildebrand ruled the councils of the Holy see throughout the latter half of the century. Though occupying the pontifical chair but twelve years, he stood behind it during the reigns of five predecessors, and bequeathed his mantle and spirit to two successors of his own choice. Eight popes are thus represented in his person. The supremacy was so notoriously his device, that some historians speak of it as the *Hildebrandine Heresy*.

At the beginning of the eleventh century the Roman see was in as complete subjection to the imperial crown as any other bishopric. Under Henry III. four German popes succeeded on the sole nomination of the emperor. The Roman delegates appeared at his court to sue out their *congé d'elire*, precisely like any other chapter; and this subjection, though resented by the more ardent Romanists, was found the only safeguard against local violence and corruption. Such was the state of the Church when Hildebrand was born—the son of a poor carpenter, at Saone, in Tuscany. His early education was probably obtained in some neighbouring monastery; his first appearance in history is in the family of the archpriest John, who, notwithstanding the stupendous simony of purchasing the see, is reported to have been a good man, actuated only by a desire to get rid of the infamous Benedict. Hildebrand accompanied him in his exile into Germany; and seems to have upheld his claim to the see, since it is solely through his recognition that Gregory VI. retains a place in the List of Popes.

On the death of his patron, Hildebrand took the vows at Cluny in Burgundy, where as prior of that famous monastery he had the honour of receiving Bruno bishop of Toul, on his way to take possession of the papacy, to which he had been elected by a council convoked by the emperor at Worms. Hildebrand disclosed

to his guest the grief and indignation which animated his breast, at the thought of the chair of St. Peter being disposed of by the secular power. According to some authors, his glowing eloquence induced the bishop to lay aside the pontifical ensigns, and pursue his journey on foot in the habit of a pilgrim. His archdeacon, however, relates that Bruno had travelled in that garb out of Germany, and that in reluctantly yielding to the imperial pleasure he had stipulated for submitting himself to a free election at Rome.

Certain it is that Bruno arrived at the Vatican as a pilgrim, and Hildebrand with him. Walking barefooted into the church, they prostrated themselves at the tomb of the apostle; then submitting himself to the will of the electors, Bruno was unanimously chosen and enthroned by the name of Leo IX. One of his first acts was to ordain Hildebrand sub-deacon, and employ him in the affairs of the Holy see. The monk acquired such influence, that at Leo's death, he was despatched to the emperor with a proxy from the whole Roman Church to elect a successor. By Hildebrand's voice the bishop of Eichsted became pope Victor II., and like Thomas-à-Becket in a later day, exchanged the affection of his imperial master for the extreme phase of the rising anti-imperial policy. Hildebrand was rewarded with the appointment of legate in France, with authority (though still but a sub-deacon in the Church) to convene councils and preside over bishops and metropolitans. To his Council of Tours the emperor was foolish enough to send ambassadors, asking that the king of Castile might be restrained by the spiritual arm from assuming the imperial title, and compelled to obey the emperor of the Romans. Hildebrand eagerly caught at the opportunity of asserting the papal authority. With Victor's approval he sent legates into Spain, who,

by threats of excommunication and interdict, reduced the king to submission.

Victor dying in 1057, Hildebrand was put in nomination for the pontificate, but being still in France, and apparently not pressing his claim, the choice fell on Frederic of Lorraine, who assumed the title of Stephen IX. The new pontiff's brother Godfrey had married the widow of marquis Boniface, and was now regent of Tuscany, on behalf of the infant Matilda. This election, therefore, cemented the alliance of the Holy see with that powerful state. The pope entertained a design of investing his brother with the imperial power vacated by Henry, who died just before Victor, leaving his infant son to Stephen's own guardianship. Whether to sound the princes on this project, or to apologise to the empress-regent for entering on the see without imperial confirmation, Hildebrand was sent as legate to Germany. During his absence the pope fell sick and died, having strictly enjoined the clergy and people not to elect a successor till the legate's return. The injunction was disregarded, but on Hildebrand's arrival he ejected the intruder, and procured the election of the bishop of Florence, another of the Tuscan house, for whom he brought with him the empress-regent's approval. By this pope, Nicholas II., Hildebrand was created cardinal archdeacon, and universally recognised as the ruling person in Rome.

To avoid the tumults still attendant on the popular election, a canon was now passed confirming the right of suffrage to the seven bishops of the Roman territory, and the twenty-eight presbyters who enjoyed the title of cardinals. The remainder of the clergy with the nobility and commonalty were only to be asked for their assent to the person elected. This canon, passed at a council in the Lateran (A.D. 1059), was the foundation

of the Sacred College, and effected a great step to the sacerdotal ascendancy which the archdeacon had in view. The opportunity was further taken to limit the right of confirmation to emperors duly recognised by the Apostolic see.

The pope dying three years after, Hildebrand objected to Henry IV. as a minor not yet crowned emperor, notwithstanding that he had himself been the bearer of the regent's letters for the confirmation of Nicholas. The Roman nobles took the alarm, and sending a deputation to the king, presented him with a gold crown and the patrician purple. The cardinals deemed it prudent to apply for the customary *congé d'élire*, but the empress, unwilling to recognise their new authority, returned the letter unopened, and Hildebrand joyfully proceeded to the election and enthronement of a new pontiff, who assumed the name of Alexander II. The empress regent called a council at Basle, which annulled the election, and appointed Cadolus bishop of Parma, a married man, and a resolute opponent of compulsory celibacy. This pontiff advancing at the head of the Lombard troops to Rome, was encountered and repulsed by Godfrey duke of Tuscany.

The contest was arrested by an unexpected revolution in the empire. The elector archbishop of Cologne suddenly carried off the young king, and seizing the reins of government, declared for Alexander. The empress mother finding herself powerless, retired to Rome, where she afterwards became the advocate of the papacy against her own son. Henry's education was neglected, and his morals shamefully corrupted under the tutelage of his ecclesiastical guardians. On coming of age he scandalised the world by vices which neither the graces of his person, nor the indulgence accorded to youth, could excuse. The first sovereign in Europe was accused of crimes for which there were

no names in the French or German languages, and which could only be paralleled from the lives of the Cæsars.¹

Hildebrand well knew how to profit by the evil reputation of the crown. After directing the councils of five successive pontiffs, he was engaged in the funeral solemnities of Alexander, when a cry arose in the church, "Hildebrand is pope, St. Peter has chosen him." The archdeacon flew to the pulpit and implored silence and regularity, but his voice was overborne: he was seized and placed on the pontifical seat by acclamations, of which no one doubted the inspiration.² Still, he did not choose to be consecrated without royal approval. He even solicited Henry to withhold the confirmation from one who was unworthy of the charge. The emperor, unfortunately for himself, overruled his modesty, and Hildebrand, consecrated in the presence of his commissioners, was the last pope who submitted to that restriction.

Taking the name of Gregory VII., out of respect to his old patron, he plunged at once into the contest, for which he had long been preparing. He began by selecting two flagrant abuses for correction, taking care at the same time to confound under their names two other things perfectly different. This was Gregory's favourite artifice. The crimes he condemned were *simony* and *incontinence*, but under these names he anathematised *lay investiture*

¹ Aventinus, c. v. Henry was married at an early age, but was only restrained by threats of ecclesiastical censure from divorcing his wife in two years. His infamous treatment of his second consort was divulged by herself at the Council of Placentia, and the rebellion of his son Conrad was ascribed to an attempt to implicate him in the crime.

² Three modes of election were recognised in the Church. The first was by "acclamation," when the electors concurred at once in calling for a certain candidate. This was spoken of as an inspiration. The next course was by "scrutiny," when each elector balloted for the man of his choice. The last was by "compromise," which meant committing the election to a delegacy of the different parties.

and the *marriage of the clergy*. On these two questions the great battle of the Church against the State was waged. A few words will suffice to explain them.

In endowing the Church with lands and titles, the kings and nobles mostly reserved the patronage of the benefices to themselves. Under the feudal system the bishops and abbots held their temporalities as fiefs of the crown, and all fiefs reverted to the lord on the death of the tenant; the heir had to sue for restitution, and to pay a fine on obtaining it. To this burden the ecclesiastical fief was liable in common with others; and as the successor had no natural claim of inheritance, and the promotion was a pure gain, the payment was often more than would have been exacted from a temporal baron. So far as the defence of the crown was concerned, one ecclesiastic was as good as another: the prince was tempted to think him the best who brought the largest bag of gold in his hand. Some payment was plainly reasonable, and the burdens of the laity would have been largely augmented by the absolute exemption of ecclesiastical fiefs. Nor was the mode of payment very different from the exaction of fees and stamps at the present day. The mischief was that, the payments being undefined, a needy or ambitious ecclesiastic could outbid his competitors, and then reimburse himself by exacting higher sums from the flock. The rich preferments (as is too often the case under all systems of patronage) fell to the worst candidates, and the very sacraments were sold to make up the price.

So far as the patron was concerned, the obvious remedy was to agree upon a fixed composition: with respect to the clergy, they should have been absolutely deprived of their simoniacal bargains. But neither of those reforms answered Hildebrand's object. He pronounced all ecclesiastical property to be indissolubly annexed

to the spiritual office: all nominations, therefore, were spiritual acts, and all payments in respect of them were buying and selling the Holy Ghost. He claimed to reduce the whole transaction under the canons of the Church,—in other words, to transfer the entire patronage of the western Church from the State to the spiritual authority. This was the motive for stigmatising lay investiture as simony. The pope was not insensible to the prevalence of the genuine sin; even the sale of orders by the bishops was not uncommon. Gregory persuaded himself, however, that these were the fruits of lay investiture, and would all disappear if the patronage could be wrested from the temporal lord. Consequently, when ecclesiastics convicted of simony would resign their preferment into his hands, instead of being for ever disqualified, they often obtained them again with a moderate penance.

The same wilful confusion of right and wrong characterised the pope's denunciations of clerical licentiousness. His real object was to enforce the practice of celibacy, hence the married clergy were confounded with the immoral, and their wives were stigmatised as concubines.

The theory which exalts virginity above holy wedlock is unquestionably of heathen origin. It is part of the doctrine of the inherent evil of matter, common to the Greek and oriental philosophies, which considered the body the prison of the soul, and all its acts more or less a clog upon the spiritual nature. The Gnostic Marcion rejected marriage because, holding the world and the flesh to be the creation of an inferior malevolent deity, he refused to continue a race of slaves for his dominion. Marriage was also temporarily discouraged by the dangers and anxieties inseparable from a state of persecution:¹ hence the saints and

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 26.

martyrs of highest repute were often single. When to this was added the increasing reverence paid to the Virgin Mary, it is not wonderful that the voice of nature and of Scripture yielded to the united force of philosophy and superstition. A fanaticism, of which even the best of the fathers did not escape the infection, prevailed in favour of the really inferior condition.¹ Forgetting that marriage was the one blessing which God added to His own image in man, in the time of his innocency, they "vied with each other in exalting the transcendent, holy, angelic virtue of virginity."²

Early in the fourth century, Hosius bishop of Cordova is said to have bound the Spanish clergy to celibacy at the Council of Elvira; this is open to question, and the decree, if enunciated, certainly did not prevail in practice. Hosius brought the question forward again at Nicæa, where he was warmly opposed by Paphnutius an Egyptian bishop and confessor, who, though unmarried himself, maintained the lawfulness and sanctity of wedlock, and defeated the proposition.³ Among the canons called Apostolical is one of uncertain date, which forbids the marriage of bishops, priests, and deacons, *after ordination*,⁴ but the restraint is justified as a matter of discipline, and guarded by an express caution against deeming marriage impure, since that would be to blaspheme God who made them male and female.⁵ Married men were still freely admitted in all ranks of the clergy, and so far from being

¹ This is one of the points on which the marked opposition between the Holy Scriptures and the writings of men proves the inspiration of the former.

² Milman's Christianity, iii. 11.

³ Soc. E. H., i. 11. Baronius and Bellarmine question the truth of the historian, but he is confirmed by Sozomen (E. H., i. 23) and Suidas (In Vit. Paph.).

⁴ Can. Apost., xxvi.

⁵ Ibid, li.

required to put away their wives, they were punished with deposition if they did so.¹ There was no further alteration of the law, notwithstanding the efforts of the ascetics, till the Quinisext Council, when a canon was carried, forbidding any one to retain his wife after his elevation to the *episcopate*. The order was accompanied by a singular salvo, that nothing was intended in derogation of the Apostolical canons.² Henceforth, while the clergy continued to be married as before, no one was promoted to the episcopate unless he was a widower, or his wife would consent to take the vows as a nun. This is still the practice of the Greek Church, where the parish priests are *required* to be married, but only widowers or monks are made bishops.

In the Latin Church,—notwithstanding that St. Peter was a married man, and tradition made his wife partake of his martyrdom at Rome,—a harsher course was pursued. The Council of Arles (340) ordered that no married man should be ordained unless his wife agreed to separate. Syricius, said to be the first bishop of Rome who styled himself pope, enjoined absolute celibacy on all priests and deacons: at that time, however, thirty was the age for admitting deacons, and thirty-five for presbyters.³ Syricius's letter is the first genuine Decretal, and supplies the first canon in the Roman code. The prohibition was repeated by synods in Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Germany; it was introduced into Britain as part of the Roman discipline by Augustine. By Leo the Great (A.D. 440) the yoke of celibacy was extended to sub-deacons. Gregory I. was a strenuous advocate for its observance, and the prohibition was now no longer limited to persons unmarried at the time of ordination, refusing admission to married candidates, but holy orders were considered as

¹ Can. Apost., v. ² Conc. in Trull., can. xii. ³ Conc., i. p. 689.

effecting a divorce *ipso facto*. There was no hesitation in ordaining married men, but in defiance of Christ's own words and the primitive canons, they were required to put away their wives.

A regulation so contrary to Scripture, equity, and humanity, was not easily carried out in practice. It continued rare to marry after ordination, but a large number of the parish clergy, and not a few of the bishops, married before ordination, refused to put away their wives at the call of the new Roman discipline. These were the offenders against whom Hildebrand levelled his fiercest anathemas. He was less severe on the acknowledged pollutions of the votaries of celibacy, because these only offended against God, and did not defy the Church; they pretended to a virtue if they had it not. The married clergy repudiated the virtue itself. They opposed to the papal dictum, the laws of Christ and of humanity; they refused to sacrifice the holy estate ordained of God in the time of man's innocency to the commands of the Church. They declined to qualify as the pope's slaves, by tearing out of their hearts the purest ties of nature and religion.

Against these, Gregory at the head of the whole company of monks, clean and unclean, poured out a torrent of defamation. Celibacy, which universal experience shows to be the parent of abominations unspeakable, was extolled as the "angelic life." Marriage was pronounced inferior to virginity in all, impossible to clergymen. Their wives were branded as concubines; the laity were invited to seize them as slaves, and to forsake the ministry of their husbands. The state which the word of God pronounces "honourable in all men," was to Gregory more odious than that which the same word declares "God will judge." To fornicators and adulterers he held out easy penances

and high promotion ; to “ the husband of one wife,” degradation, ruin, and excommunication. This crushing yoke Hildebrand succeeded in riveting on the neck of the Latin Church. The laity applauded the vicarious sanctity purchased by other men’s wrongs, till the consequences invaded their own homes in a flood of pollution, which swept away the last barriers of law, discipline, and decency.

The most incontestable evidence of the results of compulsory celibacy is afforded by the councils of the Church which imposed it. A large proportion of their acts are devoted to the repression of incontinence ; the vices enumerated as of common occurrence can only be paralleled, and are not exceeded, by the terrible catalogue of heathen pollutions contained in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Canon after canon labours, with halting foot, to overtake the rapid march of pollution among the clergy, monks, and nuns. Their repeated penalties show the abominations with which the law contended in vain. Where such enormities could be continuously and increasingly denounced, smaller sins must have remained undetected in the tide of turpitude. This conclusion is not to be rebutted by theoretical declamation ; it meets us as the practical result of almost every monastic visitation, whether conducted by friends or foes. If history has established any one principle of human nature more surely than another, it is this,—that to bind large classes of men and women by vows of celibacy, is not only to shut out duties which God Himself has appointed, in the constitution of the family and of society, but to ensure a frightful amount of perjury and uncleanness. When these classes include the national clergy, the very wells of morality are poisoned ; the physicians of souls are turned into agents of corruption.

To carry out his views, Hildebrand sought to hold synods in every kingdom under the presidency of his own legates. The way for this innovation had been unconsciously prepared by the archbishops, who, with a view of increasing their authority in their respective provinces, had accepted the permanent title of legates of the Holy see (*legati nati*). They were disgusted to find themselves superseded by foreigners from Rome, —legates *a latere*, as they were styled,—who took their office out of their hands, and though of inferior dignity presided in their councils, as coming directly from the side of the pope. Many kings, the English especially, refused to admit these interlopers into their dominions. The pope then fell back on his council at Rome, to which he summoned the bishops on their canonical obedience, and so pretended to make laws for the churches which they represented, without any reference to the laity. The monarchs retaliated by prohibiting their bishops from going to Rome without royal permission, and from bringing any decrees into their dominions without royal approval.

Six councils were held at Rome during this pontificate, in which the papal designs were manifested in canons, releasing the bishops and clergy from allegiance to their native princes, and binding them to the exclusive sovereignty of Rome. Gregory maintained that the pope was by divine right the universal and paramount lord of the world; that all monarchs held their dominions as fiefs of the Holy see, and the bishops and clergy formed the court and officers of the suzerain pontiff. This doctrine, he knew, could never be preached by a married clergy, whose wives and children are so many hostages to the State. Hence his desire for a celibate priesthood: men in whom the anxieties of local and domestic ties would be swallowed up in the pride of

an imaginary virtue, or the ambition of professional advancement.

In attacking lay investiture, Hildebrand was attacking the whole political system of Europe. The bishops and abbots were secular almost as much as ecclesiastical dignitaries. They were endowed with vast territorial possessions; they wielded judicial powers affecting life and death; they sat in the councils of State; in Germany they were princes and electors of the empire. No sovereign could allow these important dignities to pass from his own nomination, or suffer a foreign power to plant irresponsible authorities in his realm, and secret enemies in his council. In point of form, however, the pope had an advantage, of which Hildebrand made the most. It was the custom for the lord to enfeoff the new tenant by the delivery of a portion or symbol of the fee; a sod of ground, a wand of office, a sword, or a lance, served the purpose. The popes invested the dukes of Apulia by the delivery of a standard. The ecclesiastical feudatory of the empire received in like manner a symbolical investiture. The pastoral staff of the deceased prelate, and the ring which bore his seal and was said to wed him to his Church, were sent back by the chapter to the king, and by him delivered to the new prelate on his appointment. Gregory insisted that these were manifestly spiritual, not temporal emblems; they were signs of a power which God had committed to the Church, and could not be touched by a layman without sacrilege. At the same time, it would be sacrilege to rob the sacred symbols of the temporal rights which they possessed. The fee was annexed to the crosier and ring, and could not be taken away from them. He suppressed the fact that the spiritual commission was given by *ordination*, which no prince

or peer attempted to interfere with, and evaded the obvious remedy (which was finally resorted to) of changing the symbol to a less ambiguous form. He was wise enough also not to claim the nominations to himself, but to insist on the right of the chapters to elect. The chapters were sure to fall, sooner or later, under the pope's control, but their intervention was a decent blind, which propitiated the nobles who had relatives in the electoral colleges.

It required no small measure of audacity to call on the German emperor to surrender his imperial rights, at the bidding of the bishop whom he regarded as metropolitan and first chaplain of his realm. Nor could the demand be sustained for a moment, while Germany and Rome retained their original political relations. The imperial crown, however, had lost much of the splendour that surrounded it on the head of Henry III. That monarch had himself failed in the ambitious design of reducing the kingdoms of the West under his paramount suzerainty, and the long minority of his son weakened the authority of the crown in Germany itself. The great vassals were impatient of the imperial yoke. The nobles and princes were ready for a change, and the prelates, whose authority was very great, might be generally counted on by the pope.

The state of Italy also was now very different from that which drove the Holy see to seek protection beyond the Alps. Defenders had arisen on its own soil, encouraging the pope to act as an independent sovereign. The Normans had become a power in Italy. The town of Bari in Apulia, having revolted from the Greek emperor, placed itself in the protection of the pope and the western Augustus; but receiving no immediate succour, the citizens applied to some Norman merce-

naries, who chanced to be in the neighbourhood, and a little army of these hardy adventurers was soon collected. These not only expelled the Greeks out of the province, but appropriated the territory to themselves, and proclaimed their leader, William of the Iron Arm, count of Apulia (1053). Pope Leo IX. venturing to dispute his title in the field, was defeated and taken prisoner, but the Normans treated him with such respect that the pontiff adopted them for his allies, absolved them from all his censures, and sent them with his blessing to complete the expulsion of the Greeks.

Six years after, Robert Guiscard (the Crafty) was invested by pope Nicolas II. as "duke of Apulia and Calabria, and future duke of Sicily." The pontiff gave him a consecrated banner, with the title of champion and standard-bearer of holy Church. His conquests, corresponding very nearly with the limits of the modern kingdom of Naples, were held as a fief of the Church. The pope, who had never the slightest claim to bestow them, received tribute as paramount suzerain, and his pious vassal undertook the defence of his liege lord against all his enemies. Robert's younger brother Roger carried the Norman arms into Sicily, whence in a war of thirty years (1060-90) he expelled both Greeks and Saracens, and restored the churches to the Roman jurisdiction. Alexander granted him a plenary indulgence (the first instance of the kind) to complete the expulsion of the infidels, and sent him a banner from the tomb of St. Peter, a favour soon after bestowed on his kinsman William for the conquest of England. These principalities, afterwards united into the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, formed a bulwark to the Holy see on the south, which proved of the greatest advantage in its struggles with the empire.

On the north, the election of Stephen allied the papacy

with his brother the duke of Tuscany, one of the most powerful princes of the age, and Hildebrand lost no opportunity of cementing a friendship which interposed a valuable barrier against the forces of Lombardy and Germany.

Thus secure in Italy, the pope had no very formidable adversary abroad. England was in the grasp of another Norman power, marching under a banner also consecrated by the pope. France was in constant warfare with the great feudatories of Flanders, Gascony, and Normandy. The crown was further weakened by the iniquities with which Philip I. repeatedly provoked the censures of the Church.¹ Indeed, the papal pretensions have always found their surest ally in the vices of monarchs. Their profligacy and rapacity, corrupting and defying all national law, called for a more stringent restraint from abroad. A foreign pastor was welcomed when the native prince proved a wolf in the fold. Even foreign servitude seemed preferable to a domestic tyranny that neither feared God nor regarded man. Against such princes the rebuke of the Church was sure to be upheld by public opinion.

Gregory opened his conflict with the German throne by renewing a citation, issued in the last days of Alexander, for Henry's appearance at the papal tribunal, to answer a charge of simony. Incensed at such a message, and flushed with his Saxon conquests, the king retorted by summoning a council at Worms, which deposed the pope. Every crime under the sun was laid to his charge—simony, perjury, usurpation, magic, and

¹ Philip was the third in descent from Hugh Capet, count of Paris and Orleans, on whom the French estates conferred the crown on the extinction of the Carolingian dynasty in Louis *le Faineant* (987). Philip was excommunicated at the Council of Clermont (1095), for persisting in adultery with the countess of Anjou, whom he forcibly abducted from the Church at Tours, though both were married at the time.

invoking the devil. This was the mere spite of party spirit: Gregory's personal character was unimpeachable: in fact, two of the bishops who ventured to ask for evidence, were roundly told to choose between the emperor and his enemy. The bishops of Lombardy readily endorsed the German decree;¹ and the king sent it to Rome with a letter commanding the pope to descend from the chair, of which he was unworthy. The documents were delivered with dramatic effect in full synod; but Gregory was prepared. With the consent of the whole council, he solemnly invoked "blessed Peter, prince of the apostles," to depose the king from the throne of Germany and Italy for insulting his Church with unheard-of pride. The sentence proceeded to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and finally excommunicated Henry for despising the pope's counsels for his welfare. The impious decree was heard and approved by the empress-mother, who sat at Gregory's feet, but it took the world outside by surprise.

Excommunication is a privation of religious rites intended to bring the sinner to repentance, and meantime to relieve the sacred services from profanation. It was pronounced only for offences dangerous to the faith or morals of the congregation, and then not till after private and public admonition. The law of the land might annex other penalties, but the Church affected no authority, save over her own spiritual offices. To deprive an emperor of his throne for disobedience to the pope, was a step without parallel, save among those barbarians whom the ban of the

¹ At this very time Gregory was seized and nearly murdered by a band of Roman citizens, headed by Cencio, the prefect of the city. It is singular that the popes have always been more unpopular in Italy and at Rome than in any other country.

Druid subjected to outlawry and death. As for absolving men from oaths taken to another, it was a thing never heard of till the intoxication of papal pride had obscured the third Commandment. Henry, indeed, had lost the right to complain by invoking the same penalty on the king of Castile; but no such sentence had yet been promulgated against a sovereign prince. When questioned on that point, Gregory replied that our Lord, in granting to St. Peter the power of binding and loosing, did not except kings. He quoted the examples of Ambrose, who repelled the emperor Theodosius from the Church, because his hands were stained with blood, and of pope Zachary, who deposed king Childeric. Ambrose, however, did but impose a temporary privation, which it is to be hoped many a bishop, or inferior minister, would repeat to a royal sinner without any design on his kingdom. As for Zachary, his conduct was bad and treacherous enough, but after all he only gave an opinion against the divine right of kings, and left it to the French estates to apply it. It was reserved to Hildebrand to extend the spiritual power of binding and loosing to the abrogation of temporal rights. His sentence proceeded on the doctrine that all authority, temporal no less than spiritual, belongs to St. Peter, and to the pope as the apostle's representative. Hence, he first invoked the apostle to depose the king. Then assuming that to be accomplished, he absolved the people from an allegiance no longer due; and finally having reduced the sovereign to a private person, he excommunicated him for contumacy to his pastor.

This doctrine Hildebrand finally established in the Church of Rome, under the name of the *Regalia of St. Peter*. The oath which he framed for its defence is still taken by every bishop of that communion. And though it has been pretended in this country, for poli-

tical purposes, that the doctrine is no longer recognised, it is still asserted in the public acts of the Church, and maintained, both in theory and in practice, by all authorities of the Roman Church.

In one respect Hildebrand was perfectly right. There is no royal road to heaven, no immunity to kings from restrictions laid upon other Christians. The pope was as much entitled to deprive the emperor of his crown, as to exclude the meanest peasant from the kingdom of heaven—*as much and no more*. If St. Peter has any cognizance of what is done at Rome, he might quite as easily recognise a successor, in the pope who taught men not to submit themselves to the king as supreme,¹ as in the pope who pretends to close up the entrance abundantly ministered by grace, to all who make their calling and election sure, into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.²

Not that such curses are simply nugatory; their power is terrible, but it is a power of Satan, not of God. They operate on the evil, not on the good, in human nature, and can bring about their own accomplishment through covetousness or despair. Such was the power that smote the emperor Henry iv. The papal sentence no sooner reached Germany than the ecclesiastical electors formed a league with the princes opposed to his rule, and by practising on the superstition and envy of others, compelled the emperor to submit his case to a diet, in which the pope should preside. In the meantime he was required to disband his army, and divest himself of the imperial ensigns. It appeared indubitable that unless the excommunication were removed before the day of assembly, the diet would depose him from the throne.

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 13.

² 2 Pet. i. 10.

In this strait Henry was advised to seek absolution from the hand which had proved so powerful to his injury. Crossing the Alps in the depth of winter with his queen and her infant, he arrived a forlorn pilgrim in the plains of Lombardy. There the peers and prelates rallied round him with all their resources, and offered to carry him in arms to the gates of Rome. Henry preferred a pacific solution. His messengers sought the fortress of Canossa, where Gregory was enjoying the hospitality of the countess Matilda, now in possession of her government. Released from an unwelcome union by the death of her affianced husband,¹ this beautiful princess devoted herself with all the ardour of female enthusiasm to the cause of the papacy. Though cousin-german to Henry, she did not hesitate to head her troops in the field against him, and all the resources of her rich principality were at Gregory's command.

It was not till the "great countess" joined her entreaties with those of the messengers, that the pope consented to admit the humbled monarch to his presence. The favour was accompanied by unheard-of indignities. At the outer gate of the castle the king was required to part with his attendants, and enter alone. When this gate had been shut upon him, he was told at the second to exchange his royal attire for a coarse woollen tunic, and so was admitted barefooted to the inner court. Here he was commanded to wait till his Holiness should order the third door to be opened. For three successive

¹ Matilda was the sole child of Boniface marquis of Tuscany. Her mother Beatrix was daughter to the emperor Conrad II., grandfather of Henry IV. She married in second nuptials Godfrey duke of Lorraine, who governed Tuscany in the minority of Matilda. The young countess was affianced to his son, but the marriage was never consummated, and she afterwards became the wife of Guelph duke of Bavaria.

days the royal penitent stood, shivering and fasting, at this entrance from morning to night. Gregory's own friends murmured at the severity, and the fourth day the countess's entreaties obtained the king's admission.

The terms imposed were of a most humiliating character. He was to abstain from the royal insignia till the assembly of the diet, where the pope would finally decide on his deposition. He was to consider void the oath of allegiance, which the pope had dissolved, to dismiss his councillors, and promise entire submission to the Holy see if he should be restored to the crown. These humiliating conditions were signed and sworn to by the emperor. The countess with other intercessors pledged their oaths and honour for his fidelity, and Gregory at last pronounced the absolution (January 25, 1077). To confirm the rite, he proceeded to celebrate mass; taking the consecrated wafer in his hand, he reminded Henry of the charges brought against himself, and solemnly protesting his innocence, invoked the Almighty to strike him dead if he were guilty. With these words he received the sacrament. Then fixing his eyes on Henry, he offered him the other part of the same wafer, and dared him to a similar exoneration.

The ordeal was, of course, impossible, after asking and obtaining absolution, and the emperor had a more secret motive in declining it. He had no sooner rejoined the Lombard nobles than he repudiated all the conditions, resumed the royal titles, and putting himself at the head of the army, effectually prevented the pope from going into Germany. The intended diet being thus defeated, Henry's enemies assembled and chose Rodolph duke of Suabia king. The pope sent him the imperial crown, and renewing his sentence against Henry, invoked the apostles Peter and Paul to

hurl their vengeance upon him without delay. "May God confound him (exclaimed the fanatic) that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

Henry upon his part called a council at Brixen in the Tyrol, which, again deposing Gregory, elected the archbishop of Ravenna pope, by the name of Clement III. Two emperors and two popes now challenged the allegiance of Church and State. Wars and excommunications raged for twenty years. The rival popes alternately chased each other out of Rome, or kept possession together, one in the Lateran and the other in the castle. The schism extended throughout Europe. Every nation was called on to choose its pope, and brave the malediction of his rival. If all were excommunicated before God, who were pronounced so by His vicegerents, and all who communicated with them shared the penalty, the true communion must in many places have been reduced to those who never communicated at all.

Rodolph fell in battle June 15, 1080. His right hand was severed in the action—"That hand," he exclaimed, in his dying moments, "with which I promised allegiance to my liege lord." He died laying his broken faith to the charge of Gregory.¹ Godfrey of Bouillon, the hero of *Jerusalem Delivered*, was the knight who struck the fatal blow. Four years later Gregory was driven into the castle of St. Angelo, while Rome after two sieges opened her gates to Henry, and he received the imperial crown in St. Peter's from the anti-pope Clement. The emperor was anticipating the fall of the castle and the capture of his inveterate foe, when the tables were turned by the arrival of Robert Guiscard, with an army of Normans and Saracens fresh from Constantinople. The imperial forces made a precipitate

¹ Leti.

retreat, and Gregory, once more enthroned in the Lateran, thundered out anathemas of which the frequent repetition seems to betray a doubt of their validity.

The people of Rome paid dear for the release of their orthodox pastor. The forces of Robert took out their wages in indiscriminate plunder. The city was fired in several places, and by the light of the flames the Norman and Moslem auxiliaries of the Church revelled in all the horrors of war. Two-thirds of the houses were destroyed. Churches, convents, altars, were profaned, and multitudes carried away to captivity and slavery. The Romans may well be pardoned their insensibility to the blessings of "Apostolical" rule. The pope's champions were no sooner withdrawn than the exasperated citizens compelled the pope to follow them. Gregory fled to Salerno, and there died May 25, 1085, "repenting," says an author, whose wish was father to the thought, "of all his violence, and absolving the emperor with his latest breath."¹ The "Life of Gregory" exhibits a deathbed more in keeping with the inflexible and vindictive spirit of one who has been called the Czar Peter of the Church.² "I absolve and bless (he is there reported to have said) all who firmly believe that I have such a power, except Henry whom they call king, the usurper of the Apostolic see, and their chief assistants and councillors."³ Cherishing his animosities to the last, he scrupled not to add, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity: therefore I die in exile." Then telling the bishops and cardinals that he was going to heaven, the daring fanatic promised to recommend them incessantly to the Almighty favour, and so expired.

Hildebrand died, but his policy survived. As he had counselled five popes before himself, he left his

¹ Sigebert, ad an. 1085.

² Guizot.

³ Vit. Greg., c. 110.

mantle to two successors of his own choice, partakers of his thoughts and ready to pursue his ambitious designs.

The first was Victor III., who, in little more than a year, fled back to die in the abbey which he had reluctantly quitted. Even this brief pontificate was long enough to renew the decree against lay investiture, and to extend it to *all* Church preferments. Lay patronage was accounted a *heresy*, and the faithful were told that "it was better to be deprived of the visible communion and communicate invisibly with God, than to be separated from Him by receiving it from a heretic."¹

Otho, who had been Gregory's legate in Germany, was the next pope, by the name of Urban II. He is famous for his judgment on the guilt of killing the excommunicated. When asked what penance should be imposed on such homicides, he replied, "They must be judged according to their intention. If men, burning with zeal for their Catholic mother, happen to kill some of her enemies, that is not murder; nevertheless some penance should be enjoined to atone for their frailty, in case they had not been actuated by simple zeal!" This monstrous doctrine put the crowning stone to the papal edifice. The life of an excommunicated person might now be taken with impunity, provided the murderer could persuade his confessor that he was actuated by zeal for holy mother Church.

The war continued, as might be expected from such principles. The German princes elected Herman duke of Luxembourg in the place of Rodolph. Gregory had encouraged Conrad, the eldest son of Henry, to rebel in Italy; and when death arrested his undutiful career (1102), Paschal pursued the same wicked policy

¹ Bower, v. 316.

with his brother Henry. On taking up arms against his father, the prince was immediately absolved from the censures incurred by obeying him. After several engagements, the lords of the empire endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, and a diet was appointed for the purpose at Mentz. The prince, afraid of the result, repaired to his father in private, and confessing his fault, obtained forgiveness. Then assuring him that danger awaited him in the diet, he induced the emperor to retire to Bingen; but no sooner had they entered the castle, than the gate was shut, and the father found himself prisoner to his son. Being taken before the pope's legates at Ingelheim, he was compelled to deliver the imperial insignia to the prince. The legates told him his crown was forfeited by rebellion against the Apostolic see, and his life could only be saved by submission. They consecrated the prince on the spot, and the whole proceeding was ratified by Paschal II.

The emperor soon after escaped from his dungeon, and the war was renewed, but death claimed the afflicted monarch at Liege, August 7, 1106, after a reign of fifty years, no part of which was free from papal persecution. He fought more battles than Julius Cæsar, and was victorious in sixty-two general engagements. After learning wisdom and repentance in the school of adversity, he succumbed to "the pang that is sharper than a serpent's tooth," being deprived of crown, character, and life, by the treachery of a thankless child, incited by a wicked Church. The ecclesiastics, who had corrupted both father and son, were paid in their own coin. Henry v. no sooner felt himself safe on the throne, than he forswore all his oaths, resumed the investiture, and called upon the pope himself to solicit the staff and

ring at his hand, according to the usage of their predecessors from the days of Gregory the Great and Charlemagne.¹

The kings of France and England engaged in the same contest, but were more easily subdued. Philip, occupied with his disgraceful amours, made but a feeble resistance, and soon yielded his aid against the emperor. In England there was a sharp struggle. William Rufus succeeded to more than his father's vices, with none of the qualities which made the Conqueror respected. When at the point of death, he importuned Anselm to ease his conscience by accepting the archbishopric of Canterbury, but having recovered, he drove him out of the kingdom, that he might again take possession of the temporalities. The sees were notoriously sold by this rapacious tyrant, and, to prevent remonstrance and reform, he allowed no synods to be convened in his reign. Their suppression was perfectly agreeable to the prelates who had bought their sees, and were desirous of being left to their enjoyment, but Anselm, who cared more for the flock than the fleece, was driven like other good men to invoke a superior at Rome.

He found pope Urban in the Lateran, and pope Clement in the castle. By the former, whom he had recognised both as abbot and archbishop, he was welcomed as "pope of the second orb." At the Council of Bari (1098), Anselm distinguished himself by the learning and eloquence with which he answered the Greek objections to the doctrine of the Double Procession. The council was on the point of excommunicating Rufus, when the good archbishop threw himself at the pope's feet, and obtained a suspension of the sentence. The king used the delay to bribe the court

¹ Bower, v. 378.

of Rome, and so kept possession of the archbishop's lands till the day of his death.

Henry I. invited Anselm to return and receive re-investiture of his temporalities, but the archbishop had been a member of the council at Rome (1099), at which all who should give or receive lay investiture were pronounced excommunicated. The question had never before been mooted in England. Lanfranc and Anselm himself had received investiture from the king, but the Hildebrand doctrine was now the law of the Church, and Henry was menaced with excommunication if he refused to obey. He was not strong enough, in kingdom or conscience, to despise the censure. He tried to bully the pope and then to coax him: there was seldom much difficulty in bribing the pope; but Anselm, as an obedient son of the Church of Rome, urged the new canon, and the pope told the king he would lose his head rather than rescind it. In the end, Henry renounced all interference with the election of bishops and abbots, leaving the staff and ring to be given by the pope as emblems of the spiritual authority. On the other hand, Paschal allowed the new prelates to do homage to the king for their temporalities, so far receding from the Hildebrandine policy, which insisted on the exclusive allegiance of the clergy to the pope. These terms were ratified by the Council of London, 1107.

A similar arrangement was adopted at a later period in France; but the emperor stood out longer. He offered to relinquish the right of investiture altogether, on condition that the prelates should resign the estates and temporalities which they held of the empire. Strange to say, Paschal accepted the offer, and a treaty to this effect was actually concluded and ratified at a personal interview in St. Peter's, February 11, 1111.

The pope, however, as might be anticipated, promised more than he could perform. The German bishops peremptorily refused to relinquish their temporalities. In vain Paschal exhorted them to render unto Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's; they told the pope to set the example himself. Meantime, the king demanded to be crowned; and the pope declaring it impossible till the treaty was executed, Paschal was arrested by the German guards in the church. A rescue, attempted by the Romans, was defeated with much slaughter, and Henry left Rome, carrying the pope and cardinals in his train, stripped of their pontifical ornaments, and threatened with death. The pope was obdurate, but the cardinals and nobles who shared his danger at last prevailed on him to yield. A bull was signed and sealed, granting the king the right to invest by staff and ring, provided the bishops were freely elected without simony.

The pope was now set at liberty, and crowned the king in St. Peter's; they took the sacrament together from the same wafer; the pope invoking judgment on whichever should attempt to break the agreement. Yet no sooner was the emperor gone, than the cardinals who had escaped imprisonment insisted that all was null and void by reason of duress. A council assembled at the Lateran, where the pope's concession was censured as heretical, and he was called on to excommunicate the emperor for extorting it. Henry having taken the precaution to exact an oath from Paschal to the contrary, he refused to perjure himself, and was extricated from the dilemma by the curious expedient of excommunicating his own bull; with any other document this would be an excommunication of the author, but in the present case it only cancelled the bull. Paschal permitted his legates, however, to excommunicate the emperor,

and even confirmed the acts of the Council of Vienne, containing the sentence which he refused to pronounce himself. At the Lateran Council of 1116 the pope publicly confessed his fault in signing the accursed writing, and was with some difficulty cleared from its heresy.

The emperor came the next year to demand absolution at the head of an army. The countess Matilda being dead, he took possession of her dominions in Lombardy, without regard to her alleged donation to Gregory VII.¹ Paschal retired under the protection of the Norman dukes of Apulia, while the emperor entered Rome and persuaded the legate there to crown him anew in St. Peter's. For this, Paschal deprived and excommunicated the legate. The pope returned to Rome on the emperor's departure, and there died, resolute in the defence of the supremacy (1118).

His successor Gelasius, after suffering much personal ill usage from the imperialists, narrowly escaped the emperor's hands. Henry arriving in Rome annulled his election, and set up the excommunicated legate by the name of Gregory VIII.; from him in the character of pope he again received the imperial crown. Gelasius, driven into France, died at Cluny, January 29, 1119. The cardinals who accompanied him elected the archbishop of Vienne pope, by the name of Calixtus II. He was the emperor's relative, but after the failure of some negotiations he excommunicated him with bell, book, and candle, in a council at Rheims, the

¹ Matilda carried on the war on behalf of the papacy, with unabated ardour, for twenty-five years after Gregory's death. She accepted, at Urban's request, Guelph of Bavaria for her second husband, but the papacy was her idol to the last. She died at seventy-six years of age (1115) when the pope claimed her possessions in virtue of a donation to Gregory; but Tuscany being a fief of the empire, the donation (if it was ever made) was clearly void without the emperor's consent.

same year. Obtaining possession of Rome by the aid of the Norman princes, Calixtus confined the anti-pope in a monastery, after parading him through the streets in derision.

At last, the long dispute was closed by an agreement confirmed in a diet at Worms, September 8, 1122, and in a General Council held in the Lateran Church, A.D. 1123. This concordat consisted of three conditions. 1. The bishops and abbots of Germany were to be elected in the presence of the emperor or his deputy, freely and without simony, the legality of the election being determined by the crown with the advice of the metropolitan. 2. The elect was to do homage for the temporalities, and receive investiture from the king by the delivery of a *sceptre*. 3. The crozier and ring were reserved to the pope as badges of the spiritual authority.

This arrangement, substantially the same as that concluded with England sixteen years before, was regarded as a final settlement of the question. In appearance it was a compromise, and even a defeat, of the Hildebrandine theory, but the Roman Church never really recedes; and practically the patronage, which was the true question at issue, was transferred from the crown to the pope. Free election was a mere cry to keep out the king; the pope overruled the chapters without scruple and without redress. He was the supreme spiritual head; the metropolitans who were to decide on objections were the pope's legates; at every stage there was room for an *appeal*, and a new election could always be compelled by refusing the staff and ring. This amounted, as was soon proved, to giving the pope the nomination.

The point where Hildebrand's policy was really modified was in permitting the prelates to take an

oath of allegiance to the crown: it is obvious, however, that no secular power would submit to their exemption, and the papal object was attained by imposing a *prior* oath at consecration to defend the royalties of St. Peter. The bishop was the pope's man before he became the king's, and the king knew it. In case of any conflict between the two allegiances, who can doubt which would prevail? The spiritual was the primary and most binding obligation: the pope could dispense from the other; but rebellion against the pope, according to the doctrine now universally received, was separation from the fountain of ecclesiastical authority, and *ipso facto* loss of the episcopal function. These penalties no earthly monarch could suspend for a moment. They were liable to be followed by an excommunication which reached beyond the grave itself. If a bishop of the Church of Rome can be true to his king against the pope, he must be first so untrue to his primary and most solemn profession, as to render his allegiance to any one an object of greater suspicion than ever.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MONKS AND THE CRUSADES.

Standing Army of the Papacy—Heathen Origin of Monasticism—Transfer to Christianity—Egypt—Syria—Rule of St. Basil—Spiritual inefficiency—Introduced into the West—Rule of St. Benedict—Reformed Benedictine Order—Cluny—Vallombrosa—La Chartreuse—Citeaux—Fatal change—Ecclesiastical Ambition—Papal Patronage—Canons Regular and Secular—Military Orders—Mendicants—Dominicans—Franciscans—Carmelites—Augustinians—Female Orders—Advantages—Evils—Crusades—Ruinous results—Gains to the Papacy—Moral consequences—Grievous mistake.

To comprehend the marvellous development of the papal power, which is the strangest phenomenon in European history, it is necessary to consider the peculiar agencies supplied by the circumstances of the times. Of these the Monks and the Crusaders may be justly considered the most important. The monastic Orders have been ever, in the West, the standing army of the papacy. They flourished and decayed together. Monasticism is one of the institutions imported into Christianity out of heathenism. There is no trace of it in the Old or New Testament. The widows there mentioned as “serving God with fastings, and prayers night and day,”¹ were aged women, and mothers of families; they lived neither in cells nor convents, but followed the ordinary occupations of their time of life, and worshipped in the general assembly of the Church. Similar was the

¹ Comp. Luke ii. 37, 1 Tim. v. 5.

position of the "consecrated virgins" in the early Church. The accounts of the Arian riots of the fourth century show that they attended the ordinary place of worship, and the age of admission was still the apostolic threescore. The practice of deserting all the duties of life, in order to undertake self-imposed mortifications in solitude and contemplation, is of very ancient date in the East, where it is still pursued among the Brahmans and Buddhists of India, Thibet, and China. The Jews probably became acquainted with it during the captivity, for before the Christian era they had planted societies of this kind in the wildernesses of Syria, under the name of *Essenes*; and Philo describes others in the Alexandrian desert by the name of *Therapeutæ*.¹

In the middle of the third century, the Decian persecution compelled numbers of Christians to fly to the deserts of Upper and Lower Egypt, where they hid themselves in caves, and became anchorets, or hermits. Some of these continued from choice the life first imposed by necessity. After the establishment of Christianity under Constantine, the hermits ventured out of their cells and gathered into convents (*Cœnobia*), still apart from the world. The institution of these communities is attributed to the famous Anthony, the friend of Athanasius; he was seconded by another Egyptian, Pachomius, in the Thebaid. The "new philosophy," as it was called, was embraced by vast numbers of proselytes, flying from the dangers and corruptions of the times, so that, by the end of the fourth century, the Egyptian deserts were studded from end to end with religious communities. The deserts of Nitria alone contained 5000 *Cœnobites*, and the total number of anchorets and monks was estimated at 76,000 men and 27,700

¹ See the Author's *Egypt*, pp. 97, 111.

females.¹ Both forms of monasticism existed also in Syria, where they adopted the severer discipline of fasting, sackcloth, flagellations, iron collars, and other kinds of torture. The Egyptian monks were content with an abstemious diet, vigils and prayers twice in the night. The day was given to manual labour: neither soliciting nor accepting alms, they followed the apostolic rule of working for their own bread.² The monks were all laymen, except that when at a distance from a church, a priest was appointed to the charge of the community as *Hegoumenos*, or abbot. All were in strict subjection to the bishop of the diocese. In this form the institution was introduced into Pontus, where the archbishop Basil is said to have laid down a "rule" for their uniform government, and to have first authorised the vow of obedience. Nunneries seem to have been contemporaneous with the male communities, but were neither so numerous nor so populous.

The spread of monachism in the East was greatly promoted by the disordered state of society under the degenerate successors of Constantine. The corruptions of the Byzantine Court rendered the rewards of public service the prey of favouritism and intrigue; its oriental despotism extinguished the feelings of patriotism and liberty; while its feebleness left its subjects exposed to the worst sufferings of barbarous warfare. It was easier to renounce the ties of marriage and paternity, than to endure their violent extinction by the sword of the spoiler. When the world was full of cruelty and lust, the Christian longed for the wings of the dove to flee away and be at rest.

Pious and exalted minds always find refreshment and edification in being alone with their God; and

¹ Milman's Christianity, iii. 11.

² 2 Thess. iii. 10-12.

Christians rejoice to bear the loss of all things for Christ, when it is God that afflicts them. He knows how to make His discipline instrumental to more grace; but a self-imposed, vain-glorious rule is so far from promoting truer conceptions, either of humanity or religion, that some of the worst examples of violence and impiety issued from these secluded retreats. The swarms of ruffians who turned the Council of Ephesus into a den of robbers, followed their abbot, Barsumas, from a Syrian monastery. The monks of Nitria poured into Alexandria by thousands to fight the battles of Cyril and Theophilus, and men of the world were astonished to find themselves assailed, with clubs and stones, by recluses who had abandoned all for God. Their solitary contemplations of the Deity resulted in believing Him to be altogether such an one as themselves: when told that the Creator has not really hands and limbs like a man, they burst into tears, and exclaimed—"You have taken away our God!"¹

Neither would the most exemplary monks appear to have achieved the mastery of their passions by withdrawing from external temptations. The devil, whom they dreaded in their fellow-creatures, followed in new forms, created out of their own imagination. Their bodily austerities seemed to fan, rather than extinguish, the flames within. Jerome has left a pitiful picture of his sufferings in the deserts of Syria, when, amid fasting, and squalor, and nakedness, his mind remained full of the luxuries and impurities of the city.² God conquers sin by grace, not by works of righteousness, devised of our own counsel.

Monasticism is supposed to have been introduced

¹ Egypt, p. 248.

² Hier., ep. xxii.; see also his Life of Hilarion and the well-known legends of Anthony.

into the West by the visit of Athanasius to Rome (A.D. 341). The monks were always his staunch supporters in Egypt, and large numbers having followed him to Rome, they dispersed over Italy and Gaul. At the end of the century, John Cassian, a monk of Palestine who had devoted seven years to visiting the Egyptian monasteries, retired to Marseilles, and planted similar societies on the adjacent shores and islands. Islands were preferred from their natural seclusion; those of the Adriatic and Mediterranean were soon peopled with monks, till crossing into Carthage and Africa, the institution completed the circle to its parent soil.

The western prelates received this importation from the East with extraordinary favour. Jerome at Rome, Ambrose at Milan, and Martin at Tours, lent it all the weight of their great names. Germain earnestly commended it to the British churches as the best safeguard against heresy. Ireland so abounded in monks that it was called the island of saints: from its monasteries Columba, Aidan, Finan, Colman, and Kilian carried the Gospel light to the Caledonian or Albin Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons. These labours naturally tended to exalt the credit of the single life; its superiority, however, as a general principle, was warmly contested. Many of the clergy openly denied that a higher place in heaven was promised to virgins than to married men and women. They condemned the monkish respect for martyrs and their relics, questioned the miracles at their tombs, and objected to the pagan practice of lighting lamps before them. They rejected the intercession of the saints, and even asserted it was better to keep one's goods for the judicious exercise of charity, than to sell all and give to the poor, according to the interpretation of the monks. These opinions awoke the wrath of Jerome,

whose bodily mortifications never mitigated his bitter and uncharitable temper. He overwhelmed the dissentients with the fiercest invectives, and Jovinian and Vigilantius were condemned as heretics¹ for being Protestants before the time.

The rule of St. Basil was universally obeyed till a new one, which emanated from the famous Benedict of Nursia about the year 529, was generally adopted in the West. It differed little from the Egyptian model. The divine offices consisted of vigils two hours after midnight, and matins at daybreak, besides mental and private prayer. Psalms were learnt by heart in the intervals: two hours of reading and seven of manual labour completed the day. Sunday was devoted exclusively to reading and prayer. The monks had no private property, and all their earnings went into the common fund; they slept in a common dormitory, lighted by a lamp, and in the strictest silence. Temperance, not fasting or mortification, was the principle of their dietary. The abbot was elected by the general voice; he consulted the brethren, but decided for himself. Obedience, perseverance, and moral reform were the profession made on admission; censure, scourging,

¹ Milman's Christianity, iii. 11. Jovinian was a monk at Milan under Ambrose: he quitted his community, but continued to observe the obligation of celibacy. Jerome indignantly challenges him to marry at once, since he dressed in white like a bridegroom, drank wine, and even indulged in bathing and shampooing, preferring a ruddy countenance to the kingdom of heaven. The monks always showed a bitter aversion to clean linen, and the application of soap and water. Next to a wholesome skin, Jovinian's greatest offence was persuading some Roman virgins to marry, by asking them if they thought themselves better than Sarah and Hannah. He was condemned by St. Ambrose in a synod at Milan (A.D. 390), and exiled by the emperor Honorius (A.D. 412) to an island, where he perished. Vigilantius revived his heresy in France (A.D. 406), but his sect was soon extinguished. "It required no council (observes the historian) to condemn a doctrine so opposed to the tradition of the Church Universal."—Fleury, tom. v. p. 278.

excommunication and expulsion, the penalties incurred by its violation.

The moderation, or the neglect, of this simple rule led to a revival by the second St. Benedict, abbot of Aniane, in the diocese of Montpellier, at the end of the eighth century. Under his regulations, confirmed by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (A.D. 817), the Benedictine Order became the parent of numberless communities throughout Europe. The monks of Cluny,¹ Vallombrosa,² and La Chartreuse,³ as well as the Cistercians of St. Bernard,⁴ were all Benedictines; but a modification, introduced in the eleventh century, proved fatal to the original conception. The disuse of Latin as a vernacular tongue, together with its obstinate retention as the exclusive language of public worship, placed the repetition of the offices beyond the power of every member of the community. It was deemed necessary to exempt a portion from the demands of manual labour, in order to devote them exclusively to this duty. The "brethren of the choir" being thus elevated to an ecclesiastical character, soon came to consist of priests and candidates for the priesthood.⁵ They appropriated the name of monks, while the others, under the appellation of "lay brethren," sank to the condition of menials and labourers.

¹ Founded A.D. 910 by William duke of Aquitaine, and perfected by the abbot St. Odo. It held the highest rank for nearly two centuries.

² Founded A.D. 1040 in the Florentine desert by John of Gualbert, a monk of Cluny.

³ Founded in the mountains of Dauphiné A.D. 1084 by St. Bruno, a native of Cologne and canon of Rheims. It was bound to the strictest silence and a rigid abstinence from flesh.

⁴ St. Bernard was born A.D. 1091, and died A.D. 1153. He was a monk of Citeaux near Dijon, and at the age of twenty-four founded an abbey at Clairvaux, which before his death was the mother of 160 monasteries. He was styled the last of the fathers, and exercised a predominant influence in the ecclesiastical affairs of France, Germany, and Italy.

⁵ This alteration was first introduced by John of Gualbert at Vallombrosa.

This conversion from lay societies to ecclesiastical colleges, multiplied the priesthood greatly beyond the parochial demand. Some part of the overplus was available for missionary labours, others devoted themselves to the cultivation of letters; the copying and illustrating of manuscripts happily came to occupy some of the hours vacated by the disuse of severer toils. Still, after these objects were supplied, there remained an active and ambitious residue, a prey to other attractions. By dispensing with bodily labour, the cloister opened its doors to a class of churchmen who were little disposed to undertake the obscure duties of a parochial charge. The priest-monk, like the modern fellow of a college, could enjoy the honours and prizes of the Church without its burdens. Power and wealth were open to his aspirations for his Order, if not for himself. The confessional gave him access to the confidence of the great, and the means of watching the course of public affairs; he became at once qualified and ambitious to sway the destinies of society. Not a few of the world's least scrupulous politicians have been trained in retreats designed to be sacred to meditation and prayer.

These men were the natural auxiliaries of the papacy. To reserve them more exclusively to itself, the Roman see exempted the religious Orders from the diocesan authority. They were in every land its own "peculiar," the obsequious instruments of its will, and the ready revilers of all opponents. The Orders had their own mutual rivalries, and waged them with unremitting zeal; but they were always ready to unite for the pope against the law of the land and the national clergy who upheld it. As a counterpoise to these privileged fraternities, the bishops began to incorporate the diocesan clergy into chapters, under their own immediate direction; these assumed the

title of *Canonici*, from the canons or statutes by which they were bound, as the monks were termed *Regulars*, from the *regula* or rule of their profession. The canons adopted the name of St. Augustine, from a notion that he was the first bishop to live with his clergy in community of property. A general constitution was approved at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, which, being neglected, a reform ensued, in which the stricter part adopted the distinction of canons *regular*, leaving the name of *secular* to the rest. The canons regular, by discharging several very useful functions in the Church, acquired much of the reputation, and no small share of the wealth, attained by the monks; then, imitating their example, they obtained papal exemptions, and, without relinquishing their contest with the older Orders, became enrolled in the pontifical army.

The priestly fraternities were quickly followed by the military Orders, instituted on a similar basis during the crusades. The Knights of St. John—founded as early as the seventh century by John the almoner of Alexandria, and reconstructed by Godfrey of Bouillon for the service of a hospital and chapel at Jerusalem—were expanded, for the defence of the Latin kingdom, into a threefold Order of military, priestly, and serving brethren, all taking the monastic vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience. The Order of the Temple was purely military, founded in the year 1118 for the extension and defence of the Christian kingdom, and the protection of pilgrims from robbers and outlaws. These renowned knights, though not priests, were monks, and their rule was drawn up by St. Bernard. The Teutonic Order, beginning (like that of St. John) in the care of the sick and wounded at the siege of Acre, was in like manner elevated to military rank, and, returning to Germany on the termination of the crusades, em-

ployed itself in the conversion, or more properly speaking the conquest, of Prussia.

The two great mendicant, or preaching, Orders followed in the thirteenth century, when the popes ceasing to war with the Moslem enemy, turned their arms to the subjugation of heresy at home. To the usual monastic obligations they added a fourth vow of mendicity, and assumed for their special duty the propagation of the orthodox faith. The first was founded by St. Dominic, a canon regular of Spain: he was closely followed by St. Francis of Assisi in Umbria, whose disciples, in spite of his express prohibition, obtained a papal privilege with new interpretations of his rule, in the thirteenth century. Though similar in object, these celebrated Orders were actuated by the most passionate jealousy of each other; they uniformly espoused opposite sides on the open questions of theology.

The Dominicans were distinguished for their controversial learning; but, not content with the sword of the Spirit, they betook themselves to the material weapon. The resistance to papal doctrine in this century was so extensive that Gregory ix. empowered special commissions, who obtained the odious name of Inquisitors, to hunt out the offenders. This commission was eagerly undertaken by the Dominicans, to whom the pope entrusted it A.D. 1233. Beginning in Toulouse, they established courts of inquiry wherever they had a convent. The emperor Frederick II., St. Louis of France, and other princes were induced to sustain their proceedings by the most inhuman penalties. The horrible institution spread into every kingdom of Europe, imprisoning, torturing, and burning all who presumed to think differently from the Holy See, and resorting to the most infamous violations of faith and honesty in order to convict the suspected. Of this

detestable system Rome was the centre and heart, and the Dominican monks the unscrupulous executioners.

The Franciscans, though preachers also, were more renowned for their success in the begging trade. In spite of their founder's injunctions against the acquisition of fixed revenues, they amassed large possessions by the dispensation of the Holy See. The example of these two Orders led to numberless swarms of holy mendicants; the authorised vagrants, however, were limited to the two further Orders of Carmelites,¹ and the Hermits of St. Augustine.²

These four fraternities enjoyed, by papal decree, the privilege of travelling into all countries, instructing the young of every rank, confessing penitents, and even preaching and administering the sacraments in the churches, without regard to the episcopal or parochial authorities. The courts and universities, the towns and villages of Europe, were filled with swarms of friars, among whom the Dominicans and Franciscans were everywhere conspicuous.³ Boasting their great superiority to the secular clergy in learning, sanctity, and papal favour, they were, in fact, equal or superior in ignorance and immorality. The courtiers complained of their unscrupulous intrigues in the cabinets of princes; the clergy of their interested laxity in the confessional. The death-beds of the rich and the management of wills seemed to be their special charge.

¹ This Order claims the prophet Elijah for its founder, and the Virgin Mary with our Lord Himself for members! It was really founded in Palestine during the twelfth century, and erected into a community by the patriarch of Jerusalem A.D. 1205. Being soon after transplanted into Europe, it was recognised by Honorius III. A.D. 1226.

² Instituted by pope Alexander IV. A.D. 1256.

³ The Dominicans were called *Black Friars*, and their name remains on the site of their great convent in London, which was granted by the lord mayor and aldermen A.D. 1276. The Franciscan *Grey Friars* settled a little earlier where Christ Hospital now stands in Newgate Street.

The secrets of domestic life were in their power. A profession of the profoundest humility wielded the terrors of the Inquisition, and vows of perfect poverty culminated in the possession of enormous estates. There is but too much proof that the "angelical" obligation of chastity was not more consistently observed.

Communities of female recluses appear to have been coeval, in most countries, with those of the other sex. Their institution in the West is ascribed to Marcella, a noble Roman widow, who became acquainted with Jerome during his visit to Rome (A.D. 382), and died shortly after the capture of the city by the Goths. The original nuns, like the monks, were strictly bound to manual labour, the needle and the distaff supplying the place of severer tools. These occupations relieved the monotony and strain of religious offices, which press with greater weight on the female mind than the male. At first, there were no vows; the nun was at liberty to quit the community and marry without scandal. Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine vehemently protested against such departures from what was fanatically deemed a state of higher purity. The Council of Chalcedon subjected them to the penalty of excommunication; still the bishop might show mercy if he thought fit, and the marriage would appear to stand good.¹ The necessity for such a canon proves the offence to be not unusual. Innocent I. (A.D. 407) made the crime inexpiable in nuns who had actually taken the veil; and subsequent ages, reverting to the example of heathen Rome, subjected their frail vestals to imprisonment, tortures, and death.

The Benedictine Nuns were founded by Scholastica, the sister of the saint, and in conformity to his rule.

¹ Conc. Chal., Can. xvi. By the fifteenth canon, the same penalty is imposed on *Deaconesses* who marry: these were not then admitted under forty years of age.

Gregory the Great reports that Rome contained in his time three thousand of these "handmaidens of God."¹ When coarser labours came to be despised, the nuns were preserved from idleness by the tasks of embroidering ecclesiastical vestments, copying and illuminating manuscripts, and attending to the culinary and domestic wants of the society. In process of time, they came, like the monks, to affect an ecclesiastical character. The abbess ruled her flock and bestowed her blessing like a bishop. She attended councils and subscribed decrees. It was found necessary to forbid the reverend mothers (A.D. 813) from consecrating, ordaining, and performing other sacerdotal functions.

Canonesses followed in imitation of canons, and "Nuns of the Hospital" were contemporary with the knights. Catherine of Sienna, a zealous disciple of Dominic, founded an Order of female mendicants. St. Brigida, a Swedish princess, drew up a rule (pretended to be dictated by Christ Himself in one of her numerous visions) for a double convent of monks and nuns, which was confirmed by pope Urban v. A.D. 1360. By strictly imposing manual labour on both orders, she endeavoured to revive the ancient spirit from which monachism had so lamentably degenerated. But no female Order achieved so valuable a ministry as the Ursuline Nuns, organised in the sixteenth century by Angela di Brescia and Ursula, of Naples. Without the bond of any community, free from vows, and retaining their family relations, these pious sisters devoted themselves, for Christ's sake, to nursing the sick, relieving the poor, and comforting the mourners.

Of every Order the earliest members were undoubtedly the best. The first monks reclaimed waste lands, cleared

¹ Ep. vi. 23.

and cultivated the soil, preached the Gospel in the rural districts, civilised the population, and instructed the ignorant. Their labours added fire and earnestness to their prayers, while their prayers daily stimulated and sanctified new exertions. A similar spirit actuated the founders of each succeeding institution; but the assumption of the priestly character, and the patronage of the Holy See, involved all in the corruptions and superstitions of the day. Relics, miracles, saint worship, penances, purgatory, found their most zealous adherents among the idle inmates of the cloister. Luxury, envy, malice, and uncleanness followed in natural sequence. The rise of each new Order proclaimed the degeneracy of the older ones, but the downward tendency was universal and inevitable.

Still, it is not to be doubted that many wounded souls found healing and strength in the seclusion of the cloister. To females it afforded that shelter in times of violence, which is still panted for in an age of covetousness. Nor were its advantages restricted to the inmates. Inestimable blessings were imparted to the sick and penitent by the ministry of pious monks, whose connection with the labouring classes gave them access to sympathies not so readily reached by the established clergy. Ignorance and poverty found relief at the monasteries to the last. Signal also were their services in the cause of literature. By preserving and copying the manuscripts of earlier times, the monks and nuns prevented the extinction of learning in the fall of the empire: we are indebted to them for the Holy Scriptures themselves, as well as the earliest commentaries of the uninspired writers. The Benedictine edition of the Fathers is one of the noblest monuments of literary industry.

It may be questioned whether the monasteries could

have maintained these claims to respect, during the altered circumstances of succeeding ages, had they seriously made the attempt; but the whole scope and spirit of the original institution was changed by the alliance with Rome. The papal exemptions substituted a lax and distant visitor for the diocesan control strictly enjoined by the Fourth General Council.¹ Their religious privileges tempted them to a lucrative trade in consciences, and the wealth so acquired was dissipated in luxury and vice. Their morals were corrupted by indulgences, and their faith by a blind reliance on the pope. The epithets hurled at the mendicants by an angry Benedictine, might be applied to the generality of religious Orders. They were "the pope's beadles and tax-gatherers, blind leaders of the blind."² When the grand imposture of indulgences came to inflict the last outrage on the conscience of Christendom, it was the monks who undertook the sale and shared the commission. The papal alliance was as fatal to their patriotism and honour as to their piety. In every independent kingdom a monastery was always an enemy's outpost, quartered on its resources and eating up its strength, till the time arrived for its subjugation, and the trumpet sounded for the attack.

While the monastic Orders were thus subduing western Christendom to the pope, the Crusades exhibited him at the head of its temporal forces, uniting its princes, and directing its armies in the cause of religion. By promising forgiveness of sins to all who assumed the cross, and at the same time opening to more worldly adventurers a tempting prospect of riches and power, the popes induced all classes, from the monarch to the peasant, to embark in these romantic but barbarous expeditions. "There was no nation so

¹ Conc. Chal., Can. iv.

² Matt. Paris, 1246-7.

remote, no people so retired, that did not respond to the papal appeal. It inspired not the continent only, but the most distant and savage islands. The Welshman left his hunting, the Scotch his fellowship with vermin, the Dane his drinking bouts, the Norwegian his raw fish."¹ "It is the will of God," exclaimed the multitudes, excited by the oratory of pope Urban at the Council of Clermont (A.D. 1095): the pontiff accepted the omen, and made it the battle-cry of the crusaders. It was a French council, and Urban was the first Frenchman who ascended the throne of St. Peter. The spirit of that chivalrous nation presided over the inception: yet none of the sovereigns of Europe risked his person or his reputation till the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had created a political interest out of the religious one.

The ruinous results of these expeditions on the Eastern Church have been noticed in another publication.² The cross was planted on Mount Zion amidst horrors hardly paralleled since the conquest of Titus. More than a million of crusaders, not to mention infidels, perished in the first sanguinary effort. The second, in spite of the prophecies of St. Bernard, and the exploits of the two greatest monarchs of Europe,³ dwindled in two years to a miserable handful, which returned utterly dispirited, A.D. 1149. Saladin recovered the holy sepulchre amid the feuds of the Templars and Hospitallers, A.D. 1187. The third crusade, though illustrated by the prowess of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and our own lion-hearted Richard, only wrested a truce, which the sagacious Moslem would have accorded to a peaceful negotiation; the fourth was diverted to the plunder of Constantinople; the fifth

¹ Malmsbury, p. 416.

² Egypt, chap. xvii.

³ The emperor Conrad III. and Louis VII. of France.

saved its feeble remnant by an inglorious evacuation of Egypt; the sixth and seventh displayed the chivalry of St. Louis at the cost, first of his liberty and then of his life. The result of the whole was to precipitate the fall of Christianity in the East, and establish Mohammedanism on its ruins.

In the West, the crusades exhausted the finest kingdoms of men and money; the social fabric of Europe was shaken to the foundation; its fairest provinces were devastated by the march of disorderly armies, and two millions of its hardiest population perished in the field and the sea. The papacy was the only gainer by these tremendous sacrifices. The red cross was a papal badge;—princes, prelates, knights, and soldiers carried it to the holy war, while the pope and the monks at home profited by their absence, and disposed of the spoil. It was the Crusades which indoctrinated Christendom with the Mohammedan notion of gaining heaven by fighting for religion instead of practising it. The defence of the Church, which at Rome means the temporal power of the pope, was recognised as a just cause for taking up arms in the name of Christ. The European kingdoms submitted to pay taxes to the Apostolic see for the prosecution of the holy war. The "Saladine tenth," imposed by Innocent III. (A.D. 1198) for this service, was the foundation of the tribute afterwards levied from all ecclesiastical benefices by papal authority. The treasury of Rome was filled, while its spiritual ambition was gratified by insulting and invading the Eastern Church.

The monks and the clergy participated in the aggrandisement of their chief, but religion, morals, and society could only suffer from the example and effects of the crusades. They were the occasion of the "plenary indulgences," by which the pope dispensed with the last

shadows of spiritual discipline, and granted forgiveness of sins in exchange for military service or money payments. The profligacy of the crusading armies, mingling the vices of the East with those of the West, brought in a tide of unspeakable abominations on the populations of Europe. Their barbarism tended to hinder, rather than (as some have imagined) to assist in the flow of letters. Their cruelties to heathen enemies, perpetrated under the sanction of religion, nourished the spirit of persecution; and if their swords opened new markets to the traders of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, the gains of a few Italian republics formed but a poor compensation for the evil inflicted on the liberties, the property, the population, and the piety of Europe.¹

Both Monks and Crusades were the outgrowth of one grievous mistake, which is still the cardinal error of Rome and the papacy. Both proceeded on the melancholy notion that heaven is to be won by "service" instead of *faith*. Many a wounded spirit sought by their means to conquer for itself "with strong crying and tears" a righteousness which might hide the pollution of former sins. Their eyes were blinded to the blessed truth, that Christ has borne all our sins in His own body on the tree, and that it needs only to accept His finished work by faith, to taste in His righteousness a peace and love, through the Holy Ghost shed abroad in the heart, which no work or service of our own can either deserve or impart.

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS (TO THE REMOVAL OF THE SEE).

A.D.	EMPERORS OF THE WEST.	POPE OF ROME.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	SICILY.	SPAIN.		PORTUGAL.	ENGLAND.	EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	KINGS OF JERUSALEM.
					LEON & CASTILE.	ARAGON.				
1124		Honorius.				(1039) SANCHE THE GREAT.				(1099) Godfrey de
1125	Lothario II.					(1035) Ferdinand				Bouillon.
1129		Innocent II.				(1045) Sancho.				(1100) Baldwin I
1130						(1072) Sancho.				(1118) Baldwin II
1131						(1074) Alphonso.				
1135						(1109) Alphonso.				
1137	Conrad III.					(1133) Alphonso.				
1138										
1143		Celestine II.								
1148										
1144		Lucius II.								
1145		Eugenius III.								
1152	Frederick Barbarossa.									
1153		Anastasius IV.								
1154		Adrian IV.								
1157										
1159										
1162		Alexander III.								
1168										
1173										
1175										
1176										
1180										
1181		Lucius III.								
1183										
1185		Gregory VIII.								
1186										
1188										
1189		Clament II.								
1190	Henry VI.									
1191		Celestine III.								
1192										
1194										
1196										
1198										
1197	Philip									
1199		Innocent III.								

(1039) SANCHE THE GREAT.
 (1035) Ferdinand (1035) Ramiro.
 (1045) Sancho. (1072) Sancho.
 (1074) Alphonso. (1094) Peter.
 (1109) Alphonso. (1134) Alphonso.
 (1133) Alphonso.

(1184) Ramiro II.
 Petronilla.

Sanche III.
 (Castile)
 Ferdinand II.
 Alphonso (Obse-
 rve).

Alphonso II.
 (Leon).

Alexius II.
 Comnenus.
 Andronicus.
 Comnenus.
 Isaac II.

Richard I.
 John.

Alexius III.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MEDÆVAL PAPACY.

Sovereignty of the Pope—New Dogmas—Lateran Councils—Discovery of the Pandects—Civil and Canon Law—The Decretals—Three Faculties—Revolution at Rome—Temporal Power denied—Arnold of Brescia—Adrian IV., Conquest of Ireland—Islands, the Right of St. Peter—Humiliation of the Emperor Barbarossa—Persecution of the Albigenses and Waldenses—Cardinals, sole Electors to the Papacy—Submission of the City—Scotland removed from Province of York—Despotism of Innocent III.—Langton, archbishop of Canterbury—Resistance of the King—Interdict—Surrender of the Crown—Infamy of John—Persecution—Quarrel with Emperor Frederick II.—Guelphs and Ghibellines—War in Germany and Italy—French Conquest of Sicily—Death of Conradin—Council of Lyons—Extension of States of the Church—Sicilian Vespers—Spanish Succession—Jubilee—Bulls of Boniface VIII.—His Arrest and Death.

So long as the name of St. Peter was used to assert only the spiritual primacy of the West, it received the support, more than the opposition, of the temporal powers. Charlemagne saw the political advantage of subjecting the ecclesiastics of his wide dominion to the see from which he took his imperial title, and which he regarded as the first fief of the empire. The other princes were glad to possess an appeal, from the intractable zeal of their own clergy, to a pontiff more accessible to considerations of State. To subject the priest to the bishop, the bishop to the metropolitan, and the metropolitan to the pope, appeared to that age the best security against an authority which claimed to speak with a higher sanction than its own. From a similar motive, the laity were shortsighted enough to help the papacy to impose the yoke of celibacy on the clergy. They liked the idea of achieving a holiness, of which all might participate, by mortifications not intended to affect

themselves. It was an age of vicarious merits, and the people gladly laid on their priests a burden which they would not touch with one of their own fingers. No sooner, however, were the clergy reduced to the will of the papacy, than the laity discovered they had put a sword into its hand for the destruction of their own liberties. The arguments, which had been admitted against bishops and metropolitans, were equally effectual against peers and princes. God had not given one law for the shepherd and another for the flock. In committing the keys of His kingdom to St. Peter, Christ made no exception for royalty; there was one door for all classes of men, and whoever would enter in must submit to the same authorised guidance.

Nor was the argument without an agency well qualified to enforce it. By yielding up the ecclesiastical body to the absolute authority of the pope, the temporal powers had provided him with an army for their own subjugation. An enslaved, denationalised clergy, naturally turned against political rights in which they had no part. They adhered to the chief who alone could promote them to honour; they were ready to fulminate his censures in every kingdom and private house; they would suspend their ministrations, and refuse even to pray, for a people upon whom the pope for any cause, personal, political, or superstitious, should lay his sovereign interdict.

In such a state of society, it required more political science than the age was possessed of, to prevent the spiritual primacy from culminating in universal sovereignty. But as if to destroy the last chance of independence, the several rulers were always invoking the papal sanction in their aggressions on one another. The pope's consecrated banner was eagerly unfurled against a neighbour: his authority was questioned, but too

late, when it was turned against his accomplices in the robbery. There was not a monarch in Europe, not even the Church's vassal-king of Sicily, who would bear to be told that he held his crown by the favour of the pope; yet there was hardly one who was not ready to accept his neighbour's crown at the pope's hand, and so endorse the most extravagant of Hildebrand's pretensions.

The summit of this ambitious policy was reached in the long pontificate of Innocent III. The intervening century witnessed the final sanction of the two most cherished of papal dogmas—trans-substantiation¹ and the celibacy of the clergy. The spread of monasticism, and the departure of the crusades which Gregory desired to conduct in person, were its most prominent features. It was further distinguished by the assembly of those large councils in the Lateran, to which the Latin Church gives the appellation of General, and by which the papal system was perfected in the West. The first of these, called the Ninth General Council, was held under pope Calixtus II., A.D. 1123; the second by Innocent II., A.D. 1139; and the third by Alexander III., A.D. 1179. The canons of all were steadily directed to the aggrandisement of the ecclesiastical, and the suppression of lay, usurpations. They continued the struggle against simony

¹ The dogma promulgated by Radbertus, after making silent progress during the tenth century, was vigorously assailed by Berenger archdeacon of Angers (A.D. 1045). He was condemned in a council at Rome (A.D. 1050), and again at Tours, where Hildebrand presided as legate (A.D. 1055). Still he adhered to his positions, and Gregory (A.D. 1078) accepted his subscription to the Real Presence without insisting on the change of substance. This may possibly explain the charge of perjury brought against him for his repeated retractions; his opponents confounded two propositions together, of which Berenger could abjure one and retain the other. The Romish tenet was finally enjoined by the Council of Placentia (A.D. 1094). The practice of administering the eucharist in one species is said to have been introduced by the crusaders from the East.

and the marriage of the clergy, and they betrayed, at the same time, the rapid progress of corruption by repeated enactments against the vices inseparable from compulsory celibacy.

The same period furnished the two great Codes of law which contributed so powerfully to rivet the papal ascendancy. The original manuscript of the Pandects of Justinian was discovered at Amalfi, on the capture of that city by the emperor Lotharius II., A.D. 1137. Colleges were immediately erected for its study in Italy, and the Salic, Lombard, and Burgundian codes, which previously prevailed, yielded to the superior merit of the Roman civil law. The popes immediately perceived the necessity of a similar code for the Church. The ancient canons, more or less arbitrarily inserted in the Roman collection, were continually modified, enlarged, and abrogated by *decretal* epistles, issued by the several popes for the instruction of their clergy, or in answer to questions referred to their judgment. These confused and discordant utterances were digested into a code, on the model of Justinian's, by Gratian, a monk of Bologna, and published by pope Eugenius III. (A.D. 1151) for the guidance of the ecclesiastical courts. The author termed his work a "concordance of discordant canons;" it was, in fact, a subjugation of the ancient canons to the decrees of the papacy. Not only were the pope's letters treated as of equal force with the canons of General Councils, but ancient authorities were unscrupulously falsified for their support.

The *Decretal*, as the new code was termed, was henceforth the sole standard of canon law under the papacy.¹ To encourage its study, Eugenius instituted

¹ A supplement to Gratian, published A.D. 1191, was called the Book of *Extravagants*, or things not comprised in the Decretal. Innocent III. authorised a revised edition distinguished as the Roman Collection. The

the degrees of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor. The civil law was constituted into a separate faculty with similar degrees, and a third was introduced soon after at the University of Paris, by Peter Lombard, for the study of theology. As Gratian collected the canons, Peter undertook to compile the theological dogmas (*sententiæ*) of the orthodox fathers; hence he was called *Master of the sentences*, and his work was made the textbook of the faculty of divinity.¹

These institutions added strength and dignity to the papacy, by constituting it the bulwark of learning and civilisation no less than of religion. The public mind became accustomed to hear the apostolic see spoken of as the fountain of jurisdiction and honours, and monarchs vied with one another in an abject respect to the Holy Father. It excited scarcely any sensation when Alexander III. put in exercise the audacious conception of Hildebrand, by conferring the title of King on the Duke of Portugal, who had previously subjected his dominions to the Roman see.²

While thus ascending to empire abroad, the pontifical throne was but insecurely planted at home. Whatever may be thought of priestly and patriarchal government by those who contemplate it at a distance, it appears to be universally detested by all who experience its tender mercies. The Roman citizens, once proud of their bishop, cooled in their devotion as he became a monarch. While Hildebrand was threatening princes with excommunication, his person was not safe in his

whole was again revised and distributed into five books under Gregory IX. Boniface VIII. added a sixth book, and this was followed by the *Clementines* (A.D. 1371) and the *Extravagants* of subsequent pontiffs.

¹ Bower, vi. 69.

² Alphonso I. was really saluted king by his army after defeating the Saracens, A.D. 1136. Baronius says he had made himself tributary to pope Lucius II. (1114.) Alexander's bull treats him as a vassal.

own city, unless surrounded by Norman mercenaries. In the thirty years that followed the death of Calixtus, the papal chair was ascended by six pontiffs, and always shaken by schism and sedition. Honorius, venturing to oppose his powerful vassal, Roger count of Sicily, in taking possession of his deceased nephew's duchy of Apulia, was defeated in the field, and compelled to admit his title. At his death (A.D. 1130), a schism ensued by the election of two popes, of whom Innocent II. finally prevailed. He was opposed, however, by the Romans, and driven into France, while the great Count of Italy sided with his rival, who erected his dominions into a kingdom (A.D. 1130). It was not till 1139 that Innocent, though receiving the support of the emperor, was left supreme by the death of the anti-pope, and enabled to hold the Second Lateran Council. After that he was taken prisoner by Roger, and obliged to acknowledge his kingdom, while the close of his life was hastened by a popular insurrection at Rome.

The citizens refused to obey any longer the temporal rule of the pope. The senate was re-established and created magistrates; they even invited the emperor to take possession of his ancient capital. On the election of Lucius II. (A.D. 1144), the Romans, acknowledging him only as bishop, assembled in the capitol, and created a prince, with the ancient title of Patrician. The senate seized the public revenues, and issued edicts in the old republican style. The pope, attempting force, was repulsed, and killed in the affray. His successor, Eugenius III., not being permitted to be consecrated in Rome without surrendering the temporal power, fled out of the city by night, and though restored by the help of the Tiburtines,¹ who were always at feud

¹ The inhabitants of Tivoli, the ancient Tibur.

with the Romans, was again driven into France. Once more reinstated by the king of Sicily, the pope was again ejected the following year (A.D. 1149), at the instigation of the famous monk, Arnold of Brescia, who had been, for more than ten years, preaching against the temporal power of the clergy. This reformer being condemned in the Second Lateran Council, retreated into Switzerland, but was thence invited by the patriotic party to Rome. Incited by his ardent declamations, the revolt was renewed on the accession of Adrian IV. (A.D. 1155). In the commotions which ensued, a cardinal was dangerously wounded, whereupon the pope (the only Englishman that ever attained that title) instantly placed the city under an interdict. Superstition proved stronger than liberty; the Romans returned to the feet of their Holy Father, and purchased his blessing by expelling the patriots. Arnold fell into the hands of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who delivered him up to the pope, and he was burnt alive, in the presence of a careless, ungrateful people.

In just return for his subserviency, this haughty pope made the emperor hold his stirrup, like a groom, when he mounted his horse, to honour his vassal with the crown of Charlemagne. Adrian has left a further proof of the extravagance of the papal pretensions, in a letter to the sovereign of his native land authorising the conquest of Ireland. The language is so characteristic of the superstition of the times, that we insert it entire:—

“Adrian, servant of the servants of God, to his son in Christ Jesus, Henry, king of England, sends greeting and apostolical benediction. The desire your magnificence expresses to advance the glory of your name on earth, and to obtain in heaven the prize of eternal happiness, deserves, no doubt, great commen-

ation. As a good Catholic prince, you are very careful to enlarge the borders of the Church, to spread the knowledge of the truth among the barbarous and ignorant, and to pluck up vice by the roots in the field of the Lord; and in order to this you apply to us for countenance and direction. We are confident, therefore, that by the blessing of the Almighty, your undertaking will be crowned with a success suitable to the noble motive which impels you, for whatever is taken in hand from a principle of faith and religion never fails to succeed. It is certain, as you yourself acknowledge, that Ireland, as well as all other islands which have the happiness to be enlightened by the Sun of Righteousness, and have submitted to the doctrines of Christianity, are unquestionably St. Peter's right, and belong to the jurisdiction of the Roman Church. We judge, therefore, after maturely considering the enterprise you propose to us, that it will be proper to settle in that island colonies of the faithful, who may be well pleasing to God. You have advertised us, most dear son in Christ, of your design of an expedition into Ireland, to subject the island to just laws, and to root out vice which has long flourished there. You promise to pay us out of every house a yearly acknowledgment of one penny, and to maintain the rights of the Church without the least detriment or diminution. Upon which promise, giving a ready ear to your request, we consent and allow that you make a descent in that island, to enlarge the bounds of the Church, to check the progress of immorality, to reform the manners of the natives, and to promote the growth of virtue and the Christian religion. We exhort you to do whatever you think proper to advance the honour of God and the salvation of the people, whom we charge to submit to your jurisdiction, and own you for their sovereign lord: provided always,

that the rights of the Church are inviolably preserved and the Peter pence duly paid. If, therefore, you think fit to put your design in execution, labour above all things to improve the islanders in virtue. Use your own endeavours, and those of such as you judge worthy to be employed in the work, that the Church of God be enriched more and more, that religion flourish in the country, and that the things which make for God's honour and the salvation of souls be so disposed as to entitle you to an eternal reward in heaven and an immortal fame upon earth."¹

It would be interesting to know whence the doctrine originated, which was often repeated by the popes, that *islands* are the peculiar property of St. Peter, who in all probability never crossed any sea but the lake in which he was so nearly drowned.² Perhaps it came from their being the favoured abode of monks; but the language of this bull is little complimentary to the monasteries of the Isle of Saints. Rapin observes that the immorality of the natives consisted in not acknowledging the Papal authority. The Holy Father certainly entertained a curious notion of "justice to Ireland" when he committed her to the tender mercies of Strongbow. He showed an equal want of sympathy for the cry of "Ireland for the Irish," when he proposed to enlarge the borders of the Church by levying Peter's pence from every house, by means of English colonies armed with their formidable cross-bows. The way in which the pope jumbles up

¹ Gir. Cam. Anno 1154. M. Paris, 35; Rapin's History of England.

² Urban II. gave the island of Corsica to the bishop of Pisa, A.D. 1091. Clement VI. exercised the same prerogative by creating the earl of Clermont king of the "Fortunate Islands," discovered in his pontificate, but the war between France and England prevented the new king from ever reaching his dominions. The Spaniards having re-discovered the islands, and re-christened them the *Canaries*—from the dogs with which they abounded—pope John XXII. gave the sceptre to Alphonso.

earthly glory and heavenly rewards,—the enriching of the Church with the progress of religion,—indicates the deadness to spiritual religion which forms the most painful feature of the Papacy. The Irish were, at this time, better educated,¹ quite as good Christians, and probably more moral, than the English. The audacity of the bishop, who could pretend to promote their salvation by subjecting them to the tyranny of the perfidious and licentious Henry, is only to be matched by the credulity of the Irish, who now lavish their allegiance on this very see of Rome, and charge all their wrongs on Protestant England.

A double election ensued on Adrian's death, which entailed further humiliation on the emperor Barbarossa. After calling a council to decide the question, putting the rival candidate in possession of Rome, and employing his forces in Italy to support his pretensions, he was compelled to abandon his cause and make a humiliating peace with Alexander III., who treated him from the first with contempt. The pope boasted that God had enabled an unarmed priest to triumph over the Emperor of the West; but the princes of this age forged their own chains, and the emperor was not the only one who tasted the bitterness of humiliation. The same pontiff avenged the murder of Thomas-à-Becket on the despot who incited it. The pope only did his duty as a Christian bishop in denouncing the crime, while the king received far less than his due in the flagellations of the brawny monks. It was England, whose crown the Norman dishonoured, which suffered the indignity.²

¹ In the seventh and eighth centuries the Saxons flocked to Ireland as the great mart of learning and religion (Bed. iii. 7 and 27), and though the island had been since desolated by Northumbrians, Danes, and "Eastmen" from Germany, the people could hardly have fallen below the level of the English, nor were their petty kings so barbarous as the Norman barons.

² No one can read the words that Hume allows to have been spoken, without perceiving that Henry suggested, and was understood to suggest,

Alexander convened the Third Lateran Council, memorable for inaugurating the persecution against the *Albigenses*, who inhabited the province south of France, and joined their neighbours, the Waldenses, in rejecting the authority of the Church of Rome.¹ This independence was so intolerable, that these two appellations have become general names for heretics in the papal church, and the most monstrous errors are indiscriminately charged upon them. The true Waldenses were orthodox Christians, if the Holy Scriptures be the standard and rule of Christian faith. Their offences—in papal eyes unpardonable—were the denial of the pope's supremacy, auricular confession, and purgatory, and the total rejection of indulgences and masses for the dead. It was not unnatural that in the recoil from the gross corruptions of the dominant church, they should attempt a return to primitive practices under circumstances little suited to their revival; but though mistaken in supposing that Christian ministers are invariably bound to support themselves by manual labour, and that all warfare, capital punishments, self-defence, and even civil lawsuits, are forbidden to the followers of Christ, their errors called for other argu-

the assassination of Becket. Of course, his subsequent orders "came too late!" His majesty selected a fitting advocate with the pope when he sent a bishop, who went by the appellation of "John, the *bar* of Oxford."

¹ The *Albigenses* took their name from *Albi*, a diocese in upper Languedoc. The Waldenses or Vaudois inherited the valleys (*vaux*) of Piedmont, and probably took their name from that circumstance. Mosheim, however, distinguishes these peasants from the true Waldenses, deriving the latter name from Peter Waldus, a merchant of Lyons, who, about A.D. 1160, employed a priest to translate the four Gospels and other scriptures (Ecc. Hist. xii.). His followers were called "poor men of Lyons," and *Sabbatati* or *Insabbatati*, from wearing the wooden shoes (*sabots*) of the poorest class. There were probably many sects of these early Protestants, having no other standard of faith and worship but the New Testament, hence the papists charged them with rejecting the Old Testament.

ments than fire and sword. The steadfastness of their faith in the Gospel of Christ, and the purity of their lives, triumphed over all the malice of their persecutors, and these despised sects survived to witness the reformation of which they were the early precursors.

In the Third Lateran Council the right of voting in the election of the pope was first restricted to the cardinals. The regulation was designed to guard against the tumults and divisions attending the suffrages of the clergy and people, and was so efficacious that only one double election occurred in the course of the six subsequent centuries. By the excluded majority, however, the innovation was so resented that Lucius III., the first pope chosen by the cardinals, was obliged to retire to Veletri for his consecration.

The degenerate Romans had not utterly lost the memory of their ancestors. The senate still claimed the civil government of the Eternal City, alleging the pope to be only its spiritual chief. The limiting his election to a few ecclesiastics naturally increased their discontent. The pope was often absent from Rome, and as the cardinals repaired to the place where he died, in order to elect a successor, the citizens found themselves, both in Church and State, at the mercy of a foreign junta. It was not till the accession of Clement III. (A.D. 1188), who, being a native of Rome, was enabled to bring his refractory fellow-citizens to terms, that an accommodation was arrived at. It was then agreed that the sovereignty should reside in the pope; the office of patrician was abolished, and a prefect appointed with definite powers. The senators were to be elected annually, with the pope's approval, and take an oath of allegiance to him. St. Peter's church and revenues were restored to the See, but the pope agreed to spend a third of the tolls and public revenues on the walls and other common uses of

the city. The citizens further insisted on the destruction of the walls of Tusculum, a pontifical stronghold which had often inflicted severe punishment on the Romans.

It was this pope who released the kingdom of Scotland from its dependence on the Church of England, by exempting it from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York, and subjecting it immediately to the Holy See. His successor, Celestine III., was implored to draw the sword of St. Peter on behalf of the gallant Cœur de Lion, whom the duke of Austria kept in captivity; but the royal crusader was not an ecclesiastic, and the pope left him to his fate till the kingdom had raised 100,000 marks for his release. Then he excommunicated the duke for taking the money.

The policy of Hildebrand was already in the zenith, when the cardinal deacon Lotharius ascended the papal chair at the early age of thirty-seven, and took the name of Innocent III. He began his reign by requiring the oath of allegiance from the prefect and senate as absolute sovereign, without any reservation for the emperor. Next he recovered the cities called the "patrimony of St. Peter," from the marquis of Ancona, seneschal of the empire. The crown of Sicily having devolved on a minor, the pope accepted the guardianship, but seized the opportunity to deprive his ward of the ecclesiastical prerogatives granted by his predecessors. He compelled the duke of Suevia, as heir to the emperor Henry V., to repay the ransom unjustly extorted from Richard Cœur de Lion.¹ He further decided a triple candidature for the crown of Germany in favour of Otho (A.D. 1200), but afterwards deposing and excommunicating him, he transferred the empire to his own ward, Frederick king

¹ Bower, vi. 187.

of Sicily, and the electors humbly accepted the nomination. France he placed under an interdict the next year, and by this means compelled the king to receive his wife, whom he had unlawfully divorced. The king of Armenia sent to implore his protection against the Latin princes and knights in the east. Bulgaria and Wallachia, having thrown off the Greek dominion, solicited a crown and a pall from the Roman pontiff. The king of Arragon came to be crowned, and swore allegiance to the pontifical see as a tributary. Constantinople itself fell to the Latin arms, and Innocent confirmed a Latin patriarch in the primacy of the east.

To these triumphs he added the effectual humiliation of the kingdom always most impatient of the papal aggressions. Adrian was the only Englishman who ever ascended the pontifical throne, and Innocent was the only pope who ever trampled on the English crown. His spirit was shown in his inaugural sermon, "Ye see what manner of servant that is whom the Lord hath set over His people, no other than the vicegerent of Christ, the successor of Peter. He stands in the midst between God and man; below God, above man; less than God, more than man. He judges all, is judged by none, for it is written, I will judge."¹ Gregory VII. could not have spoken more arrogantly; but England, at least, had never yet known the extent of these claims.

It was reserved to the basest of our sovereigns to exemplify the Hildebrandine policy in its maturity, and the indignant censures of our historians show how bitterly the nation felt the disgrace. On the death of Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 1205), the chapter duly elected John de Gray, bishop of

¹ Hook's "Lives of Abps. of Canterbury," ii. 666.

Norwich, to the vacant see. The election was confirmed by the king, and the temporalities were restored to the new archbishop. On applying to the pope for his pall, he was met by a counter-election, clandestinely made by a few monks before the issue of the *congé d'élire*, and afterwards abandoned by themselves. The pope had no difficulty in dismissing the pretender; but, instead of acknowledging the true archbishop, he seized the opportunity to intrude his own nominee. He commanded the monks, who attended in support of De Gray, to proceed to a new election in his presence. In vain they represented that they were not the chapter, and had no license from the king. The pope commanded them on their obedience, and under penalty of immediate excommunication, to choose an archbishop, whom he would name. Against the laws of England, the canons of the Church, and the reclamations of the pretended electors, Innocent forced through a fictitious election of Stephen Langton, his fellow-student at Paris, whom he had brought to Rome and created a cardinal priest. This daring aggression he communicated with a few contemptuous explanations to John, and on receiving for reply that the king would die before he submitted to such a supercession of his sovereignty, Innocent audaciously consecrated his nominee to the English primacy at Viterbo (A.D. 1207).

The king enforcing the sentence of the law on the monks who elected him, the pope retorted by putting the whole kingdom under an interdict. By this senseless piece of wickedness, the man who claimed obedience in right of a spiritual office, forbid all spiritual ministrations. The vicegerent of Him who came to seek and to save, punished a whole nation for the contumacy of the king, and punished them by exclusion from rites which he believed essential to the salvation of their souls.

This judge of men sentenced (as he supposed) many millions of souls to perdition, because another person refused to allow a particular ecclesiastic to minister the gospel of salvation in a particular place. In fact, it was an ecclesiastical *strike*; and, as in other strikes, the agents were directed by a distant head for his own purposes, and the adversary was to be reduced by the sufferings of innocent parties. It is difficult to believe that a pope can have any faith in religious rites which he thus abuses.

The interdict was proclaimed 23rd March, 1208: the papal clergy ceased to minister, and the king banished the recusants, sequestering the property assigned for the duty. The good sense of the English nation sustained the shock better than the pope had anticipated. The king was respected for his spirit, and it was observed that his only two successful campaigns took place while the kingdom was under the pope's curse. Innocent next relaxed the severity of the interdict, and excommunicated the king instead; an experiment which the people may have reasonably thought should have come first. Finally, he deposed John for his immoralities, and gave the vacant throne to the king of France, together with a plenary remission of his sins.

It is to be hoped that Philip found the latter gift more easy to realise than the former. When he invaded England, the bear, whose spoils he proposed to appropriate, declined to be captured. An army of sixty thousand men rallied to the national standard. Moreover, the pope had his agent already treating for a different solution. John could have expelled the French, but a wicked conscience exposed him to the terrors of superstition. Caring too little for religion to be affected by the suspension of its rites, he cared enough for himself to be frightened at a prophecy which portended his defeat or death. He sent

for Pandulph the legate, surrendered his crown into his hands, and did homage as a vassal to the pope, engaging to pay a tribute of one thousand marks a year. The legate kept the crown in his possession five days, and then restored it as a signal favour from the Holy See. Langton entered upon his primacy in triumph; the king fell at his feet and was absolved. They walked together into the cathedral at Canterbury, and, after an intermission of six years, the Holy Sacrament was again ministered in the archiepiscopal church.¹

John Lackland was now a "good Catholic." Pandulph reported to Innocent that he had never seen a character so humble, so moderate, so endowed with every excellence;² but from that day to this, John Lackland has been a name of infamy to the English nation. His subjects were never so willing to surrender him to the French, as when Philip, outwitted and baffled by the pope, was compelled to withdraw from his enterprise. In the reign of Edward III. the whole proceeding was examined in parliament; when it was unanimously resolved that John had no power to subject the kingdom to the pope, without the consent of the nation, and the prelates, peers, and commons pledged themselves to uphold the crown against the pontiff's demand of the illegal tribute.

Inflated by this unprecedented triumph, Innocent resolved to tread out the last embers of resistance by proclaiming a crusade against the unfortunate Albigenses. An army of five hundred thousand men was let loose, under the banner of the cross, to carry fire and sword

¹ The interdict, it seems, still continued, and the archbishop was reprimanded for disregarding it. He had the further mortification of finding himself subject to the legate, who, though only a sub-deacon, overruled all his decisions, and would not suffer him to carry his cross in his presence.—Hook's "Archbishops of Canterbury."

² Ibid.

among these inoffensive Christians. The counts of Toulouse, Foix, Comminges, and Bearn, though good Catholics themselves, were severely treated for refusing their assistance to massacre their subjects. Threescore thousand persons were sacrificed to the fury of these wretches ; yet they received the full approbation of four hundred bishops, and the ambassadors of all the Christian princes, at the Fourth Lateran Council !

Innocent took the chair of this Council as Sovereign, at last, of east and west. The ambassador of the Latin emperor of Constantinople, with the Latin patriarchs intruded into the eastern sees, were present to attest the universality of his sway. The canons are said to have been all written by himself, no one venturing to oppose or criticise his draft. He first established both the word and the doctrine of trans-substantiation : others required all princes to swear to extirpate heretics, and to be excommunicated by their bishops if they refused the oath. The deposing power of the pope was recognised. The privileges enjoyed by crusaders against the Saracens were extended to all who served against heretics. Auricular confession was enjoined, once a year at least, on pain of exclusion from church offices and Christian burial. The barons of England were excommunicated *en masse* for persecuting the exemplary John, now a crusader and vassal of the Holy Roman Church, and Stephen Langton, the pope's own friend and nominee, was suspended for assisting them.¹ Neither prelates nor peers, however, wavered in their purpose, till, in spite of pope and kings, the great CHARTER had secured the liberties of England.

¹ Langton, though so tyrannically intruded, proved a true patriot, resisting pontiff and king with equal courage in the cause of his country. He was the chief agent in obtaining Magna Charta; though produced as an old charter of Henry I., it was probably drawn up by the archbishop himself.

Innocent died at Perugia 16th July 1216, renowned for his learning as a civilian and a divine, but more memorable as completing the once hopeless conception of the monk Hildebrand. In the sway which he held over the greatest monarchs, there seemed to be some ground for the words which the popes blasphemously applied to themselves,—“He setteth up one and putteth down another.”

His successors followed diligently in the same path. Honorius III. condescended to accept the little Isle of Man, and grant investiture to its petty prince as a feudatory of the Apostolic See (A.D. 1219). Before placing the imperial crown on the head of Frederick II., he obliged him to resign all the claims of the empire upon Spoleto and Tuscany, and further to take the cross in the Holy Land. Gregory IX. excommunicated the emperor for delaying the fulfilment of this vow, and when he embarked, pursued him with censures that alienated the Latin knights and prelates^o from his side. Frederick accomplished more than any other prince since Godfrey of Bouillon, by making a treaty with the Sultan which secured free access to the Holy Places; yet on his entering Jerusalem the churches were interdicted by the patriarch, and not even a German bishop would anoint the accursed of the pope. The emperor took the crown from the altar, and placed it on his head with his own hand.¹

Returning to Italy, he found himself excommunicated anew, and his territories overrun by an army of rebels, under the command of a papal legate, styled the Militia of Christ. This was the beginning of the

¹ Frederick claimed the crown in right of his second wife Yolande, daughter and heiress of John de Brienne, the last king of Jerusalem: hence the union of that title with the crown of Sicily, his hereditary kingdom.

factions which so long desolated Italy under the appellation of Guelphs and Ghibellines. The former was the name of a duke of Bavaria who contested the empire with Conrad III., and afterwards took part against him in the dispute between Innocent II. and his rival Anacletus. The partisans of the pope adopted it as their war-cry, while the imperialists took the watchword of Ghibellines from a town in Suabia, where the same emperor (or his son) was born.¹ These party names were revived by the adherents of Gregory and Frederick, and taken up by the local factions of every state and city, till all Italy was split into two parties struggling for the mastery, with as little consciousness of the original quarrel as the Tories and Whigs of our own country.

Nothing could exceed the fury of the Roman court against the emperor Frederick, who, though the ward of a pope, exhibited the strongest determination to recover the rights of the empire. He was excommunicated four or five times; a crusade was proclaimed against him, but with no other effect than to embitter and extend the hostilities. The imperial troops conquered Milan, Sardinia, Urbino, and Tuscany, and laid siege to Rome itself (1240). Gregory summoned a General Council to enforce his anathema, but Frederick defeated the project by capturing the Genoese fleet with a large number of bishops on board, and consigning them to prison or death. This disaster proved fatal to the pope, and the vacancy occasioned by his death could not be filled till the emperor released some of the captured cardinals to

¹ The Italians, despising the barbarous language of Germany, found another derivation for the Guelphs in "*guardatori della fé*," "defenders of the faith," and for the Ghibellines in "*guida bellica*," "a strife-maker." Others say that Guelph and Ghibel were names of two brothers who took opposite sides in the wars of Gregory and Frederic.

constitute a conclave. He was rewarded by the elevation of an intimate friend, the Ghibelline cardinal Fieschi; but Innocent iv. had no sooner assumed the tiara than he became a different man. He demanded the emperor's unconditional submission to the church, with the immediate release of his ecclesiastical prisoners. Failing in this, he retreated into France, and at the Council of Lyons (A.D. 1245), again pronounced sentence of excommunication and deposition against Frederick. The proffered mediation of St. Louis the French king was rejected, and the pope haughtily enjoined the German electors to fill the vacant throne. The new king chosen on his recommendation fell in battle; and Frederick, supported by most of the lay princes, retaliated on the clergy and monks throughout his dominions. Universal war raged in Germany and Italy. The pope offered Sicily to any Catholic prince who would expel the church's enemy. Richard earl of Cornwall, Charles of Anjou, and Edmund the English king's son, successively bid for the prize. The pope made an attempt to reserve the crown to himself, but his army was defeated by Frederick's son Manfred, and Innocent followed the emperor to the grave A.D. 1254.

Frederick left his hereditary kingdom to Conradin his infant grandson; Manfred, who had possessed himself of Calabria and Apulia, being nominated regent. On a false report of the infant's death, Manfred ascended the throne, but being defeated in a decisive engagement with Charles of Anjou, the kingdom submitted to the conqueror (1266). The French rule soon becoming intolerable, the Sicilian lords recalled Conradin, whom Alexander iv. had excluded from the empire, by threatening to excommunicate any elector who should vote for him. This ill-fated prince, falling into the hands of the French, was inhumanly beheaded in the

market-place at Naples: he threw his glove from the scaffold, entreating whoever should pick it up to carry it to his cousin Constantia, queen of Arragon. The Spaniards, he knew, might be trusted to avenge his wrongs.

This judicial murder has been laid at the door of the pope, Clement iv. But he had died some months before, leaving one of the most respectable names in the pontifical succession. The dissensions among the cardinals kept the See vacant three years, and it was not till the magistrates of Viterbo had locked them up in the bishop's hall, and even taken off the roof and stopped the supply of food, that Gregory x. was elected. He presided at the great Council of Lyons (A.D. 1273), called to unite the Greek and Latin churches. The submission of the emperor Michael Palæologus, and the letters he produced from the Greek bishops, were accepted as a happy reunion. But the letters were forgeries, executed with a view to political aid, and the churches remained as opposed as ever. In this council the regulations were adopted for expediting the election of a successor to the Holy See, which, with some modifications, are still in force. The cardinals present with any pope at his death, are to wait ten days for others, and then be shut up in a common room, with a cell for each, under the guard of the magistrates till the election is declared. A cardinal arriving before the election may be admitted into the conclave, and allowed to vote, even if under sentence of excommunication, but no one once admitted can retire, except for sickness, and no absent cardinal can vote. No election is effected, save by a concurrence of two-thirds of the votes.¹

Gregory exerted himself with great energy to put

¹ By the constitution of Gregory x., the cardinals were to be attended

an end to the factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines. The city of Florence, where party spirit ran highest, he placed under an interdict; but it was not till after a long and bloody war between the republics of Lucca and Pisa, that Innocent v. was enabled to proclaim the extinction of the feud. Even then the spirit of faction was not dead, and the party names continued to recur in connection with the disputes of the day.

These contests were attended by no inconsiderable addition to the papal revenues. The first great augmentation was in the pontificate of Innocent III. To obtain his countenance against Otho, Frederick II. confirmed the long-disputed donation of the countess Matilda of Tuscany, and further allowed the count of Fundi, in Naples, to bequeath his entire possessions to the Roman See. The imperial crown was stripped of Romagna and Bologna by Nicholas III., who exacted their concession, or as the pope called it their restitution, from Rudolf of Hapsburgh. These acquisitions carried the papal territory to its widest extent, for Nicholas was disappointed in the attempt he meditated on the crown of Sicily. Charles of Anjou, who had been created Roman senator and vicar of the Church States, was further honoured by John XXI. with the titular crown of Jerusalem. Nicholas abolished the vicariate (transferring the administration of Tuscany to the emperor), and obliging Charles to relinquish the senatorial dignity, conferred it on himself for life. He would gladly have done the same with the crown of Sicily, but death removed him before the conspiracy, into which he had entered, had time to effect its design.

only by one servant each, and if the election were delayed beyond three days, to be allowed no more than one dish apiece for dinner, and one for supper; after a fortnight their diet was to be reduced to bread and water, with a little wine; but these rigorous injunctions are now relaxed.

The author of this famous treason was John of Procida, a Sicilian nobleman, who had been banished the island for his fidelity to the house of Suabia. Repairing to Pedro III., king of Arragon, he offered to restore his wife Constantia to the throne of her ancestors. Money to equip a fleet was obtained from the emperor of Constantinople, who hoped by this means to divert Charles from an expedition he was contemplating against himself. Pedro put out to sea on pretence of attacking the Saracens in Africa, accepting a contribution from Charles himself for that laudable purpose. Meantime John, passing through Sicily in disguise, enlisted the chief lords in his design. The conspiracy was favoured by the king's absence in attendance on the pope. On Easter-day 1282, as the bells began to ring for vespers, the Sicilians rose on the French in every part of the island, and massacred them without respect to sex or age. Priests, friars, and monks, slaughtered their own brethren, and so effectually was the bloody policy carried out, that eight thousand French perished in the space of two hours. The king and queen of Arragon, who were waiting for the intelligence, quickly appeared with their fleet, and were received and crowned with unanimous applause.

Pope Martin, who was a friend of the French, and had reappointed Charles to the senatorship, no sooner received intelligence of these "Sicilian Vespers" (as the inhuman deed was called), than he excommunicated the conspirators and their abettors, and laid an interdict on the dominions of the Spanish king. Curses and interdicts, however, had become too frequent to preserve their terror. Pedro maintained his claim in right of his wife; and the private investiture of Nicholas. After much mutual reviling, the two kings agreed to decide the quarrel by single combat at Bordeaux, and the

French historians represent their hero as actually appearing in the lists with a hundred knights, vainly calling for the recreant Spaniard. The truth is, the pope forbade the ridiculous combat, and Edward I. refused to permit it at Bordeaux.¹ Pedro, paying no attention to the papal censure, was formally deposed from the throne of Arragon by a bull, dated 22nd March 1283, in which the pope absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and offered his dominions to any prince that would seize them. The impracticable monarch laughed at the sentence by writing himself in derision, "Pedro, a gentleman of Arragon, father of two kings and lord of the sea." The bull was treated with equal contempt by the Spaniards. Charles died of grief, leaving his son, the prince of Salerno, a prisoner, and Martin followed him, before he could proclaim a general crusade against the invader of the apostolic fief. Pedro, having enjoyed his two crowns to the day of his death, left them to his sons, Alphonso and James respectively, and both were excommunicated by Honorius IV. for their accession.

The prince of Salerno, obtaining his release by the mediation of Edward of England, was absolved by Nicholas IV. from the conditions to which he had sworn, and crowned at Rome king of Apulia (*i.e.* Naples) and Sicily, A.D. 1289. His hopes of regaining the island were constantly disappointed. James, having succeeded to the crown of Arragon by the death of Alphonso, was persuaded to resign Sicily to Charles on condition of receiving his daughter in marriage, with an ample dowry. Boniface VIII. also graciously gave him leave to conquer the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, from the republics of Pisa and Genoa. The Sicilians, how-

¹ Bower, vi. 320.

ever, declining to be so bartered, bestowed their crown on James's brother Frederic; and though James contributed his fleet to reduce him, he retained the island throne, while Charles and the pope were obliged to rest content with the continental kingdom. Their only satisfaction was to persist in calling Naples by the name of Sicily, and to stigmatise their rival as king of *Trinacria*.

Boniface VIII. was a man of so much learning, that Petrarch extols him as the wonder of the world. His craft and cruelty, however, were shown in his treatment of Celestine V., whom he first persuaded to resign the pontificate, five months after his election, on account of his inexperience in politics; and then, having succeeded to the chair, instead of letting the good man return to the cloister for which he panted, he kept him in confinement to the day of his death. His resentment of the opposition of the two cardinals Colonna to his election, was so bitter, that not content with degrading them, he decreed the whole family—one of the most illustrious in Rome—to be for ever infamous, and incapable of ecclesiastical dignities. He pulled down their town of Præneste, and ordered the site to be sown with salt to extinguish it, like Carthage, for ever.

This pontificate is famous for the institution of the Jubilee, though, according to some accounts, it was established a century before by Innocent III. By a bull dated 22nd February 1300, Boniface granted a plenary remission of sins to all who before Christmas, in that and every subsequent *hundredth* year, should visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul daily, for thirty days if inhabitants of Rome, and for half that time if strangers. His private enemies the Colonnas, Frederic of Sicily, who had neglected to pay his tribute, and the abettors of the Saracens were the only persons excluded. The city was crowded with

strangers, who flocked to gain the indulgence; enormous sums were offered at the holy tombs; and the solemnity became so profitable that Clement VI. reduced the period for its observance from a hundred years to fifty, and later popes have brought it down to twenty-five.

Boniface appeared at the jubilee with the spiritual and temporal swords carried before him, the bearers of which proclaimed the text,—“Behold, here are two swords.”¹ This irreverent parody on the words of St. Peter, appeared still earlier on the seal of an English confederation for the expulsion of the foreign ecclesiastics, in the reign of Henry III., and a bitter jest it then proved to the pope’s beneficiaries.

The pope had the pleasure of receiving a more respectful recognition from the barons of Scotland. Finding themselves hard pressed by the arms of Edward I., they resolved to accept a distant, in preference to a neighbouring, master; accordingly, they tendered the kingdom to the pope, pretending that, from the most ancient times, Scotland had been a fief of the holy Roman See. Boniface, eagerly embracing the offer, commanded the archbishop of Canterbury to require the king to withdraw his troops, and submit his pretensions to the apostolic tribunal. Edward gravely replied, that in the time of the prophet Samuel, Brutus, a noble Trojan, had expelled the giants from Albion, and given the whole island to his sons, of whom Locrinus the eldest and chief wore the crown of England. The

¹ Luke xxii. 38. It has often been observed that few things in the papacy are new. It is indebted much more to imitation than to invention. At the inauguration of Togrul Beg, as sultan or lieutenant of the prophet-vicar (A.D. 1058), he received two crowns and the *scimitars of east and west*, with a commission importing that the caliph entrusted to him all that part of the world which God had committed to his care. The chair of St. Peter itself is an importation from the east, and an Arabic inscription to Mohammed is said to have been discovered upon it.

Scots, without contesting these historical facts, replied that Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt, had wrested the northern part of the island from the power of Locrinus, and transmitted it to her descendants, with no superior but the pope ! Such was, in fact, the received history of this island down to the publication of Camden's *Britannia*; but Boniface got no other satisfaction than to be told that the laws of England did not permit the king to subject the rights of his crown to any foreign tribunal.

His conflict with the king of France was still more unfortunate. Philip the Fair, like our own Edward I., thought fit to compel the clergy to contribute towards the expenses of his repeated campaigns. The pope thereupon issued a bull entitled *Clericis laicos* (A.D. 1296), charging the laity with inveterate hostility to the clergy, and prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, any payment out of ecclesiastical revenues without his consent. The king retorted by prohibiting the export of coin or treasure from his dominions, without license from the crown. This was cutting off the pope's revenue at a blow, and so modified his anger that he allowed the clergy to grant a "free benevolence" to the king, when in urgent need. A few years after (1301), Philip imprisoned a bishop on charge of sedition, when Boniface thundered out his bulls *Salvator mundi*, and *Ausculta fili*, the first of which suspended all privileges accorded by the Holy See to the French king and people, and the second, asserting the papal power in the now familiar text from Jeremiah,¹ summoned the superior clergy to Rome. Philip burned the bull, and prohibited the clergy from obeying the summons. The peers and people of France stood by the

¹ Jer. i. 10.

crown, treating the exhortations of the clergy with defiance. The pope, incensed at this resistance, published the Decretal called *Unam sanctam*, which affirms the unity of the Church, without which there is no salvation, and hence the unity of its head in the successor of St. Peter. Under the pope are two swords, the spiritual and the material—the one to be used *by* the church, the other *for* the church. The former is in the hand of the priest, the latter in the hand of the soldier at the nod and sufferance of the priest. To declare these swords equal, is to fall into the error of the Manichees, who acknowledge two original principles. The temporal sword is therefore subject to the spiritual, and the spiritual to God only. The conclusion is, “that it is absolutely essential to the salvation of every human being that he be subject unto the Roman pontiff.”

The king, who showed great moderation, appealed to a general council, and forbade his subjects to obey any orders of Boniface till it should be assembled. The pope resorted to the usual weapons. He drew up a bull for the excommunication of the king; offered France to Albert of Austria, king of the Romans, and wrote to the king of England to incite him to prosecute his war.¹

Meantime, Philip having sent William de Nogaret on an embassy to the pope, this daring envoy conceived

¹ Yet Edward had far exceeded Philip in his resistance to the pope. When Abp. Winchelsey produced the bull *Clericis laicos* in answer to a demand on the clergy, Edward, without quarrelling with the pope (who was useful to himself), at once *outlawed* the whole English clergy for obeying the chief whom he permitted to rule over them. The sheriffs seized their property. They were robbed on the highway—false actions were brought against them, but no defence or complaint on their side was allowed in the king's court. These methods of persuasion accomplished their object. The clergy yielded their goods, and the pope never stirred a finger to their assistance, nor as much as remonstrated with the king.

the design of making him prisoner. Entering Anagni at the head of a small force, privately raised in the neighbourhood, the conspirators, aided by some of the papal household, gained possession of the palace and burst into the pope's presence. Boniface, deeming himself a dead man, had put on his pontifical robes and crown, but these had little effect on the irreverent intruders. De Nogaret was one of the Albigenses; his companion, a Colonna, was so inflamed at the sight of his persecutor, that he struck him on the face with his mailed hand, and would have killed him but for the intervention of the other. The captors unaccountably delaying to carry off their prize, the people of the place rose and rescued the Holy Father. He hastened back to Rome, but died of the shock a month after, leaving a dangerous feud between the Church and her eldest son.

The next pope, Benedict xi., endeavoured to heal the breach by annulling the decrees of Boniface against the French king, and reinstating the Colonnas; but he was cut off by death in ten months from his election, and it was generally suspected that his removal was effected by poison administered by the enemies of peace (A.D. 1304). Of the contemporary writers some attribute the crime to the party of Boniface, and others to the Florentines, whom Benedict had excommunicated for their murderous feud with the Pistoians. The cities of Tuscany were at this time a prey to the violence of the *White* and *Black* factions, the former supported by the Ghibellines, and the latter by the Guelphs.

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS (SEE AT AVIGNON).

A. D.	EMPERORS.	POPE.	FRANCE.	SICILY.		SPAIN.		PORTUGAL.	ENGLAND.	EASTERN EMPERORS.
				NAPLES.	TRINACRIA.	LEON & CASTILE.	ARRAGON.			
1307	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1308	Henry VII.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Edward II.	...
1309	...	...	...	Robert.	...	...	...	...	...	...
1312	...	...	...	...	...	Alphonso XI.	...	...	...	...
1313	Louis V.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1314	...	Clement V.	Louis X.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1316	...	John XXII.	Philip V.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1321	...	...	Philip VI.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1325	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Alphonso IV.	Edward II.	...
1327	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1328	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1334	...	Benedict XII.	...	...	...	Pedro II.	...	...	...	...
1336	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1341	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1342	...	...	...	...	...	Louis.	...	...	...	...
1343	...	Clement VI.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1347	Charles IV.	...	...	Joanna.	...	...	...	...	...	...
1350	...	...	John the Good	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1352	...	Innocent VI.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1355	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1357	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1362	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1364	...	Urban V.	Charles V.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1367	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1368	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1369	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1373	...	Gregory XI.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1377	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Richard II.	...
										{ John VI. } { Paleologus. }
										{ John Can- } { tacuzenus. }
										{ Pedro the } { Justiciary. }
										Ferdinand.
										Henry II.
										Pedro the } Cruel.

CHAPTER X.

THE AVIGNON PAPACY.

Clement v.—The Babylonish Captivity—Avignon—State of Rome—Papal avarice—Provisions and reservations—Lay indignation—Resistance of the English—Parliamentary measures—Papal simony—Annates—Dispensations—Clerical enormities—Council of Vienne—Fall of the Templars—Quarrel with the Empire—Anti-pope—Dispute with the Franciscans—New Mendicants—Invocation of the Saints—Heresy of John XXII.—Illogical solution—Revolution at Rome—The Jubilee—Joanna of Sicily—Return of the See—Urban v.—Gregory XI.

ON the death of Benedict, many of the cardinals were for closing the breach with France by electing a French pope; the others insisted that an Italian was essential to the independence of the Holy See. The difference was compromised by the election of the archbishop of Bordeaux, a Frenchman by birth, but owing his preferments to Boniface, and an active supporter of his quarrel against Philip.¹ The archbishop, however, had secretly come to terms with the king, and his first act as Clement v. was to summon the cardinals to attend him at Lyons, where he resolved to celebrate his coronation. The Sacred College crossed the Alps with undissembled repugnance, and two-and-seventy years elapsed before the Papal court returned to Rome. This

¹ The archbishop, who was named Bertrand de Gout, or d'Agout, was born the subject of our own Edward I. as duke of Gascony and Guienne, and was, therefore, objectionable to the French party till he had reconciled himself with their king. The ecclesiastics of this age had little respect to the ties of patriotism, even if France had not properly the first claim on a Gascon.

period of humiliation and corruption the Italian writers not inaptly stigmatise as the *Babylonish captivity*.

Clement began his pontificate by honourably fulfilling his engagements with the French. He absolved the king and all his subjects from the censures of his predecessors, revoked the offensive bulls, restored the Colonnas, and created ten new cardinals, who, with the exception of one Englishman,¹ were natives of France. He further granted Philip the ecclesiastical tenths of his kingdom for five years. These conditions had been expressly stipulated for as the price of the French support in the conclave. There was a further concession reserved in Philip's own breast, which the pope was to comply with on his demand. If it be true that the king claimed in this right the condemnation of Boniface as a heretic, Clement had the manliness to refuse. He ventured to inflict a further disappointment by supporting the claim of Henry of Luxembourg to the empire in preference to the French king's brother. To escape the further importunities of his too powerful ally, the pope removed into the dominions of his own vicar, the king of Naples (A.D. 1309).

The place selected was Avignon, belonging to Charles the Lame as count of Provence. The city is pleasantly situated in a fertile plain, having the Rhone under its walls to the west, and an arm of the Sorgue running through its midst. In the days of the ancient republic it was one of the Latin cities, whose natives enjoyed the proud title of Romans. After being subject to the Austrasian Franks, it was taken by the Saracens

¹ Thomas Bradwardine, chaplain and confessor to Edward III., and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. He died of the plague in London immediately on returning from his consecration at Avignon, 26th August, 1349. He was called the *Doctor profundus*, and his great work *De Causa Dei*, was the noblest vindication of the doctrines of grace since Augustine.

in 730, and twice rescued by Charles Martel. In the ninth century it passed to the kings of Arles, or Burgundy, but afterwards became a free republic, governed by its own consuls, under the suzerainty of the count of Provence. The authority of the chief magistrate, who was called the *Podesta*, continued till the early part of the nineteenth century.¹

. The Neapolitan dynasty, though of French origin, was independent of the French crown, when the pope took up his residence at Avignon. Charles the Lame was soon after succeeded by his third son Robert, who, dying in 1343, left his crown to his granddaughter Joanna, the young and beautiful wife of Andrew, prince of Hungary. The romantic and probably criminal adventures of this princess, which bear so strong a resemblance to those of Mary Queen of Scots, convulsed the south of Italy for many years. In one of her frequent exiles Clement took advantage of her necessities to purchase her rights in Avignon for eighty

¹ In 1226, this little state shut its gates against the French king Louis VIII. and the Papal Legate, as they were marching on the Albigenses, with whom the free citizens cherished a generous sympathy. This act of independence cost them dear; for the king immediately laid siege to the town and demolished a large part of its walls. Not long after, the French crown succeeded to a more legitimate authority, as heir to the count of Toulouse, to whom the suzerainty had descended by marriage, jointly with the count of Provence. Louis VIII. of France created his son Charles count of Anjou, on his marriage with Beatrice the heiress of Provence, A.D. 1246. Charles obtained the kingdom of Sicily from Clement IV. in 1266, and to his son Charles the Lame the claims of the French crown were ceded by Philip the Fair, A.D. 1298. This king left a progeny of princes and princesses, who were allied with half the thrones of Europe. His eldest son was king of Hungary; the fourth, Philip of Tarentum, titular emperor of Constantinople; one daughter was espoused to the king of Arragon, and another to Frederick, king of *Trinacria*, or the Island of Sicily. The continental Sicily (or Naples) descended to his third son Robert, and from him to his granddaughter Joanna, who married her cousin Andrew, prince of Hungary. The struggles of his family for the crowns of the Two Sicilies occasioned the continual intervention of the Holy See.

thousand gold florins, but this inadequate price was never paid. The pope placed it to the account of the tribute due to himself from the Neapolitan crown, and having procured a renunciation of the paramount suzerainty of the emperor, he took possession of the city and territory as absolute sovereign (A.D. 1348).¹

Avignon was the seat of a bishopric and a university. The sojourn of the popes filled it with so many churches and religious houses, that it received the nickname of the "tinkling town."² Petrarch, who often resided there, and whose Laura lies buried in the church of the Cordeliers, speaks of the inhabitants as the most notorious sinners under the sun; but the outward symptoms were those of supereminent holiness. Seven parishes, seven colleges, seven monasteries, seven female convents, seven hospitals, seven palaces, and seven gates, gave the city a mystic sanctity in the eyes of the superstitious,³ and though the Romans thought the See in captivity, the popes were far from deploring their exile.

Rome was at this time a prey to anarchy: the great houses at the head of their respective factions filled the streets with daily tumults. The Guelphs fought under the Ursini, the Ghibellines under the Colonnas. Constant efforts were made to restore the republic, but the people were too factious and too fickle to submit to any permanent government. The king of Naples, though vicar of the Ecclesiastical States, could not prevent the chief cities from asserting their independence under a republican magistracy, nor control

¹ The validity of the bargain was contested on several grounds. Joanna was a minor, and at the time *de facto* deprived of the crown. Moreover, the confirming authority was the pretender Charles, whom the pope had created king of the Romans. Louis, the reigning emperor, was not consulted.

² La Ville Sonnante, *Rabelais*, Book iv. 211.

³ Dict. de Morery.

the petty tyrants who, seizing towns and districts by the strong hand, acknowledged neither pope nor emperor on their domains. Italy was in its normal state of brigandage, and the effect was most disastrous on the territorial revenues of the Church.

Still the pontiffs of Avignon found means to exceed their predecessors in luxury and opulence. Clement v. was the richest pope that had yet worn the fisherman's ring. His successor, John xxii., left behind him a treasure of twenty-five millions of gold florins in coin, jewels, and plate.¹ These were the profits of their ecclesiastical patronage, and the fees on dispensations and bulls. Never were the exactions of the Holy See carried to such excess as during its exile at Avignon. Without directly denying the rights of the proper patrons, the pope claimed, by the plenitude of the apostolic power, to "provide" an incumbent for any dignity or benefice that he chose. The provision was made either in anticipation of the vacancy, so as to prevent the right of election or patronage from arising, or the person presented was objected to, and the pope appointed by "provision" to prevent a fresh nomination.² Another common practice was to *reserve* a

¹ In England about this time the gold florin was current at ten shillings, which would then be equal to £10 of our present money. This would make the pope's savings exceed in value three years' revenue of the United Kingdom, or one-quarter of our National debt!

² The objection *ought* to have been some canonical irregularity or unfitness; but the most frivolous pretences were resorted to. In 1229 Gregory ix. subjected the archbishop elect of Canterbury to an examination. He was asked whether Christ descended into hell in the flesh or out of the flesh?—how the Lord's body was produced on the altar?—and what would be the effect of a contract of marriage, if one of the parties should die an unbeliever? His answers were pronounced utterly bad, and Walter, the monk of Canterbury duly elected by his chapter, whose right was indisputable, was set aside for Richard Grant, whom the pope gave to the Church. To this illegal act Gregory was bribed by Henry III. with a tenth of his subjects' property, and most of the usurpations of Rome are traceable to similar acts of royal treason.

benefice, while full, for the pope's future disposal; or to appropriate its revenue to himself or a cardinal, leaving the duties to be neglected, or performed by some ill-paid deputy. Nominees, too, were quartered on the bishops with orders to prefer them to the first vacancy.

All the evils, and more than all that we can now conceive, of plurality, non-residence, and simony, were practised on the most gigantic scale. The bishops and abbots, with a large proportion of the inferior dignitaries and incumbents, throughout Europe, were the pope's nominees, many of them being foreigners who never entered their churches. It was complained in England under Henry III., that the revenues drawn out of the country by foreign ecclesiastics exceeded those of the crown. The laity were so incensed at the usurpation of their patronage, that they formed a league for the expulsion of all foreign priests, and in derision of a text often quoted by the successors of St. Peter, the seal of this association bore the device of two swords with the motto, "Behold here are two swords."¹ The opposition was so threatening that Gregory IX. promised to abstain from further interference with lay patrons; but the grievances continued unabated with respect to dignities and benefices in the election or gift of ecclesiastical persons. The popes were so accustomed to issue their mandates to all ranks of the clergy, and the princes had so shamefully surrendered this class of their subjects to their absolute authority, that Clement V. declared these mandates to be the inalienable prerogative of the Holy See, as well in England as in other states.

In the reign of Edward III. Parliament complained that the sums paid to the pope for ecclesiastical dignities, amounted to five-fold the annual taxes appertaining

¹ Possibly these were only the arms of the see of London.

to the king: that aliens, enemies to the land, were in possession of the best preferments, and acted worse than Jews or Saracens: that God gave his sheep to the pope to be pastured, not shorn or shaven: that no prince in Christendom owned a fourth part the treasure which the pope took out of this realm "most sinfully:" and that lay patrons were encouraged by the pope's simony to "sell their benefices to beasts, no otherwise than Christ was sold to the Jews." The deans of York, Salisbury, and Lincoln, the archdeacons of Canterbury, York, Durham, and Suffolk, with several prebendaries, were cardinals remaining at the papal court, and drawing twenty-thousand marks yearly, in addition to an equal sum sent to the pope for Peter-pence. The pope (Gregory XI.) had created twelve new cardinals, making a total of thirty (whereas there were wont to be but twelve in all) and with two or three exceptions, all were the king's enemies.

The just resentment of the English people showed itself in the statutes of Mortmain, Provisors, and Premunire,¹ and if our princes had been equally true to their people, the papal yoke would have been earlier shaken off from this island. But in the middle ages the kings of England were themselves foreigners, and generally in quest of some personal advantage, for which the papal influence was desired.² Hence the Reformation was

¹ The first of these (Edward I.) forbade the conveyance of land to churches or monasteries without the king's license: the other two prohibited all papal collations, provisions, or reservations, and all appeals to the pope in prejudice of the king or his subjects under pain of fine and imprisonment at the king's pleasure.

² Edward I. at the very time of his dispute with Boniface VIII. about Scotland, was employing his mediation with the king of France for the restoration of Gascony. Edward II., when defeated at Bannockburn, and on the point of losing Berwick, solicited John XXII. to mediate a peace with Robert Bruce. The pontiff sent his legates to proclaim a two years' truce in his own name, and compel both kings to observe it. Edward sub-

delayed till, the French provinces being lost, and the Norman aristocracy thinned in the wars of the Roses, a national monarch arose at the head of a united people, to deal more effectually with Rome.¹

The patronage usurped by the popes was openly sold to the highest bidder. Simony, for the suppression of which Gregory VII. had demanded the supremacy, was the beaten road to the Apostolic chamber at Avignon. John XXII. demanded *Annates* or first-fruits from every benefice; and to increase their produce he revelled in the uncanonical practice of translations. A rich preferment was made the occasion of five or six vacancies, each of which furnished a year's profits to the court of Rome before the presentee was admitted.² The abuse was aggravated by multiplying bulls of nomination and dispensation, in order to enhance the fees.

Nor were these the only kind of dispensations which ministered to the papal exchequer. Every sort of obligation, canonical, legal, or moral, might be dispensed with for a pecuniary consideration. There was no promise or oath which the pope would not relax, no marriage, or impediment to marriage, which he did not assume the power to dissolve. Crime itself had its price at this hideous tribunal; a deacon or sub-deacon might be absolved of a murder for twenty crowns, a bishop was charged three hundred livres. Roman

mitted, but Bruce refusing to let the legates enter Scotland, proceeded to capture Berwick, for which he was excommunicated, and the kingdom put under an interdict.

¹ In Germany the princes of the empire were content to yield the entire church patronage to the pope, if he would only leave the revenue to the resident incumbent. They complained that Germany was treated as a gold mine, sending enormous sums to Avignon and receiving nothing in return but epistles and speeches.—Fleury, l. 96.

² The statute of *præmunire*, revived A.D. 1392, forbade English subjects from soliciting at Rome, translations, excommunications, bills, mandates, or any other process in prejudice of the crown.

Catholic writers themselves complain that kingdoms, cities, and castles were esteemed the patrimony of Christ, and gold, silver, and purple were valued before humility, faith, and doctrine.¹

The practical working of the system was painted in terrible colours at the Council of Vienne (A. D. 1311). Ecclesiastical censures had lost all terror from the notorious venality of the authorities. Prebends and dignities were engrossed by foreigners of dissolute habits, who never entered their churches; even children were made dignitaries. The papal court detained large numbers of the higher clergy in attendance on itself, defending their rights or buying promotion. Pluralities were as common as simony; some held a dozen benefices, or more, and resided on none.² Divine service was omitted, or performed with shocking indecency. The people were universally ignorant of the Christian faith and the way of salvation. The clergy frequented tournaments and other games, dressed like the military, to the great scandal of their flocks.³ The monks, instead of living in their monasteries, were running about like unbridled horses, committing deeds of which it was a shame to

¹ Denina, xiv. 6. Gianone, xxii. 8. Villani, xi. 20. Waddington's Ch. Hist. xxii.

² Thomas Cobham, called the "good parson," who in 1313 was elected archbishop of Canterbury, but set aside by a collusion between the pope and the king, was at the time precentor of York, sub-dean of Salisbury, archdeacon of Lewes, and canon of St. Paul's and of Wells.

³ See the emperor Charles IV.'s letter to the archbishop of Mayence, A. D. 1359: "They adopt the military habit laced with gold and silver, wear boots, and nourish beards and long hair."—Robertson, c. vi. In England, archbishop Stratford's "Constitutions" (A. D. 1343) reprehend in like manner the neglect of the tonsure, the effeminate locks, and long beards of the clergy, their costly girdles, imitation swords, shoes chequered with red and green, furred cloaks, and other fopperies. Archdeacons took their hounds with them on their visitations, and not only enjoyed their sport while their officials held the visitation, but made the poor parsons pay the keep of an enormous retinue, including these most uneclesiastical *terriers*.

speak. "Oh!" exclaimed one of the bishops, "that those winged creatures, the cardinals, full of eyes within and without, would look into these things; but like chooses like; we must have reform in the head as well as in the members."¹

Such were the complaints presented and admitted in the council of the pope; yet the canons then passed (fifty-six in number) were directed only to check the progress of heresy, and impose some decent restraints on the monks and *inferior* clergy. No reform was even attempted of the head and fountain of corruption, the papal court.

At this council the French king again endeavoured to procure the condemnation of the late pope as a heretic, a piece of revenge in which Clement still refused to gratify him. In another and more bloody persecution, the pope ministered to the royal wishes so readily that many writers suppose it to be the true subject of the secret article. Philip had conceived the design of obtaining the crown of Jerusalem for one of his sons, and endowing it from the enormous possessions of the Templars. By opposing this project, the grand-master, Jean Molé, drew upon himself the hatred of this implacable prince, and the ruin of the Order. The king accused the whole body of the most abominable crimes, including the formal renunciation of the religion they were sworn to defend. The adoration of an idol and spitting on the cross were alleged to be among their forms of admission, and the most infamous excesses were imputed to their daily conversation. The evidence was simply the confession of two members of the Order, who, to escape a sentence passed on themselves, became the accusers of their brethren. On the unsupported statements of these convicts, Philip ordered all the Templars in France to be arrested and subjected to torture by the Inquisition. On

¹ Raynaldus E. Cod. Vat. Wadd. iii. 7, n.

the confessions so obtained he denounced to all Europe a body of the highest rank in Christian chivalry, which was largely composed of the first families in every realm, and solemnly dedicated to the defence of religion.

The accusation was received with a burst of disbelief; the pope pronounced the charges incredible. The English peers and prelates had never heard a whisper of them.¹ In Germany the Templars were honourably acquitted by a provincial synod.² Confessions, however, multiplied in France under the tender mercies of the Inquisition, and Philip found means to impress the pope with his views. The grand master, who kept his court at Cyprus like a monarch, was summoned to answer before the pontiff, and on obeying, with more courage than prudence, he was seized at Paris and thrown into prison by the king. Clement himself wrote to Edward II. to exhort him to follow the example by arresting the Templars, and sequestering their property till the Holy See should decide on its disposal.³ This was a hint which no Norman prince ever disregarded. Edward, who had previously sent out a circular to the kings of Europe, entreating them to turn a deaf ear to Philip's slanders, turned round at once, arrested the Templars, and took possession of their estates.

The true crimes of this famous Order were their riches and their pride. From the "Poor of the Holy City" they had risen to be companions of princes, and owners of sixteen thousand lordships in various kingdoms. Their grand master, like another pope, stretched his baton from Cyprus into all the realms

¹ *Fœd.* ii. pt. i. 10. Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," iii. 444.

² Dupin, *Nouv. Bib. Cent.* xiv. 2, *Wadd.* iii. 4, n.

³ The pope disgraced himself so far as to urge the king to subject them to the torture, and Edward consented, provided the inquisitors did not inflict permanent mutilation, or proceed to a violent effusion of blood.—Hook, iii. 450.

of Christendom. The knights offended the aristocracy by their insupportable arrogance, the clergy hated them for their Papal exemptions. Their unquestioned valour was stained by debauchery; to "drink like a Templar"¹ was a proverb even in England; and their contempt of the law left them without friend or ally. Hence, when their visitation came, they found neither mercy nor justice.

Still, the Council of Vienne could not be persuaded to condemn so large a body on the confessions of a comparatively few. The pope, therefore, committing the definitive sentence to the provincial synods of each nation, took upon himself to suppress the Order in the plenitude of his apostolic power, reserving its estates for after consideration. The Bull was passed in a private consistory, and published in the council without submitting it to the vote. Philip purchased this favour by resigning all pretensions to the property, which by a second decree was assigned to the Knights Hospitallers. Edward II. was deeply disgusted at being called on to surrender his spoils; he kept possession for twelve years, and would probably never have yielded but for his unpopularity with his own subjects.

Philip took his revenge in another way. The grand master, who had been reserved to the personal judgment of the pope, received sentence of perpetual imprisonment; but, as he continued to protest his innocence, the king declared him a *relapsed heretic*, and ordered him to be burned alive. This inhuman murder determines the character of the persecution, and brands the pontiff and king with a common infamy. Both followed their victim within a year, and it was said that, from the midst of the flames, the grand master cited them to meet him within that period at the judgment-seat of God.²

¹ Collier, E. H. vi.—but in Italy the same proverb was used of the pope, *bibere papaliter*, Bower, vi. 455.

² Morery's Dict., Jean Molé.

While thus unduly complaisant to the French crown, the popes of Avignon pursued the old quarrel with the empire to the farthest extreme. Henry of Luxembourg was affronted by the ministration of a legate, in place of the pope, at his coronation (A.D. 1312). The ceremony took place in the Lateran, St. Peter's Church being denied by the Guelphs, who held the Leonine city under Cardinal Ursini. In attempting to chastise this faction, the emperor was resisted by the pope's vicar, the king of Naples, and the pope himself had to make peace between them, as "twin sons" of the Roman See. On the next vacancy, John declared himself vicar of the empire, and forbade any election without his permission.¹ Louis of Bavaria was excommunicated for disobeying this decree, but, advancing to Rome, the president of the Council of State placed the imperial crown on his head, and the bishops of Venice and Corsica anointed him with the holy oil (A.D. 1328).

The emperor, now calling a council, deposed the pope as a heretic, and elected a successor who took the name of Nicholas v. The new pontiff recrowned the emperor, and confirmed the sentence on his predecessor. The Guelphs and Ghibellines rushed to their respective sides, and all Italy was involved in war. On the emperor's return to Germany, Nicholas was obliged to submit; but Louis continued under the ban of the Holy See till the day of his death. To strengthen himself, he created Edward III. of England vicar general of the empire, and further supported his claim to the throne of France. Philip of Valois, who obtained the crown in virtue of the Salic law, was forbidden by Benedict, the successor of John, to employ his ecclesiastical tenths in maintaining the war with a brother Chris-

¹ Const., 31 Mar. 1317.

tian. The pontiff would gladly have composed the difference : at any rate, the Church's grant should not assist in maintaining it. "If I had two souls," he wrote to Philip, "I would sacrifice one to oblige you ; but having but one, I must save it if I can." The rulers of that age were little accustomed to such language from the father of Christendom.

The next pope was not so scrupulous. Clement vi. demanded as the price of absolution, that Louis should not merely resign the empire as a fief of the Apostolic See, but surrender his hereditary dominions, with himself, his wife and family, to the absolute disposal of the Holy Father. The emperor, who had survived no less than six excommunications, drily communicated the extravagant demand to the Estates of Germany, by whom it was, of course, indignantly prohibited. Clement threatened to give away the crown himself if they did not proceed to a new election : by deposing one of the electoral archbishops, and absolving another from excommunication, he procured a mock election of Charles of Bohemia, who had previously sworn to the papal conditions. The archbishop of Cologne forthwith crowned him king of the Romans, but the Imperialists nicknamed him "king of the priests," and Louis reigned with little molestation till he was killed by a fall from his horse at a bear hunt (A. D. 1347).

During this conflict, a dispute arose among the Franciscan friars, on the obligation by which their founder absolutely forbade the acquisition of property, enjoining the whole Order to subsist on daily alms. To avoid this inconvenient injunction, the Holy See had consented to hold lands *in trust* for the Order ; and by this fiction the friars enjoyed enormous revenues. On the other hand, it was contended that the pope himself had no power over the will of St. Francis, and some of

the more ardent mendicants formed a separate sect, known as the Fratricelli, or little brothers.¹ Another company were denominated Tertiaries (from their scrupulous adherence to the *third* of the monastic rules—chastity, obedience, and poverty), and *Beghards* or *Beguines*.² The “Spirituals” were another portion of the reformed Franciscans: discarding the flowing robes of a degenerate age, they spread over Europe, clad in the coarse garment and cowl of St. Francis. Preaching everywhere the indispensable obligation of poverty, they became as obnoxious as the Poor Men of Lyons to the prelates and their more luxurious brethren. John XXII. consigned them to the Inquisition as Donatists, Waldenses, Manicheans, and all that was bad. Numbers of the unoffending enthusiasts were actually committed to the flames, for asserting that Christ and his apostles were mendicants like St. Francis. The emperor, on the other hand, was charmed with this doctrine; he would have been glad to see all the prelates of the empire converted to it. He opened his dominions freely to its preachers, and cordially agreed with them that the persecutor of poverty was a heretic.

These were not the only persons who hurled this reproach at the pope. The whole Church was scandalised by his assertion, that departed saints do not see God till the day of judgment, but remain with Christ in paradise. The Church was realising a vast revenue from the intercession of the saints; and how were the purchasers to be sure of their money’s worth, if these venerated beings

¹ This Italian nickname is not to be confounded with the Latin *Fratriculi*, or Friars-minor, which was the modest designation assumed by all the Franciscans.

² The two words are found united in an edict of Charles IV. (A.D. 1369) and interpreted “beggars.”—*Die wilgen Armen*. Mosheim, E. H. xiv. 2, xxxviii. These Franciscan Beguines were by no means the same with the Beguines of Germany and Belgium.—*Ibid.* xiii. 2, xli.

were not really with God? Philip of Valois, surnamed the Catholic, took up the question with becoming ardour. Speaking as a layman and a Christian, he must say he saw no use in praying to the saints, or expecting salvation by their merits, if our Lady and the blessed apostles are not to see God till the day of judgment. Such a doctrine invalidated every indulgence and pardon granted, or to be granted, by Holy Church: it would be the destruction of the Catholic faith.¹ The eldest son of the Church would not endure this profanation. Assembling the University of Paris, he required of them a definition of the truth, and, waxing more and more zealous, finally threatened to burn the pope for a heretic if he did not subscribe it.²

Had the spirit of the grand master of the Templars hovered over Paris, it might now have been appeased. The king of Sicily, the Dominicans, the bishops, all took the alarm. John wavered, explained, equivocated; but finally, at ninety years of age, escaped the grave of a heretic, by making a full and humble retractation a few hours before his death. Benedict XII. soldered up the controversy by explaining that the ascension of Christ had enabled departed souls to enjoy the beatific vision from the moment of death, provided they were fully purged from sin; and if not, as soon as they are delivered out of purgatory: but those who die in mortal, unrepented sin, are cast into hell to be tormented for ever. This explanation secured the important points;—the intercession of the saints, the advantage of indulgences and masses for the dead, and the revenues of Holy Church derived from the same. Nevertheless it was added, out of some lingering respect for the true Judge of men, that all will stand at the last day before the tribunal

¹ John Villani x.

² Card. d'Aillac, Bower, vi. 442.

of Christ, to give an account of their deeds, and receive their due punishment or reward. The pope made no attempt to reconcile these contradictory propositions, and they were confirmed, with equal contempt of logic, by the Council of Trent.¹

Throughout this dispute, it is melancholy to observe the absolute indifference of pope, prelates, and princes, towards that which the apostle counted the highest good, viz., to "depart and be with Christ." To be *with Christ* was now no boon at all: neither His presence nor His righteousness entered into the contemplations of these zealous "Catholics." They were anxious only to provide an escape out of purgatory, and sustain the solvency of the great bank of saintly merits, by means of which the Church carried on her lucrative trade.

While these dissensions were weakening the papacy at Avignon, Rome was a prey to anarchy. Despairing of forming a permanent government of their own, the citizens offered to elect Clement ruler for life, if he would return to the Lateran, his proper cathedral and the first church in the world.² On the pontiff declining to accept as a gift that which he claimed of divine right, the Romans resolved to restore the ancient republic in its most popular development. Having expelled the papal vicar with all the nobility, they elected a tribune of the people, who sent out a manifesto to all kings

¹ The doctrine of an intermediate state between death and the resurrection was, undoubtedly, taught by the primitive Fathers, grounded on the Lord's words to the penitent thief; but that Christ returned to paradise *after* His resurrection, was one of the mediæval blunders. The Scripture expressly records His ascension into *heaven*.

² The Ghibelline party in Rome regarded St. Peter's and the Leonine city with dislike, and we find it on several occasions in possession of the Guelphs. The Lateran was the old cathedral of Rome, and so late as A. D. 1372, Gregory XI. issued a constitution, declaring it the church of the See, and the first in the world.

and princes, notifying that Rome had resumed her authority as the metropolis and mistress of the world, and demanding their universal submission. The magniloquent tribune, whose name was Nicolo di Lorenzo, popularly styled Cola di Rienzi, soon experienced, like many a greater man before him, the fickleness of the Roman populace, and was glad to escape in disguise to Naples.

The giddy people turned their attention to the jubilee, which the pope, at their request, had appointed to be kept in the middle of the century instead of waiting till the close. Notwithstanding the great plague which raged throughout Europe for three years (A. D. 1348–51), or perhaps in consequence of this visitation, the streets of Rome were crowded with pilgrims. From Christmas to Easter, a million or more entered the gates *daily*.¹ The crowd to see the holy napkin of Veronica, now first exhibited on Passion Sunday, was so great that several persons were trampled to death. It was calculated that not one in ten reached their homes again in safety. Amid the ravages of a superstition, scarcely exceeded by the concourses of Juggernaut, the Romans reaped their harvest heedless alike of plague and pilgrimage. The prices were such that even bread was unobtainable by the poor, and the legate was threatened with death for endeavouring to set some limits to the extortion.

The horrors of the times were aggravated by a domestic tragedy in the kingdom of Naples, or, as it was then called, Sicily *citra Pharum*. The young queen Joanna, grand-daughter and heir of Robert the Wise, was married to the prince of Hungary, who in the year 1345 was strangled in his bed, and thrown out of a

¹ Vill. i. 56.

window. Rumour fixed the crime on the queen. The king of Hungary, approaching at the head of an army to take vengeance for his brother, Joanna, who had chosen a new consort, fled to Avignon. Clement vi. accepted her protestations, and confirmed the marriage, though within the forbidden degrees. The Hungarian monarch, meantime, overran the kingdom, taking condign vengeance of the conspirators, but the queen, having raised a force in Provence, effected a landing in Naples and recovered her crown.¹

The continued clamours of the Italians for the restoration of the See, obtained a temporary concession in the return of Urban v. to the Lateran (A.D. 1362). The pontiff yielded to the eloquence of Petrarch. "Would you rise at the last day," exclaimed the poet, "in the company of the Avignonese, the most notorious sinners under heaven, or among Peter and Paul, St. Stephen and St. Lawrence?" He was received with the utmost rejoicings, and conducted in great state to the Vatican. There he was visited by queen Joanna, to whom he gave the golden rose and the sword, consecrated for the most favoured princes at Easter. The emperor Charles iv. followed, with his fourth wife whom the pope crowned at St. Peter's: he obliged the emperor, however, to leave the next day, for fear of any attempt on the city. The same year Urban received the rarer honour of a visit from the Greek emperor, John Palæologus, who, in the forlorn hope of obtaining aid against the Turks, made a formal submission to the pope, and solemnly professed the Latin faith.²

Still Urban, like a true Frenchman, sighed for his

¹ It was during this year that Avignon passed to the Holy See by purchase.

² The document signed and sealed with a golden bull is still preserved in the Castle of St. Angelo.

native climate. Three years of Rome determined his return to Avignon, in spite of many entreaties and omens: the prediction of St. Bridget was fulfilled by his dying three months after his arrival; and the honour of bringing back the Apostolic See from captivity was reserved to Gregory XI. This pope was nephew to Clement VI., whose favour raised him to the cardinalate at eighteen years of age. He listened to the embassies from Rome, and the exhortations of St. Catherine of Sienna, in spite of the remonstrances of the cardinals, though backed by the French king, and the tears of his own family. The fleets of Naples, Sicily, Venice, and Genoa, conducted the Holy Father with great pomp to the mouth of the Tiber. From Ostia he advanced in triumphal procession to Rome. No consul or Cæsar ever entered with a prouder triumph. The successor of St. Peter was restored to the long-deserted tomb of the apostles, and the Eternal City was beside itself with delight.

Matters flowed less pleasantly when the pope came to require the fulfilment of the civic promises. The twelve Bannerets who rode at the head of their wards, more like knights than aldermen, refused to relinquish their authority. Neither men nor money were forthcoming for the covenanted war on the Florentines. The Romans wanted a pope among them for their own advantage, not for his; and having got him, nothing more was necessary. Gregory had begun to contemplate a second "captivity," when death released him from his perplexity in the forty-seventh year of his age (A.D. 1378).

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS (THE GREAT SCHISM).

A. D.	EMPERORS OF THE WEST.		POPE.			KINGS OF FRANCE.		KINGS OF SICILY.		KINGS OF SPAIN.		PORTUGAL.	ENGLAND.	EMPERORS OF THE EAST.
	Wenceslaus.	Urban VI.	Rome.	Avignon.	Charles VI.	Naples.	Trinacria.	Aragon.	Castile.					
1378	...	Urban VI.	Clement VII.	John I.
1379	Charles VI.	John I.
1380	Charles III.
1385	Ladislaus.	John I.
1386
1388
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{ John VI.
} Palæologus.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREAT SCHISM.

Decay of the Papacy—Tumultuous Election of Urban VI.—Flight of the Cardinals—Election of Clement VII., who retires to Avignon—Murder of Queen Joanna—Atrocities of Urban—Schism of the National Churches—True centre of Union—Boniface IX.—Rival Popes—Council of Pisa—Both deposed—Election of John XXIII.—Council of Constance—Deposition of John—Gregory resigns—Resistance of Benedict XIII.—Election of Martin V.—Close of the Schism—Process against Wiclif—Rule of Faith—Church authority preferred to Scripture—Trial and Execution of Huss and Jerome—Communion in one kind—Distraction in Italy—The Papal restoration.

IN returning out of “the Babylonish captivity,” the Holy See found its reputation sensibly diminished by long absence from Rome, and the means resorted to for the supply of its exchequer. There was something dazzling in the imperial ambition enthroned on the seven hills, from Hildebrand to Boniface; but the substitution of a mere lust for gold provoked at once irritation and contempt. The subserviency to French interests had excited the opposition of the English and the rest of Europe. Spiritual aggressions had been met in several states by temporal laws: prelates, no less than princes, were loud in their dissatisfaction: the Franciscans filled the world with their complaints. The General Council, so often threatened, was now seriously agitated. At the same time, light was breaking in on the dark and superstitious spirit of the day; the universities were getting tired of the arrogant pretensions of scholastic divinity; and the Bible, after fixing the attention of the learned, was beginning to be translated for the vulgar.

At Rome itself the anxiety was of another sort. The States of the Church had been usurped by the emperor, or some of the many local lay governments. Fire and sword had been carried to the gates of the Eternal City; the churches were in ruins; grass was growing on the altars, and pilgrims no longer flocked to worship St. Peter, and fill the purses of the Romans. The citizens were resolved not to suffer another translation.

On the death of Gregory XI. the magistrates intimated to the cardinals the necessity for choosing a Roman, or at least an Italian, pope.¹ The suggestion was enforced by the shouts of the populace, who surrounded the conclave; fires were kindled under their windows, and the bells of the capitol and St. Peter sounded to arms. The bannerets broke into the conclave itself; and a cardinal, who addressed the mob from the window, was interrupted with cries of "A Roman, an Italian, or Death!" The conclave hesitated no longer; they elected the archbishop of Bari, a Neapolitan of good repute, but managing to let the mob think their choice had fallen on a Roman, they shuffled off their copes, and got safe to their houses before the truth was discovered. The archbishop being "at least an Italian" the Romans submitted, and he was peacefully enthroned by the name of Urban VI.

A few weeks after, the French cardinals, withdrawing unobserved from Rome, assembled at Avignon, and declared the election void, as having been conducted under force. They then retired to Fondi in Naples, and being joined by the four Italian cardinals, each expecting the tiara for himself, the whole college entered

¹ The conclave consisted of eleven French cardinals, four Italians, and one Spaniard; but the French were divided into two parties.

into conclave. The French outwitted the Italians, and the choice fell on the cardinal Robert of Geneva, who was installed by the name of Clement VII.

This was the commencement of the *Great Schism*, which divided the Church for forty years, producing constant wars throughout Europe, and effecting a palpable decline in the papal authority. It is still undetermined which was the true pope and which the antipope, but there can hardly be a doubt that the first choice was much the worst of the two. The supporters of Urban account for the unanimous desertion of the cardinals, by the severity with which he reprimanded their excesses; but a darker reason is assigned for the defection of queen Joanna, who was the first to welcome the Neapolitan pope, and supply him with men and money. She discovered that, while accepting her favours, Urban was conspiring with the presumptive heir to her crown to depose herself, on condition of his making over the principality of Capua to the pope's nephew. Shocked at this treachery, the queen eagerly received the cardinals into her dominions, and afforded her protection to the election of Clement.

Urban, keeping possession at Rome, supplied the defection of the sacred college by creating in one batch twenty-six cardinals, mostly Italians. His rival, with the advantage of the older body, retired to Naples. But the popular feeling for their compatriot Urban was too strong for the royal favour, and Clement was driven to the old retreat at Avignon. The cardinals who had refused to move with Gregory gladly welcomed the return of the pontifical court, and he was formally acknowledged by the crown and church of France.

Meanwhile Urban revenged himself on his native sovereign, by excommunicating Joanna, and giving her kingdom to the next heir, Charles of Durazzo. The

beautiful queen, after losing her second husband, Louis of Tarentum, had been captivated by the handsome person of James of Arragon, son of the deposed king of Majorca,¹ and being a third time left a widow, was now married to Otho of Brunswick. Neither of her four marriages bringing any child, the succession was settled on Charles, a descendant of Charles the lame, whom the queen had loaded with many favours. This prince the pope invited to Rome, and there crowning him king of Sicily (Naples) received in return the promise of Capua, with one-third of the kingdom, for his own nephew. To sustain the war thus guiltily set on foot, the pope stripped the very churches of their wealth, while the queen purchased the aid of France, by transferring the succession to the king's brother, Louis of Anjou. Clement as lord paramount, ratified the act, and crowned him by anticipation at Avignon (A. D. 1382).

Charles, however, supported by the Hungarian army, advanced to Naples, and defeated the duke of Brunswick in a decisive engagement. The queen was compelled to surrender, on terms which were perfidiously violated. Charles put his benefactress to death in the castle of Muro, and by exposing the body at Naples, certified the world that her life no longer stood between him and the object of his ambition.

¹ The island of Majorca was conquered from the Mussulmans by James I. of Arragon, who erected it, together with the French province of Montpellier inherited from his mother, into a kingdom for his second son, also called James. James III. of this line was deposed by his brother-in-law, Pedro IV. of Arragon, and flying to France sold Montpellier to the king for a sum of money to recover his throne. He was slain, however, in the attempt, and his son James, after languishing in an Arragonese prison, escaped and married Joanna. Her refusal to give him the crown matrimonial separated them in a few months, and the prince, after various adventures, died 1375, bequeathing his claims to his friend and patron the duke of Anjou.

Naples received its new king with the usual welcome of the fickle Italians. The cardinals of Clement's creation had to burn their red hats and acknowledge the rival pope. Bishops and dignitaries were deposed and thrown into prison; but when Urban appeared to claim the promised transfer of Capua, Charles confined him in the castle, till he had renounced the condition, and disclaimed further interference in the affairs of the kingdom.

Urban's temper, severely tried by this mortification, broke into the fury of a wild beast on discovering a conspiracy for his deposition among the new cardinals. He arrested six of their number, confined them in narrow cells loaded with irons, and even subjected some to the rack. One of his victims, Adam de Aston, being an Englishman, was released on the interference of Richard II., but the others were dragged about in the pope's train for several months, and finally put to death at Genoa (A.D. 1386).¹ One bishop, whose limbs were disjointed by torture, being unable to keep up on the march, Urban ordered his myrmidons to murder him on the spot, and left his body unburied by the road-side. The horror excited by these atrocious deeds induced some of Urban's own cardinals, who were at liberty, to go over to Clement. The new king of Naples, whom the pope implicated in the pretended conspiracy, was so incensed at a sentence of excommunication and deposition being thundered out against him, that he disowned Urban's authority, and offered a reward of ten thousand gold florins for his head.

The kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon, which at first

¹ Some accounts say that they were enclosed in sacks and thrown into the sea, others that they were beheaded in prison. Giannone adds that two of the heads were *baked* and reduced to powder, which the savage pontiff had carried before him, along with the red hats of the offenders, to deter other conspirators!

acknowledged Urban, also forsook him. Clement had before received the recognition of the crowns of France, Scotland, and Cyprus, the courts of Savoy and Geneva, the duke of Austria, and some other German princes. The emperor, with the kings of England and Portugal, sided as usual against their political rivals: Hungary, Norway, and most of the Italian States, also adhered to Urban. St. Catherine of Sienna declared loudly for the Roman pope, and, had the pontiff been somewhat more of a Christian, his party might have attained to a decisive preponderance.

Which was the true Church, no pontiff, doctor, or saint can tell to this day: each excommunicated the other, with that affluence of cursing for which the papacy has so long been notorious; but it is consoling to learn from their own divines, that no one was really the worse for it. The great schism, we are informed, did not endanger the salvation of either side; because, though no one can be saved out of the Church, and the Church is limited to the communion of the true pope, yet as each party believed its own pope the true one, all were *by faith and intention* within the Church, and so in possession of the means of salvation. What a pity that the same charitable construction cannot be extended to other differences, besides those which concern the personal claims of two very unworthy prelates! If *two* centres of outward communion may coalesce into spiritual unity by faith, why not two hundred? If the communion of Urban and Clement be alike valid and apostolical, to those who conscientiously accept it as such, why not the communions of Rome and Canterbury? Why not (as was actually proposed during this schism) have a pope in every nation? If the national churches of Europe, though separated for forty years from external communion, were yet one, by reason of their attachment to a

dogma which was indisputably the cause of their division, it is hard to see why the apparent divisions of all who cleave to Christ,—the undoubted centre and head of the Church Catholic,—may not be merged in the fulness of His all-reconciling love. Certainly it would be difficult to reject this conclusion, without sentencing one of the two parties in the great schism to perdition in the lump. Good men on both sides, we doubt not, survived the frantic anathemas of their opponents; for whatever may be said at Rome, the pope is at best but a way to Christ, and if Christ can be found in the wrong pope, we need not despair of finding Him in his holy Word, without any pope at all.

To gratify the Romans, Urban reduced the period of the jubilee to thirty-three years, and the feast was celebrated by his adherents (A.D. 1390). He himself was removed by death the previous year, when all moderate men hoped the schism might be closed by the universal acknowledgment of Clement.

The cardinals at Rome, however, afraid of another captivity of the See, hastily elected a successor, who took the name of Boniface IX. His virtues attracted back some of those who had fled from Urban: he conciliated the Italians by placing the crown of Naples, which Urban attempted to annex, on the head of Ladislaus, son of Charles, and won all hearts at Rome by the old expedient of the jubilee, which he celebrated again at the end of the century (A.D. 1400). To purchase this favour, the city gave up the bannerets, and vested the absolute government in the pope. Boniface had a warm supporter in the emperor Rupert, elected on the deposition of Wenceslaus, but died four years after, it is said from the effects of passion, at being taxed with simony by the legates of the anti-pope.¹

¹ Boniface was acknowledged in England, which uniformly differed from

On the death of Clement VII. (A.D. 1394), the cardinals at Avignon bound themselves by a mutual oath, that whichever should be chosen to succeed him would resign when called upon by the majority of the college, in order to restore the unity of the See. Peter de Luna was elected and took the name of Benedict XIII., but steadily refused to resign when requested, and was in consequence abandoned and besieged at Avignon by the French king for several years.

The cardinals at Rome next repeated the same experiment. Innocent VII., elected, like Benedict, under a promise to resign, evaded the obligation with equal success. Angelus Corrarius, who succeeded him as Gregory XII., went so far as to propose to his rival a mutual resignation, but on a meeting being arranged between them, he drew back and refused to appear. It being now clear that neither pontiff was sincere, the cardinals of both withdrew their obedience, and at a united meeting resolved to summon a General Council at Pisa. Both popes were invited to attend, but neither appearing, the council pronounced them schismatics and heretics, and by definitive sentence excommunicated and deposed them both (A.D. 1409). This council was attended

France and Scotland whenever a difference was possible, and his conduct with respect to the archbishopric of Canterbury gives a curious illustration of the papal authority as then administered. Richard II., having illegally exiled Arundel, wrote to the pope that he was dead (a fate which he fully expected his emissaries to ensure), and, in violation of his own statutes, requested Boniface to appoint Roger Walden to the see by "provision." Arundel, however, appeared at Rome safe and sound, when the pope, afraid of losing Richard, translated the archbishop to St. Andrews (where his authority was not acknowledged), and having so vacated the see, bestowed it as the king desired. At the same time, he told Arundel that all should be annulled whenever his friends might be in power again. Arundel, of course, never attempted to take possession of St. Andrews, but, returning to England in company with Henry IV., he re-occupied Canterbury in his own right, treating Walden as a mere usurper.

by nearly 200 bishops, a vast number of abbots and other ecclesiastics, besides the ambassadors of Germany, England, France, Sicily, and other States. The emperor refused to concur in the decree, on the ground that the cardinals had no power to call a council, nor a council to judge the pope, but both points being affirmed by a vast majority, the See was declared vacant. The cardinals then entering into conclave, elected Peter of Candia, a Friar Minorite, who took the name of Alexander v. He died the same year at Bologna, not without suspicion of poison (A. D. 1410), and Cardinal Baltazar Cossa, who commanded at Bologna as legate, securing the votes of the conclave by force or by fraud, became pope by the title of John XXIII.¹

This cardinal is said to have been really chosen at the previous vacancy, but though twice elevated to the Roman pontificate, it is admitted by all that he was not actuated, even in appearance, by any sense of religion, and was wholly disqualified for the ministry. Made a clerk in his youth without any spiritual vocation, he amused himself by turning pirate, and in his nocturnal expeditions acquired the character of great daring. His private life was deeply stained by immorality, but these objections did not prevent his acquiring and retaining many friends, in an age when even outward decency was no longer demanded in a powerful ecclesiastic. He received the valuable support of the new emperor Sigismund, but being involved in a severe struggle with

¹ It is generally stated that he bribed the cardinals of Gregory's creation with large sums of money. His biographer, Platina, attributes his success to the forces at his command, which overawed the conclave. Another writer says, that the cardinals not being able to agree, desired Cossa to choose for them, who immediately flung the papal mantle on his own shoulders, crying, "I am pope!"—*Bower*, vii. 132. At a time when the chair of St. Peter seemed to have more to do with fighting than praying, the pirate-cardinal might be an eligible occupant.

Ladislaus, king of Naples, he was driven out of Rome and obliged to resort to another council to assert his authority. Much to his mortification, the emperor insisted on its assembling at Constance, in Switzerland, an imperial city, where he determined to unite the Christian powers in a resolute effort to extinguish the schism, and reform the Church.

John refused to attend till he had exacted from the magistrates an oath of obedience to his own orders both in spirituals and temporals; but the concession availed him little in the end. All the leading ecclesiastics and princes of Europe appeared, in person or by proxy. Thirty cardinals, four hundred bishops, abbots, and other prelates, with a vast concourse of princes, lords, and ambassadors, swelled the assembly. The deposed antipopes, Gregory and Benedict, both sent their nuncios. The emperor Sigismund was there in person, and the crowns of France and England sent their envoys. The total number, including the different retinues, was not less than forty-thousand persons, and it seemed that such a parliament of the Church must at last determine the questions which agitated Europe.

The council assembled under the presidency of John XXIII., pope by an uncontested election to the vacancy created by the decree of the previous council. Nevertheless, the cardinals determined that peace could only be restored by all three pontiffs resigning their pretensions. John acquiesced, but soon after he slipped out of Constance disguised as a soldier, and taking refuge with the duke of Austria, bade defiance to the council. His host, with the perfidy of the times, surrendered him to the emperor, and he was brought back a prisoner, charged with simony and neglect of the sacred offices. A long list of darker crimes was suppressed out of respect to the chair of St. Peter. He was solemnly

deprived of the pontificate the 26th of July, 1416, and committed to close custody.¹

Gregory's turn came next. His legates insisted on the council being formally convoked anew in his name; and this condition being complied with, they produced his resignation; but by his express direction the act was delivered to the emperor and not to the council. It now remained to dispose of Peter de Luna, or Benedict XIII., who had retired into Spain, where he was protected by the king of Arragon. The emperor went in person to Narbonne to bring them to reason, but Benedict coolly replied, that the schism being at an end by the retirement of the antipopes, nothing more was necessary than for the whole Church to return to his obedience, as the true and undoubted Vicar of Christ! When his patron was persuaded to join the other powers, he threw himself into a fortified rock at the mouth of the Ebro, and there, excommunicating all the world, maintained his empty pontificate to the day of his death (A.D. 1424). Even then he bound his four cardinals (whom he had created when deserted by the others) to make a new election, and as they disagreed in their choice, the schism was feebly prolonged by two successors, styled Clement VIII. and Benedict XIV. The latter disappeared without a struggle, and Clement was only acknowledged by Alphonso of Arragon, on whose requisition he resigned his dignity, July 26, 1429.

Meanwhile, the Council of Constance, after summoning

¹ John was treated at first with a severity which provoked a reaction in his favour. Many contended that a pope could not be deposed except for heresy, and Balthazar was only *wicked*: his orthodoxy was unimpeachable. Being released at the intercession of the republic of Florence, he was urged to reclaim the tiara, but the soldier had had enough of the pontifical dignity. He preferred to make friends with his successor, and, in spite of his notorious crimes, he was appointed dean of the Sacred College, with rank next to the pope, which he enjoyed till his death, December, 1419.

De Luna to appear, pronounced him excommunicate and deposed. Then decreeing a new election, the cardinals of the three obediences, amounting to twenty-one or twenty-three, with six prelates out of each of the five nations who attended the council, entered into conclave, and with surprising rapidity agreed upon the cardinal Odo di Colonna, who was forthwith consecrated and crowned by the name of Martin v. (21st November, 1417.)

With this pope terminated the schism that had so long scandalised the Church, and filled the world with desolation and war. The council which completed this difficult task, sat from the 16th November, 1414, to the 22nd April, 1418, and by express decree, no less than by actually deposing three popes, established the superiority of a council to all individuals whatsoever, not excepting the successor of St. Peter. Their acts were confirmed by Martin, and so published with all the authority known to the Latin Church. Nevertheless, the council was no sooner dissolved than the slippery pontiffs returned to their infallibility, and the whole question came over again.

In restoring the integrity of the papacy, the council supposed they were securing the unity of the Church; but an enemy whom they knew not was among them, and already preparing a more formidable schism. It was at Constance that the Church of Rome came face to face with the *Bible*. Many of its preachers had suffered death from the bishops and inquisitors; popes had proclaimed a crusade against them; but these were the acts of individual tyrants. It remained to be seen what the assembled Church would say to Wiclif's grand maxim, "The Scripture only is true." By adopting it, the council would have obtained at once a perfect standard for the reformation of all abuses, whether in discipline or doctrine; but nothing was further from the intention of

these reformers than to admit even a question on matters of doctrine. The Church's doctrine was sacred, though manifestly resulting in a mass of practical corruptions, and resting on the same false decretals which, in questions of discipline, were freely impugned. The lords and prelates had assembled to vindicate their own privileges, not to promote the salvation of souls; and, as if to anticipate any suspicion of such a heresy, the council became a fiercer persecutor than the pope.

John Wiclif, the evangelical doctor of England, had gone to his rest thirty years before, after standing forth, at the request of two orthodox kings, to defend the rights of the crown against papal aggressions. As one of the king's chaplains, he was employed to write against the pope's right to the tribute illegally granted by king John. He was one of the commissioners sent to treat with the papal representatives at Bruges (A. D. 1374), when Gregory XI. was obliged to give up the reservations. At Oxford, where he was professor of divinity, he had exposed, with righteous severity, the enormous abuses of the mendicant friars. In all this Wiclif was supported by the general voice of his countrymen, clergy no less than laymen. Gregory had to chide the English prelates for their remissness in detecting his heresies, and to urge the king and the university to bring him to punishment. When at last convened before the archbishop, he was dismissed with an admonition, and returned to his benefice. By the university, the papal bull was treated with profound contempt. In the great schism, when Wiclif saw "the head of Antichrist cloven in twain, and each part fighting against the other," he earnestly advocated the suppression of the papacy altogether, insisting on the sufficiency of the Old and New Testaments to guide the Church. After this, he attacked the doctrines of transubstantiation, auricular confession,

excommunication, indulgences, and masses for the dead. But the moment he entered on these doctrinal questions, his patrons changed their countenance. The Duke of Lancaster deserted him at once; the chancellor and twelve doctors of Oxford condemned his tenets, and he was obliged to quit the university. Still, he died unmolested in his parsonage (A. D. 1384), and the university attested, under its common seal, that his life was free from blame.¹ His teaching was so effectual that, twelve years after his death, the archbishop of Canterbury complained that the whole university was touched with heretical pravity.²

Wiclif's great work—and his great offence—was the translation and diligent circulation of the Holy Scriptures. "THE SCRIPTURE ONLY IS TRUE," was his oft-repeated maxim; in this lay his unpardonable crime with those who wielded the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Much pains have been wasted in comparing the particular tenets of Wiclif, and other early reformers, with the doctrines of modern Protestants. The comparison is valuable in showing the growth of evangelical views, from the first effort at shaking off the papal yoke down to the present matured enunciations of definite truth. It is worse than worthless, when advanced to depreciate the forerunners of the Reformation, or to deprive their sufferings of the sympathy of the Protestant world. The ground of their battle with the papacy was expressed in Wiclif's golden maxim, "The Bible only is true." It was never the particular doctrine, so much as the authority for determining all doctrine, which formed the question on which they suffered. The position of the ecclesiastical authorities was, that all men are bound

¹ Lewis's "Life of Wiclif," p. 113. Collection 28.

² This complaint seems to dispose of the objections brought against the genuineness of the testimonial produced at the council of Constance.

to accept the faith and determination of Holy Church. No opinion, however irreligious, was culpable until the Church condemned it; and to persist in any opinion, however reasonable, after the Church had decided against it, was heresy. The law of the Church, like the law of the land, was to be obeyed, not argued about. To deny her authority was heresy, just as to deny the king's authority was treason. The two offences, indeed, were deemed strictly analogous, and treated in the same way—pardoned to the ignorant, on submission and recantation, but calling for death when repeated.¹ Wiclif, on the other hand, maintained that the Church could neither add to, nor take away from, Scripture. The Word, and not the Church, is the ultimate authority in all questions of faith; a Christian is to believe for his salvation what is revealed to his own apprehension

¹ The nature of the controversy is well illustrated in Arundel's examination of Lord Cobham. The accused delivered in a written confession of his faith on certain articles, naturally and properly adopting so much of the received language of the Church, as he could at all reconcile with Scripture. Thus, he confessed the presence of Christ in the sacrament, in language which to many ears sounds completely Romish. But Arundel knew better. Admitting the confession, so far as it went, to be "Catholic enough," he proceeded to press his prisoner with the *determination of Holy Church* in regard to transubstantiation, the disappearance of the substance of bread, and the remaining of the accidents. These are philosophical explanations, for which no Scripture was ever pretended; but, for that very reason, they formed the best test of "heresy," in the Church sense of the word. Accordingly, the archbishop put them to Cobham as "the faith and determination of Holy Church," following them up with the necessity of confession, the authority of the pope, and the worship of relics. The most ignorant prelate could never think these the most important articles of the Christian faith, but they afforded the readiest test of distinguishing between submission to the Church and submission to the Bible. Therefore, it was demanded after each, "How feel ye this article?" Having in this way extracted the fact that Cobham did not accept the *authority* of the Church, it was of no consequence how far he concurred in her *Faith*. He was a heretic; and, as such, was consigned to the flames. The Process is printed at length in Dr. Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," iv. 512.

in Holy Scripture, and not to surrender his convictions save to further instruction from the same source. Moreover, he contended that no human conclusions, not excepting the pope's, were infallible; they were only to be accepted in so far as they professed to expound the Scripture, and were always to be tried by that only infallible test. This was the broad ground on which Wiclif and his followers joined issue with the authorities of the Church, and the questions of the day sink into insignificance beside the grand principle so presented for all times and controversies.

It is only by keeping this principle in mind that we can understand the apparent vacillation both of persecutors and reformers. Concessions were made at one time which were sternly refused at another. The same language was treated differently in different persons; and those who at one time protected the reformers were found presently leagued with their persecutors. Thus, Wiclif was employed by the crown to resist the demands of the papacy, but the crown cared nothing for the Bible; and when the insurrection of Wat Tyler afforded the clergy a pretence for ascribing the danger to the democratical principles of the evangelical doctor, the crown joined the Church to suppress the Wiclifites and Lollards.¹ It was then that heresy began to be regarded as treason in England.²

¹ This name has given rise to much controversy, but is satisfactorily derived by Moshëim, from a lay fraternity, established at Antwerp for the burial of the dead. They were called *Lollert* or *Lullert*, from the German word *lullen* (to sing in a low tone) on account of the dirges which they chanted in the streets. From these the word was extended to the reformers on account of their singing hymns, as *Beghard* was, from their love of prayer. "Lollard" is, in fact, a "psalm-singer." It was only by a malicious pun that the papists connected the name with *lolia*, "tares."

² The first legislative enactment against heresy in England was Ric. II. c. 5. It subjected preachers of heresy to arrest and imprisonment till

In like manner, though the council of Constance was called to reform the Church, one of its earliest labours was to brand the reformer who had defined heresy as an error maintained against the Scripture, instead of error maintained against the judgment of Holy Church. Forty-five articles imputed to Wiclif (with more or less truth), were condemned as heretical, his memory was excommunicated, and his dead body ordered to be exhumed and cast out of the sepulchre of the church. This barbarous sentence lay unnoticed in England for thirteen years. Then, at last, after repeated orders from the pope, the officers of the Bishop of Lincoln invaded the sanctity of Lutterworth churchyard. The remains of the great reformer were taken up and burned, the ashes were cast into the adjoining brook, called Swift. The Swift "conveyed them to the Avon; Avon into Severn; Severn into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wiclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."¹

The council were not satisfied to wreak their vengeance on the dead. The queen of Richard II. was a Bohemian princess. On her death, her attendants, returning to their native country, dispersed the doctrines of Wiclif far and wide. They were embraced

reconciled to the Church. Henry IV., at the instance of the Commons, passed the execrable statute *De hæretico comburendo*, which condemned anyone whom the Church left to the secular power as a heretic (obstinate or relapsed) to be burned. This punishment was first inflicted on William Sautre, by sentence of archbishop Arundel (A. D. 1400). There is no doubt that the clergy had taken advantage of the riots, to frighten the king and parliament into a notion that the tranquillity of Church and State could only be secured by exterminating religious liberty. This persuasion kept possession of the legislature through all the changes of the Reformation and the Revolution, and has only slowly receded in our own century. It is hardly extinct at the present moment.

¹ Fuller's Church Hist.

with great ardour by the queen-consort's confessor, John Huss. His sermons, delivered in the vulgar tongue at Prague, inveighed against the corruptions of the papal court, but left no impeachment on his orthodoxy. He was active in the cause of the cardinals and the Council of Pisa; but, when John XXIII. preached a crusade against the king of Naples, accompanied by the usual indulgences, Huss demanded—as Wiclif had done—whether it would not be better to promise men pardon for keeping peace and quietness among Christians, than for slaying one another with the sword? This was touching on what we have before seen to be a tender point. If the clergy insisted on the authority of the Church, the laity were no less concerned for the indulgences which cost them so dear. Philip of Valois would have burned the pope himself rather than surrender this imaginary treasure. Huss was soon cited to the tribunal of the Vatican, and the council had issued a peremptory summons for his appearance at Constance. The Bohemian, who, while inveighing against the papacy, cherished a noble confidence in the Church, unhesitatingly obeyed. He had a passport from the emperor Sigismund, guaranteeing a free passage and return. The moment he arrived, however, he was committed to prison by the pope; and Sigismund, demanding his release, was coolly told that emperors had no authority in questions of heresy. The pope himself, who had also given assurances of protection, remonstrated at a later stage, but equally without effect. The council which Huss had laboured for and trusted in, as the representation of the whole Church, laid down the detestable doctrine that no faith is to be kept with heretics, and decreed that neither of the safe-conducts should hinder the trial or condemnation.

It has been contended that Huss was not a

heretic, even in the acceptation of the Roman Church.¹ In the doctrine of transubstantiation itself, Roman Catholic writers allow that he differed in no material particular from their own Church.² Why, then, was he condemned? Obviously, as we have seen, because the test of heresy was not doctrine, but authority. Huss appealed to Scripture and the primitive fathers. His voice was drowned in derisive cries. He had openly wished that his soul might be with Wiclif's, thereby impugning the judgment of the Church, which anathematised the Englishman. He appealed to the judgment of Christ in contempt of ecclesiastical authority. Would he retract these heresies, and promise to believe and teach in all things according to the faith and determination of Holy Church? Arguments the council could neither hear nor answer, without abandoning their own principle, and accepting the Reformer's. Huss refused to retract conclusions which either he had never maintained, or which were not proved to be

¹ Bower's "Lives of the Popes," vii. 179-183.

² Transubstantiation was always the favourite test of heresy, not so much for the tenet itself, as for the authority on which it rested. Other questions might turn on the meaning of Holy Scripture, with respect to which the Roman See was not unwilling to allow a considerable latitude; but the "sacrament of the altar" was exclusively a question of Church authority. The point insisted upon was not the Presence of Christ, but the absence of the substance of bread and wine from the consecrated elements. This was emphatically a definition of Holy Church; no scriptural authority was ever pretended for it; hence it formed the most searching test of allegiance. This distinction is overlooked when reformers like Wiclif and Huss are quoted as agreeing with the papal divines in the doctrine of the Real Presence. They adhered to received expressions as far as they could reconcile them with Holy Scripture; but that they differed at bottom was always suspected, and was afterwards made apparent in Luther's tenet of consubstantiation. Thus, the early reformers could assert the real presence in words that would now be thought popish; but, when pressed with the change of substance, they revolted. In like manner, the stories of their recantations often arise from their admission of one point being regarded as a general retractation.

contrary to Scripture.¹ For this he was pronounced an incorrigible heretic, degraded from the priesthood, and—after “devoting his soul to the infernal devils”—delivered to the secular power. Here the province of the council and the Church ended. To the eternal infamy of Sigismund, who now, at last, received charge of the prisoner, he ordered the bearer of his own safe-conduct to be burned alive the same day. The sentence was executed in the presence of the vicar and marshal of the empire, July 6, 1415.

There was yet another victim. Huss was accompanied by a lay disciple, a professor of the University of Prague, named Jerome. On discovering the perfidy of the emperor, Jerome affixed a protest to the door of the cathedral, and hastily left for Bohemia. He was arrested in the Black Forest and brought back to Constance, where, terrified by the other's fate, he is said to have recanted; but repenting ere long, he publicly revoked his retractation, and suffered the fire on the same spot, and with no less firmness than his master (A.D. 1416).

In the course of these examinations, it appeared that Bohemia had recovered, or retained, the primitive institution of the Lord's Supper in both kinds.² For twelve hundred years at least after Christ, the cup was administered to the laity at Rome itself.³ Pope Julius (A.D. 336) declared it to be a necessary part of the Divine ordinance.⁴ Leo the Great (A.D. 440) regarded its refusal as an indication of Manicheism. Gelasius (A.D. 492)

¹ It was in vain for a suspected heretic to deny having taught the propositions imputed to him. The Church would not stoop to argue his meaning any more than the meaning of Scripture. She decided his words to be heretical, and retractation pure and simple was the only proof of submission.

² That Huss was the author of the restoration of the cup, is much to be doubted.

³ Bona de Reb. Liturg. ii. 18.

⁴ Ap. Gratian de Consecr., dist. ii. 7.

declared that the mystery could not be divided without sacrilege. Even as late as the Council of Clermont (1094), both kinds were ordered to be separately administered, except in sickness, when the bread might be dipped in the wine. It is not known by whom the practice of denying the cup to the laity was introduced,¹ but it is admitted that it was not general in the Latin Church till a little before the present council.² Nevertheless, it was now pronounced the law of the Church. Expressly admitting that Christ instituted the Sacrament in both kinds, and that the primitive Church so received it, the council ordained that it should be administered in one kind only, under pain of heresy! The reason assigned for this insolent usurpation was to "avoid scandal and danger;" in other words, spilling the wine, and defiling the chalice by the touch of lay hands and beards. These "dangers," however, were well known when Christ said, "Drink ye all of it;" and the audacity which could set aside a positive command on so frivolous a pretence, is another proof of the determination of the council to make the authority of the Church equal, or superior, to the authority of Christ.

This was the only ecclesiastical "reform" attempted by this numerous assembly. Convened avowedly to remedy the corruptions of the Church, its energies were exhausted in rehabilitating the papacy, burning the reformers, and mutilating the Sacrament. Martin was no sooner fairly seated in the pontifical chair, than he objected to any further reformation and, all being

¹ Thomas Aquinas, who warmly advocates the denial, yet mentions it only as the custom of some churches.—Aquin. p. iii. qu. 80, art. 12.

² Greg. de Valentia de Legit. usu Euchar.—Bower, vii. 172. Strictly speaking, the cup is received by none but the officiating priest; but as every priest officiates at some time, the practical result is to exclude the laity.

anxious to get home, the council was dissolved, with the promise of another in five years, on the 22nd April 1418.

There were potent reasons for the pope's return to Rome. The state of Italy during the whole schism had been one of constant warfare; the struggles of the French for the Sicilian succession deluged the south with blood, while the Visconti lords of Milan, obtaining a ducal coronet, became all powerful in the north.¹ The wars of Florence with Pisa and Milan, and of Venice with Genoa, added to the confusion. Ladislaus marched an army to the gates of Rome on the death of Boniface, and by inciting the people to re-demand the liberties surrendered to the deceased pope, provoked an insurrection which drove Innocent to Viterbo. The Neapolitans were admitted into the castle of St. Angelo by Colonna, who, taking possession of the Vatican, was ironically greeted as pope (A.D. 1405). Ladislaus, who styled himself lord of Rome, held the fortress till he had extorted a revocation of his father's excommunication and his own; but the next pope embracing the French interest, he was defeated in a great battle with the papal forces in Campania (A.D. 1411) and again excommunicated. He purchased his pardon and restoration by abandoning the cause of the antipope, but again falling out with John XXIII., he suddenly marched upon Rome, and subjected the city to all the horrors of sack (1413). It was to secure the emperor's protection against this rebellious vassal that John XXIII. agreed to a council, and when his fears were removed by the death of Ladislaus (A.D. 1414), he endeavoured to recall his consent. Rome was in the hands of one Braccio, and the States of the Church were usurped by local tyrants, when the council broke up.

¹ Milan was erected into an imperial duchy A.D. 1395, Gian Galeazzo Visconti being the first duke.

Martin resided for some time at Geneva, and afterwards at Florence, before he could obtain possession of his capital. At the latter place his revenues were so disproportionate to his station, that he was insulted in the streets by the children singing, "Il papa Martino non vale un quattrino."¹ The Florentines, however, succeeded at last in appeasing the commotions at Rome, and the pope made his public entry into the city A.D. 1420.

¹ "Poor pope Martin is not worth a farthing."

CHAPTER XII.

STRUGGLES OF THE COUNCILS.

Councils the States General of the Church—Jealousy at Rome—Cry for Reformation—France—England—Germany—Insincerity and defeat of the Reformers—Council of Pisa—Constance—Success of the Popes—Schism of Basle—Triumph of the Papacy—Fall of Constantinople—The Sixth Trumpet—Danger of the West—Rise of Papal Feudatories—Nepotism—Sixtus IV.—The Borgias—Neapolitan Succession—Julius II.—Military Pope—Bloody Deeds—Wealth—The De Medicis—Leo XI.—New Church of St. Peter.

WHEN the rising nationalities of Europe began to rebel against the Roman pontiff, the remedy that first suggested itself was a General Council. To General Councils the Church owed her canons and her creeds, and it was natural to refer the questions which had arisen under them, to the same authority. If the pope were the monarch, councils were the States-general, of Christendom; grievances which originated with the sovereign could only be redressed by their assembly. The note was struck when Philip the Fair appealed to a General Council from the excommunication of Boniface VIII. The emperor Louis followed the example against John XXII.; but in neither case was the appeal brought to a hearing. It was merely a form to take off the edge of the censure, and induce a compromise. Such an appeal was no more than a salve to the conscience, unwilling to obey yet afraid to revolt. The

pontificate stood before the council, and obscured its authority. If the pope were indeed the vicar of Christ, how could he be overruled by a council? If a council could correct or remove the pope, the communion of the Holy See was not more indispensable than that of any other bishop.

These results were clearly perceived at Rome, and it was not till Rome was divided against herself, that a council was ventured upon. The point to be decided was, which was the true pope: but the power to determine that question implied a great deal more. The councils of Pisa and Constance may be said to have inaugurated the movement for reform, which culminated in the council of Trent and the disruption of the Western Church. The cardinals were intent only on restoring the chair of St. Peter, but the emperor and lay estates intended, from the first, a reformation of the entire Church in its head and in its members. The language used within the council itself equalled the strongest expressions of the poor men of Lyons. John Gerson, the eloquent chancellor of the University of Paris, was nothing behind John Wiclif the professor of divinity at Oxford, or John Huss the preacher at Prague. Gerson was one of the first to expose the forgeries of the false Decretals. He attacked the papal court with the most scathing denunciations. "Theirs are the customs of Antichrist, not of Christ: we nowhere read that Christ or St. Peter conferred bishoprics, dignities, and lands." "As for the power of the keys, for all that is written in Matthew xvi., Peter received nothing but what is shared by the most insignificant bishop." "Gregory might style himself servant of the servants of God, because Gregory nourished the poor; Gregory preached the Gospel; Gregory delivered Rome from pestilence by his prayers; but in the mouth of John,

Servus servorum is a lie: let him call himself lord of lords, since he presumes to say that he has as much power as Christ, the God-Man." This fiery orator was selected to preach before the council of Constance. His sermon laid down eight signs of the Church's ruin: 1, Rebellion and disobedience; 2, Absence of shame; 3, Immoderate inequalities in preferments; 4, Luxury of ecclesiastics; 5, Tyranny of prelates; 6, Disorders of princes and states; 7, Hostility of the heads of the Church to reform; and 8, Novelty of religious opinions. Under the last head, he complained that every one presumed to interpret the sacred writings and the dogmas of the fathers after his own pleasure, and warned the assembly that these things would be the destruction of the Latin Church.¹

The chancellor of Paris was supported by the highest ecclesiastical authorities in France. Cardinal D'Ailli of Cambrai, one of the examiners on whose report Wiclif and Huss were condemned, inveighed with no less severity against the corruptions of his order. It was become a proverb, he said, that the Church was arrived at a state in which it was only fit to be ruled by reprobates. The simony of the apostolic chamber was exposed by one of its secretaries, Nicholas de Clemangis. He asserts that some ecclesiastics held 500 benefices, and that others were at one and the same time canons regular, canons secular, and monks, wearing the habits and enjoying the rights, offices, and benefices of all three orders.

Bolder language still was held in England. The "Golden Mirror," a work which enjoyed extensive circulation on the Continent, exposed the vices of the papal court with unsparing hand, and among the English eccle-

¹ L'Enfant Hist. Conc. Const. vii.—Waddington, ch. xxiv.

siastics present both at Pisa and Constance Robert Hallam bishop of Salisbury was a sturdy reformer. The German writers lashed the monks and clergy with equal vigour; the cathedrals, they said, were dens of robbers, the monasteries were taverns, and the nunneries something worse.¹ The emperor Sigismund demanded extensive reforms, and none but the Italians who profited by the pontifical corruptions ventured a word in their defence.

Still the Italians triumphed, and the corruptions remained practically untouched, because their opponents with all their zeal were utterly wanting in principle. They felt the evils that pressed on themselves, and even quoted Scripture against the wrong-doers; but the moment Scripture was carried farther than they liked, they turned upon its exponents and burned them as heretics. Wiclif struck at the root of the whole system in denying the headship of Rome, impugning auricular confession and transubstantiation, by which the priesthood sustained their ascendancy, and stigmatising their reckless excommunications as "feigned censures inflicted by Antichrist's jurisdiction." He put the open Bible into the hands of the laity, and bade them read for themselves what the Church and the Gospel of Christ really are. Therefore, D'Ailli and Gerson execrated Wiclif, and consigned his disciples Huss and Jerome to the flames. To reform the Church without touching its authority was the dream of these selfish theorists. They were trying to gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles. It was not till the corruptions of the Church were traced

¹ Langenstein's *Consilium Pacis*, ap. Von der Hardt, *Conc. Cons.* tom. ii. So also Gerson in his Sermon at the Synod of Rheims, "*Utinam nulla sint monasteria mulierum, quæ facta sunt prostibula meretricum et prohibeat adhuc deteriora Deus!*" The accusation is repeated in still stronger terms by Clemangis—"Ut hodie idem sit puellam velare quod et publice ad scortandum exponere."—*De Ruina Eccl.* xxvi. ap. Von der Hardt, *Conc. Cons.* tom. i.

to the false doctrines propounded by its authority, and the Word of God was honestly accepted as the true standard of faith, that any real reformation became possible. Till then, the so-called Reformers halted between two opinions, and were worsted in every collision.

The Council of Pisa bound the new pope by oath not to dissolve the synod till a reformation had been completed; but Alexander dismissed them with a few vague promises, which were never fulfilled. At Constance a committee of reform was appointed (15th June 1415), and was ready to report by the end of 1417; but the see being then declared vacant, the cardinals demanded to proceed to an election before any other business. The demand was supported by the Italians and Spaniards, who insisted that the Church could do nothing without its head. The English and Germans, on the other hand, thought that if the Church could depose its head and create another, it might take measures in the interval to prevent the recurrence of a similar necessity. This practical view was warmly supported by the emperor; but the French, either jealous of the victors of Agincourt, or captives to a "remorseless logic," embraced the opposite side. Admitting the principle of the papacy, no other course, indeed, was consistent; so the bishop of Salisbury being removed by death, the English and Germans reluctantly yielded their consent, and the emperor was defeated. Still he succeeded in binding the new pope to proceed with the reformation, and the report of the committee was presented (30th Oct., 1417), before his election.

It contained eighteen recommendations for the reform of the leading abuses of the papacy: they would have passed by a large majority, but this was the last occasion when the chair was occupied by the cardinal Dean. At the next session it was taken by pope

Martin v., who, promising every assistance, immediately appointed six cardinals to *revise* the labours of the committee. Divisions and delay ensued, till the council was in despair, and when all were sufficiently wearied, Martin published eight articles of his own, which granted no real reform, and left what they did grant dependent on the pleasure of the pope. He promised concordats with the several nations, but delayed their publication till the council was dissolved; when they proved so delusive, that the French rejected theirs as an aggression on the liberties of the Gallican Church.

Two points, and two only, had been achieved by the efforts of nine years: (1) the establishment of the pope's subjection to a General Council; and (2) a law for the holding of General Councils at intervals not exceeding ten years. Yet both were evaded without difficulty. The first continued to be stoutly denied at Rome, though even Roman sophistry cannot escape the dilemma, that either Constance was a legitimate council which all are bound to obey, or Martin and all the succeeding line of pontiffs were no true popes. The second was inoperative, because it remained with the pope to fix the time and place of meeting. In the government of churches as of kingdoms, it is not argument but power which turns the scale.

Martin held the see for upwards of thirteen years, during which he recovered the States of the Church out of the hands of the different usurpers, and amassed a large private fortune.¹ He found the Eternal City in a deplorable condition, the churches in ruin, the streets out of repair, the people in poverty. The pope, who was a man of business no less than of talent, speedily

¹ Before his death he converted his family mansion into the present magnificent *palazzo di Colonna*, where the spoils of ancient temples give a new significance to the name and cognizance of his house.

restored the place to such prosperity, that he was called a second Romulus. The castle of St. Angelo, with the towns of Ostia and Civita Vecchia, which had been seized by Ladislaus, were restored by his sister, Joanna II. This queen having no issue, the pope supported the succession of Louis of Anjou. The queen, who had adopted Alfonso of Arragon, changed her mind in favour of Louis, and the apostolic fief was subjected to the miseries of a second protracted war of succession. This misunderstanding with Spain prolonged the schism of Clement VIII. till the year 1429, when the king having come to terms, the antipope resigned, and his cardinals went through the form of electing the existing pope.

Freed at last from all shadow of check or competition, Martin, like a true pope, proclaimed a crusade against the Bohemian reformers. This is always the pontifical reply to a secession, and it is the only reply that can be made with consistency. The authority of the Church demands the suppression of schism and heresy, and these can only be suppressed by the submission or extermination of their adherents. The holy war was conducted by the emperor in person. The Bohemians encountered him under the gallant Zisca with signal success; but they were unhappily ignorant of the depth of their own principles. Zisca copied his persecutors by turning his sword on fellow-Protestants, who carried their private judgment beyond his own. After his death, the Hussites listened to overtures of peace, and they were still formidable enough to be invited to a council summoned at Basle (A. D. 1431).

Martin dying a few months before the council was opened, was succeeded by one of the most ignorant and presumptuous of monks. Eugenius IV. plunged at once into a quarrel with the council. The president was his

own legate, cardinal Julian Cesarini, who had been on a mission in Bohemia. He implored the pope to adopt a conciliatory course; but Eugenius feared the council far more than he hated heretics: he was determined to avoid the toils which destroyed John XXIII. A bull was published dissolving the council, with the intention of calling another within the papal dominions. The emperor remonstrated, and the council refused to separate: a General Council, lawfully assembled, could not be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent. They summoned the pope to appear in person, and on his refusal suspended him for contumacy. The pope annulled the decree, but the duke of Milan, marching upon Rome, to assert the authority of the council, the Romans revolted, and Eugenius escaped with difficulty.

This misfortune obliged him to come to terms, but another rupture took place before long. The pope transferred the council to Ferrara, under pretence of meeting the Greek delegates who were shortly expected at Venice. The council, pronouncing the translation null, persisted in sitting at Basle. Eugenius opened his synod at Ferrara (1438), declared the "congregation of Basle" an unlawful assembly, and enjoined the magistrates to disperse them. The fathers retorted by again suspending Eugenius, and being thereupon abandoned by the cardinal legate, they chose the cardinal archbishop of Arles for their president. On the 16th May 1439, they pronounced it heresy to deny the superiority of a council to the pope, and deposed Eugenius. He replied by excommunicating the whole assembly; nevertheless, the council proceeded to appoint thirty-two electors, by whom Amadeus, first duke of Savoy, was chosen pope. Though a layman and formerly married, his reputation as a hermit overcame all objections. A deputation invaded his retreat on the lake of Geneva, for which he

had abdicated his own principality, and called him to the pontifical throne. Being consecrated and crowned by the name of Felix v., he was owned as pope in Savoy, Switzerland, Bavaria, and Austria; but the kings of England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Hungary, with the princes and states of Italy, adhered to Eugenius. This pontiff having translated his council from Ferrara to Florence, and there settled the delusive union with the Greeks, adjourned it to Rome, determined to sit in future only at the Lateran. The assembly at Basle wasted away from dejection and sickness: Felix removed it to Lausanne, but the meetings were almost nominal; and when Eugenius had given place to a better man, Felix closed the schism by resigning his pontificate (A.D. 1448).

In this contest the papacy practically proved its superiority over the council. The latter was deserted by the higher ecclesiastics, as soon as it became apparent that the great princes went with Eugenius. Not twenty mitred heads were to be seen, and though above four hundred of the clergy and doctors of law thronged the benches, their voice, like the voice of the people, was as yet of little power in public affairs. Some valuable propositions were discussed, which were afterwards, in different kingdoms, made the grounds of concordats with the Holy See. But concordats are but an armed truce: they exist only to restrain the action of an authority felt to be dangerous. It is simply to abolish the authority, and they become as superfluous as treaties of commerce under a system of free trade.

The fate of the Council of Basle should have satisfied mankind that the chair of St. Peter is the insurmountable impediment to the unity and reformation of the Church. Called to extirpate heresy, restore peace, and effect a reformation of manners, its doctrinal labours

consisted of a new article of the faith—the immaculate conception of the Holy Virgin—and an admission that the sacrament of the eucharist might be profitable to the laity, *even* though administered in both kinds! The former was adopted at the thirty-sixth session (17th September 1439), though it has only in our day received the papal imprimatur. The latter was guarded by a proviso that communion in one kind was a law introduced with good reason, and was not to be altered without the authority of the Church. The Bohemians obtained the use of the cup by a concordat with the emperor (A.D. 1436), but the pope refused to confirm it, and the grievance continued for another war.¹ Instead of promoting unity, the council was the cause of a new schism, and though asserting the authority of the Church, and presided over by two of the ablest and most deserving ecclesiastics of the day,² it was insulted,

¹ Under this decree two celebrants were appointed in some churches, one to administer to those who claimed both kinds, the other for the more dutiful children who were satisfied to obey the Church in preference to Christ. Nothing so perplexed the self-styled reformers at Constance as this question of the cup. Its disuse was an innovation of not more than two centuries old, and a palpable contradiction of the words recited in the consecration of the Sacrament. Gerson and his school must have been anxious to grant the reform, but single communion was a necessary consequence of the doctrine of transubstantiation. It was a Church dogma, not a Scriptural one, and had the further advantage of drawing a marked distinction between the clergy and the laity. Therefore Gerson withheld the cup.

² Julian Cesarini was a man of capacious mind, enlightened by study and practical employment in public affairs. He was one of the few Italians who foresaw the coming revolt of the scandalised nations, and one of the few papists who preferred spiritual efficiency to temporal power. "Though you were certain (he wrote to the Pope) to lose Rome and the whole patrimony of the Church, it were better to succour the faith and the souls for which Christ died, than to cling to castles and walls. Dearer to Christ is one single soul than all the patrimony of the Church, yea, than all heaven and earth." The council could ill bear the defection of such a champion. Yet the cardinal of Arles was no unworthy successor. He was born, says the historian (*Æn. Sylv. de Gest. Bas. Conc.* i. 25), for the

discredited, and utterly worsted by a pope without talent or address. Incessantly at war with his clergy, his subjects, and his benefactors, Eugenius wanted at once honesty and policy. No tyrant is reproached with more acts of cruelty and perfidy, no monarch ever gave stronger proofs of incapacity and imbecility.¹ That such a man should be permitted to triumph over such an assembly, shows how low the Latin Church had fallen under the yoke of the papacy, and how richly she deserved the flagitious successors, whose vices at last awoke the thunders of a genuine Reformation.

The dissolution of the Council of Basle left the papacy unreformed, and more powerful than before. It was universally felt that one pope was better than two or three, and one persecutor than two or three hundred. Councils, which had been resorted to for liberty of conscience, had only rivetted the fetters more strongly; and when the Sacred College, by accident more than design,² placed a Christian and a scholar on the pontifical throne in the person of Nicholas v., there was a general cessation of complaints. The antipope laid down his pretensions (A.D. 1449), and Nicholas revoked all censures against his adherents. The sixth Jubilee (A.D. 1450) was celebrated at Rome with unbounded revelry and superstition, and two years

government of General Councils. He out-manceuvred the Italians with all the address of a polished Frenchman, and when the plague broke out and he was advised to quit Basle, he exhibited the gallantry of his nation to equal advantage. His retirement would be the signal of dissolution, and he remained at his post.

¹ Sismondi, Rep. Ital. lxx., Wadd. iii. 144.

² The levity exhibited in some of the papal elections is quite surprising. The new pope, called Thomas of Sarzana, was about the most unlikely candidate of the whole College, but a cardinal who meant to throw away his vote, exclaimed, "I shall vote for Thomas, because this is St. Thomas's eve." Others did the same, and Thomas was found to have the requisite majority.

after the citizens were gratified by another imposing spectacle in the imperial coronation of Frederick III. and his empress Eleonora.

The western empire displayed this unwonted magnificence at the moment when the capital and crown of the East fell a prey to the Turks. The triumph of the Moslem arms in Europe was unquestionably due to the ecclesiastical dissensions of the Greeks and Latins. Constantinople, often threatened by Goths and Saracens, was first taken and sacked by the Latin soldiers of the cross. The first conquest and partition of the empire was effected by the sons of the Roman Church, and received the sanction of its pontiff. Nicholas himself is accused of purposely delaying the succours designed for the East, in order to force the Greek bishops to the recognition of his supremacy. His menace at the jubilee, that in three years the unfruitful fig-tree should be cut down, hardly required the gift of prophecy: Constantinople was but too surely doomed by the treachery of apostates, the selfish policy of a rival Church, and the pusillanimity engendered by the cruelty, vice, and luxury of its own court. On the 29th of May 1453, the Sultan Mohammed entered by the breaches where the last Christian emperor (bearing the same name with the first) fell bravely fighting; and dismounting at the church of Justinian, he transferred at once the crown and the altar to the faith of the false prophet.

The catastrophe was precipitated by means of the recent invention of gunpowder, joined with the liquid and inextinguishable fire of the Greeks. The circumstances have been thought to meet the description of the countless hordes of horsemen, that sallied forth on the loosing of the four angels in the great river Euphrates, and killed the third part of men by the

fire and smoke and brimstone that seemed to issue from their horses' mouths.¹ Certainly the Roman Church presented at this time, and subsequently, a melancholy fulfilment of the succeeding feature in the vision: "The rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils,² and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk: Neither repented they of their murders,³ nor of their sorceries,⁴ nor of their fornication,⁵ nor of their thefts."⁶

The Turkish power, which rose on the decline of the Arabic, attained to the seat of the Cæsars, just 396 years from the time when Togrul Bey marched out of Bagdad

¹ Rev. ix. 14—18.

² Or dæmons, *i.e.* not necessarily *evil* spirits but good, such as the "angels and saints" of the papal mythology. A bull of Alexander VI. (1494), canonising the English Anselm, declares it to be the duty of the pope thus to promote dead men to the worship and adoration of the faithful.

³ It has been computed that a million of men perished in the crusade against the Waldenses, ordered by the Lateran Council, A.D. 1215. This was before the Turkish invasion. The Inquisition was established after it, and slew 150,000 persons in thirty years. The Jesuits have been thought to have caused 900,000 deaths by persecution; 50,000 were hanged, burned, beheaded, or buried alive in the Netherlands under the edicts of Charles V. Adding those who fell in France, England, Spain, and America, it is calculated that more than *sixty-eight millions* of human beings have been put to death for offences against the faith or practice of the Papal church.

⁴ Miracles, relics, and other impostures.

⁵ See the "Golden Legend," Hallam's "Middle Ages," Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," etc., for the well-known union of popery with the most frightful licentiousness. "All the convents in Rome," says the historian Infessura, "were houses of ill-fame."

⁶ To "rob men of their money" was, according to Wiclif, a main pursuit of the papal priesthood. The jubilee at Rome brought in an enormous revenue, and our own English Jubilee for St. Thomas of Canterbury was not bad. The comparative table is familiar:—

First year, Christ's Altar,	£3	2	6	Second year,	£0	0	0	
„ Virgin Mary's,	63	5	6	„	4	1	8	
„ Becket's,	-	832	12	9	„	954	6	2

to the conquest of the East.¹ It now openly threatened the remainder of Christendom. A descent upon Rome and Western Europe was often imminent, and the popes were in general sufficiently alive to the danger. Nicholas, whose death is by some writers attributed to remorse for not adopting earlier measures, spent the remainder of his pontificate in entreating the Latin princes to unite in expelling the Moslems out of Europe. His successor, Calixtus III., set them an example by fitting out a small fleet, which, under the command of a cardinal, and with the co-operation of the gallant knights of Rhodes, recaptured several of the Greek islands; but exhortation and example were alike fruitless. The spirit of the crusades was extinct. The western nations were no longer children, nor the popes their fathers. Each was occupied with its own political interests, and national rights had so often found an enemy in the papacy, that its most religious counsels were suspected of a political bias. Hence the Turks were not only not driven back into Asia, they were permitted to advance into Servia, and it was the foresight and promptitude of Calixtus that saved Europe by the victory of Belgrade, 6th August 1456.

Still, it was easier to arouse the jealousy of the Tartars, than to unite the conflicting states of Roman Christianity in a common bond for their faith and liberty. The Turk, in fact, was used as a check on the pope and the emperor. Some of the most precious liberties of the Church were

¹ The exact period indicated by the "hour, day, month, and year" of Rev. ix. 15, viz. :—

One year	.	.	.	= 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ years.
One month	.	.	.	= 30 years.
One day	.	.	.	= 1 year.
One hour	.	.	.	= $\frac{1}{24}$ year.

396 $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{24}$, or
396 years, 106 days.

—Elliot, *Apoc.* i. 493.

extorted as the price of co-operating against the Moslem. Pius II. exhausted his pontificate of six years in endeavouring to awaken the Christian powers to the dangers which undoubtedly overhung them; but he had little success, one reason of which was the unblushing tergiversation of his own conduct. As Æneas Sylvius, he had been secretary to the council of Basle, and was distinguished for the zeal and learning with which he argued the superiority of a council to the pope; but no sooner did the emperor espouse the cause of Eugenius than the politic secretary implored his Holiness's pardon, and turned against all his former principles. As pope, he surpassed his predecessors in asserting the majesty and infallibility of the Holy See, condemning all appeals from the vicar of Christ as impious and unreasonable. He even issued a bull of retractations, in which he charged the faithful to forget all they had heard from Æneas, whose name was heathen and his writings heretical, and listen only to the Christian father and orthodox pontiff Pius.

This pontiff's zeal for the papacy induced him to apply to Charles of France to cancel the Pragmatic Sanction. The king replied there could be nothing very wrong in a concordat, of which every article had been sanctioned by the council, and vindicated by his Holiness's own pen. Pius renewed his solicitations on the accession of Louis XI., and that superstitious prince received the title of most Christian king for consenting to his request. The parliament and the university, however, protested against the surrender, and the Gallican Church continued to insist on its rights.

Charles was greatly incensed by the pope's supporting the Spanish succession in Naples, against himself as heir to the line of Anjou. This dispute had kept Italy in a state of war for many years, and the frequency

with which the popes changed sides, as their own interest or ambition dictated, contributed more than anything else to the failure of their repeated crusades against the Turks.¹ With the unbelievers threatening the coasts of Italy, the father of Christendom was seen directing the arms of Christians against each other for his own aggrandisement. It is little to be wondered at that the princes, his children, followed his example, and left the Turk to advance unopposed.

Setting aside the inconsistencies inseparable from the papal position, the immediate successors of Eugenius reflected credit on the chair of St. Peter. Nicolas was studious, devout, and charitable. Calixtus, though a scandalous nepotist, possessed great ability and experience, and was the best canonist of his time. Pius was an elegant Latin writer, and perhaps the most accomplished and enlightened man of his day. He was charitable to the poor, and remarkably free from the standing vices of the Roman court—simony, nepotism, and pride. He died in the act of leading out the Christian forces to arrest the long-threatened invasion of the Turks.²

After these, the lustre of the pontifical crown was perceptibly tarnished. Paul II., as a native of Venice, might have been expected to pursue his predecessor's

¹ Eugenius, after confirming the Angevin claimant, and supporting him in the field by a military force, acknowledged Alphonso to purchase his desertion of the antipope Felix. Calixtus, himself a Spaniard, revoked the bull of Eugenius, with the intention of placing his own nephew, Peter Borgia, on the throne. Pius reverted to the Spanish interest, and had Ferdinand crowned. Paul excommunicated him for not paying his tribute. Innocent, again, having first tried to seize the crown to himself, called in the French: in this way the unhappy kingdom, with all the neighbouring states, were kept in constant warfare.

² It was this pope who remarked, that though marriage had for good reasons been interdicted to the clergy, there were far better reasons for restoring it.

preparations against the common danger. A confederacy against the Turks was one of the numerous conditions which he had sworn to in the conclave; but the pope dismissed them all, with the remark that every engagement pretending to limit the Vicar of Christ is, in its own nature, irreligious and void. He began his pontificate by a quarrel with the king of Naples, which embroiled the neighbouring states, and then renewed the crusade against the Bohemians. Having excommunicated and deposed the king George Podiebrad for insisting on the double communion, he offered the crown to Corvinus, who was defending the frontiers of Christendom against the Turks. For seven years the arms designed to guard against the common danger were diverted to a domestic struggle, in which they were happily defeated.

While thus indifferent to the safety of others, the pope showed a morbid sensibility to his own. A literary society formed at Rome being represented as a dangerous conspiracy, he seized and tortured the members so that one of them died on the rack. Nothing criminal was ever discovered, but Paul was so convinced that ignorance is the mother of devotion, that he closed the schools, and exhorted the Romans to content themselves with reading and writing. He indulged his barbaric tastes by loading the pontifical crown with jewels, till it was compared to the turrets of Cybele, and by adding more scarlet to the trappings of the cardinals, as if to increase the resemblance of his court to the apocalyptic harlot.¹ His avarice urged him to reduce the period of jubilee from thirty-three to twenty-five years, but he was carried off by apoplexy four years before the anticipated profits could be reaped (A.D. 1471).

¹ Genebrard in Chron. Mornay du Plessis.

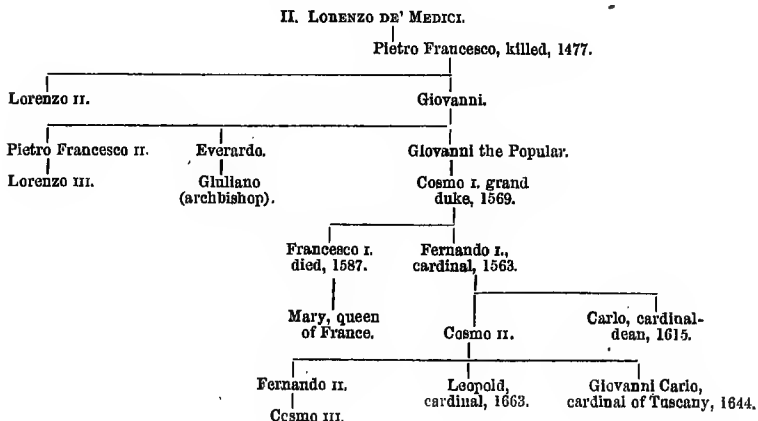
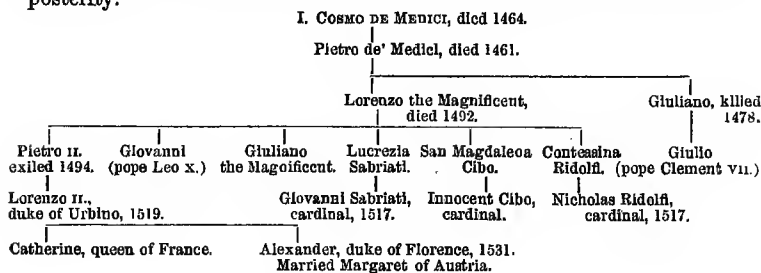
Sixtus IV. has the merit of founding the Vatican library, and of adorning his capital with many noble buildings,¹ but after a feeble attempt to pursue the policy of Pius II. he resigned himself to the more congenial task of promoting wars and conspiracies throughout Italy, for the aggrandisement of his own relatives. He began the practice of erecting principalities for the papal family out of the domains of the Church. The barons and knights who had hitherto held of the see, paying an annual tribute, were divided as usual into Guelphs and Ghibellines, each party having its recognised chief in Rome. The Colonnas headed the former, the Orsini the other, and as these great families usually had one or more members in the Sacred College, the pope was confronted by political influences superior to his own. To counterbalance these great cardinals was the constant struggle of the reigning pontiff. Sixtus succeeded in investing his nephew with the princely fief of Romagna; but his designs upon Florence had a different result. In order to reduce this flourishing little republic to the pope, a plot was laid to assassinate the brothers De' Medici, who were then the principal magistrates.² Julian de' Medici actually fell by the stiletto, but Lorenzo escaped. The plot failed, and the archbishop of Pisa was hanged in the pontificals in which he had said mass for the conspirators the morning of the attempt. The pope was undoubtedly engaged in the conspiracy, but for the death of the archbishop he excommunicated Lorenzo, who had no share in the deed, and laid the city under an interdict till he should be expelled. The Florentines resisted, and a war ensued,

¹ His great work was rebuilding the bridge over the Tiber, anciently named *Pons Janicularis*, and now *Ponte Sesto*.

² The chief magistrate of Florence was the *Gonfaloniere* or "Standard-bearer" of the republic. This office was held in the opening of the

during which the sultan approached unmolested to the shores of Italy. It was not till Otranto was actually stormed and captured (A.D. 1480), that the sanguinary pontiff listened to conditions of peace with his flock. If the death of Mohammed the next year had not compelled the Turks to abandon their conquest, Italy might have shared the fate of Greece, and the Church of St. Peter, like that of Sophia, might have been a mosque at this day.

Sixtus, though a Franciscan friar, was one of the most scandalous nepotists that had yet appropriated Church property to family aggrandisement. Dignities and benefices were heaped on his worthless relatives: fifteenth century by Giovanni de Medici, who died 1428, leaving two sons, Cosmo and Lorenzo, each of whom was the progenitor of an illustrious posterity.



his very valet received a cardinal's hat. His great talents never condescended to the distinction between virtue and vice. No amount of wickedness deterred him from his projects. He was never happy when not at war, and was said to have died of passion at the news of a peace concluded without his consent.

No force could tame the savage Sixtus' pride,
The moment that he heard of peace, he died.¹

Innocent VIII. is chiefly remarkable for the profligacy of his private life,² and the renewal of the war in Naples. Having quarrelled with Ferdinand, he first offered the crown to Rene of Lorraine, then seized it to himself, then annexed it to the crown of France, and finally restored it to Ferdinand, who had kept possession undismayed by all his anathemas. His later years became remarkable from the flight of the sultan's youngest son to Rhodes, whence he afterwards proceeded to Rome. Bajazet, who succeeded Mohammed II., sent a large sum to the pope to induce him to detain his brother, and the father of Christendom actually condescended to become the sultan's gaoler.

The next pope was the infamous Roderic Borgia, by whom the last remains of decency were trampled out, and the pontifical throne sank below the level of the Turkish seraglio. This bold bad man, though never married, did not choose, like others, to abandon the mother of his children, when invited by his uncle Calixtus III. to exchange a life of military profligacy for an

¹ Non potuit sævum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum ; Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.—Bower, vii. 313.

² Seven acknowledged illegitimate children received from this pontiff the honours which others had accorded to their "nephews." It may be suspected that the two designations were practically identical, but at all events the public avowal of personal impurity in the Holy Father was a novelty at Rome. It familiarised itself with frightful rapidity.

archbishopric and a cardinal's hat. Along with the hat, he assumed such an air of devotion, as to acquire in that depraved court the reputation of a saint. The numerous offices, benefices, and palaces, which he accumulated under four popes, enabled him to bribe his brother cardinals, on the death of Innocent, to elect him to the vacant chair. Then taking the name of Alexander VI., he threw aside the mask of sanctity, and, surrounded by children as wicked as himself, turned the apostolic palace into a den of lust and cruelty, not to be paralleled under the worst of the ancient emperors. He was the Nero of the popes, and, like Nero, corrupted all classes of society by his profligacy. His eldest son, who was created duke of Gandia by the Spanish king, and received the duchy of Benevento from his father, fell by the hired bravoës of his brother Cæsar. This second son, the blackest monster of the whole, was first a cardinal and archbishop of Valentia, but abandoning the sacred function he obtained a dispensation to marry, and converted himself into a soldier and a prince. The youngest son married a daughter of the king of Naples, and was created a prince in that kingdom. The pope's daughter Lucrezia scandalised the apostolical palace by three marriages, celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; but the court of Sardanapalus never equalled the shameless orgies, in which this beautiful poisoner continued to revel with her polluted father and brothers.¹

It is a melancholy proof of the depravity which the abominations of Rome had diffused over Chris-

¹ "Roscoe has endeavoured, in his 'Life of Leo x.,' to clear the memory of Lucrezia Borgia from the load of infamous crimes imputed to her. He has opposed the testimony of a number of favourable witnesses of a later period to the accusations brought against her early life. The German editor of his book, however, is not convinced, but thinks that she altered her conduct for the better."—*Ranke*, Appx. i. 3. Such "conversions" are not uncommon in the history of profligate women who have lost the opportunities of their youth.

tendom, that the courts of Europe seem to have been little shocked by a flagitiousness which no decent pen can describe. Neither princes nor prelates shunned these incarnate fiends. The whole family enjoyed honour and opulence, unchecked except by their own hand, and the hoary sinner at its head was permitted to dispose of kingdoms and territories, as the undoubted vicar of Him to whom the ends of the earth are committed. "It is impossible to offer a more convincing proof of the real nature of the papacy.

Troubled by no schisms, censured by no councils, harassed by no demands for reform, Alexander VI. prospered in his day. The only protest against his wickedness came from a rival cardinal, whom he had disappointed of the pontifical chair, and who, in ascending it as his successor, proved equally devoid of religion. His greatest danger was from the king of France, whom his policy thwarted in his attempts upon Naples. He had the incredible audacity to send proposals to the Turkish Sultan, on the ground that if in possession of Naples the French would certainly attack the Mohammedans. Bajazet replied in terms of great respect "to the most worthy father and lord of all Christians;" but nothing came of the negotiation, beyond the payment of fifty thousand crowns for the sustenance of the sultan's brother at Rome. Bajazet offered a further sum of three hundred thousand ducats, to secure the young prince from French intrigues by putting him out of the world. The offer was not lost upon Alexander; and being shortly after obliged to transfer the Moslem pretender to the French, he took care, by his infamous art of poisoning, to bring about his death in their custody. The sultan's letters being intercepted and published, all Europe knew that the Holy Father was bribed by the enemy of Christianity to murder his unhappy charge.

The French king was so far from being deterred by the pope's opposition that he marched to Rome, and entering the city as a conqueror, compelled Alexander to support his claim. Cardinal delle Rovere, with others, implored the French to depose the pope, but Charles, preferring to make use of him, declined any intervention in Church matters. Proceeding to Naples, he gained possession of the kingdom (A.D. 1495). Alphonso II. exchanged his crown for a cowl, and his son Ferdinand fled to the island of Ischia. But the French triumph was short. Before the year was out, Sforza, supposing himself safe at Milan, deserted the French, and formed a league with the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain,¹ and the republics of Venice and Florence for their expulsion. Ferdinand was restored, and soon after succeeded by his uncle Frederick, while the French were driven out of Italy.²

¹ Ferdinand v. of Arragon, by his marriage with Isabella of Castille (A.D. 1469), united the two Spanish crowns, and succeeded in finally expelling the Moors from Granada (1492). Alexander bestowed upon him the title of "Most Catholic King," still annexed to the throne of Spain, of which he was the founder.

² The French claim rested on the bequest of Joanna I., who, being childless, made Louis duke of Anjou her heir (A.D. 1380), but the queen had previously settled the succession on her cousin Charles of Durazzo, who possessed himself of the throne, and put her to death (A.D. 1382). His daughter and heiress Joanna II., called also Juanella, executed a similar double adoption, in favour, first of Alphonso v. of Arragon; secondly of Rene of Anjou. The former took possession, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand (A.D. 1458), who died A.D. 1494. Rene, however, obtained the county of Provence, and bequeathed it to his nephew Charles of Anjou, at whose death his claim descended to Louis XI. of France. His son Charles VIII. was instigated to revive the claim on Naples by Ludovico Sforza, regent of Milan, for his nephew the young duke Giovanni. Ludovico was conspiring to usurp the duchy: he obtained investiture of the emperor Maximilian by giving him his beautiful niece Blanche for a third wife; but, being afraid of Ferdinand, who had married his grand-daughter to Giovanni, he invited the French king into Italy, and on his arrival put his nephew to death, and openly seized the ducal crown. The pope was pledged against the French by the marriage of his youngest son with the daughter of Alphonso II.

The pope henceforth devoted himself to his infamous pleasures, and the aggrandisement of his no less infamous children. The murder of the duke, his eldest son, had been rewarded by the transfer of his prospects to the fratricide archbishop. Being appointed legate *a latere* to crown the new king of Naples, he proposed himself to Frederick in the further character of son-in-law and heir to the throne. The pope promised to divest the aspiring cardinal of his ecclesiastical character, and sanction the marriage; but the king declining the unprecedented offer, the Borgias at once went over again to the French. The death of Charles left the crown to his cousin Louis XII., whose first desire was to be released from his marriage with the unhappy Joan, and retain Brittany by espousing the duchess Anne, the late king's widow. Next to this he burned to recover Naples and Milan, which he claimed in his own right. Nothing could be more opposed to the policy of the Roman court than the establishment of the French in Italy, but Alexander sacrificed every public consideration to his family ambition. Cæsar was divested of his orders and sent ambassador to Paris, carrying the divorce and dispensation for the second nuptials. The king created the ex-cardinal duke of Valence and knight of St. Michael, with a command in the French army, and a liberal pension; he further obtained him the hand of a princess, who, though not, as he had presumed to hope, of the royal line of France, was sister to the king of Navarre.¹

Marching into Italy, Louis mastered Milan while

¹ She was a daughter of the Sire Alain, lord of Albret, whose son John obtained the crown of Navarre by marrying Catherine de Foix, sister and heiress of the late king. The offspring of this marriage, Henry, married Margaret sister to Francis I. of France, and of them was born Henry IV. of Navarre and France.

the new duke Valentino reduced Romagna, and received it in fief to himself. Piombino was added by force, and Urbino by fraud. Camerino followed, and the duke, who had taken for his motto, *aut Cæsar aut nihil*, ventured to aspire to the throne of Italy.

Meantime, Naples experienced the astounding treachery which, in that age, passed among princes for policy. Ferdinand the Catholic, who already united in himself and his consort Isabella the crowns of Spain and the island of Sicily, secretly concerted the partition of Naples between himself and Louis. With this object he sent over troops under the great captain Gonsalvo de Cordova, in the guise of auxiliaries to his kinsman and namesake; and having thus gained admittance, the Spaniards turned their arms against the throne they professed to defend. Frederick surrendering to Louis, ended his days in a French prison; and his son, who capitulated to the great captain on condition of his liberty, was sent in like manner to Spain. The two conspirators then divided the spoil; but speedily quarrelling, by another act of that duplicity which the Spanish historians call glory, the French were expelled from Naples; and the crowns of the two Sicilies were reunited on the head of the king of Spain.

Valentino's career was brought to a sudden termination by the righteous death of his father. It was an end every way worthy of his life. Alexander had concerted with the duke to poison a wealthy cardinal, in order to possess themselves of his treasures. The deed was to be perpetrated at a garden banquet given by the pope. Alexander and his son arriving much heated, called loudly for wine. In the haste the poisoned bottle was brought, and both drank of it. The pope died the next day (18th August 1503), but the duke having mixed his draught with water, by taking instant remedies, narrowly

escaped with life.¹ His greatness vanished with its author; succeeding pontiffs deprived him of all his honours, and after suffering imprisonment at Rome and in Spain, he fell in an obscure affray at the petty court of Navarre.

This man's life was one continued succession of broken vows, assassination, and violence; his dissimulation, however, was so perfect, and for a time so successful, that Machiavel extols him as a model for princes. In such commendations the pope his father has a right to be included, since no prince ever committed so many crimes with impunity, nor so many robberies with advantage. His profligate subjects were content to pelt him with pasquinades. The Church was too dead to throw off the incubus of his terrible profanations. When Columbus astonished Europe by the discovery of a new world beyond the Western ocean, this scandalous pontiff was allowed to dispose of it in the name of God. He conferred on the Spanish monarchs the sovereignty of all their Indian discoveries present or future; and when the king of Portugal complained that his own crown had received a similar grant from Eugenius iv., Alexander graciously drew a line down the map, at 100 leagues west of the Cape de Verde Islands, telling Spain to take the American side, and Portugal the African. Such was the unbounded power then accorded to a man of whom it was believed that he held nothing sacred. The bitterest, and perhaps the truest, of the satires uttered on his death, reflects at least as much reproach on the Church itself, as on the pontiff who was permitted to dispose of its ordinances:—

Keys, altar, Christ—he gave them all for gold:
He bought them first; so with good right he sold.²

¹ Another account states that the cardinal bribed the pope's seneschal to set the poisoned dish before his master instead of himself.—*Ranke*.

² *Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum; emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.*

The chair of St. Peter, after passing for three weeks to Pius III., nephew to Pius II., fell at last to the ambitious Julian delle Rovere, who, either from partiality to his baptismal name, or from the ambition to revive another imperial title, took the name of Julius II.¹ The spiritual character of the papacy was now quite eclipsed by its temporal attributes. The Holy See disappeared in the throne. Alexander and Julius were monarchs much more than bishops; the former treated his sacred function with a contempt which, in times of ordinary decency, would have been a blunder no less than a crime; Julius, with better policy, exhibited always a decorous solemnity in the imposing ceremonial of the Church, and made himself as formidable with the spiritual weapon as with the temporal. Still there was no longer any pretence of seeking power for spiritual purposes: that mask of hypocrisy was at last fairly thrown aside. To aggrandise the Roman state by conquest or treaty—to employ force or dissimulation, as opportunity offered—and to subordinate the restraints of conscience and religion to the advancement of political objects, were now the ruling principles of the Roman court, as of others. The difference was that the pope was *less* restrained by religious scruples, and more capable of calling in religious auxili-

¹ The secular character now openly assumed by the papacy is apparent in the frequent succession of pope's nephews. The nearest relations of the reigning pontiff were installed, as a matter of course, in the apostolic palace. An ecclesiastical and a secular "nephew" (who might often boast of nearer ties) became established personages in the court of Rome, one to assist the pope and bear the dignities of the Church, the other to found a family among the princes of Italy. The elective throne of the Church was thus converted to the uses of a narrow oligarchy, but as the last comers were naturally the weakest, each papal family suffered an eclipse on the death of its head, and the chair was disposed of by the connections of a predecessor who had gradually acquired weight in the Sacred College. Delle Rovere was nephew to Sixtus IV., on whose death the prize was obtained by Borgia, nephew to Calixtus III. In like manner, Eugenius IV. was nephew to Gregory XII., and Paul II. to Eugenius.

aries. Absolutions were always ready for his political friends, and censures for his political foes. If his temporal cheek were smitten, he turned the other, not to invite a repetition of the blow, but to wither the offender with its unearthly frown. This is the time which an English cardinal of our own day has distinguished as "the golden period of Julius II!"¹

He was a better pope than his predecessor, simply as a military commander is more respectable than a luxurious debauchee. He exhibited the strange spectacle of the Vicar of Christ feeding his sheep by marching in arms, at the head of his troops, to capture towns and slay their defenders. This was no uncommon thing with inferior prelates. Bishops and abbots, who refused to soil their lawn by sitting in council or parliament when a cause of blood was to be tried;—who never corrected heretics *further than the rack*, but when they were to be burned, handed them over to the secular arm with a pious entreaty to show mercy—had long managed to ride in armour to the field of battle, and command in the siege of towns and castles. They had maces hanging at their saddle-bows, to kill their opponents without shedding Christian blood. These bishops, however, were barons, bound to attend their temporal lord: it was new to see the pope, after struggling so determinedly for a sovereignty exempt from all human accountability, use it to fight his own battles like a duke or an emperor.

This novelty, however, little troubled the Church's conscience. Thomas di Vio, cardinal of St. Sixtus and general of the Dominicans (called Gaietan—Cajetan—from the place of his birth), was the most learned and respectable member of the Sacred College. He attended the council called in the Lateran 3rd May

¹ "Recollections of the Last Four Popes," by Cardinal Wiseman, p. 134.

1512, to curse all rebels against the pontifical authority. Councils no less than individuals were included in this anathema; and to enforce it the cardinal-general thus addressed his mitred commander-in-chief: "That you may imitate, holy father, the power, perfection, and wisdom of God, gird yourself with your sword—that sword which is especially your own. For you have two, one in common with the princes of this world, the other peculiar to yourself; and which none can possess except from you. *Gird, then, this sword on your thigh* (!) above all the powers of the human race, and march against errors, heresies, and dissensions. March and reign. March and prosper, priest and king, utterly scattering the nations that delight in war, and meditating and searching after the things of peace."¹ In the clang and crash of his military metaphors, the cardinal forgot that the sword of the Spirit is the Word of God. His Church has often mistaken fire and faggot for the sword of St. Paul or St. Peter; but, although those apostles did indeed *fall* by the sword, they were expressly forbidden to *smite* with it.

Whatever Julius thought of the apostolical function, to "scatter the nations that delight in war" was an employment entirely to his mind. He said the Diet and the Conclave had each made a mistake: they should have chosen himself emperor and Maximilian pope.² The might that he showed and how he warred, we must leave to the chronicles of the several kingdoms of Europe. Suffice it to say, that his pontificate of ten

¹ Seckend, Ap. i. 2; Waddington's Luther, i. 145.

² He thought the emperor a fool, and commonly spoke of him as a "bestia." Maximilian was not more complimentary. "Immortal God (he cried), if Thou didst not watch, it would fare badly with a world governed by us two: I a miserable hunter, and that Julius a drunken rascal!" It is a curious fact that Maximilian aspired to succeed Julius, and actually offered himself as his coadjutor!—*Ranke.*

years was spent in campaigns which occasioned the death of ten thousand men!¹ He reduced the lawless feudatories on the estates of the Church to their proper dependence on the Holy See. In alliance with the emperor and the kings of France and Spain, he drove the Venetians out of the Romagna (which they had entered on the fall of Cæsar Borgia), appropriated several of their strongholds to himself, and restrained the encroaching republicans to their islands. Then quarrelling with the French, he formed a new holy league with Spain, Switzerland, and Venice to drive them out of Italy. Milan was restored to Maximilian, son of Ludovico Sforza, while Julius obtained Parma, Piacenza, and Reggio, heretofore fiefs of the empire.² The Venetians insisting on retaining Vicenza, Julius concluded another alliance against them with the emperor, which death did not permit him to prosecute.

As a monarch—the character he most affected—Julius far surpassed every former pontiff. If he fought without mercy, and appropriated without scruple, he governed wisely and well, and was rewarded by an unusual fidelity on the part of his new subjects. The escheat of Urbino, by the deprivation of Cæsar Borgia, enabled him to found a princely house without any further alienation of Church lands. His talents and power were regarded with awe by the neighbouring states. “Formerly (says Machiavelli) no baron was so insignificant as not to despise the papal power: now a king of France stands in awe of it.”³

As a bishop, Julius, though an immoderate drunkard, avoided the scandal occasioned by Alexander’s contempt of holy offices. He managed to perform the public

¹ Some authors raise the number to 200,000.—Bower, vii. 398.

² The rights of the empire were reserved, which afterwards occasioned frequent contests with the Church. ³ Ranké, i. 2.

worship with dignity, if not with piety. But his spiritual office was always second to the political. He excommunicated the French monarch, laid his dominions under an interdict, and was on the point of transferring the coveted style of "most Christian" to the king of England when arrested by death. Louis had recourse to the old remedy of a council, which actually met at Pisa, on the summons of five cardinals, at the instance of the emperor and himself: but Julius calling another at the Lateran, interdicted the meeting at Pisa. The cardinals persevered under the protection of French troops, but only a few bishops came to their council, and when, after removing to Milan, they passed sentence of deposition on the pope (21st April 1512), the decree was received only in France. The council expired on the Swiss occupation, and it was before a higher tribunal that the pope was summoned, at seventy years of age, to give an account of his stewardship. He left a million of ducats destined to a war against the Turks. The papal revenues, which ordinarily amounted to 350,000 ducats, were doubled or trebled by his exactions.¹ He gave no benefice but to the incumbent of some lower preferment or office, whose post was again given to an inferior, and every one paid handsomely for his promotion. Another source of profit was found in the improvement of the coinage.² In his personal expenditure the pope was absolutely miserly.

All this power and wealth passed, on the 11th March 1513, to a successor as different as it is possible to conceive. The cardinal, Giovanni de' Medici, who took the name of Leo x., was a son of that Lorenzo de'

¹ Under his successor it was reckoned at 320,000 ducats from temporal sources, and 100,000 from ecclesiastical.

² The *giuli* with which he replaced the old *carlini* have only lately given place to the current *paoli*.

Medici who so narrowly escaped the bravos of Sixtus IV. An archbishop in the cradle, and a cardinal at thirteen, he became pope at thirty-seven. Being devoted to the French interest, his accession produced the immediate submission and absolution of the king: the council of Pisa was unanimously repudiated, and the cardinals who summoned it asked pardon on their knees. Francis of Valois, succeeding to the French crown in 1515, surrendered the Pragmatic Sanction, and concluded a concordat restoring annates to the Holy See. The Lateran council had extinguished the insurrectionary spirit manifested at Pisa, Constance and Basle, and neither war, schism, nor heresy, disturbed the eight years of Leo's splendid pontificate.

At Rome, this peaceful magnificence was doubly grateful after the two late reigns of terror and conquest. Leo's delight was to spend in luxury the treasure which his predecessor hoarded for war. His education and tastes were worthy of a better man, and the time was not yet come when *piety* was required in a successor of St. Peter. The point on which he was most content to follow his predecessor, was the completion of Bramante's ambitious design for a new Church of St. Peter. It was the age in which modern art attained its excellence in architecture, sculpture, painting, and music. A new expression was demanded for a worship which, undoubtedly, had vastly altered in substance since the days of Constantine. The artists were enthusiastic; but the people were alarmed, and the cardinals indignant, at the proposal to destroy a Church venerated throughout the world, enriched with sepulchres of saints, and memorable for illustrious deeds.¹ Raphael and Michael Angelo had persuaded

¹ Ranke, 1, 2.

Julius to overrule this opposition. The warrior pope caused half the old Church to be pulled down, and himself laid the foundation-stone of a new one (A.D. 1506). The popular misgivings were destined to be realised in a way that no one expected. Leo gave himself heart and soul to the prosecution of a work so entirely to his taste. Enormous sums were levied from the several kingdoms of Europe, by monkish mendicancy, for a structure designed to crown an universal recognition of the papal supremacy. But the walls of St. Peter's had hardly appeared above ground, before another Temple arose and stood over against it. "A stone cut out without hands, smote the image and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."¹

¹ Dan. ii. 35.

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS (PROTESTANT REFORMATION).

A.D.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	SPAIN AND NAFERS.	PORTUGAL.	ENGLAND.
1516	{ Charles (<i>The Emperor</i>).		
1519	Charles v.	...	...	
1521	John III.	
1522	...	Adrian VI.				
1523	...	Clement VII.				
1534	...	Paul III.				
1547	Henry II.	...	...	Edward VI.
1549	...	Julius III.				
1553	Mary.
1555	...	Marcellus II.	...	Philip II. (<i>Spain</i>)	...	

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

Rapid Revolution—Strength of the Papacy—The Bible and the Press—Indulgences—Luther Condemned—Burns the Bull—Protected by the Elector—Adrian VI.—Zwingle—Clement VII.—Battle of Pavia—Sack of Rome—Death of the Elector—War of the Peasants—PROTEST of Spires—Confession of Augsburg—Truce of Ratisbon—Progress of the Reformation in Europe—Persecution—Paul III.—Attempts at Reconciliation—Council of Trent—Breach with England—Rupture between the Pope and the Emperor—Return of the Council of Trent—Triumph of German Reformers—Accession of Mary—Death of the Pope—Abdication of the Emperor.

No event, since the publication of the Gospel, has produced so wide and lasting a change in human affairs as the Protestant Reformation. The rapidity of the revolution was even more marvellous than its extent and duration. It was almost compressed into the limits of a single life. Martin Luther may be called its first preacher, and before Luther died the Reformation had reached its existing limits. The greater part of Germany and Switzerland, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, openly separated from the Roman communion. Holland followed quickly after, and then the Roman reaction stayed the flood, and recovered what had been lost in the remainder of Europe. The three succeeding centuries have not enlarged the Protestant area; they have only deepened and matured the Protestant sentiment. They have supplied a succession of sound and learned divines, but nothing has been added to the principles of the Reformers, who rose like a constellation in the sixteenth century.

So singular a phenomenon indicates the presence of a peculiar power: something must have separated that age from its predecessors, to enable it to set up a mark which no successor has been able to overpass. Papal corruption was unhappily not a novelty. The indulgences, which first provoked the expostulations of Luther, were an old grievance, and all his fiery denunciations did not enlarge the catalogue of abuses protested against for at least four centuries. The circumstances were so far from being especially favourable to attack, that the papacy was apparently stronger than ever. The great schism had been healed, the councils humbled, the cry for reform was silenced, or confined to the peasants of a few Alpine valleys: hardly a cloud hung on the horizon of Rome. Her political prospects, too, had been seldom less embroiled since the triple crown first encircled the mitre. The wars of Julius had resulted in the virtual conquest of Italy. Leo's first act was a concordat with the French crown, which abolished the Pragmatic Sanction, and replaced the eldest son of the Church among her most dutiful children. The emperor was the sworn and willing champion of the Holy See. The most Catholic sovereigns of Spain and Portugal were subjugating new worlds to its obedience.¹

: Ferdinand, king of Sicily and Arragon, married (A.D. 1469) Isabella, heiress of Castile and Leon: the conquest of Granada (1492) raised them to the joint sovereignty of all Spain, with which Navarre was incorporated (1512). Naples was added by conquest (1503). The title of "Catholic king," borne by some earlier sovereigns, was permanently attached to the Spanish crown on the subjugation of the Moors by the conquest of Granada. Christopher Columbus sailed to the discovery of America in virtue of a contract with queen Isabella, dated 17th April 1492, after his offers had been declined by the enterprising John II. of Portugal. This king, who ascended the throne in 1482, in 1486 added the title of "Lord of Guinea," and soon after bestowed the name of Cape of Good Hope on the southern promontory of Africa, which his vessels under Bartholmo Dias rounded (A.D. 1487). In the same reign, Brazil, and an extensive empire in India, were added to the Portuguese crown.

The crown of England gained the title of Defender of the Faith by the young king's zeal for absolute, unmitigated popery. If Henry afterwards turned against his idol, it was not till after the Reformation had been firmly planted in Germany, and begun to make progress in England. The superficial writers who ascribe English Protestantism to the anger or policy of the crown, should remember that similar quarrels in former times had invariably terminated in the submission of the king, and the triumph of the pope.

What, then, was the distinctive element in the Reformation of the sixteenth century? It was undoubtedly the circulation of the Holy Bible. Luther revived the maxim of Wiclif and Huss, that Scripture only is true. He was opposed, as before, by the unchanging dogma of Rome—the authority of the Holy See. The battle was fought on a well-worn field from beginning to end. In Wiclif's days, however, the Bible was comparatively a sealed book. All his exertions could obtain only a limited circulation for his rude English translation. The masses were unable to read, and to the better-educated the labour of deciphering a voluminous manuscript was a serious impediment. As for oral preaching, the pope's great army of friars and confessors were as a thousand to one against the Reformers.

In the sixteenth century these conditions were changed. The fall of Constantinople covered the shores of Italy with the wreck of its religion and literature, and the western universities were brought in contact with the language of the New Testament and the fathers. Greek was taught in Paris A.D. 1458: the first Greek grammar was printed in 1476. Oxford and Cambridge caught the infection of the "new learning," and though the friars protested that to study Greek was

the way to become a Pagan, and to study Hebrew the way to become a Jew (!) the students of both languages so increased, that the English universities contained scholars who commanded the admiration of the celebrated Erasmus, at his visits in 1497 and 1509-14.

This tide of scholarship began to flow just at the moment when mechanical ingenuity had provided the means of covering the world with the fertilising inundation. John Gutenberg, the inventor of movable types, was born at Sulgeloeh, near Mainz, A.D. 1397, and died 1478.¹ About the year 1455, he printed the Mazarin edition of the Latin Vulgate; the first book that ever issued from the press, and the first instructor of Martin Luther. It was a noble omen; and the Church of Rome, "howbeit she meant not so, neither did her heart think it," is entitled to the credit. In 1477 a Hebrew Psalter was printed at Soncino, the Pentateuch in 1482, the Prophets in 1486, and the whole of the Old Testament in 1488. In 1516 Erasmus printed the New Testament in the original Greek. The Complutensian Bible, designed by Cardinal Ximenes, appeared in 1520, containing the Hebrew and Greek texts, with the Latin Vulgate in the place of honour between them. The Bible, of which Luther did not suspect the existence till he lighted on the Vulgate in his monastery at Erfurth, A.D. 1503, was now easily accessible to the literary classes, and it began to be studied by the leading minds of every nation with the utmost avidity.

The precious stream soon overflowed upon the people. Luther published the New Testament in German A.D. 1522, and the Old Testament from the

¹ Faust and Schoeffer were his assistants: the former has sometimes been deemed the inventor, and other names are mentioned for the same honour, as Costar of Haarlem, and Menzel of Strasburg: but Trithemius, the first author who mentions the art, ascribes it to Gutenberg on the authority of Schoeffer himself.

Hebrew in portions till 1530, when the whole was complete. Tyndal was but little behind with the English version. His New Testament appeared in 1525, and before his cruel and treacherous martyrdom at Antwerp (1545) he had finished, with the help of John Rogers, the canonical books of the Old Testament.¹

Evangelical expositions, replies by the Romanists, and rejoinders from the Reformers, flowed in rapid succession from the press. They removed the controversy from the synods of prelates, and the cabinets of princes, to the open field of public opinion. There the Bible, and the Bible only, spoke with the voice of inspiration. The Reformation was the revolution of the Bible and the press.

Its history is too extensive and familiar to call for repetition in this volume. Some nations it altogether emancipated from the yoke of Rome, others learned to assert political independence, while content to retain the spiritual bondage. These changes belong to the history

¹ The same year appeared the English version of Coverdale (also an assistant of Tyndal), professing to be taken from the "Douche" (German of Luther), and the Latin. This not giving satisfaction, Rogers was employed after Tyndal's death to edit his version from the original Hebrew and Greek. The Apocrypha was added from Coverdale. This was the Bible called "Matthew's," though the initials of Tyndal (whose name it was thought prudent to suppress) are subscribed to the Old Testament. It received the sanction of Henry VIII., and was thus our first authorised version. It is the parent of the existing version, of which the following character is given by writers who are no friends to Protestantism:—"In point of perspicacity and noble simplicity, propriety of idiom, and purity of style, no English version has as yet surpassed it."—Geddes' (Roman Catholic) Prospectus for a new Translation. "The peculiar genius, if such a word may be permitted, which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur unequalled, unapproached, in the attempted improvement of modern scholars; all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man, and that man William Tyndal."—Froude's *Hist. of England*, iii. 84. These quotations are borrowed from Mr. Plumptre's article on the Authorised Version in *Smith's Bible Dictionary*, ii. 1669.

of Europe: what our plan requires to be noticed, is the effect produced upon Rome herself. We have to observe how the popes, walking blindly forward to the destruction of their empire and their church, in the impotent attempt to excommunicate the intelligence and piety of Europe, stereotyped her corruptions, and sank into a schism.

That the first preacher of the Reformation was a Saxon monk, is one of those coincidences which so often mark the course of Divine retribution. The conquest of Saxony, commenced by Charlemagne, under the sanction of pope Adrian I. (A.D. 785), filled up the career which constituted his title to the imperial crown. It was Saxony, that rising under Otho of Nordheim to avenge its wrongs against Henry IV., blindly aided Hildebrand to reverse the original relations of the Empire and the See. Finally, it was Saxony that, taking the lead in the Reformation, first defied the papacy, and dared to renounce its authority at once in spiritual and temporal questions.

The monks, again, had been the preachers, spies, inquisitors, favourites, and ever-willing tools of the papacy. It was from a cloister that the Bible was now put into the hands of its opponents, and a monk was the first to hurl the thunderbolts of inspiration at Rome. Luther, like other monks, was a devoted child of the Church; but he was also a warm-hearted, earnest, pious Christian. His great intellect never blinded his simplicity, and his marvellous sagacity in the conduct of affairs left him to the last a straightforward man of his word. He had many faults, and belonged to a faulty age. He was impetuous, self-confident, intolerant; but he was also guileless, humble, believing, and fearless in the cause of truth. The Bible was his rule of faith, and his heart glowed with love to God and man. These were

the secrets of his success ; in these his errors were swallowed up, and forgotten of good men.

Luther began his career with the protest, now so familiar, against indulgences. Wiclif and Huss had spoken to the same effect : it was comparatively a recent abuse, and that which admitted of the least defence. An indulgence was properly the relaxation of some prescribed act of penance. A transgressor, who had been appointed a certain term of exclusion from the sacred mysteries, might, on proper evidence of repentance, be *indulged* with a remission of part of the time ; or an easier penalty might be substituted for one that was too severe or impracticable. A pilgrimage might be commuted for some other act of devotion ; a fast too rigorous for health might be reduced to a practicable degree of abstinence. It was thought reasonable also to exempt those in high station, or public office, from penances which might impair the respect due to their persons, or impede the discharge of their duties. In such cases bishops were wont to relax the penalties of the canons, taking care to require proof of penitence in some other way. For all these outward acts of penance were designed to produce, or to evidence, that inward contrition of the heart to which alone forgiveness is granted by God. The first indiscriminate indulgence was proclaimed by Urban II. (1100), to enlist soldiers for the delivery of the Holy Land, and the example was followed in the subsequent crusades. The value and extent of those remissions were not very closely scrutinised ; the theoretical view is that the crusaders were dispensed from any act or term of penance, which might happen to be enjoined to them, in consideration of their devoting their persons and substance to the liberation of Christ's sepulchre from infidels. There is no doubt, however, that acts of penance were now generally re-

garded, not simply as evidences of repentance, but as meritorious works atoning for sin, and cancelling the penalty with God. It followed that a crusade, which was of such worth as to compensate for all and every act of penance, must avail with God for the forgiveness of every kind of sin. It was a meritorious work, to be reckoned in the other world against the crimes and debaucheries which defiled the crusader in this. This was the practical view, whatever might be the doctrine of divines, and it was this view which made indulgences popular. Innocent III. extended the expedient to the crusade against the Albigenses: the cause of Christ was better served by exterminating his enemies in Christendom than in foreign parts. After this, Boniface granted an indulgence to all who should visit the shrines of the apostles at the jubilee; and, finally, it became an ordinary instrument for raising money, the condition being simply a contribution to some holy work which the pope desired to promote.

In the year 1517 Leo, being in want of funds to carry on the building of St. Peter's, issued a plenary indulgence to all who should contribute. The indulgences were committed, that is to say farmed out, to bishops and other speculators, who paid the pope a sum beforehand, and then sent their agents round to sell the privilege to the public. In Saxony, the pope's sister Magdalene, having obtained the contract, employed a gentleman of Milan, named Arembaud (afterwards an archbishop), as her agent. Under him, a Dominican friar, named John Tetzel, was employed to retail the spiritual wares. Tetzel set up a great red cross in the churches, and summoned the faithful by beat of drum to his money-table. If they had committed the grossest sin that could be imagined—and his language was as foul as his life—an indulgence would blot it out in a moment.

He had saved more souls by these little charms than St. Peter by his preaching or his keys. Their virtue extended to the dead, as well as the living: they had only to contribute in the name of a deceased friend, and the moment the money clinked in his coffer, the effect was felt in the deepest caverns of purgatory, and the soul flew up to heaven.¹

That Tetzal grossly exaggerated the doctrine of the Church, was doubtless the first conviction of the young Augustinian, who listened in shame and anger to this impudent declamation. Luther vowed to make a hole in the friar's drum; but when he entered on the controversy the hole extended much farther than he expected. The impudent hawker had church-warrant for every one of his puffs. The merit of religious performances, and consequently of indulgences, had long been declared applicable to souls in purgatory. Beginning with simple prayers for the departed in Christ, the Church of Rome had gone on to "saying mass" for them; the mass had become a sacrifice extended, by the communion of the saints, beyond the grave; it procured remission of sins to quick and dead. By parity of reasoning, whatever remitted sins was as efficacious for one as the other; and as it was easy to purchase two or more "plenary" indulgences, it was obvious that the superfluity might be made over to some poor soul in purgatory, who had no money to buy for himself. This charitable substitution was expressly authorised in the terms of Leo's bull; but why (demanded Luther), since the pope is so powerful, does he not deliver all the souls in purgatory at once, out of his own charity, instead of making their friends bring them out by dribblets? This question was never answered.

¹ Tetzal was convicted of adultery and sentenced to death by the emperor, but spared on the intercession of the elector of Saxony.

At Rome the difficulty was to define the groundwork of the indulgence itself. All who held to the primitive use denied it any effect beyond the relaxation of church discipline. Others, objecting that such relaxations would be injurious instead of beneficial to the soul, if the sin remained unforgiven, maintained the absolution must confer real remission of sins. Still (as some added) it was conditional on true repentance, and moreover to be followed by voluntary satisfaction, by way of compensation to the Divine justice. This, however, plainly took away all the value of the indulgence, since true repentance would be equally efficacious without it. Hence the doctrine of the communion of the saints was pressed into the question, to give the destitute a share in the merits of the more advanced. The Church was held to be a general treasury of all good works, of which the dispensing was committed to the pope, and, for fear the balance should not be equal to his drafts, the merits of Christ were thrown in as infinite. This last, however, was dangerous ground, and the casuist had to walk warily. It was asked how infinite merit could admit of addition? why it was not equal to the deliverance of all the souls in purgatory at one moment, instead of needing to be eked out by papal bulls and pecuniary collections? These, again, were questions which Rome has never answered. While repeating a creed which places the great privilege of Christianity in remission of sins, the Church of Rome has no definite answer to the sinner's demand, "What shall I do to be saved?"

Leo was a magnificent, refined, and luxurious prince, fond of art and literature, but ignorant of theology, and without a vestige of piety.¹ Luther's expostulations

¹ He would have been a perfect pontiff, writes Fra Paolo, if to his other

afforded food for merriment to the parasites and jesters with whom the pope spent his private hours. He handed the honest friar, and his ninety-five propositions, over to his legate, with instructions to silence him either by threats or bribes. When both failed, he decided (like Pliny in the case of the primitive Christians) that authority must at all events be upheld. In a brief dated 9th November 1518, the pope declared himself invested with the power of remitting all sins by the sacrament of penance, and all punishments by means of indulgences. This doctrine he ordered to be universally taught and received on pain of excommunication. Luther appealed to a General Council; this was the standing form of defying the papacy. The pope was not slow at his weapon. In a bull dated 15th June 1520, Leo condemned ninety-one propositions as heresy, and ordered Luther to retract them within sixty days, on pain of being dealt with as a heretic. This, too, was in due form; the next step was to prepare the fagot and fire.

Here, however, the Saxon monk determined to be beforehand with his opponents. Remembering, perhaps, how pope Paschal excommunicated his bull, instead of himself, Luther adopted a similar vicarious revenge, and on the 10th December 1520 startled the disciples of Rome by publicly committing Leo's bull, with the whole volume of Decretals, to the flames at Wittenberg. This daring act was a violation of all rule. It amounted to a repudiation of the pope, and secession from Rome, the boasted centre of Christian unity. It was the inauguration of the Protestant Reformation.

qualities he had united some knowledge of religion, and a little more inclination to piety, but he had no great love of either."—History of the Council of Trent, i. 4. Leo's panegyrist does not care to contradict this statement. Though an archbishop before he was a man, his licentiousness was atrocious. That he patronised Raphael and the fine arts is but a poor set-off in a Christian bishop.

The pope, roused at last to active indignation, resorted as usual to the secular arm. The emperor Charles v. was the most powerful monarch of the age, and a bigoted papist. The elector of Saxony, however, refused to surrender his subject to the tender mercies of the apostolical see, and Charles was obliged to grant him a fair hearing before the imperial Diet at Worms.¹ Luther presented himself at the appointed time, undismayed by the fate of Huss. The precedent of Constance was repeated. The monk owned his books, disclaimed misinterpretations, but refused to retract unless convinced by Scripture and sound reason. The papists insisted on submission to the Church: they even pressed the emperor to violate his safe conduct, but Charles was not a Sigismund; he returned the memorable reply, that Honour should retain its sway in the breasts of kings, though it were banished from all the world beside. Luther departed in safety, but the elector, knowing what was at hand, caused him to be seized by a masked party, who bore him to the castle of Wartenburg, where he lay concealed from his persecutors.

The precaution was not unnecessary. Hitherto the state of politics had befriended the monk. The pope had deeply offended the emperor, first by opposing his election to the empire, and then by deserting to the French, when their arms were prevailing in Italy. Leo had now reverted to the imperialists, and the emperor was ready to put down his opponents. An

¹ Charles succeeded his grandfather Maximilian in the empire A.D. 1519. He was archduke of Austria and the Netherlands, and wore the crown of the Two Sicilies, besides that of "Spain and the Indies," ruling at the same time in Vienna, Brussels, Valladolid, Saragoza, and Naples. The electors of Germany, however, knew their rights, and Frederick of Saxony, who had refused the imperial crown in order to consolidate the power of Christendom under Charles, against the Turks then threatening its eastern boundary, was not the man to quail before a despot.

edict came out which inhibited the new opinions as dangerous heresy, and placed Luther and his adherents under the ban of the empire (1521). Leo was baulked of the triumph by his sudden death, and his place, to the great disappointment of the cardinal Wolsey, was filled by the emperor's tutor, Adrian, once a poor charity-boy at Utrecht, whom the late emperor Maximilian had promoted to the bishopric of Tortosa.

The election of a stranger who had never seen Rome, and was wholly unknown to the rest of the Sacred College, was attributed to inspiration: but the personal friendship of an emperor is an inspiration of no uncommon character. Adrian VI. was certainly not a pope to the taste of the Roman court. Beginning by retaining his baptismal appellation, he expelled the whole tribe of poets and wits from the apostolical palace, and reduced the luxurious table of Leo to ecclesiastical simplicity. To his poor relations, who came flocking out of Flanders to share the spoils after the accustomed rule, he presented a suit of clothes with money to pay their passage home again; exhorting them to be content with the lot that God had awarded them. He created but one cardinal, and canonised only one saint; the latter Luther denounced as "the new idol and the new devil set up at Misnia." His epitaph, composed by himself, declared that "he found nothing in life more unhappy than to govern." Another, which might be thought the epitaph of the Church, proclaimed that "piety was buried in the same grave." The Roman courtiers pronounced him an excellent clergyman, but a very poor pope.¹

Nevertheless, Adrian was as anxious as any of the cardinals to check the progress of Luther. That

¹ *Giovio in Vita Had. vi.*

reformation was needed, he frankly admitted ; but law must first be enforced against heretics. Luther was as bad as Mohammed ; he was a cancer to be cut out and cauterised ; he was Dathan and Abiram, and since the earth would not open her mouth and swallow him up, the German princes were exhorted to deal with him as their famous ancestors had dealt with Huss and Jerome. The elector of Saxony received a letter filled with objurgations. Charlemagne and pope Adrian had reclaimed the Saxons from idolatry, and Charles and pope Adrian would save them from heresy, in spite of his infatuated and diabolical blindness. If the elector did not repent, everlasting burnings awaited him hereafter, and even in this world he should feel the edge of either sword, the apostolical and the imperial.

The pope had studied neither Luther nor the Bible, and did not know that others were wiser than himself. The Diet of Nuremberg rejected his appeal without a dissentient voice. They sent him a "hundred grievances," resolving that no one should be hindered in preaching the word of God, till the Council which Adrian promised should assemble. The cardinals were less gratified at the pope's abuse of Luther than incensed at his admission that any reformation was required. They told him he was ruining the Church, that heresy must be nipped in the bud, and rebellion be encountered by submission first, and reform afterwards. If they had prevailed, they would have said that, as there was no longer any discontent, there was no occasion for reform.

Meantime, Zwingle was conducting in Switzerland a similar work to Luther's in Saxony. He had preached evangelical doctrines as early, perhaps earlier, than the Augustine friar ; and the Alpine peasantry, who used to think it glory to fight the pope's battles, began to stay

at home. The senate of Zurich declared itself on the side of the Bible. The pope wrote a flattering letter in January 1523, offering him good preferment, but Zwingle proceeded the same year, in company of two other commissioners, with authority from the senate, to destroy the images. "Of all the wooden gods (he reported) not one had the virtue of resisting the flames. A miraculous stone virgin which, according to the Church, had returned to Altenbach after several removals, and was by no force to be kept away from its convent, was induced, by our persuasions, to move, and stranger still, it has never returned!" The next year they dissolved the monasteries. Then Zwingle, who was a priest though not a monk, took a wife. In April 1525, the mass was abolished, and the communion administered in both kinds. The same year witnessed the publication of a large portion of Luther's version of the Bible in the Swiss dialect. Before that, Adrian was in his grave, having consumed his brief pontificate¹ in endeavours, equally fruitless, to appease the differences in the Church, and to unite the Christian princes in defence of Europe against the Turks, now masters of Belgrade and Rhodes.

Clement VII. was another of the De' Medici.² Precluded from the priesthood by the canonical impediment of illegitimate birth, he entered the military order of St. John, and carried its standard at the coronation of his cousin Leo. The same day, while yet in his armour, the pope made him archbishop of Florence, and soon after cardinal and chancellor of the Roman church, having legitimised his birth by pontifical decree. In this office he transacted most of the public business; and by

¹ Elected 9th January 1522, crowned 30th August, died 14th Sept. 1523.

² He was a posthumous and illegitimate son of the Julian who was murdered in the conspiracy of Sixtus IV.

now making it over to cardinal Colonna, with a magnificent palace, he purchased his support in the pontifical election. Clement began by disowning the imperial alliance against the French king—declaring that it behoved the common father of Christendom to be neutral in its unhappy dissensions. His real design was to prevent either monarch from becoming too powerful. When the French king had repossessed himself of Milan, Clement opened negotiations, which were unexpectedly interrupted by the defeat and capture of Francis in the battle of Pavia, 25th February 1525.¹

This imperial victory alarmed all Italy. The pope at once formed a confederation with the States of Venice, Florence, and Milan, for their common protection. Of this holy league Henry VIII. of England accepted the protection. When Francis obtained his liberation, the pope absolved him from the hard conditions to which he had sworn, and received him into the alliance. To Clement the emperor was a greater object of terror than the Reformers. The imperialist party at Rome, however, headed by the Colonnas, were incensed at his perfidy. They attacked the Vatican, and Clement fled into the castle. A capitulation followed, which the pope set aside as soon as he was at liberty, and carried fire and sword into the territories of his opponents. He was interrupted by a more formidable master of this bloody game: the duke of Bourbon suddenly appeared before Rome with the imperial army, demanding free passage to Naples. Being refused, he attacked the suburbs next day, but fell by a shot from an arquebus. The imperialists, under the command of the prince of Orange,

¹ The French lost 80,000 men in this famous combat. The king of Navarre was also taken prisoner. Francis wrote to his mother, "Madam, all is lost but honour." The imperial army was commanded by the duke of Bourbon.

assaulted the walls with the utmost fury, and the same evening they became masters of the city (6th May 1527). No heathen or barbarian sack of Rome was ever attended by greater atrocities than were now perpetrated by the troops of his Apostolic and Catholic Majesty. The Spaniards behaved worse than the Germans.¹ Plunder and violence raged without restraint, while the pope lay a helpless prisoner in his fortress.

The emperor receiving the intelligence at Madrid affected the deepest concern. He stopped the rejoicings for his son's birth, put on mourning, and ordered public prayers for the Holy Father's liberation. Nevertheless, Charles took care to keep him a close prisoner, till he had exacted a large sum of money, with several Roman cities, and hostages for his future behaviour. These dissensions between the chief of the Church and the chief of the State enabled the Reformers not only to resist the execution of the edict of Worms, but to extend their religious securities.

They were equally befriended by the disturbances in the east. The Turks, whose advances had been neglected, crossed the Christian frontier and seized on a large portion of Hungary. King Louis II., the last of the Jaghellons, with the flower of his nobility, fell in the fatal battle of Mohatz, 29th August 1526. Buda, the key of Christendom, passed to the Moslems, and the vaivode of Transylvania accepted a tributary crown at their hands. The diet of Presburg conferred the elective crowns of Bohemia and Hungary on the archduke Ferdinand, the emperor's brother and vicar, but to stay the progress of Solyman it was indispensable to unite the resources of Germany, and for that purpose to come

¹ The Germans being mostly Protestants, destroyed the works of art which they detested as idolatrous. The Spaniards were mere butchers and ruffians.

to an understanding with the reforming princes and cities. The Turk himself was thus made to minister in the propagation of evangelical truth. From the university of Wittenberg, whither Luther had returned, his emissaries penetrated all Germany. His doctrines gained the ear of the people: they were openly embraced by some of the principal cities, and four or five considerable princes. In many places the monks and nuns renounced their vows, the forsaken monasteries were suppressed by the local authorities, the mass was abolished, and the communion in both kinds restored. Luther compiled a liturgy in the vernacular language, which was observed throughout Saxony by the elector's authority; it was no longer a party but a National Church that confronted and defied the Roman See.

In vain its adherents urged the execution of the edict of Worms. The diet at Spire (18th April 1524) could only (after a severe struggle) carry a mixed decree which satisfied neither side. A papal league, signed at Ratisbon, was met by the antagonistic league of Smalcald two years after. The elector of Saxony dying 5th May 1525, was succeeded by a yet more evangelical reformer in his brother John. A month after Luther astonished and scandalised the world by the marriage of a monk with a nun.¹ The respect still attached to vows of celibacy made his friends tremble, while the papists expected a universal reprobation both of the man and his doctrine. Yet no perceptible check was experienced to the cause, and in now commenting on an act of which the two parties were the only proper judges, it should be remembered that both had long before publicly repudiated their unscriptural

¹ Erasmus alludes to a vulgar legend that anti-Christ was to be the child of a monk and a nun: but of such anti-Christ (he observes) there were some thousands in the world before Luther married.

vows, as well as the false authority which imposed them, and that twenty years of domestic happiness crowned their union.

A far more serious matter was the war of the peasants, which, like the English riots in the time of Wiclif, were charged on the evangelical movement. There was so much truth in the charge, as that every righteous reform encourages the hope of others, and every work of darkness has reason to tremble at any beam that penetrates the gloom. The abuses fostered in the State, under the perverted views encouraged by the Roman Church, were second only to those in the Church. The people were everywhere shamefully oppressed, in most parts reduced to actual servitude. The circulation of the Bible with its reiterated appeals to conscience, and the courageous example of the evangelical preachers, encouraged the exercise of private judgment, in temporals no less than spirituals. The discontent was exasperated by religious persecution, and with the terrible proofs of sacerdotal immorality now flooding the public mind, it is not surprising that a peasantry, systematically kept in ignorance, should rise against their tyrants in Church and State together. Similar rebellions had occurred before Luther, but Luther was so far from sympathising with rebellion that he called for measures of repression absolutely inhuman.

The rebellion was headed by Munzer, a dangerous fanatic, who hurled his denunciations at Luther as fiercely as at the pope. He called on the people to exterminate their rulers, as the Israelites treated the people of Canaan; and numbers of his followers fell without resistance, as they stood singing hymns, in expectation of the celestial succours he had promised them.

During these disturbances Frederick of Saxony died,

and was succeeded by his brother John, a still more decided reformer than himself. He was joined by Philip, landgrave of Hesse, and the princes of Prussia, Brandenburg, Lauenburg, and some others, with the elector palatine. A resolution was agreed upon at Salfield (A.D. 1528), to use their utmost exertions for the glory of God, and the doctrine conformable to his word, of justification through faith. On the other hand, Charles summoned a diet to enforce the edict of Worms, and fulfil his engagements with the pope; but the attitude of the princes, and the advance of the Turks, compelled him to be cautious.

The discovery of a conspiracy for the secret destruction of the reformers drove them into still closer alliance. A book of doctrines and ceremonies, drawn up by Luther, was published by the elector's authority, in Saxony. At last, the states of the empire assembling at Spires (A.D. 1529), the reformers, after much discussion, presented the memorable *protest*, which gave a name to the evangelical movement throughout Europe.¹ This celebrated document bore the signatures of six princes and the deputies of fourteen imperial cities. It charged all the disorders of the empire on the notorious abuses in the Church, declared the pontifical mass to be tainted with impiety, and asserted the great doctrine that scripture was the true interpreter of scripture. The subscribers appealed from the diet to the emperor, or a free council, and having delivered in their manifesto, departed to their respective states and cities.

The Protest gave the utmost umbrage to the emperor,

¹ The word *Protestant* is not found in any formulary of the Church of England, but it is freely adopted in the statute-law, and by all historians and divines. It was unhesitatingly accepted by Bishops Andrewes, Cosin, and Laud, and is the official designation of the Episcopal Churches in Scotland and the United States.

who conceived his own authority, no less than the pope's, to be concerned in subduing this audacious minority. He hastened to conclude his differences with the pope, and cemented the alliance by the marriage of his natural daughter, Margaret of Austria, with Clement's kinsman, Alexander de' Medici. The treaty stipulated for the reduction of the pope's native republic, the transfer of Florence to Alexander, the restoration of Naples to the emperor, and of some other places to the pope. Finally, both were to put forth all their powers for the suppression of heresy.

This treaty concluded, Charles proceeded into Italy to receive the imperial crown. To be nearer Germany, he induced the pope to meet him at Bologna, where the ceremony was performed in great state, 24th Feb. 1530. It seems that a singular regulation required the emperor to be in holy orders: accordingly, before the coronation, Charles was ordained deacon, and arrayed in the surplice and amice of a canon of St. Peter and St. John Lateran. In this capacity he served the mass, which was celebrated by the pope. Having resumed the imperial mantle, brought from Constantinople, the emperor knelt before the pope, who presented him with a naked sword, charging him to use it for the defence of the Church against her enemies.¹ When the crown had been placed on his head, the emperor kissed the white cross embroidered on Clement's scarlet slipper, and exclaimed, "I swear ever to employ my utmost power in defence of the pontifical dignity and the Church of Rome." The two sovereigns were then seated on the same dais, the papal chair being six inches higher than the imperial.²

Proceeding into Germany, the emperor held a diet

¹ Compare Matt. xxvi. 52, xxviii. 19.

² D'Aubigne Hist. de la Reformation, xiv. 2.

at Augsburg (A.D. 1530), which was preceded by a mass, at which the elector of Saxony, as grand marshal of the empire, was bound to attend his sovereign. John complied, by the advice of his divines, after much hesitation ; but he disappointed the papists by remaining on his feet, with the sword borne aloft, while the emperor prostrated himself at the elevation of the Host. It was mainly on this pious and sagacious prince that the weight of the contest now rested. He had left Luther at Coburg on account of the unbridled fierceness of his tongue ; and Melancthon, who accompanied him, was perpetually weakening the cause by an over-eagerness to conciliate opponents. Between these extremes the elector pursued a firm, consistent course, sustained by daily reading the Psalms, with fervent prayer, in his chamber. He was warmly seconded by the younger princes. "Rather would I renounce my subjects and my estates," exclaimed the prince of Anhalt, "and leave my fatherland with only a staff in my hand—rather would I gain my bread as a shoeblack, than receive any other doctrine than this confession." The margrave of Brandenburg told the emperor that, before he would allow the Word of God to be taken from him, he would kneel at his feet and let him strike off his head. Charles, who spoke no German, was moved at the vivacity of his looks and gesture. He heard the same language from all : they would do nothing in religion against their conscience. The impetuous young landgrave of Hesse sent the emperor as a present a richly-bound Summary of Faith, which threw his Spanish prelates into an ecstasy of fury. Nor should we omit the language of the honest burgher Franentrant, who, in laying the protest before Charles, said that every one must give account to the Supreme Judge, not to creatures changing with the wind. "Better fall into the worst cruelties of man," he added,

“than risk the vengeance of God. Our people will not obey decrees which are not founded on the Holy Scriptures. Princes have no right to constrain their subjects to sin.”

Charles, though the most accomplished and gracious prince of the age, was a despot and a bigot. Liberty, civil or religious, was hateful to the king of the kings of Europe. “His imperial majesty (said king Ferdinand, his mouthpiece) must be obeyed.” The Protestants determined to obey God. With great difficulty they procured a confession of their faith, drawn up by Melancthon, and approved by Luther, to be solemnly read in the diet. It was the first formal expression of the Protestant creed, and, as the elector insisted on its being read in German, it produced a powerful impression on all who heard it. The Reformation had been so grossly maligned by the papists, that many were surprised to hear the “heretics” confess their belief in God, in Christ, the sacraments, and a future life.

The confession consisted of twenty-eight articles, of which the first twenty-one were devoted to the profession of faith. After laying down the articles of the trinity, incarnation, original sin, and atonement, it proceeded to assert justification by faith only, and the relation of grace and works; then followed the doctrine of the one Church, in the communion of all saints, and of the word and sacraments. The Lord’s Supper was defined according to Luther’s teaching, to the exclusion of Zwingle’s: for after the conference of Marburg, where these two reformers failed to agree, the doctor of Wittenburg vehemently rejected all comprehension of the sacramentarians.¹ The eighteenth article asserted the

¹ The word *consubstantiation* does not occur in this confession, nor is it ever admitted by Lutheran divines. The article simply says that

necessity of the Holy Spirit to work the righteousness of God, and the twenty-first, the mediation of Christ only as our true priest and intercessor with God. Seven articles were devoted to abuses requiring immediate reform. They were: The retrenchment of the cup, compulsory celibacy, the expiatory sacrifice of the mass, the enumeration of sins in confession, meat fasts, monastic vows, and the temporal power of the bishops. It was added that indulgences, pilgrimages, excommunications, and many other abuses, might be specified, but there was no desire to extend the catalogue.

The confession of Augsburg, singularly enough, is silent on the subject of the papacy. To Luther, as to Wiclif, the pope was anti-Christ. Melancthon, however, was willing to admit his primacy, as a human ordinance, provided he would be ruled by the Gospel. His morbid anxiety for peace kept him from touching a point which was certain to prove unmanageable could all else be arranged. Luther probably foresaw the rejection of all their articles at Rome, and was therefore the easier reconciled to the omission.

The confession was presented by the same princes, and by part of the cities, who had before subscribed the protest; but Philip of Hesse excepted to the article on the Lord's Supper as too exclusive, desiring to com-

“in the Lord's Supper the body and blood of the Lord are truly present, and distributed to those who eat.” The German copies add, “under the species of bread and wine.” Zwingle conceived that the bread and wine were simply efficacious signs, which excited a lively faith to appropriating Christ's presence in the heart. Wide as they thought this diversity, both were really on one side of a great controversy, and the Church of Rome on the other. The papists always insisted on the *absence of the substance of bread and wine*. This was their test. Luther and Zwingle, on the other hand, both attributed the value of the sacrament to Christ Himself received through *faith*. They differed on the *modus operandi*; but both appealed to Scripture as the sole rule of truth, and so gave their hearers the liberty which they took to themselves.

prehend the sacramentaries. No sooner was it read, than Herman, electoral archbishop of Cologne, gave it his adhesion, and resolved to introduce it into his electorate. Frederick, the Count Palatine, and some other princes, followed his example. The bishop of Augsburg acknowledged its orthodoxy: "This is all true, and we cannot deny it." "I have no objection to his proposals," said the archbishop of Salzburg, "but I cannot submit to be reformed by a paltry monk." Charles himself, with the staunchest adherents of the papacy, were for granting the double communion and the marriage of the clergy; but the orders from Rome, incessantly repeated by the legate, insisted on "no reform." A violent refutation of the confession was delivered in by Faber and Eck. The emperor refused to receive the protestant rejoinder, and, after numerous conferences, the diet broke up with an edict to restore the papal obedience throughout Germany, placing all dissentients under the ban of the empire.

The Roman Catholic princes signed a league for the execution of this decree; the Protestants responded by a league of mutual defence. War was imminent, when a movement of the Turks against Austria compelling the emperor to ask for subsidies, the Protestants refused to furnish them while in peril themselves. Charles was again obliged to temporise: finally it was agreed to refer all further proceedings with respect to religion to the decision of a free council. This concession, signed at Ratisbon, 2d August 1532, was the first legal recognition of the principle of toleration. It alarmed the pope beyond measure. A general council might question his legitimacy: there was nothing it might not question. He demanded conditions which he knew to be impossible. He entered into a secret negotiation with Francis I. of France: but Francis, though hating

protestantism as much as the pope, was encouraging the protestants, in order to harass his rival Charles. These complications postponed the council; but they postponed also the war against protestantism, and the Reformation continued its career without check.

If Zwingle had gone beyond Luther, Calvin was more anti-papal than Zwingle. His teaching rooted itself in Switzerland, and made a great impression throughout the west of Europe. In England, too, the flame was spreading fast. As early as 1525, Wolsey warned the Court of Rome that every county would soon become Lutheran. The king, indeed, was a greater papist than the pope: he was personally attached to Clement, and sent him supplies while besieged in his castle; but Henry was furious on the divorce question. Clement would have granted his wish without hesitation, but feared the emperor, who was Katharine's nephew, and would not allow her child to be deprived of the succession. A general council would be sure to set aside the dispensation of Julius II., as contrary to the Levitical degrees and the canons of the Church, and so cancel the marriage. But, in every point of view, a council was formidable to Rome; hence the pope temporised and delayed till Henry's patience was exhausted, and England was irretrievably lost.

A good accord between the crown and the pope, at this moment, might have crushed the opening germs of inquiry in this country, as easily as in Italy, Spain, and Austria; but a gracious Providence kept its opponents apart till their reconciliation was too late. Henry was advised to rest his cause on the incompetency of the pope to dispense with the prohibitions of God's word written. This was, in effect, the main question between Rome and the Protestants. The universities and learned bodies of Europe declared

against the dispensation. The king then demanded sentence, not of divorce but of nullity of marriage, in the ecclesiastical court of his own realm. The archbishop of Canterbury, as metropolitan, was bound to pronounce it, and then, to prevent a reversal at Rome, parliament, like the African Church of the fourth century, prohibited appeals beyond sea.

This proceeding was a renunciation of papal usurpations, but not necessarily a separation from the Church of Rome. The nation was still ignorant and bigoted; the king, furious against Luther, and confident in his own theology, was inflated by the most extravagant conceptions of royal authority. He supposed himself quite able to act the pope in his own dominions. In this presumption he authorised the circulation of the Bible, and when it began to bear fruit, burned protestant and papist at the same stake. By this time, however, the cause was out of the hand of either king or pope. "The Word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied, and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith."¹ Mary, whose legitimacy was bound up in the cause of the papacy, could indeed bribe a packed parliament to a reconciliation with Rome by a promise (never meant to be kept) of retaining the church lands. The truth, however, had taken root too deeply to be consumed in the flames of Smithfield; they only added to the national conversion that peculiar horror and distrust, with which the papacy has ever since been justly regarded in this country.

Meantime the Reformation advanced, with equal or greater rapidity, in Switzerland and Scandinavia. The mass was abolished at Geneva in 1535, and at

¹ Acts vi. 7.

Lausanne the year after. The bishops fled, and the papacy lost its most valued recruiting ground for ever. Denmark and Norway went next. Christian III. proclaimed the protestant religion at Copenhagen (1537), replacing the bishops by "superintendents," ordained by Luther's friend and disciple, John Bugenhagen. Iceland, Sweden, and the eastern coast of the Baltic followed in a few years.

The countries politically attached to the papacy could not resist the general infection. In France, the spread of evangelical views among the educated classes was such as to arouse the alarm of the king, who, in spite of his alliance with the German reformers, was a bitter persecutor. In 1535, Francis walked in procession through the streets of Paris, bareheaded with a torch in his hand, and further to purify his capital, committed six Lutherans to the flames. Many fugitives took refuge in Switzerland, thereby materially aiding the cause of truth in that country. Charles's hereditary dominions, Spain, Austria, and the Netherlands, harboured disciples: all the power of the papacy could not exclude them from Italy itself. The literary societies, formerly tainted with the infidelity in fashion at the court of Leo, felt the new power of the Bible.

Not a few of the leading men at Rome had long seen, with Adrian VI., that extensive reforms were needed in the church. Contarini, Sadolet, Giberto, Caraffa—who all became cardinals, and the last pope—with many others, established a meeting for spiritual exercises in the Oratory of Love. Contarini wrote a treatise on justification, entirely agreeing with the doctrine of Luther; yet Pole, who had fled from England to avoid the royal reformation, spoke of this book in the highest praise. "You have brought to light (he wrote) a jewel which the church kept half concealed." One of the number de-

scribes the gospel as “no other than the blessed tidings that the only begotten Son of God, clad in our flesh, hath made satisfaction for us to the justice of the eternal Father. He who believes this enters into the kingdom of God, he enjoys the universal pardon; from a carnal he becomes a spiritual creature, from a child of wrath a child of grace; he lies in a sweet peace of conscience.” This was the doctrine stigmatised as Lutheranism at Rome, though it was unquestionably the teaching of Augustine, Ambrose, and Bernard. “It is necessary (says the latter) to believe that thou canst have remission of sins only by the mercy of God; next, that thou canst have no good work in thee unless He gives it thee; lastly, that thou canst never attain to eternal life by any works, but only by His free gift of it. Yet neither is this enough, but only the beginning and foundation of the faith. . . . Believe also this: that thine own sins are forgiven by Him, for He himself forgives thy sins, and confers thy merits, and nevertheless grants them a reward.”¹

These opinions extended themselves, in spite of the Sacred College, through the literary circles of Italy. The sack of Rome, with the subjugation of Florence and Milan, drove their adherents to Venice, Padua, Modena, and even Naples. At the last they had a zealous advocate in the viceroy’s secretary Juan Valdez, the instructor of the Florentine monk Vermili, known to Protestant Europe as Peter Martyr. Valdez, or one of his disciples, was the author of a book on the “Benefit of Christ,” which was extensively circulated in Italy, Spain, France, and England, and incurred the special wrath of the Inquisition for “depreciating works as meritorious acts, and ascribing all merit to faith alone.”²

¹ Bern. in Ann. B. V. M. Sermon, i. 1, 3.

² These are the words of the process which condemned the tract.

It was proof of heresy to be even a reader of this little book,¹ and the power of the Inquisition was so effectively exerted for its destruction, that it was believed that not a single copy had been left to posterity. An old English translation, however, was reprinted by the Religious Tract Society in 1847; and, since then, two copies, in Italian and French, dated 1543 and 1552, presented by Dr. Ferrari of Naples to St. John's College Cambridge, have been reprinted.² Valdez possessed great influence among the nobility and the literary circles; his opinions were largely diffused among the middle classes, and wherever the new power of the press could be exerted. The Inquisition complained that three thousand schoolmasters were infected by the heresy.

The Italian reformers, though many sealed their confession with their blood, never contemplated actual separation from the Church of Rome, which then, even more than at present, stood in the place of religion itself to the bulk of their countrymen. Evangelical views had not yet received the formal condemnation of a council, nor been driven from the communion of the Holy See, by the Jesuits and the Inquisition. The hope of the Italians was to bring about a reconciliation between the church and the protestants, on an evangelical basis, and this idea was encouraged by the pope himself.

¹ Pietro Carnesecchi suffered on this charge in 1567, and Aonio Paleario (supposed by many to be the author of the book) in 1570.

² The editor, the Rev. C. Babington, supports the pretensions of Paleario to the authorship. Laderchius, the continuator of Baronius, assigns it to Valdez, and his name is connected with the authorship in the process against Carnesecchi. The question is fully discussed in the Rev. J. Ayre's Introduction to the Religious Tract Society's edition (1859). It is not improbable that there were *two* tracts, one by Valdez (perhaps in Latin), and an enlargement by Paleario in Italian.

Alexander Farnese, who succeeded Clement, by the title of Paul III., was a favourable specimen of the educated Roman of that age. Nothing warrants the belief that his heart was touched with genuine piety; his early years were even sullied by immorality. He was a man of the world, fond of elegant literature, and full of selfish ambition; but his vices occasioned little scandal, his manners were gracious and popular, and, when his own interest did not interfere, he could do a virtuous act with an air of religion. His first resolve was to fill the Sacred College with the most eminent men in the church, without respect to any consideration but merit. He began with Gaspar Contarini, and on his recommendation appointed Pole, Caraffa, and several others. The new cardinals were authorised to submit a scheme for the reform of the papacy; separate commissions were appointed for the Rota¹ and the Penitentiary. Contarini presented a report which went to place the papacy under the control of Scripture and reason. To subject the whole church to the will of one man, actively prone to evil and liable to numerous infirmities, was a slavery (it said) so gross as to justify the Lutherans in stigmatising it as the Babylonish captivity. The pope was exhorted to submit all to God and the common good. The good cardinal entertained the highest hopes from the "Christian manner" in which Paul received his labours.²

The pontiff responded with greater alacrity to the demand for a council. He liked the character and power of a mediator; and his greatest anxiety was to

¹ The supreme court of appeal for ecclesiastics; so called from the floor of the chamber where it sits being tessellated in the figure of a *wheel*. It was founded by John XXII., and is composed of twelve prelates of different nations, wearing the violet robe and cord.—*Morey's Dict.*

² Ranke.

stand well with the two great European monarchs, Charles and Francis, to both of whom he succeeded in allying his family by marriage, while he knew them to be actuated by a consuming jealousy of each other. Paul sent Contarini as nuncio to the emperor, and under his mediation an assembly of divines, papal and protestant, arrived at an agreement, which fully admitting the doctrine of justification by faith, was entirely satisfactory to Melancthon and Bucer. Luther, whose greatest failing was intolerance of other men's labours, ridiculed it as a patchwork combination of two creeds. He was all too zealously seconded at Rome. Caraffa, who had always opposed Contarini's doctrine, carried the bulk of the cardinals with him. The pope hesitated, unwilling either to approve or reject. Francis I. remonstrated with much warmth; the last thing he desired was the reunion of Germany. He affected great alarm for the faith: the pope and the church were in danger; their eldest son would defend them with his life. Charles's enemies in Germany supported the cry. The duke of Bavaria, the elector of Mentz, and the violent papists, wanted no accommodation. The moderate party were overborne, and Contarini's formula was rejected by the pope as well as by Luther.

Both, in fact, were equally averse to toleration. Neither would be satisfied with less than victory; and though they continued to appeal to a general council, each side required it to be so constituted as to secure the victory to itself. In the pope's idea, a general council could only be called by himself, and must proceed on a recognition of his supremacy in the church. To Luther this supremacy was the manifestation of Antichrist. What he meant by a free council was a synod of all orders, called by the emperor, and ruled only by the Word of God. Such a synod obviously

pre-supposed the abrogation of the papal supremacy. Discovering, at last, the impossibility of proceeding with his own reformation till the protestants were got out of the way, Paul told the emperor, at his visit to Rome in April 1535, that nothing but force remained. Charles assented, but still thought a council necessary to justify resort to the sword. Henceforth the destruction, not the reconciliation, of the protestants was the object in view.

Several places were named for the council, but the diet refusing to go out of Germany, the city of Trent was at last agreed upon. As the protestants steadily refused to attend, it was from the first nothing but a synod of the Roman obedience. The discussions were regulated at every point by orders from Rome. The legates who presided allowed no question to be mooted without the pope's previous sanction. Couriers were continually posting to and fro, and the wits of France wondered if the Spirit of Inspiration could be conveyed from the tombs of the apostles in a cloak-bag.

The council was not opened till the 13th December 1545, when the breach with England was complete by the bulls of excommunication fulminated against Henry on the 17th December, 1538. Consequently this kingdom was not even nominally represented in the synod, and is in no way bound by its decrees. Neither were its decrees waited for, to attack the German protestants. The emperor took the field against them early in 1546, and having defeated and taken prisoners both the elector and landgrave, he was master of all Upper Germany. These successes alarmed the pope, who never meant to augment the imperial power. He adjourned the council to Bologna, and soon came to an open rupture with Charles, for seizing Parma, which Paul had erected into a duchy for his son Pier Luigi. Suspecting the

emperor, further, of complicity in the young duke's assassination, the pope threw himself into the French cause with all the fury of revenge. He threatened to ally himself with the dey of Algiers and drive the Spaniards out of Naples. He would have every Spaniard in Rome assassinated. In the midst of his rage, he made the discovery that the grandsons, for whom he had sinned and suffered, were making their own terms with his enemy. This treachery broke his heart; the old man fell into a fatal passion, and died 10th November 1549, at 83 years of age, more beloved than many a better man. His nepotism, exceeding the usual average of the Vatican, had purchased great connections abroad. One grandchild was married to the emperor's natural daughter; a French prince of the blood aspired to the hand of another; a third was a cardinal. With all his disposition to reform, Paul suffered no abatement of papal prerogative. It was under this pope, so genial, popular, and in many respects tolerant, that its two most bloodthirsty agencies—Jesuitism and the Inquisition—took their rise.

The next pontiff, Julius III., gratified the emperor by the return of the council to Trent. The triumph of his arms induced some of the protestant princes to send ambassadors, and Charles began again to cherish the hope of a reconciliation. The illusion was quickly dispelled. Octavius Farnese, recovering Parma through the justice or the policy of Julius, invited the French to garrison it. Their appearance in Italy was the signal for fresh disturbances. They renewed negotiations with the German protestants; their troops advanced to the Rhine. At the same time, Maurice of Saxony entered the Tyrol, and, driving the emperor from Insbruck, narrowly missed taking him prisoner. While the legates at Trent were plotting to exclude the protestant dele-

gates from any real voice in the council, news arrived that the elector had taken the cause into his own hands. The bishops hastened away to their sees, and the legates prorogued the synod, which did not meet again for ten years. The fortune of war turning against Charles, the treaty of Passau (1552) closed the hostilities and secured to the protestant states liberty of religion, with the possession of the church benefices, and the right of admission, in due proportion, to the imperial chamber.

This completed the triumph of the Reformation in Germany. In England, it suffered a check by the death of Edward VI. Julius was comforted for the loss of Germany, by the humiliating spectacle of the English lords and commons, on their knees before his legate in Westminster Hall, imploring and receiving his absolution. The courtiers who thus sacrificed the spiritual fruits of the Reformation to the will of their queen, were less prodigal of its temporal profits. They stipulated so stoutly for the retention of the church lands, that cardinal Pole was obliged to concede the point; and though he told them it would be mortal sin to take advantage of the permission, it was immediately secured by act of parliament. The emperor had the gratification of seeing his cousin, with all her kingdom, formally reconciled to Rome, and her marriage consummated with his son Philip. This was the last gleam in the chequered lives both of pope and emperor. Julius died wallowing in infamous pleasures, 23rd March, 1555. A few months after, Charles voluntarily abdicated all his crowns, and withdrew, worsted and weary of life, to end his days in the convent of St. Just.

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS.

A.D.	EMPERORS.	POPPES.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	SPAIN AND NAPLES.	PORTUGAL.	ENGLAND.
1555	...	Paul IV.	...	Philip II., Naples.		
1556	Ferdinand	...	...	...	Sebastian.	
1557	
1558	Elizabeth.
1559	...	Pius IV.	Francis II.	...	...
1560	Charles IX.	...	...
1564	Maximilian II.	...	...	...	...
1566	...	Pius V.	...	...	...
1572	...	Gregory XIII.	...	...	...
1574	Henry III.	...	...
1578	Rodolph.	...	...	...	Henry I. (Cardinal)	
1578	{ Philip II. of Spain.	
1580	
1585	...	Sixtus V.	...	...	...
1589	Henry IV.	...	...

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PAPAL REACTION.

Cardinal Caraffa — Order of Theatins — Resistance of Evangelical Doctrine—Election and Death of Marcellus—Accession of Caraffa as Paul iv.—Reception of English Ambassadors—Excommunication of Elizabeth—Spanish Armada—Pope's quarrel with Spain—Political Disappointments—Ecclesiastical Reforms—The Inquisition—Death of Paul—Popular Rejoicings—Re-assembly of Council of Trent—Concordats—Its Dissolution—Church on a new basis—Tradition joined with Scripture—Doctrine of Justification—False Principles—Original Sin—Seven Sacraments—Transubstantiation—Adoration of the Host—Confession—Sacrifice of the Mass—Penance—Extreme Unction—Orders—Celibacy of the Clergy—Marriage and Divorce—Purgatory—Invocation of the Saints—Doctrine of Development—Heresy—Schism of the Papists—Questions of Discipline—Tumults—Compromises—Supremacy of the Pope in Spirituals—Limitation of Temporal Power—New Creed—Spread of the Reformation—Inquisition at Rome—Institution of the Jesuits—Subjugation of Conscience—Last Papal Crusade—Political Tactics—Germany and France—Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Conspiracies in England and Ireland—Sanguinary Results.

IF the prominence due to Luther in the Protestant Reformation, may be assigned to any individual in the papal reaction, it would be Giampietro Caraffa, the Neapolitan Dominican. Born of one of the most illustrious houses in Italy,¹ he was a man of earnest devotion and unblemished life, with an inflexible zeal for religion. Aiming always at the strictest spirituality, he was never known to make a compromise or a concession. His family interest

¹ The name is said to be derived from a valiant commander, who, in the wars of Otho, lost his life in saving the emperor's. His grateful master, beholding the dead body on the field, exclaimed, "*O cara fê*" (Oh! precious loyalty!), from which words the family adopted their name. The story adds that the emperor placed his hand on the heart of the warrior, and left the impression of his three fingers on the bloody corslet, whence the three bars in the shield of the Caraffas.

having obtained him, when young, a bishopric and an archbishopric, he resigned both to found the new order of *Theatins*, for the reformation of the clergy. These were priests, with the vows of a monk; they devoted themselves to preaching, visiting the sick, and carrying the sacrament to the dying. Instead of going about begging, they waited for alms, in simple faith, at home. Caraffa preached with a flow of vehement eloquence, which, together with his rank and piety, gave him an extraordinary influence with the upper classes. Contarini, with whom he was associated in the spiritual exercises of the Oratory, recommended him to Paul III., who made him cardinal, and archbishop of his native city. Charles, however, so dreaded his uncompromising principles, and the attachment of his family to French interests, that he never suffered him to sit in the state council, or to enjoy his preferment in peace.

As dean of the Sacred College, Caraffa's voice was ever loudest in the demand for ecclesiastical reform: he burned to see the Holy Roman Church restored to her primitive purity and power. So far he was cordially at one with his friend and benefactor, Gaspar Contarini. In doctrine, however, the two cardinals were on the opposite sides of the ridge which still divides the protestant from the popish waters. Caraffa was the first to object to Contarini's basis of reconciliation. As one of the presiding cardinals at Trent, he defended vigorously the dogma of *inherent* against *imputed* righteousness. Seeing the full force of the distinction, and the impossibility of effecting a reconciliation by argument or reform, he deliberately advocated the destruction of his opponents by the sword. The emperor's moderation he regarded as dictated by animosity to the pope. When asked for his own advice, it was *thorough*: he recommended to Paul III. the establish-

ment at Rome of a new Inquisition, on the Spanish model, and was himself the first president. He was heartily for reform, but it must be reform by authority, and the first step was the extirpation of all heretics.

On the death of Paul III. the influence in the conclave fell to the more religious party. They elected the hope and admiration of the times, Marcellus II.; and when death robbed them of him, on the twenty-second day of his pontificate, transferred the tiara to Caraffa. Conscious that he had never stooped to conciliate a single vote, the new pope, who took the name of Paul, regarded himself as chosen by God, more than by his brother cardinals. His first bull enunciated the object to which his elevation was dedicated—"We promise and swear to endeavour truly that the reform of the universal Church and of the Roman court be effected."¹

The character of the reforms in contemplation was no secret. The English ambassadors arriving the very day of his election, with the submission of the realm, Paul IV. refused to admit them, because Mary called herself queen of Ireland, in pursuance of an act passed in her father's reign, (1542) to erect that island into a kingdom. Paul had read that it belonged to the pope alone to create, confer, and take away kingdoms: he excluded the ambassadors until he had himself erected Ireland into a kingdom, and conferred the crown upon Mary. His next objection was to the condition respecting the church lands. Julius had exceeded his authority in entering into such a stipulation: the law of God and the church was imperative; so long as a foot of consecrated ground remained in lay hands, the holocausts of Smithfield were unavailing. The ambassadors perceived at once that this decision was destructive of the reconciliation. The queen stood alone in the wish to make

¹ Ranke, iii. 4.

restitution, and her scruples were too deeply dyed in blood to commend themselves to her subjects. Parliament was resolved to maintain the penalty of præmunire against all who should trouble the existing settlement of property, and the death of the unhappy queen, deserted by her husband, alienated from her sister, and detested by her once-loving subjects, closed the door against Rome for ever.

Paul IV. was not the man to part from us in peace. He hurled his anathema at Elizabeth in the spirit of a Hildebrand or a Lothaire; he cast her out of the church, took away her crown, absolved her subjects from the oath of allegiance, and gave the kingdom to whatever prince would conquer it. But (alas for Paul!) Elizabeth had a Church of her own, a hand to guard her crown, and a people who laughed at the pope's absolution. When the Spanish armada appeared to conquer the prize, Drake could finish his game at bowls before he went to disperse it, and the gallant Howard taught the pope how little his authority ought to weigh, even with a Romanist, against his honour, his sovereign, and his country.

Paul hated the Spaniards worse than the English; their attachment to his religious communion could not conquer the political dislike with which he viewed their ascendancy in Italy. His family had always supported the French in Naples, and Paul believed that France was the ally pointed out by nature and Providence for the defence of the Holy See. He longed to drive the Spaniards back to their own peninsula, and recover the golden days of Italian independence. These antipathies involved him in disputes, both with the brother and the son of Charles V., which ended in his own mortification. He refused to recognise Ferdinand's succession to the empire, because the resignation was not made to himself:

with Philip, who succeeded in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, he provoked a war which resulted in his own total discomfiture, and left the Spanish ascendancy more firmly established than ever. These political entanglements, which consumed the first half of Paul's pontificate, only served to delay the reforms he was so anxious to promote in the church, and to strengthen the protestant cause.

The pope's friends were equally disappointed to see him pursuing the old routine of nepotism, with as much ardour as if the idea of reform had never been broached. With all his piety, Paul clung to the temporal grandeur of the papacy as a primary requisite. One nephew he made a duke, another a marquis, a third a cardinal. Suddenly discovering the unworthiness of these favoured relatives, he banished them at once from his presence and his affections, and even pursued their families with the sentence of perpetual exile.

After proving, by these bitter experiences, the hollowness of the old secular papacy, Paul returned to his first ardour, and began to prosecute the ecclesiastical reforms by which he still hoped to reconquer the world. Resuming the long-neglected duties of the episcopate, the aged pope preached in a way to recall the memory of his youthful eloquence. He made the cardinals preach also; visiting the churches and correcting abuses with inflexible severity. Nor did he omit to put forth his terrible vigour for the suppression of heresy. The Inquisition was his favourite establishment. He made a point of attending its meetings, authorised it to apply torture to the suspected, and suffered no respect of persons to arrest the process. He even established the feast of St. Dominicus in honour of the first inquisitor. The Romans exclaiming under this unwonted discipline, some of the cardinals themselves were thrown into

prison, on suspicion of protestant tendencies. Rome was no safe residence for an inquiring spirit. The population, which numbered 80,000 under Leo x., sunk to 45,000, and the hunted flock had often sighed to be rid of its terrible pastor, when the stern old man expired, at the age of 83. Never was any death received with such indecent exultation. The populace tore down his statues, and kicked the triple-crowned heads about the streets; then, rushing to the Inquisition, they released seventeen hundred prisoners, and set fire to the building. Every monument with the name and arms of Caraffa was defaced.

This pope unquestionably laid the foundation on which alone the Latin communion could be partially reconstructed. His specious reforms and his repulsive severity were alike indispensable; for while the world was sick of the old abominations, it was impossible to admit liberty and inquiry without shaking the papacy to its foundations. Paul iv. was the last of the old imperial popes. The Hildebrand policy could never be revived. The dream of universal empire had been dissipated by the successful revolt of so many powerful states. The next pope perceived the necessity of placing the papacy itself under the protection of the sovereigns, whom it once affected to create and depose. Pius iv. reassembled the council of Trent, neither to recover nor to destroy the protestants, but simply to strengthen his own communion with the secular powers that still adhered to it. Austria, France, and Spain demanded reforms, which no pope can concede with safety to his own position. The question was how to put them off, without relinquishing his indispensable prerogatives. Not in the council, but by *concordats* with the several courts, were these difficulties adjusted. The council was chiefly used to enunciate anti-protestant

dogmas, which was the last thing desired by the princes : so that every one rejoiced when its sessions ended, on the 3rd December 1563. Pius confirmed all its definitions and decrees, taking care to assert that he was free to disallow them all, and reserving to the Holy See the all-important power of interpretation. The long pending dispute between the papacy and the church was thus brought to a conclusion. The Roman obedience was restored to peace within itself, but it was at the cost of cutting off the dissentients, and establishing a new basis, unknown to catholic antiquity. Up to this time the Latin church, while admitting many corruptions, had never formally repudiated vital truth. The Church of Rome was still contained in the Catholic Church. This position was now formally abandoned. The Council of Trent separated the papal communion from the common foundation, and precipitated it into schism. This was done, not only by excommunicating churches unquestionably orthodox, but by admitting rank heresy into its own fundamental definitions.

Contrary to the wish of the sovereigns, the pope determined to define the doctrines of the church before reforming its discipline. The council began with the rule of faith ; and though in all the primitive councils nothing but Holy Scripture was recognised in that character, it was now decreed that equal regard is due to the books of the Old and New Testaments (including the Apocrypha), and to the unwritten traditions received by the apostles from the mouth of Jesus Christ, and delivered, under the dictation of the Holy Ghost, from hand to hand to the church of the present day. It was assumed that the existing doctrine of Rome was in accordance with such traditions, and as the pope was constituted interpreter of every doubt, he was thus enabled to pronounce any dogma divine without

possibility of appeal. This was in effect to equal the word of man with the word of God, and subvert the chief foundation of Christianity. The decree did not pass without opposition. The bishop of Chiozza contended that everything necessary to salvation was written in the Bible; but the immense majority was against him. A second decree declared the Roman Vulgate to be authentic scripture, though at the same time a new and more exact edition was ordered to be prepared. Thus a translation notoriously imperfect was placed on equality with, if not above, the original,¹ which alone can pretend to the authority of inspiration.

Having thus tampered with the standard of faith, the council proceeded to its most important article. Justification by faith only was the foundation of the whole body of Protestant doctrine. This was clearly perceived by the Roman divines; accordingly, all their learning was tasked to produce another definition. The result was an elaborate treatise, of sixteen chapters, on grace, in which the council declared that justification consists, not in the remission of sins only, but in sanctification also. It has five causes—the *final*, which is the glory of God and

¹ The Roman Vulgate was not even a homogeneous translation. The Psalter was revised by Jerome, from the old Latin Vulgate, which was a version *from the Septuagint*, made in Africa by some unknown hand, in the second century. The other canonical books of the Old Testament (with Judith and Tobit), were an original translation by Jerome from the Hebrew; the remainder were from the old Latin Vulgate, *unrevised*. The New Testament was the old Latin, revised by Jerome. The printed texts at the time of the council were Mazarin's (1455), and the Complutensian Bible (1502—17), but neither was satisfactory, and the new edition ordered by the council did not appear till forty-five years after its dissolution; so that this assembly really gave the authority of Scripture to something not yet in existence. Nor did the absurdity end there. The Sixtine edition (1590), which first claimed the submission of the Church under this decree, was so erroneous that Clement VIII. issued an improved version (1592); yet *both* were invested with absolute authority over the conscience by "the fulness of apostolic power" in those two popes!

eternal life ; the *efficient*, which is God ; the *meritorious*, which is Christ ; the *instrumental*, which is the sacrament ; and the *formal*, which is the righteousness given by God to each, according to the good pleasure of the Holy Ghost. A belief in the forgiveness of our sins is not justifying faith ; every one must remain, to the end of life, in doubt whether he is justified or not. The just are justified more and more by keeping the commandments of God and the church. Repentance after baptism demands not only contrition, but also sacramental confession with sacerdotal absolution, and, moreover, some satisfaction for the temporal punishment, which is altogether remitted only in baptism : grace is lost by mortal sin, even though faith may remain. The justified obtain eternal life by the mercy of God, and as a reward of their good works, in virtue of the promise. Finally, it was concluded that this doctrine does not establish our own righteousness to the exclusion of God's, but that the same righteousness is ours, as dwelling in us, and God's, as coming from Him by the merits of Christ.

This conclusion was in direct opposition, and was meant to be so, to the doctrines of Luther. Both admitted two kinds of righteousness, *imputed* and *inherent* ; but whereas Luther ascribed justification wholly to the former—that is, to the merits of Christ only—the decree conceives the imputed righteousness of Christ to be merged in our own, not as completing, but as producing it. Luther required an inward regeneration, followed by good works ; still, as such works are never perfect or meritorious, he ascribed their acceptance, and the entire justification of the believer, to the merits of Christ. The decree also relies on the merits of Christ, but limits their operation to producing in us the regeneration and good works to which eternal life is finally granted.

In the one scheme, justification is all of grace; in the other, it is of works, originating, indeed, in Divine grace, but perfected in ourselves by the instrumentality of the sacraments, and our own obedience to God and the church.¹

This complex tissue of false doctrine was not admitted without strenuous resistance. No Protestant divines were present to oppose it, but their sentiments found utterance from several in the council.² Ambrose Catharin maintained that though justification was not the effect of such a confidence, yet the just could, and ought to, believe they were in grace. He quoted Augustin, Ambrose, Prosper, Anselm, and other fathers to prove that there was no good work without grace; consequently, justification preceded works. He urged the council to follow the fathers in preference to the schoolmen, and to rely upon Scripture, the true fountain of theology, rather than the subtleties of scholastic philosophy.³ Marinier affirmed with St. Paul that faith only justifies, and that the believer should enjoy the assurance of grace. He was at once suspected of Lutheran tendencies, and compelled to retract. Cardinal Pole vainly entreated the council not to condemn an opinion merely because it was Luther's; it was too clear that such was the determination. Yet Seripand, the general of the Augustinian order, while protesting

¹ Ranke, ii. 1; Fra Paolo, ii. lxxxiii. Sarpi justly observes that "the point of the difficulty was this, whether a man is first justified, before any works of righteousness, or whether he *becomes* justified by the works of righteousness which he performs" (lxxvi).

² "The archbishop of Sienna and the bishop of Cava, Giulio Contarini, bishop of Belluno, and with him five divines, attributed justification solely and wholly to the merits of Christ, and to faith. Charity and hope they declared to be the attendants, or handmaidens, works the proof of faith, but nothing more; they held that the sole ground of justification was faith."—Ranke, ii. 1.

³ Fra Paolo, ii. lxxvi.

against Luther, sustained the views of Cardinal Contarini (who was now dead) on imputed righteousness and the non-validity of works.

The determined hostility to Protestantism, with the arguments of the schoolmen, carried the day. Caraffa led the debate from the chair. He was seconded by Laynez, the new general of the new order of Jesuits, who produced a treatise rather than a reply, in answer to the evangelical doctrine. The Franciscans took the same side; partly, no doubt, because their old enemies, the Dominicans, quoted Thomas Aquinas on the other. They argued, with much heat, that it was absurd to suppose that God made no difference between a man who lived well, by the light of nature, and one who was plunged in all manner of vice; there was a reason for giving grace to one and not to another; to deny this was to make men indifferent to good deeds, and afford the wicked an excuse from the want of grace.

The evangelical and moderate views were overborne. And in these two articles, *tradition* and *justification*, the Council of Trent laid the foundation on which all their after conclusions were built. Tradition was received because the Holy Ghost dwells perpetually in the church; the Vulgate, because the Church of Rome has been kept free from all error by the special grace of God.¹ From these false principles it was easy to draw any conclusion that might at any time be desired by the Roman See. To the definition of original sin a clause was appended, exempting the Virgin Mary, whose Immaculate Conception was maintained by the Franciscans and denied by the Dominicans. The pope had not yet decided either for or against this tradition. The question was therefore

¹ Ranke, ii. 1, 5.

kept open till our own day, when it was ruled by a bull of pope Pius IX. in favour of the Franciscan view.²

By virtue of the same principles, the sacraments of the New Testament were declared to be neither more nor less than seven—all instituted by Christ, and conferring grace *ex opere operato*—because this was the actual number in the Church of Rome; their work, according to the doctrine of justification, was to infuse more grace. In like manner, the doctrine of baptism was defined to be that of the Roman Church, “the mother and mistress of all Churches.”

With regard to the Eucharist, the Dominicans denied both the *natural* and the *sacramental* presence of Christ. They understood by transubstantiation a Real presence, yet not as Christ is present in heaven, but of a kind peculiar to the sacrament. This was approaching very closely to the doctrine of Luther. The Franciscans argued for a natural presence as to the substance, and a supernatural as to the quantity, which sounds very like nonsense. Each party advanced grave objections to the definition of the other, but neither could establish its own theory. The decree was, therefore, framed in general terms—that by the words of consecration the substances of bread and wine are converted into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ, anathematising all who should deny that the Eucharist contains, truly, really, and substantially, the Body and Blood, *with the Soul and Divinity* of Jesus Christ, or affirm that He is present only in sign, figure, or virtue; or that the substances of bread and wine remain along with the Body and Blood of Christ.

² This doctrine affords a good proof of the falseness of the Roman foundation. To be true in fact it must have been all along a genuine tradition, taught by Christ and His apostles, and preserved by the Holy Ghost in the church; yet for ages it was not admitted; the Dominicans, the Inquisitors of the faith, denied it. Where was the tradition *then*?

With the same determination to condemn the Protestants and uphold the established worship, it was ordered that the Host should be reserved in churches with a light burning before it; that it should be carried in procession to the sick, and be adored with the worship due to God Himself. At the same time an anathema was pronounced on all who should call such worship by its natural appellation of idolatry. Another anathema was hurled at those who taught that faith was a sufficient preparation for communicating; all who are conscious of mortal sin being required further to have recourse to sacramental confession.¹ The mass was pronounced to be a true and proper, but unbloody, sacrifice, propitiatory for the living and the dead. Communion in one kind was declared to be sufficient for all but the celebrant, though the cup might be granted, as an indulgence, at the discretion of the church. Private masses, in which the priest alone received, were approved, as offered for all the faithful.

The sacrament of penance was defined as consisting of the priest's words, *ego te absolvo*, for the *form*, and for the *matter*, contrition, confession, and satisfaction. It was instituted by Christ for the reconciliation of sinners after baptism. The doctrine of Jerome and the fathers, that absolution is only a declaratory act, was anathematised as heretical, and the priest's sentence was pronounced to be a judicial remission of sin, in virtue of Christ's words in John xx. 33.

Extreme unction was also declared a proper sacrament, of which the oil is the matter, and the minister's words the form. The benefit is the gift of the Holy Ghost to efface the remains of sin and comfort the soul; and, further, to restore bodily health when it would be spiritually advantageous.

¹ Conc. Trid. iv. 19.

The sacrament of orders was defined as effecting a visible external priesthood, instituted by God to consecrate, offer, and administer the sacrifice of the mass, and to remit and retain sins. To affirm that priests are merely ministers to preach the word of God (the charge that Christ gave to His apostles) was punished by excommunication. Bishops were declared superior to priests, but the Divine institution of the episcopal order, though warmly urged by the French and Spanish prelates, was evaded after many debates, in order to restrict the apostolical succession to the person of the pope. A proposition to reconsider the law of celibacy, earnestly pressed by the emperor, found only two supporters among the bishops. This notorious fountain of impurity was unanimously retained, and made obligatory on all of the degree of subdeacon and upwards. To the objection that all have not the same gift, it was answered (in direct contradiction to Christ) that God will not refuse the gift to any who ask it of Him.

Marriage was declared to be a sacrament, partly from the word being used of it in the Vulgate translation of Eph. v. 32, and partly because Christ has merited grace to sanctify those who are married—a reason equally applicable to every other relation in life.¹ The marriage tie was affirmed to be dissolved by either party taking the monastic vows; *but not by adultery*,—the only cause allowed by Christ.² To remit the cognisance of matri-

¹ It shocked some persons to be told that clandestine marriages were true sacraments, and in the same breath that the church had always detested them, and pronounced them invalid!

² The form of the canon anathematizes those who shall say that the church has erred in teaching that the marriage tie is not broken by adultery. It is open, we are told, to affirm the rupture, but not to impute error to the church in teaching the contrary. Such are the pitfalls through which a disciple of the Tridentine religion has to pick his way!

monial causes to secular courts, was declared (in the face of all history) to be heresy.

With the same hardy defiance of history and remonstrance, the council determined that the Catholic Church had *always* taught, in conformity with Scripture and tradition, the existence of a purgatory, where souls are benefited by the prayers of the faithful and the sacrifice of the mass;¹ that the saints pray for men, and that it is beneficial to invoke their intercession and aid. Whoever calls this idolatry, or contrary to God's word and the honour of Jesus Christ, is excommunicated. Further, the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, are to be placed in churches and adored, because *in them we adore the persons they represent*. This is the exact definition of idolatry as given in the Second Commandment, and as held by the Hindus and other Gentiles to this day.

When we compare these decrees with Scripture, and the teaching of the early fathers, the contradictions are obvious and amazing. It is difficult to understand how a body of divines, neither ignorant nor consciously fraudulent, should have ventured to bring forward such a mass of corrupt innovations—the dates of which were registered in their own annals—as a true representation of primitive Christianity. The problem is only solved by the doctrines of tradition and the infallibility of the Church of Rome. As long ago as Hildebrand, a justification was found for rescinding St. Paul's injunction to pray in the vernacular language, by the dogma that the apostles and fathers had made concessions to the times, which the church was bound to withdraw, as soon as she was able. The Roman See does not admit primitive, or even apostolical, Christianity

¹ The Council wisely abstained from defining the value of Indulgences.

to be the whole counsel of God. There was a further revelation, not written or preached, never reduced to practice, utterly unknown to every Christian for ages, nay condemned as impious,—which, nevertheless, the Holy Ghost preserved, in the mysterious recesses of “the Church,” till the Roman See was inspired to enunciate it. From that moment it became entitled to equal respect with the gospel itself! This theory, in fact, makes—not Christ or His apostles, but—the Church of Rome for the time being, the revealer of God to mankind. It was a similar heresy which gave birth to the Marcionite and other Gnostic corruptions of the early ages. Like the Novatians, Montanists, and Donatists, it admits of no religion out of the visible church, and of no church beyond its own communion.

These decrees, deliberately adopted in the teeth of Scripture and the primitive fathers, and imposed as terms of communion upon all other Christians, undoubtedly separated the Roman see and its adherents from the Catholic Church. Before this formal act of schism, their position was fairly designated by the phrase “Roman-Catholic,” but the Tridentine confession requires a new appellation, and the only consistent one is *Papist*. To the pope the council committed the perpetual interpretation of the new religion. From the pope it accepted the direction and confirmation of its proceedings. In the pope it placed the central link of communion with Christ. With the pope it left the absolute sovereignty not of the church only, but of conscience and the eternal world. Finally, the pope imposed a new creed, to be henceforth the symbol of the Papal sect, as the Nicene is of the Catholic Church.

The dogmatic decrees were mostly settled at the earlier meetings of the council, and to prevent their being re-opened, the pope insisted on terming the second

assembly a continuation, rather than a new council, which in fact it was. The later meetings were mostly occupied with questions of discipline; on these the princes and ambassadors were far more in earnest than the bishops and divines. The German powers demanded a searching reform of the Roman court; the grant of the communion in both kinds; permission for the clergy to marry;¹ relaxation of the rules of fasting; schools for the poor; an expurgation of the breviary, legends and postils; more intelligible catechisms; church music after the modern taste; and convent reformation. The French prelates, seconding all these demands, further asserted the superiority of a council over the pope, and their king insisted on the cup as the best means of allaying the disturbances in France. The Spaniards, on the other hand, vehemently opposed the concession either of the cup to the laity, or of marriage to the clergy; and no agreement could be come to, but to leave both points to the discretion of the pope. The emperor complained that there were two councils sitting—one at Trent, the other, which was the true one, at Rome. Pius was himself disposed to allow the two great demands, but the cardinals insisted on celibacy, and the only concession eventually granted was the use of the cup in the dominions of Ferdinand.²

The dissensions ran, at one time, so high that the legates could hold no sitting of the council for ten months. The mob was divided into two furious factions, shouting "Spain" and "Italy;" blood even flowed in the streets, on the question whether pope or

¹ A memorial, supported by the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, affirmed that not one priest out of fifty really kept the vow of celibacy. The children of celibates, even of cardinals, and popes, were notorious at Rome.

² The bull is dated 15 April, 1564. The same concession was made to Bavaria, but withheld by the duke.

bishop were the true representative of the Good Shepherd who gave His life for the sheep!¹ Another quarrel on a point of precedence divided the Spaniards from the French, so that final agreement was only arrived at by the moderation of the princes. The emperor withdrew most of his demands, on an undertaking that they should be considered at Rome. The king of Spain abandoned the Divine authority of bishops, in order to gain the pope's support to his own arbitrary rule. The French Court was conciliated by the Cardinal de Guise, and, in the end, the long vaunted design of a "reform in the head and the members" subsided into negotiations for concordats between the Roman pontiff and the several sovereigns of his communion.

All that had been decreed at Pisa, Constance, and Basle with respect to the subjection of the pope to a council, was virtually undone at Trent. The pope was left in the unquestioned headship of the Latin Church, as to all spiritual matters. The bishops were everywhere reduced to mere delegates of the Holy See, and its ecclesiastical jurisdiction became absolute, except where limited by political concordats. On the other hand, the temporal sovereignty of Hildebrand and Innocent practically disappeared. The spiritual power, instead of commanding, was henceforward in every nation subject to the civil. In the States of the Church, only, the pope was supreme, and even there he was made to feel the force of international obligations, like other kings.

In short, while the Protestant Reformation proclaimed liberty of conscience under the authority of God's word written, the reaction inaugurated by the Council of Trent effected only a partial transfer of

¹ Ranke, iii. 7.

power from the pope to the crown. A more stringent church-discipline was enforced, and the most offensive abuses were removed, but no relief of conscience was obtained by any individual bishop, priest, or layman. The word of God was left more than ever a sealed book. The faith and worship of the Christian were more than ever prescribed to him by a human, yet arbitrary, authority. The yoke was rivetted by a new profession of faith, which every bishop is still obliged to subscribe and swear to. As the great Councils of antiquity preserved the unity of the church by reciting the Catholic Creed, so Pius IV. put his seal on the Tridentine Schism, by adding the following articles, which continue to separate it from the rest of Christendom to the present day:—

1. I most firmly receive and embrace the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all the other observances and constitutions of the Holy Catholic Church.

2. I do receive the Holy Scriptures in the same sense that Holy Mother Church does, and always hath, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of them; neither will I receive and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

3. I do also profess that there are seven Sacraments, truly and properly so-called, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary to the salvation of mankind, though not all to every one, viz., Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage, and that they do confer grace. I do also receive and admit the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church, in the solemn administration of the above said Sacraments.

4. I do embrace and receive all and everything that hath been defined and declared by the Holy Council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

5. I do also profess, that in the Mass there is offered a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and that in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly, really, and substantially, the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is a change made of the whole substance of bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of

wine into the Blood, which change the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation.

6. I confess also, that under one kind only, whole and entire Christ, and a true Sacrament, is taken and received.

7. I do firmly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls there detained are relieved by the suffrages of the faithful.

8. I do likewise believe that the saints reigning together with Christ are to be worshipped and prayed unto; and that they do offer prayers unto God for us, and that their relics are to be had in veneration.

9. I do most firmly assert, that the images of Christ and the ever-Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration ought to be given to them.

10. I do affirm that the power of Indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is very beneficial to Christian people.

11. I do acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all Churches; and hold that true obedience is due to the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

12. I do also, without the least doubt, receive and profess all other things which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and œcumenical councils, and especially by the holy Synod of Trent; and all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned, rejected, and anathematised by the Church, I do likewise condemn, reject, and anathematise. This true Catholic faith, without which no man can be saved, which at this time I freely profess and truly embrace, I will be careful (by the help of God) that the same be retained, and firmly professed whole and inviolate, as long as I live, and that, as much as in me lies, it be held, taught, and preached by those under my power, and by such as I shall have charge over in my profession. So help me God, and these His Holy Gospels.

The Protestant Reformation, as might be expected, spread among the free populations of Europe, and the papal reaction among those which were subjected to arbitrary government. At the dissolution of the council of Trent, protestant opinions had extended far and wide over the Germanic, Slavonic, and Romance nations.¹

¹ Rankc, v. i.

Gustavus Vasa made them the condition of ascending the throne of Sweden by his will in 1560. Albert of Brandenburg, grandmaster of the Teutonic order of Prussia, embraced them as early as 1524, when, suppressing the ecclesiastical and elective character of his office, he secularised the estates into a duchy under the crown of Poland, and, marrying, became an hereditary prince. Livonia was added in 1561. In Poland proper, though the king was a papist, the majority of the senate and some of the bishops were protestant. The Hungarian diet were equally well inclined. The prince bishops of Franconia and the duke of Bavaria were unable to prevent many of their people from accepting the evangelical doctrines. Austria, Salzburg, and the Rhine were filled with them. In short, throughout the whole of Germany protestantism so predominated, that only one-tenth of the population remained in the popish faith.

Scotland, embracing the Calvinistic form, was more hostile to Rome than the Lutherans. The same views were extensively disseminated in France and Italy. Three-fourths of the former kingdom were filled with them; not one province was exempt. Churches organised on the model of Geneva, obtained legal and recognised existence by the royal edict of Jan. 1562: it was only the peasantry who continued steadfast in the Romish superstition. In the Netherlands the massacre of thirty thousand Protestants by the government of Charles v. could not extinguish their faith: their churches, also Calvinistic, acquired political recognition in 1562. The Moravian brethren, and the long-persecuted Waldenses, partook of the sunshine. An official report at Rome summed up the losses of the Holy See in these words: "England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and all the northern countries, are alienated; Germany is all but lost; Bohemia and Poland are largely infected.

The low countries of Flanders are so far gone that the Duke of Alba's remedies will hardly recover them. Finally, France is full of confusion; so that nothing appears sound and secure to the papacy but Spain and Italy, with some few islands, and the Dalmatian and Greek possessions of the Venetian republic."¹

Against this tide of evangelical truth, the main reliance of the papacy was placed on agencies more powerful than argument or the authority of the council of Trent. The council was wanted for the king and the clergy; for the people the instrumentalities relied upon were the Inquisition and the Jesuits. The old Dominican inquisition having died out, its place was supplied in Spain by a royal commission, the success of which determined Caraffa to take similar measures at Rome. "It was in Rome," said the Cardinal, "that St. Peter vanquished the first heresiarchs; in Rome must the successors of Peter subdue all the heresies of the world."² Not, however, with the weapons of St. Peter; instead of wearing holes in the stones by prayer (as the apostle was said to have done), Caraffa persuaded Pius to erect a holy tribunal of universal *inquisition*. He gave up his own house for the purpose, and spent his own money in purchasing chains and locks to convert the rooms into dungeons. He undertook the office of first president with delight, laying down for his rules of action—1. Instantaneous arrest on the slightest suspicion of heresy. 2. No respect of persons, and no regard to privilege, royal or episcopal. 3. The utmost severity to all who sought protection from others; mercy only to such as submitted and confessed. 4. No toleration for heretics, especially Calvinists, on any consideration whatever. Recantation or the stake was the

¹ Tiepolo, *Relazione di Pio IV. e V.*—Ranke, v. i.

² Bromato, *Vit. di Paolo IV.*, vii., 3. Ranke, ii. 1.

inflexible alternative of these apostles of the new Tridentine Church; more merciless than Mahommed, they excluded his middle course of tribute. It is a fearful alternative at any time; but never was the wisdom of the old serpent more conspicuous, than in proposing it while the rising convictions were but slightly rooted in public opinion. The weak-minded, the timid, the unconscientious, yielded at the first moment. For them, the new alliance of pontiff and king settled every scruple. The few of stronger minds, who found their doubts deepen under persecution, withdrew, when they could, into safer retreats.

The States of the Church were crushed first. Carraffa subjected the press to the Inquisition, and broke up the literary movement at a blow. He hunted out and destroyed every suspected writing; whole piles were burned at Rome, the little book on the "Benefit of the Death of Christ" being especially marked for destruction. It was in the course of these proceedings that the Index of prohibited books was first compiled. Milan, Naples, Tuscany, Venice, were reclaimed in the same fashion. The majority recanted before the alternative of death or flight. The fugitives found refuge in Germany and Switzerland; the sea and the flames disposed of the martyrs. At Venice they were cast out of boats into the Adriatic. At Rome, the example of Petilius, who burned the books of Numa, was renewed in constant *autos da fé* before the Church of S. Maria alla Minerva.

The second great agency of the reaction was the newly formed "Company of Jesus." This society owed its origin to Ignatius Loyola, a knight of Biscay, whose enthusiasm seemed to have not unfrequently exceeded the limits of sanity.¹ Its peculiarity was that, in addition

¹ Inigo Lopez de Recalde, of the house of Loyola, fought in defence of Pampeluna, when besieged by Francis I. (1521.) Disdaining to capitulate

to the ordinary monastic vows, the members took an oath to obey without question the commands of the existing pope. "Although all Christians" (so runs the deed of incorporation) "are, by the gospel and the orthodox faith, subject to the Roman pontiff, as their head and the vicar of Jesus Christ, yet, for the greater humility of our society and the perfecting of individual mortification and abnegation of self-will, every member is to be bound, beyond the common obligation, by a special vow that whatsoever the Roman pontiff for the time being shall command, as much as in us lies we will perform."¹ Ignatius was a soldier, and wished the Church and the conscience to be ruled, like the army, by word of command. The name "Company of Jesus," was borrowed from the military bodies, then usually known by the names of their commanders. His proposals received from Paul III. but a hesitating and conditional sanction; but their object was too congenial with the spirit of Caraffa to be declined. In three years, during which the founder benefitted by the knowledge of human nature, and the worldly wisdom, possessed by the court of Rome, the constitution of the new order was matured and approved (1540).²

with the rest of the garrison, he retired into the citadel, and held it with a single follower, till his leg was shattered by a cannon-ball. His wound disabling him from further service in the field, he dedicated himself, after the fashion of chivalry in that age, to be the *Knight of Our Lady of Montserrat*, and in that character rode about vindicating her perpetual virginity by single combat. His visions may rival those of Swedenborg. "Some unconscious love of power, a mind bewildered by many theoretical errors, and perhaps some tinge of insanity, may be justly ascribed to Ignatius Loyola." *Founders of Jesuitism*, Stephen's "Essays on Eecl. Biography," i. 249. Yet this author credits the enthusiast with genius, courage, and success beyond any other uninspired man.

¹ Bull *Regimini*, 27 Sept. 1540.

² It is admitted that some modifications were made in Loyola's designs; and Caraffa was the man best qualified to mature his visionary conceptions into a practical system. The deep knowledge of men and the crafty policy, which so strangely mix with the crazy romance of the Knight of

Ignatius boasted of being one of the first to support Caraffa's Inquisition. His bosom friend and successor, Iago Laynez, was the chief advocate of Caraffa's doctrine of justification, at Trent. His principles and views were identical with Caraffa's;—to improve and educate the church, but to tolerate no divergence from its doctrine or discipline. Submission to the See of Rome was the first of all duties, and no consideration was to weigh for a moment against enforcing it. To maintain this principle, the Jesuit constitutions require blind, unreflecting obedience from every member of the order to his superior, and from the superiors to the general, while in the general all are placed at the feet of the supreme pontiff. The discipline is all directed to the subjugation of the individual—body, soul, and spirit—to the will of his superior. The superior is not to be regarded as a fallible man, but as Christ himself; whatever the superior commands is the command and will of God.¹ Not even mortal sin is to be pleaded against obeying an express command;² the obedience is to be absolute and unreasoning, *perinde ac cadaver*, as though the agent had neither mind, will, nor conscience of his own. Nay, conscience itself is subjected to the same yoke. Ignatius was the author of a work entitled

Our Lady of Montserrat, may be safely ascribed to some wiser head among the astute members of the Roman Court.

¹ "Non intueamini in personâ superioris hominem obnoxium erroribus atque miseriis, sed Christum ipsum." "Quicquid superior præcipit ipsius Dei præceptum esse ac voluntatem."—Const. vi. 1.

² This horrible constitution has, naturally enough, been doubted; the words are: "Nullas constitutiones posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere nisi superior ea in nomine D. J. C. vel in virtute obedientiæ jubeat."—Const. vi. 5. The most obvious translation is that no one is bound to sin *unless* his superior commands him to sin; but the words *may* mean that no written constitution or rule binds to any particular act *under pain of sin*, unless the superior commands that particular act to be done. This rendering grants a complete immunity at pleasure from every law of God or man not enforced at the moment by the living superior.

“Spiritual Exercises,” in which conversion is reduced to a system, to be learnt (like the manual and platoon exercise of the army) by every new recruit. The time allotted for the spiritual drill is four weeks, to be passed in seclusion, with a regular series of prayers and meditations for every day. These “exercises” are not the spontaneous effusions of a contrite heart, but the strict observance of the evolutions prescribed in the book. The spirit of military discipline pervades the whole; all the faculties of the mind are subjugated to the imagination, and the imagination itself is led captive to a series of prescribed contemplations. Seven “stations” are marked out in each day’s course; advancing from penitential to eucharistical subjects, till the exercises close in a vision of the divine beatitude, before which “all the delights and interests of this sublunary state are to be presented as a holocaust, to be consumed by the undying flame of divine love on the altar of the regenerate heart.”¹

Along with much that is really spiritual and edifying, this system proceeds throughout on the unevangelical views of religion which produced the Tridentine definitions of grace. It is everywhere a religion of works. The heart is treated like a patient, to be healed by medicines from without, rather than revived within itself by the free spirit of God. When the prescribed course had been gone through, the young Jesuit was held to be “converted,” and ready to join his regiment in any part of the world. The authors of this system had penetrated the secret how much easier it is to obey an external authority in the name of God, than to exercise ourselves in His law, and reconcile our own will to His. Liberty of conscience once extinguished in themselves,

¹ *Essays in Eccl. Biography*, by Sir J. Stephen, i. 164. *Founders of Jesuitism*.

would, of course, be refused to others. The Jesuits would, of necessity, be the slaves of the papacy, in its endeavour to enslave mankind. The duties and destinations of the several members were carefully apportioned and imposed by authority. The monastic habit, the cloister, and the daily round of devotional exercises, were rejected, to make way for more necessary duties. The Jesuits gave themselves to preaching, confessing penitents, and educating the young. They were conversant with theology and casuistry; studied carefully the political views and private life of those to whom they were sent; wound themselves, by means of the confessional and the academy, into the secrets of all hearts; and neglected no learning, art, or artifice which could give them influence in the world.

They were not without formidable opponents within their own church. The older monks and clergy disliked their freedom from ecclesiastical rule, and the exaltation of the "spiritual exercises" above the regular offices of the church. The orthodox revolted from the semi-Pelagian views which underlay Laynez's elaborate treatise, and found a fuller expression in the writings of Molina (1588). The popes themselves were alarmed at their ambition;—Sixtus v. thought the Saviour's name profaned by their appropriation, and would have called them Ignatians. There is hardly a state in Europe, Papal or Protestant, that has not expelled them from its limits; in the eighteenth century, the united demand of the Roman Catholic powers compelled the pope to suppress the order altogether.

Nevertheless, the Jesuits were incontestably the most efficient agents against the growth of Protestantism in Europe, while their missions in America and the East opened out conquests which, to a more spiritual church, might have abundantly compensated every other loss.

The peculiar principles of the order, however, dragged the missions, also, into suspicion. Rome itself was startled by an "economy" which incorporated the castes and rites of avowed idolatry into the Christian Church; which presented the gospel in the disguise of a forged Veda, and, instead of converting Brahmans to Christianity, turned the Christians into Brahmans.

These difficulties, however, were as yet in the future. The Council of Trent, with the Inquisition and the Jesuits for its ministers, inaugurated a last crusade for the papacy. The Italian and Spanish peninsulas, where the Church and the Crown were in intimate accord—where the aristocracy were careless or intolerant, and the people without power—were soon reported free from heresy. The Bible had taken no hold on the population, and the sparks of evangelical light, kindled here and there by literary and intellectual agencies, were easily trampled out.

Beyond the Alps it was necessary to proceed differently in different nations. The principle to be everywhere asserted was the authority of the pope;—this, and this only, was divine: where the crown, the nobles, or the bishops were obedient to the Roman See, their authority, also, was to be upheld as sacred; but if this were not the case, the papacy never hesitated to appeal to the democracy, and counsel rebellion and revolution. The Jesuits were, therefore, incessantly engaged in political conspiracies. The doctrine of "the divine right of kings," from the use to which it was applied by our James II., is associated in many minds with popery; but it was, in truth, a protestant reaction against the pretended sovereignty of the successor of St. Peter. When the pope claimed the dominion of the world from the text, "Thou art Peter," the reformers answered from Peter himself, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance

of man for the Lord's sake—to the king as supreme ;”¹ and from St. Paul, “The powers that be are ordained of God.”² They taught that while every one must read and believe for himself, it was the special duty of those in authority to aid the people with the means of instruction, and especially to disseminate the Holy Scriptures. In an age when power was wholly in the hands of government, and the people did little for themselves, it was natural to urge on the government the reformation of the national church, and to exhort the people to obey their native prince against a foreign usurper.³ In so doing, writers and preachers, who were not infallible, sometimes attributed to the crown an authority in religious matters, which could not consistently be maintained, and which they were the first to repudiate, when directed against themselves.

This was conspicuously the case in England. The crown was allowed to be despotic in the cause of the Reformation; Henry VIII. erected a royal papacy, and was addressed by evangelical bishops and divines in terms which no English protestant now reads without a blush. Yet those same divines knew how to resist the royal authority in Mary; they gave their bodies to the flames, rather than allow either pope or queen to dictate their religion. As the growth of constitutional principles divided the powers of government between the crown and the people, Protestantism, admitting of no sovereignty over the conscience but the word of God, perceived that nothing in the Bible turns on the *form* of

¹ 1 Peter ii. 13.

² Rom. xiii. 1.

³ Such was Luther's vein, who enjoyed the protection and encouragement of his prince. Zwingle and Calvin taught among republicans often in arms for their rights. Melancthon, again, would have had the Church reform herself by ecclesiastical synods. Most of the divergences observable in the systems of these great men may be traced to their social and political relations.

government, whether regal or republican. Kings were to be obeyed in so far only as the national law made them "supreme;"—not the *crown* but the "powers that be" are ordained of God. This discovery initiated a reaction against the Tudor type of royalty, which ended in the fall of royalty itself. Then, as one excess naturally produces another, the divine right of kings revived; but, being allied with profligacy in Charles, and with popery in James, it never again obtained its former hold on the nation.

In Germany, Luther, who owed his life and power of usefulness to the protection of the elector, also wrote strongly on the rights of princes. The Reformation was greatly promoted by their authority, and their influence was everywhere predominant. Here, therefore, the papacy also made every exertion to conciliate the temporal power, always urging that religious concessions must encourage political insubordination. It offered ecclesiastical patronage, and even grants of ecclesiastical revenues, as the price of supporting its pretensions; and these inducements found willing listeners.

The Jesuits were introduced into the universities of Bavaria, and authorised to open new schools in the towns and villages, while all the power of the state was employed against the protestants. The duke expelled them from the diet and all public offices. The magistrates were forbidden to show the slightest toleration of their worship: even the peasantry were ordered to return to the Roman Church or quit his dominions. These measures were so effectual that in two years (1570-1), the whole duchy was restored to the papacy, and the duke found his political power so increased by the exchange that, when in compliance with his own urgent representations at the Council of Trent, Pius iv. granted the use of the cup to his subjects, the duke actually

suppressed the concession, and chose to be more popish than the pope.¹ Similar measures were pursued by the prince-bishops of Austria, and with the same gloomy results. In the Netherlands, however, the people offered a resistance, which not even the savage atrocities of Alva could extinguish. Ten thousand protestants are computed to have perished in his horrible persecutions; but the struggle never ceased till the northern provinces achieved their independence, leaving Belgium to the undivided allegiance of Rome.

The more complicated state of affairs in France gave occasions for all the turns of policy, which the court of Rome so well knows how to employ. It began with a close alliance with the crown. Henry II. exceeded his father Francis I., in the severity of his edicts against Protestantism. The order of Saint Esprit was established to attach the nobles to the falling Church, and the counsellors who presumed to recommend liberty of conscience were sent to the Bastile. The brief reign of Francis II. witnessed the execution of one of these prisoners, and the capital condemnation of the prince de Condé, the chosen protector of the reformed Churches. The queen-mother Catherine de Medici, niece to pope Clement VII., and the young queen's uncles, the duke and cardinal de Guise, actively patronised the Jesuits. The *Huguenots*,² as the French called the Calvinists, were favoured by the constable de Montmorenci and others of the French

¹ Ranke, v., 4.

² The origin of this word has been variously given. Some derive it from the name of a gate at Tours, near which their nocturnal assemblies were held; others, from the *Roi Hugon*, the popular name of a goblin supposed to roam the streets of that city: but the most probable derivation is from the Swiss word *Eidgenossen*, "confederates." The French protestants were disciples of Calvin, who, after his establishment at Geneva, sent emissaries to his native country to rekindle the light temporarily extinguished by Francis I.

nobility, disgusted at the monopoly of power by the Guises. Catherine herself is charged with secretly encouraging the heretics in order to provide a counterpoise to this haughty family. Becoming regent by the death of Francis, this wily queen set Condé at liberty, and even ordered a conference between the prelates and the Huguenot ministers, with a view to a reconciliation. At the "Colloquy of Poissy"—held in 1561, before the young king and his mother—Beza and Peter Martyr, with the most eminent protestant divines of France, argued in vain for their view of the Church and the Sacraments. The cardinal of Lorraine, sustained by all the French prelates, declared it impossible to unite to the church men who rejected the real presence of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist. The arrival of the Papal Legate, accompanied by the General of the Jesuits, broke up the conference; but, in spite of their remonstrances, the queen, hoping to rule by fomenting the division, issued an edict for the protection of the Protestants. This truce the duke of Guise violated by the barbarous massacre of Vassy, whereupon the Protestants flew to arms, and the kingdom was desolated with the horrors of civil war. The expedient of marrying the protestant heir to the king's sister, was frustrated by the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, when the queen-mother threw off the veil she had worn for her own purposes, and cast a yet deeper gloom over the dark spirit of her short-lived son. This horrible crime, which put the English court in mourning, and has never ceased to receive the severest censure, even of Roman Catholic historians, was welcomed with fiendish rejoicing at the Papal court. A medal was actually struck to commemorate the cowardly triumph, and the name and effigies of Gregory XIII. are consigned to perpetual infamy, by appearing on its obverse.

The next king, finding himself compelled against his will to proscribe his protestant subjects, took his revenge in the assassination of Guise, and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine. Forthwith the pope thundered out an anathema, which was promptly enforced by the knife of a Jacobin monk.¹ Large sums of money were next sent from Rome, and the powers of Spain and Savoy were invoked against a protestant succession. Henry iv. was brought to sacrifice his religion to his throne, and the edict of Nantes (A. D. 1598), while securing an unprecedented toleration to the Huguenots, still proclaimed the ascendancy of the papacy. Nevertheless, this king fell, like his predecessor, by the hand of an assassin who thought that to oppose the pope was to fight against God.²

Our own country was that in which the pope most conspicuously showed his contempt for the ordinance of God. It was Rome who first taught the English to conspire and rebel in the name of religion. The accession of Mary was loyally acquiesced in by the Protestants, and all the persecutions of her bloody reign provoked no insurrection. The national unity was maintained also for several years after the accession of Elizabeth, the people still attending the parish churches, and only an insignificant number of the clergy refusing to conform.³ It was the pope who encouraged the Scottish queen to assume the arms of England, and filled

¹ The king was assassinated at St. Cloud, by a monk named Jacques Clement, 1st Aug. 1589, and, having no issue, the house of Valois expired with him.

² Henry iv. was stabbed in his carriage, in the streets of Paris, by Francis Ravailiac, 14th May, 1610. Two previous attempts, punished with death, could not deter this enthusiast of the papacy from daring the same penalty.

³ Out of 9400 clergy in England, only 150 refused the oath of supremacy to Elizabeth. The bishops, having been all intruded by Mary, rejected it in a body.

the realm with secret conspirators.¹ No sooner were the Guises successful in France than Pius v. renewed the excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth, offering to shed his own blood in an invasion of her dominions. This was followed by the first risings in the north (A.D. 1570).

Gregory XIII. abetted several rebellions in Ireland, where the population adhered more largely to the papacy.² In 1579 he established an English College at Rome, under the care of the Jesuits, for the purpose of rearing missionaries to their native land, and from that time the "Seminarists" and Jesuits were constantly plotting treason against the crown. The bulls against the queen were diligently circulated by the Jesuits Parsons and Campion, who had formerly held office as protestants in the University of Oxford. Coming over from Rome in disguise (A.D. 1580), they issued tracts, by means of concealed printing presses, to dissuade the people from attending the established worship. This occasioned severe laws to be passed against the agents of popery, whose views of religion inevitably entangled them in high treason. The queen was menaced by machinations abroad and by threats of assassination at home. Her maids of honour were exhorted to treat her as Judith treated Holofernes. The Spanish ambassador

¹ The pretence was that Elizabeth was deposed by the bulls of Paul III. and Paul IV. The recusant English priests established a seminary at Douai under W. Allen in 1568, and a branch of this establishment at Rheims enjoyed the protection of the archbishop, Cardinal Guise. It was the papacy which exiled these men, by compelling them to place their religion in treason against their own sovereign.

² One of these was plotted at Rome by an English adventurer named Thomas Stukely, whom the pope *advanced to the peerage* by the title of marquis of Leinster, and despatched with an expedition and a large sum of money to join the Irish under the earl of Desmond. Stukely, however, choosing to lend his troops by the way to king Sebastian in an expedition against the Moors, met his death in that adventure.

was detected in a correspondence to raise soldiers in England, in aid of the expected invasion. Mary, now a fugitive from Scotland, was the object, if not the accomplice, of all these conspiracies; hence the strong feeling in England against that unhappy queen. Her death was loudly demanded after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and when in 1585 the increasing peril to the crown occasioned an Act of Parliament to banish all Jesuits and Seminarists on pain of treason, it was followed the next year by the trial and execution of Mary.¹

This decisive measure exploded the mine. Sixtus v., raging in indecent invective against the English Jezebel, created Allen a cardinal by way of defiance. He further concluded a treaty with Philip of Spain, which resulted in the memorable Armada. It arrived, however, too late: in the midst of treachery the heart of the country was sound: the queen extorted the admiration of the pope himself, and the gallant Howard, taking command of her fleet, taught the court of Rome that an English nobleman could prefer his country and his honour to the dictates of a foreign prelate.

Similar scenes were enacted in other countries. For a hundred years after the Council of Trent, Europe was deluged with blood by the persistent struggle of the Roman See to re-establish its ascendancy. So far from fulfilling the idea of a Christian power controlling the kingdoms of the earth by the majesty of religion, the papacy has been the cause of more wars than Mahomedanism itself. In the four centuries of its existence

¹ Edwin Sandys, bishop of London, wrote to Lord Burghley, September, 1572:—"The safetie of our Quene and Realme yf God wil furtwith to cutte of the Scotish Quene's heade:" this sentiment, though as barbarous as the episcopal orthography, was but too generally shared in the heat and indignation of the time.

it has never once left the world at peace. Every difference of opinion is heresy, and every attempt at reform impiety. When she has the power, Rome invariably delivers all opponents to the sword or the stake. To retain or acquire this power she is ready, at any moment, to array believers in Christ against each other, or to ally them with infidels, in the battle field. When the world turns a deaf ear to her pretensions, and her power is weak, she conspires in secret; when the artifices of this world are insufficient, she audaciously usurps the terrors of the next. The Gospel and the Church to her are swallowed up in the one text—"Thou art Peter,"—meaning (if we can believe it) that God has created heaven and earth, the human race, and the angelic host, to be ruled at the pleasure of an Italian bishop! While these pretensions were listened to, Europe was always at war. In proportion as the world gets tired of them, peace becomes more and more attainable; and when they shall be finally exploded, Christian unity and international concord will at last become possible.

CONTEMPORARY SUCCESSIONS (DECLINE AND FALL OF THE PAPACY).

A.D.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	NAPLES AND SPAIN.	PORTUGAL.	ENGLAND.
1590	...	Urban VII.	...	Philip III.	...	James I.
1591	...	{ Gregory XIV.	...	...	...	...
1592	...	Innocent IX.	...	...	...	...
1598	...	Clement VIII.	...	...	...	...
1603
1605	...	{ Leo XI.	...	...	...	...
1610	...	{ Paul V.	Louis XIII.	...	...	...
1612	Matthias.	...	...	...	...	...
1619	Ferdinand II.	...	...	Philip IV.	...	...
1621	...	Gregory XV.	...	...	...	...
1623	...	Urban VIII.	...	...	...	Charles I.
1625	{ John IV. (of Bra-	...
1637	Leopold I.	...	...	...	{ ganza).	...
1640	Commonwealth.
1643	...	Innocent X.	Louis XIV.	...	...	...
1644
1649	...	Alexander VII.	...	...	Alphonso VI.	...
1655
1656
1660
1665
1667	...	Clement IX.	...	Charles II.	...	Charles II.
1667	Pedro II.	...
1689	...	Clement X.	...	...	...	...
1676	...	Innocent XI.	...	...	...	...
1684	James II.
1688	William III.
1689	...	Alexander VIII.	...	...	...	...
1691	...	Innocent XII.	...	...	...	...
1700	...	Clement XI.	...	Philip V.	...	...
1702
1705	Joseph.	...	...	...	...	Anne.
1706
1711	Charles VI.	...	...	...	John v.	...
				Charles (Emp.)		

CHAPTER XV.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE PAPACY.

Personal Character of the Popes—Persecution—Thirst for Blood—Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Improvements at Rome—Protestant Power—Papal Claims—Political Insignificance—Decay of Temporal Power—European Wars—Protestant Triumphs—Peace of Westphalia—State of the Temporal Power—Nepotism at Rome—Rise of Papal Families—Jesuits and Jansenists—Jansen Condemned—Resistance of Roman Catholic States—The Church of France—English Revolution—Spanish Succession—Re-arrangement of Italy—The Protestant Pope—Expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, Spain, and France—Suppression of the Order—Humiliation of the Papacy—Abolition of the Inquisition—French Revolution—Execution of Louis XVI.—General War—Fall of the Roman Catholic Powers—Napoleon Bonaparte—Italian Republics—Seizure of Rome—Abolition of the Temporal Power—Pope carried into Exile—Extinction of the Papacy.

ONE unmistakable blessing resulted to the Church of Rome from the counteraction provoked in herself by the Protestant Reformation: the papal throne was never again invaded by the irreligious characters that so often polluted it before. Not only were there no more such monsters as Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., and Julius II.; but even another Leo X. was become impossible. Paul IV. brought in a line of pontiffs distinguished always by the semblance, and very often the reality, of personal piety. If Pius IV. showed no decided proofs of spiritual religion, he was free from moral stain, humble, easy of access, and sincerely desirous of doing good. He did his best to reform the Roman court, and oblige

the bishops to reside in their dioceses and attend to their duties: his great superiority to the episcopal average of the times was the cause of his being canonised after death. His piety was of that kind on which the Roman Church sets the highest store. A Dominican monk at fourteen, he was one of the few who preserved their monastic vows inviolate through life. When pope he fasted with all the rigour of the convent, attended mass daily, and rose with the dawn to perform his spiritual exercises free from the interruptions of public business. Sincerity and devotion beamed in his face, as he walked barefoot and bareheaded in the processions, with his long white beard falling on his breast. In private life he was simple and unaffected, kind and bountiful to his dependants, full of meekness and charity.

Still even he was, all his life long, a cruel, remorseless persecutor of every religious difference. He filled the post of grand inquisitor under Paul iv., and in his own pontificate that gloomy tribunal revelled in unrestrained authority. Even a brother inquisitor was not safe from its fangs. Bartholomew Carranza was one of the theologians and preachers at the council of Trent: Queen Mary of England chose him for her confessor: her husband raised him to the archbishopric of Toledo: he was summoned to attend the last hours of Charles v. The suppression of heresy was the chief object of his life, and he boasted of having dug up the bodies of many heretics, and burned them. Yet this eminent prelate—the primate of Spain—for some expressions favouring the doctrine of justification by faith, was thrown into the dungeons of the inquisition, and all his property confiscated. On the accession of Pius he appealed to the Holy See, and was removed to Rome. There he was subjected to the most rigorous treatment till the end of the pontificate, and finally only

escaped the stake by abjuring, to die in his convent a few months after, at seventy-two years of age.

When such was the treatment of his own prelates we are less surprised at this pope's sanguinary designs upon Protestant England. Still it is startling to read that he sent the consecrated hat and sword to Alva, in commendation of his bloody career in the Netherlands; and that in France he not only assisted Charles IX. with troops to make war upon his subjects, but gave express orders to the papal commander to allow no quarter to protestants. "Take no Huguenot prisoners; kill every one on the spot that falls into your hands:" this was how St. Peter's successor read the injunction "Feed my lambs!" What more terrible proof of the Satanic delusion that blinded all eyes at Rome, than that such sentiments could find place in the bosom of a Christian bishop! History places the glory of his pontificate in the victory over the Turks at Lepanto; but to the pope the slaughter of his fellow-Christians seems to have occasioned hardly less rejoicing.

Gregory XIII. though less strict by inclination, was constrained by the force of public opinion at Rome, under the influence of the Jesuits, to follow in the steps of his predecessor. He attended carefully to his duties, subscribed liberally to schools for the young (of course under Jesuit direction), and signalled himself by the long desired reform of the calendar—an advantage in which the protestant nations did not participate¹ for many years.

¹ It was not introduced into England till 1751, when the error of computing the year at *exactly* $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and so adding a bissextile every fourth year, amounted to eleven days. It was therefore enacted, that the day after the 2nd September should be accounted the 14th, and that in future the bissextile should be omitted in the *secular* year (*i.e.*, the year completing the century), with the exception of the fourth century;—Act 24 Geo. III., c. 23. By the same act, the *legal* commencement of the year was changed from the 25th March to the 1st January.

Yet even this enlightened and good-natured pope could order rejoicings for the atrocious massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Sixtus v. was one of the most trusted cardinals of Pius v.—learned, prudent, and, after the Romish fashion, devout. Having risen from a condition of absolute pauperism, when he kept swine, with a crust of bread and the spring water for his single meal, he adopted for his motto, “Thou, O God, hast been my defender even from my mother’s womb.” He, too, was a persecutor like the rest, and active against Carranza; when pope, his severity rendered him the best prince that Rome had long known. His stern suppression of the banditti who infested the papal states, his financial improvements, and his statesmanlike administration of the government, have caused him to be regarded almost as the founder of the Roman constitution. Under his protecting care the city resumed an aspect worthy of the metropolis of the world.

In the middle of the fifteenth century the Seven hills were desolated, and the plain along the Tiber was the only inhabited part. Rome was a city of herdsmen, the cattle strayed in the narrow streets, as in the Italian villages. The very memory of its antiquities was lost: they called the capitol Goats’ hill, and the forum the Cows’ field. St. Peter’s was in danger of falling.¹ The jubilee of 1450, when the unity of the Church was restored, supplied funds for commencing a re-edification. The bridge of Sixtus iv. had improved the communication between the two sides of the river; Julius II. restored the Vatican palace; the cardinals and barons emulated his example; and the city attained to great magnificence under Leo x. Then came the sack of

¹ Ranke.

Bourbon with the pestilence and troubles under Paul iv. which caused a sad decline. Sixtus v. was the author of the great aqueduct along the hills, two-and-twenty miles in length, which he called from his own baptismal name the *Acqua Felice*. Buildings followed these immediately, and the whole city felt the pontiff's active hand. It was he who moved the obelisk from the sacristy of old St. Peter's to its present situation in front of the church.¹ He added the cupola to the Church, and being told that it would require ten years in building, Sixtus (who always wished to see the fruit of his work) put on six hundred men to labour day and night, and finished it in twenty-two months. His dealing with the antiquities was equally peremptory and alarming: he proposed to clear away the "ugly" monuments and "restore" the others? Among the former was the tomb of Cæcilia Metella! it was with great difficulty that the cardinals and nobles saved this sole remnant of the republic from destruction! Before all things his restorations were to be Christian. He banished the statues of Jupiter and Apollo from the Capitol, and turned Minerva into Christian Rome by giving her a cross instead of the spear. The pillars of Trajan and Antonine he dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul, placing their figures on the top, and removing the urn which was said to contain Trajan's ashes. Even the obelisk in the Vatican was surmounted by a cross, containing a piece of the Holy Wood. The erection of the obelisks before the churches of St. John Lateran, St. Mary Maggiore, and St. Mary del Popolo; the Lateran palace, the Vatican library, and the hospital for aged

¹ A mass of stone, weighing above a million of Roman pounds, was raised from its base by thirty-five windlasses, worked by seventy-horses and 350 men, then lowered upon rollers and re-erected on its present site without mischance (A.D. 1586).

and infirm near the Ponte Sisto; were also among the works of this indefatigable pontiff.

Labours of this kind, added to the personal respectability and learning of the popes of this age, greatly augmented their influence in the struggles that were now made, from political no less than religious motives, to re-establish the authority of the Roman Church. The papacy, however, could never recover from the wound inflicted by the Reformation. The Protestant States, instead of suffering from their revolt, rose to be the leading powers of Europe. The pope himself was compelled to defer to them, and it was hardly to be expected that the sovereigns who remained in his communion, would be content with less than others had taken by the strong hand. They no longer trembled before the transcendental prerogatives of Rome; the bolts, which used to leap so fiercely out of the armoury of the Vatican, were restrained by the fear of provoking ridicule, or resentment, rather than awe.

Not that Rome abated anything of its pretensions; on the contrary, it was just when the papacy was losing its grasp of universal empire, and settling down into one of the petty principalities of Italy, that its sovereign claims were put forward more distinctly than ever. Cardinal Bellarmine, the greatest of Jesuit writers, the friend of nine popes, and the champion of their church against our royal theologian, James I., asserted the Divine authority of the pope and the clergy in the most absolute terms. The supreme pontiff (he says) is simply and absolutely over the Universal Church, above a General Council, and responsible to no earthly tribunal.¹ He is the absolute sovereign of the Christian priesthood throughout the world; the clergy are bound to obey

¹ De Conc. auctoritate, xvii.

him by Divine command, and that not only in spiritual, but in temporal, matters; insomuch that it is impossible for them to acknowledge any temporal sovereign, since no man can serve two masters. The prince is the sheep, and spiritual son, of the pope, but no priest is either son or sheep to a prince: consequently the priest may judge the emperor, but for the emperor to judge the priest is as absurd as for the sheep to guide the shepherd.¹ If Bellarmine did not, in express terms, claim all *temporal* power for the pope, on the same Divine authority (an omission which was greatly resented by Sixtus v.), he arrived at the same point, by maintaining that the temporal power is bound to obey the spiritual, as the body obeys the soul. The spiritual power is the ordinance of God; the temporal power is the ordinance of man.² Temporal governments exist only by the will of the people: the people originate, resume, and alter them at pleasure, but the pontifical chair is the visible seat of God, whom all men are bound to obey.³

Baronius, the confessor of Gregory XIII., created a cardinal by Clement VIII., and within an ace of being pope at his death, re-wrote the annals of the church, falsifying documents, history, and chronology, in order to impress the whole with the pontifical stamp. Suarez and Mariana, Jesuit writers of the first reputation, sought to sustain the papal throne by the most extravagant assertions of popular rights. Mariana went so far as to justify the assassination, as well as the dethronement, of temporal princes. He avowed that Jacques Clement had learned from his spiritual advisers

¹ De clericis, i. 30.

² This is just the *reverse* to the doctrine of Peter and Paul, 1 Pet. ii. 13—Rom. xiii. 1.

³ De Rom. Pont., v., vi.

the lawfulness of slaying a tyrant; and openly commended him for the glorious exploit.¹

Hildebrand himself never put forth greater claims, nor sustained them on such lofty authority. But the world had grown wiser since the Protestant Reformation, and the Jesuits found powerful opponents even within the bosom of the Latin Church. Monarchs, who valued the church as an instrument in political government, were disgusted to be told that the pontifical power exceeded the regal. Philip of Spain was the first to abridge the immunities of these ecclesiastical democrats. In France, where the Sorbonne maintained the Apostolical doctrine of non-resistance, the Jesuits fell into such odium that they were expelled the kingdom in the year 1766. A similar result was effected at Venice by the able arguments of Paolo Sarpi. In vain the Roman court strove to enforce its reactionary doctrine. Even the most friendly powers took their own course on political questions, and, instead of ruling the councils of Europe, the Holy See was reduced to an abject dependence on the powers of France and Spain. Its freedom of action depended on fomenting the jealousies, or mediating in the wars, of these two kingdoms: and its chief anxiety was to prevent either from becoming supreme.

As the Protestant States came to affect, and eventually to control, the balance of power, the political influence of Rome dwindled and expired. Its decay is traceable through all the counteraction which repelled the first triumphs of Protestantism. Pius v. was a Hildebrand all over. He took upon himself to make Cosmo of Tuscany a *Grand Duke* without consulting the emperor, who refused to acknowledge the title. Besides excommunicating Queen Elizabeth, and giving

¹ Franc. Suarez, *De fid. cathol.*, iii. Mariana, *De Rege.*

away her dominions, he was the author of the famous bull *In Cæna Domini*, which repeats the most extravagant pretensions of Gregory VII. So changed, however, were the times, that the vassal king of Naples refused to admit this bull into his dominions, and though the Roman court has continued, to the present time, to read it every year on the day before Good Friday, the thunder, which once shook the thrones of Europe, has shrunk to the muttered curses of an impotent conclave. When Gregory XIII. laid claim to Portugal, on the fall of Sebastian without heirs, Philip of Spain would not so much as discuss his pretensions, but entering the kingdom by force, annexed it to his own dominions.

Sixtus v., who was a firm and jealous prince himself, felt the incongruity of these anti-monarchial pretensions, and had the greatest dislike to the Jesuits in consequence. He looked with equal displeasure on the aristocratical rebels of the French League, and the spiritual democracy of the bull *In Cæna Domini*. His maxim was that the Holy See ought to uphold the prerogatives of monarchs; still the pope clung to the superior monarchy of Rome, and his great object in embellishing the city was to make it once more the capital of the civilised world. In alliance with Spain he intended, after conquering England, to subjugate France. Tuscany was to be appropriated single handed. He talked of wresting Egypt from the Turks, and re-opening the canal to the Red Sea. In his own idea, he wielded the thunders of omnipotence; the murder of the French king was a Divine ratification of the pope's anathema. Yet this ambitious pontiff met with nothing but defeat. Braved by Venice, in the recognition of Henry IV., he was threatened by Spain with instant revolt, if he lent any countenance to her Protestant adversary. The pope

was clearly no longer the arbiter of kingdoms : by good management he might still retain the primacy of the Latin Church, but his temporal power was reduced to the sovereignty of the Papal States, and even in that he was made to feel the growth of an international policy, adverse to all his traditions.

Clement VIII., after augmenting the possessions of the See by the resumption of the duchy of Ferrara, on the extinction of the Della Rovere family (A.D. 1597), was able to emancipate the pontificate from the ascendancy, which Spain had retained in its councils since the sack of Rome. His inclinations were towards the French, whom Baronius, to the infinite disgust of the Spaniards, proclaimed to be the truest benefactors, in all ages, of the Roman See. In spite of the remonstrances of Spain, and of the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, the pope absolved Henry iv. at Rome, 17th December 1595, and the Eldest Son of the Church returned to his place in the Latin communion. The apostate king purchased the favour by re-introducing popery into Bearn : he afterwards consented (1603) to restore the Jesuits, as a kind of counterpoise to the Edict of Nantes : still the Gallican Church maintained an attitude of independence, which has only in our own days been exchanged for Ultramontanism.

Paul v. revived all the most extravagant conceptions of pontifical power. He permitted himself to be styled Vice-God upon earth, and monarch of Christendom. Yet the Venetian republic braved his hottest anger rather than surrender the rule of its own territories. Paul was amazed at their audacity ; and all the old spiritual artillery was opened on the rebels. The doge was excommunicated, the churches were laid under an interdict, and the clergy were commanded to publish the anathema. The republic calmly ordered them to proceed in their

accustomed duties, and all but the Jesuits and a few monks obeyed. The recusants were instantaneously banished, and their places supplied by other priests. The pope began to arm his troops for an invasion, but, afraid of Protestant intervention, he submitted to French mediation, and granted a private absolution, the Venetians refusing to solicit, or even to receive it, in public: the Jesuits remained expelled.

A significant intimation of the decline of the papacy was given by the parliament of Paris in 1606, when they ordered Suarez's book, on the pope's power of deposing princes, to be burned by the common executioner, in spite of the pontifical *imprimatur*. The Hildebrandine doctrine was universally rejected, and the Jesuits were everywhere chastised by the governments for promulgating it.

Still, the pope could incite to a large amount of bloodshed, by taking advantage of the ambition or animosities of rival princes. Some of them heartily shared his intolerance. The young archduke Ferdinand of Austria, being told on his accession that only three papists were to be found in his capital, took a vow to restore the Roman creed, even at the cost of civil war. When elected emperor, he headed a catholic league, which utterly routed the protestants at the battle of Prague (A.D. 1620). The duke of Bavaria seized the palatine electorate, the pope obtaining the Heidelberg library as his share of the spoil. In Bohemia the measures adopted by the emperor drove 30,000 protestant artisans, and 200 of the nobility, into foreign lands; but they succeeded in subjugating that kingdom, with Hungary and Austria, to the Roman creed. In these terrible persecutions the pope vigorously co-operated both by anathemas and subsidies.

The next year witnessed the capture of the Grisons

by the Austrians and Spaniards, who laid the protestant villages waste with fire and sword. Paul urged the prosecution of similar measures in the Netherlands, but he was struck with apoplexy, while rejoicing over the victory of Prague, and did not live to witness the fruits of his bloody counsels. The thirty years' war followed, in which the sacred name of religion was strangely mixed up with the succession to the kingdoms of the earth earthy.

Gregory xv. showed his delight at the successes of the Church, by canonising Ignatius and Xavier in gratitude to the Jesuits. He further doubled the subsidy to the emperor, suppressed the communion of the cup in Bohemia, and caused the mass to be celebrated in Latin, according to the Roman ritual, in every church of that afflicted kingdom. In a more enlightened hour he founded a congregation of the Propaganda at Rome to extend the creed of his church to distant lands.¹ Gregory enjoyed great personal consideration with the Roman Catholic powers. Entering with much interest on the project of uniting the prince of Wales to the Spanish Infanta, he expressed his hope "that the ancient

¹ Gregory's "Congregation" was enlarged, by the addition of a College or Seminary for the education of missionaries, under Urban viii., who endowed it with large possessions; and from this establishment proceeded legions of ardent missionaries to America and the East. The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, all co-operated in the work, but the greatest, and most questionable, successes were achieved by the Jesuits, who in China, Abyssinia, Japan, and India, dishonoured the name of Christ by associating it with some of the most corrupt usages of their idolatrous converts, both in morals and worship. They resorted to every artifice to conceal the truth from their superiors at Rome, treating the orders of the Congregation, and of the pope himself, with profound contempt. Of this order was Robert de' Nobili, who gave himself out for a Brahman at Madura, and even *swore* before an Assembly of Brahmans to his own descent from Brahma.—*See the authorities quoted by Mosheim and Maclaine (Ecl. Hist., cent. xvii. sect. i.)* The French Jesuit, Martin, was hardly less scrupulous in his compliances with idolatry.—*See Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* quoted in the present author's *India, its Natives and Missions*; p. 291.

seed of Christian piety, which had of old borne fruit in English kings, would once more spring up and flourish in him.”¹ James I. actually swore to marriage articles, which stipulated for the education of the children by the mother, and the repeal of all laws in England against papists. He contracted similar engagements when, on the rupture of the Spanish match, a French princess was selected for the future queen of England. It was this which sowed the seeds of the not unreasonable suspicions, which eventually brought his son to the scaffold, and drove his family from the throne.

The refusal of the English to fulfil obligations, which the crown had no power to contract, was urged on the French by pope Urban as ample cause of war, and having engaged Spain in the same quarrel, he proposed an invasion of England, which it was hoped would finally destroy the most formidable bulwark of the Reformation. The design was defeated by the English invading France in the cause of the Huguenots. The right arm of the conspiracy was at once paralysed, and but for the mismanagement of Buckingham, and the cabinet of St. James’s, the prospects of protestantism might have materially brightened throughout Europe.

The pope’s next exploit was to sow dissension between his best allies. Taking alarm at the growth of the imperial power in Italy, he fortified the Vatican, and invoked the protection of the French. Louis XIII. marching to his assistance, was met by the imperial

¹ The highest expectations were cherished at Rome of the son of the “martyred” Scottish queen. Clement VIII. sent word to James, before he came to the English throne, that he prayed for the son of so virtuous a mother, and hoped to see him a Catholic. His accession was celebrated in Rome with solemn services and processions.—Ranke, vii. 2, 7. These statements go far to acquit the Court of Rome of any complicity in the gunpowder plot. Garnet never was the superior of the English Jesuits, and Digby repudiated any other motive but “zeal for God’s religion.”

forces under Wallenstein, whose successes obliged Urban to have recourse to intrigues in the diet, which procured the recall of the dreaded commander. The protestants then inviting the aid of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, the pope deserted the emperor, and in these political divisions threw away the cause of his church.

The long struggle was closed by the peace of Westphalia (1648), which gave enormous advantages to the protestants. Sweden retained a large part of her conquests from the empire. Switzerland and Holland were recognised as independent republics; the elector palatine was restored, the peace of Augsburg was renewed, and the creation of an eighth electorate at Hanover gave the protestants the long-wished-for equality of voices in the diet.

These arrangements replaced the ecclesiastical affairs of Germany on the footing of the year 1624. Being carried out in defiance of the pope's remonstrances, it was manifest that the European powers were at last tired of wasting their resources, and the lives of their subjects, in ecclesiastical differences. The political advantages of the several States were the only objects now regarded; in stipulating that the provisions should be carried out, "without regard to the opposition of any personage, spiritual or temporal," the treaty of Osnabrück excluded the papal pretensions from the councils of Europe. From that time Rome ceased to have any voice in the political world. The Holy See remained the ultimate authority in the Latin Church on ecclesiastical questions; but even so its action was circumscribed by concordats, and the temporal governments everywhere succeeded in reducing the Church, more or less, under the control of the State.

The temporal power of the pope shrank to the govern-

ment of his own dominions. A valuable addition arose from the escheat of Urbino which lapsed, to the deep regret of its inhabitants, by the death of Alfonso II., the last of the Estes. Urban's attempt on Parma, however, was not successful: the duke Odoardo Farnese was reinforced by the neighbouring princes, and after spending twenty millions of crowns in the war, and narrowly escaping a hostile occupation of Rome, the pope was defeated on every point. This mortification so touched his vanity that he swooned as he signed the treaty, and died imploring vengeance on the impious princes who had *forced* their spiritual pastor into war.

From the time of the complete constitution of the Papal States, through the lapse of Ferrara and the escheat of Urbino, the families of the respective popes aspired more and more to the character of an hereditary aristocracy. They not only filled the principal posts under the government of their reigning chief, but by securing lands and permanent possessions out of the church revenues, were enabled to play the part of the nobility under their successors. The popes could no longer confer principalities on their nephews or other nearer connections, but being bound by no vow of poverty they regarded the entire revenues of the See as their personal property, and bestowed the surplus, after providing for their armies and subsidies, the public buildings, and the administration of the government, at their own discretion. Had these expenses, indeed, been honestly defrayed from the current revenue, little would have remained to the privy purse; but the popes, like other princes, found it necessary to supplement the taxes by frequent loans, and being subject to no check, but that of conscience, in separating the public from the personal income, it happened that the government debt was constantly increasing, while the private exchequer

could always overflow upon the kindred of the reigning pontiff.

Sixtus v. invented a system of nepotism which was so actively followed up by his successors, that even a short reign provided the means of accumulating a brilliant fortune.¹ That pontiff raised one nephew to the rank of cardinal, with a share of the public business and an ecclesiastical income of a hundred thousand crowns. Another he created a marquess, with large estates in the Neapolitan territory. The house of Ferretti thus founded, long maintained a high position, and was frequently represented in the College of Cardinals. The Aldobrandini, founded in like manner by Clement VIII., the Borghesi by Paul v., the Ludovisi by Gregory xv., and the Barberini by Urban VIII., now vied in rank and opulence with the ancient Roman houses of Colonna and Orsini, who boasted that for centuries no peace had been concluded in Christendom in which they were not expressly included.

On the death of Urban VIII. (29th July 1644) the Barberinis commanded the votes of eight-and-forty cardinals, the most powerful faction ever seen in the conclave. Still, the other papal families were able to resist their dictation, and the struggle terminated in the election of Cardinal Pamfili, who took the name of Innocent x. During the interval of three months, the city was abandoned to complete lawlessness; assassinations in the streets were frequent; no private house was safe without a military guard, and a whole army of soldiers found occupation in protecting the property of their employers. This was then the usual state of things during an interregnum.

Innocent x., though seventy-two years of age at his

¹ Ranke, book viii., sec. 3.

election, was full of energy. He restrained the disorders in the city, compelled the barons to pay their debts, and even enforced this unwelcome obligation on the Duke of Parma, by the seizure and destruction of Castro, which Urban had been compelled to relinquish. Innocent brought the Barberini to strict account for malpractices under his predecessor, and wrested from them large portions of their ill-gotten gain. So far, however, from reforming the system out of which these abuses sprung, his nepotism exhibited itself in a form which scandalised even the Roman courtiers. The pope brought his sister-in-law, Donna Olimpia Maidalchina, from Viterbo to Rome, and established her in a palace, where she received the first visits of foreign ambassadors on their arrival, gave magnificent entertainments, and dispensed for her own benefit the public offices of the government. The cardinals had her portrait hanging in their rooms, like that of a sovereign. Her daughters were married into the noblest families. Her son, having first been appointed the cardinal-nephew, soon after renounced his orders, married, and became the secular-nephew. The struggle for power between his mother and his wife divided Rome into new factions, and the feud was enlarged by the ambition of a more distant kinsman, whom Innocent appointed to the vacant post of cardinal-nephew. The pontiff sank under a deep cloud from the disorders in his family and the palace, and when he died (5th January, 1655) the corpse lay three days uncared for, till an old canon, who had been long dismissed from his household, expended *half-a-crown* on its interment. The successor of St. Peter must have sunk low in official as well as personal repute when such contempt could be possible.

Fabio Chigi, who came next as Alexander VIII., brought to the tottering chair a spotless reputation, and abilities long proved in the service of the church. His

first act was to banish the scandalous widow; her son was allowed to retain her palace and fortune. Beginning with the loudest protestations against nepotism, now the best established institution at Rome, in the phrase of the time, the pope soon "became a man." The courtiers remonstrated on his leaving his family to live a plain citizens' life at Siena: it might involve the Holy See in a misunderstanding with Tuscany. The rector of the Jesuits' college went farther: he declared the pope was bound, *under pain of mortal sin*, to place his nephew in high office, because the foreign ambassadors would confide in no one else. The question was gravely proposed in consistory, and the flood-gates being there authoritatively unclosed, the waters of preferment flowed abundantly on all who had the merit to be allied with Fabio Chigi.¹

After discharging this arduous duty, the pope relieved himself of further attention to business, and spent his days in literary leisure. His nephews, however, had less power than formerly, from the growth of the constitutional principle. The cardinals, in their different congregations, with the official secretaries, aspired to the functions of responsible advisers. The infallibility of the pope was confined, they said, to spiritual things; in affairs of state he was to be guided by his council, like

¹ Ranke, viii. 6. None of the papal advisers seem to have hit on the view of a modern Protestant dignitary, who tells us that a prelate "is in duty bound to prefer those whom *God by His providence brings nearest to him*," and that those who violate this rule are selfish persons; they sacrifice duty for the sake of a popularity which they do not win. The author, of course, inserts the proviso required by decency, "provided they be worthy of the patronage;" but a worth as yet untried, and of which the patron is the sole judge, must weigh but little in the scale of natural affection, when sanctioned by "Divine Providence" itself. Surely, it is begging the question to assume that kinsmanship is the index of God's will in the matter of preferment. Why not rather the respective labours and merits of the several candidates?

other princes. Thus, a question involving the salvation of souls, would be left to the sole pleasure of the pontiff: but to levy a bajocco on the mutton and vegetables passing the gates of Rome, required the deliberate advice of the cardinals. Truly a singular conclusion to be arrived at by the ministers of Him who said, "how much is a man better than a sheep!"

Alexander was doomed to hear his infallibility questioned in spirituals no less than temporals. Under the late pontificate he had taken an active part in the controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists; this was but the continuance of a difference that had agitated the church ever since the Council of Trent laid down the doctrine of justification by works. The Dominicans, who were then overruled, complained loudly of the semi-pelagian consequences developed by Molina: they were seconded by all who revered the authority of Thomas Aquinas. The Jesuits, treating all arguments, and the saint himself, with contempt, proceeded to elaborate a system as pernicious to the morals, as their theology was to the faith of Christianity. They taught that mortal sin, being the wilful transgression of the law, is not incurred unless the agent not only knows the law and the character of the act, but *intends at the moment* to affront and defy the lawgiver. If he takes no thought or care about God whatever, but simply means to please himself at all hazards, the transgression is venial. Again, if a man swears outwardly, but with an inward mental reservation, he is not bound by his oath, for he did not swear, but jest.¹ To these repulsive maxims they added a doctrine of *probability*, which made it lawful to act against one's own conscience, as long

¹ Qui exterius tantum juravit, sine animo jurandi, non obligatur, nisi forte ratione scandali, cum non juraverit sed luscrit.—Busembaum, iii., tract. ii. 4, 8. Ranke, viii. 11.

as there was a probability, or even a possibility, shown by the laxer opinions of others, of the thing not being forbidden. These doctrines, so dangerous in themselves, became still more alarming when avowed by a powerful Order, whose special aims were the direction of consciences, and the education of the young. The Holy See was appealed to, but two popes, Clement VIII. and Paul v., presided over discussions by their famous theologians, without venturing on a decision. The truth was, that at the bottom of all lay the Tridentine view of justification, which they could not get rid of.

The question assumed a new shape from the labours of Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres in Flanders, and his college companion, Jean du Verger, abbot of St. Cyran in France. These men, from an unremitting study of the works of Augustine, had embraced convictions closely approaching to those now called "evangelical." They founded themselves, however, on the fathers rather than the Scriptures, admitted the claims of the Roman Church, and proposed to revive primitive teaching without injury to any existing authority. Jansen sent his book to the pope from his death-bed, with a letter submitting all to the censure of the apostolic see: within an hour he expired, after receiving the last sacraments in the communion of the Church of Rome (1638). The Jesuits, whom Jansen had assailed with undisguised opposition, demanded the censure of the Holy See, and Urban's unbounded self-esteem induced him to pronounce a decision from which his predecessors had recoiled.¹ In Jansen's "Augustinus" a

¹ It was this Urban VIII. (Maffeo Barberini) who brought the aged Galileo, his own personal friend, to a second trial in 1633 (after Bellarmine had hushed up the scandal under Paul v.), and compelled the astronomer, after three days' imprisonment in the Inquisition, to recant his demonstration of the earth's movement round the sun.

passage was found attributing to the Roman See a custom of occasionally condemning a doctrine for peace sake rather than from a conviction of its being false. The papal infallibility took umbrage, and Urban condemned the book as reviving exploded errors. The decree, however, had little weight. The nuns of Port Royal, who had taken St. Cyran for their spiritual guide, continued the evangelical labours which had excited the wrath of the Jesuits and their friends, throughout France. Five propositions were now, therefore, extracted from Jansen's writings, and presented to the Holy See for special condemnation. The Congregation to whom they were referred was divided in its judgment. Cardinal Chigi belonged to the majority, who condemned the propositions; and being Secretary of State he presented the decree for Innocent's signature. The pope, who was no theologian, at first refused, but yielding to Chigi's importunities, the bull was signed and published.

The Jansenists denied that the propositions drawn up by their opponents at all represented the meaning of their great teacher. They subscribed to the condemnation of the five invidious articles set out in the bull, but declared their own opinions and practices wholly unaffected. This raised a new and momentous question. The pope was practically admitted to be infallible on matters of doctrine, but did his prerogative extend to matters of fact? It was his right to declare any number of given propositions heretical; but could he decree that such propositions were contained in a certain book where they were not to be found? could he fasten upon an author a sentiment which he himself rejected? It may seem that, after swallowing the decree of transubstantiation, no Roman Catholic could consistently object to the pope deciding the matter of fact, in common with the matter of faith: but the difference was real. The

infallibility rested on the doctrine of *tradition*, of which the See of Rome was supposed to be the incorruptible guardian: it applied to the truths revealed by Christ and His apostles, contained in Scripture, or handed down by oral tradition. In defining any particular dogma, the Holy See was supposed to promulgate the original truth which, though either imperfectly apprehended or insufficiently expressed by the early church, was still ever the intention of the Divine Revealer. Now, that Jansen was the author of a certain work in the seventeenth century, or that certain propositions truly represented his sentiments, were statements which could never have made part of the original revelation, and could only be infallibly affirmed by a new one. Every one who could read Jansen was as well able to judge of his meaning as the pope. To invest him with the faculty of reading all men's thoughts, was to assert not an infallible tradition in the See, but the actual omniscience of the pope.

This the Jansenists conceived to be monstrous, but, after wringing the censure from Innocent, Alexander would not permit it to be evaded by their distinctions. He issued a further bull (1657) declaring plainly and formally that the five propositions were contained in Jansen's book, and had been condemned in the sense intended by the author. The Jansenists replied that such declaration exceeded the power even of the supreme pontiff: the intention of Jansen was a matter of fact, not of faith, known only to God, and forming no part of His revelation to the Church. They allowed the five propositions to be heretical, but contended that their condemnation in no way touched the doctrines of Jansen, as taught by himself and propagated by his genuine disciples. They suffered the bitterest persecution in France from the Crown and the Jesuits, but their constancy was invincible, and in 1668, Clement IX. admitted a

form of subscription which, in granting liberty of conscience to the Jansenists, reflected of necessity on the Jesuits, and even on the papacy itself.

The religious ardour of the sixteenth century, had so cooled down by the middle of the next, that the secular governments were not only averse to wage wars in defence of the papal creed, but began to perceive the political wisdom of tolerating differences which they had no power to eradicate. Protestantism became an element in the European system in spite of the pope, and with the recognition of this fact the great religious parties assumed their permanent limits. The court of Rome made the most determined exertions to retain its arbitrary jurisdiction, at least in ecclesiastical affairs. Urban VIII. appointed a Congregation of Immunity to defend it, and the consequence was a constant series of altercations with the different governments. Spain, Naples, Austria, Venice, Genoa, Savoy, above all France, were continually receiving objurgations, and not unfrequently withdrew their ambassadors from Rome. Richelieu, under whose long administration France attained the foremost place in Europe, though a cardinal and a controversialist, did not hesitate to ally himself with the Protestant powers against the confederacy of the pope with Spain and Austria. Louis XIV., while vigorously persecuting the Jansenists, took a malicious pleasure in mortifying the pope in his own capital. On pretence of an insult offered to his ambassador at Rome, he seized Avignon, and, sending troops into Italy, exacted an apology. The *Grand Monarch* further insisted on the pope's building a pyramid in Rome, with an inscription to perpetuate the memory of his humiliation.

Louis asserted the rights of his crown at home, with a vigour which Rome was not prepared for. He claimed to

dispose of the episcopal patronage during the vacancy of a see, and to invest the new bishop. He forbade the introduction into France of any bulls to the contrary, and the bishops and clergy stood by their king. In 1682 a National Council at Paris passed four resolutions affirming it to be the ancient doctrine of that church, 1. That neither St. Peter nor his successors have any authority in civil or temporal matters. 2. That the pope is subordinate to a General Council. 3. That the National Church of France ought to preserve its own customs. 4. That the decisions of the pope are not to be accounted infallible till confirmed by the assent of the church. These propositions express a doctrine, which, however condemned at Rome, has prevailed with moderate and enlightened Roman Catholics elsewhere.

Innocent had the wisdom to abstain from extremities: he censured the Gallican doctrine, but withheld the anathema, which might have driven France to follow the example of England. The "Great Monarch," however, was only a great bully. He disputed the pope's authority to regulate his own capital, and contended in arms for a right of asylum, which had been abolished as a common nuisance. On the pope excommunicating the ambassador, Louis again invested Avignon, appealed to a General Council, arrested the papal nuncio at his court, and talked of creating the archbishop of Paris patriarch of France. Yet, after all this bluster, the king not only abandoned his pretensions and restored Avignon, but allowed the pope to make the French clergy retract their propositions, and "prostrate at the feet of his holiness," implore pardon for asserting the rights of their national church. Louis acted exactly like our own Plantagenet princes: he used the clergy to frighten the pope, and the pope to pillage the clergy. He was never at any moment true to his creed,

his church, or his crown. "The State," he said, "is myself," and certainly he thought no interests so important as his own.

Innocent XI. was a man of talent, firmness, and piety. "They come with horses and chariots," he said, when the French ambassador entered Rome, "but we will walk in the name of the Lord." As much beyond the reach of bribery as of fear, he was one of the very few pontiffs who have shown themselves superior to that standing reproach of ecclesiastical governors, the appropriation to themselves and their relatives of the power and revenue entrusted to them for the good of the church. Innocent found that since the beginning of the century, not less than 17,000,000 of crowns had been consumed on private affection out of the revenues of the Holy See. Shocked at such a misuse of the contributions of the faithful, he issued a bull to suppress the practice for ever.

One of the most curious chapters in history is this pope's alleged connection with our own English Revolution of 1688. He was far too good and wise a man to hope anything from such a prince as James II.; and when Louis XIV. sought his approval of the barbarous measures against the Huguenots, the pope answered, "that was not the method employed by Christ: men must be led, not dragged, into the temple."¹ Instead of abetting his tyranny, Innocent joined the alliance against Louis as the common enemy of Europe. He was not repelled when told that the prince of Orange was to have the command on the Rhine, though the correspondence between that prince and his English adherents was certainly known at Rome. In fact, it was from that court that James was first apprised of the

¹ Ranke, viii. 16.

intended invasion. James was a mere vassal to France, and France was insulting the pope in his own capital. Hence the singular result that the expulsion of popery from the British throne was partly the act of the pope himself. The papacy was obliged to lean on Protestant arms to rebut the outrages of the Eldest Son of the Church!

A deeper humiliation befel the pontificate from trusting to the power of France, after its reconciliation with Louis. Charles II. of Spain, who died childless in 1700, bequeathed the succession to Philip of Anjou, the Dauphin's second son.¹ His will was made under the advice of Innocent XII., and Clement XI. did not hesitate to recommend the dangerous legacy to the acceptance of the French monarch. But Louis had previously concluded with England and Holland, a treaty of partition between the rival claimants. Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands were to go to Ferdinand of Bavaria, Milan to the archduke Charles, and only the Two Sicilies to the Dauphin. The accession of a French prince to the undivided monarchy, was, therefore, resolutely opposed by the other powers, and, the Bavarian prince being dead, England and Holland formed a grand alliance with the emperor to place the archduke Charles on the Spanish throne.² On the other hand, France was joined by the

¹ The Dauphin was the son of Charles's eldest sister, and next heir, had not his mother renounced the Spanish succession on her marriage with the French king. The elector of Bavaria was grand-nephew by another sister, who had also executed a renunciation, but this was said not to have been confirmed by the Cortes. A third claimant was the emperor Leopold, the husband of Charles's second sister, and sole male descendant of Ferdinand and Isabella: his rights were ceded to his second son Charles.

² A second treaty had been executed on the death of Ferdinand, which also came to nothing. These transactions were managed by William III., unknown to his ministers; and Lord Somers, the chancellor, pleaded ignorance in answer to an impeachment of the House of Commons, in 1701.

elector of Bavaria, the elector of Cologne, the king of Portugal, and the dukes of Savoy and Milan. The elector of Brandenburg, who seized the opportunity to crown himself king of Prussia, declared for the grand alliance. All Europe was again plunged in war, and the pope had the misfortune to be on the unsuccessful side. The Imperial and Prussian armies entered Italy, and Clement XI., after formally congratulating Philip V., was compelled to recognise Charles III. as the Most Catholic King. The French ambassador left Rome declaring it was no longer the seat of the church, and the pope was often heard to say that he wished he repented of his sins as sincerely as he did of ascending the pontifical throne. To add to the bitterness of his sorrow, it was Protestant England which mainly decided the fortunes of the war, and thereby changed the aspect of Europe.

The peace of Utrecht (11th April, 1713) which closed the war of the Spanish succession, was concluded without any reference to the pontiff who claimed authority to create and depose kings. Charles having succeeded his brother Joseph in the empire (A.D. 1711) relinquished the crown of Spain to Philip, retaining to himself the Netherlands and Lombardy, together with Naples an acknowledged fief of the Holy See, and Sardinia which it had claimed for centuries. Sicily, another papal fief, was bestowed with the title of king on Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, while England retained only her conquests of Gibraltar and Minorca. Seven years after, the treaty of London gave Sardinia to Savoy in exchange for Sicily, which was reunited to Naples. Parma and Placentia, which had been fiefs of the church for two centuries, were assigned without asking the pope's leave to Don Carlos of Spain, who soon after succeeded to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. These possessions he induced the emperor to accept in

exchange for the crown of the Two Sicilies, and they were given to Francis, the husband of the emperor's only daughter, Maria Theresa.

The German wars of succession which ensued on the death of Charles VI., resulted in the elevation of Francis to the imperial crown, and by the peace of Aix la Chapelle (1748), Italy was again redistributed without the least reference to the pope. France obtained the Austrian Netherlands, Lombardy was restored to the emperor, and Parma went to the Spanish Infante Philip. The pope, who once created kingdoms of Divine right, had lost all voice in the country which still looked on Rome as its capital. His ecclesiastical prerogatives were angrily questioned both in Spain and Italy, and the Venetian envoy reported that "whether it proceeded (as many people maintained) from the spread of enlightened ideas, or from a tyrannical disposition to crush the weaker party, it was certain that the kings of Europe were making rapid progress in stripping the Roman See of all its temporal rights and privileges."¹

Benedict XIV. acquired the odious denomination of the "Protestant" pope, from the concessions which he felt obliged to consent to in order to prevent a general revolt. To the crown of Spain he relinquished nearly all his patronage in that kingdom for the sum of 1,143,330 crowns. The court of Naples obtained the power of taxing the clergy, and diminishing the number of holidays, two very unwelcome innovations to the priesthood and the *lazzaroni*. Portugal was pacified with the title of "Most Faithful King," in addition to some extension of the crown patronage. Still Europe was far from being

¹ Ranke, *Append.*, No. 162. *Relazione di Mocenigo*, where the differences are detailed with the Courts of Naples, Spain, Turin, France, Portugal, and the empire (1737).

satisfied. The long accumulating distrust and hatred of the Jesuits found expression at the court of Rome, and the Protestant pope adopted measures of great severity for a thorough reform of the order. The secularity and immorality of its members were continually denounced not only by Jansenists, but by all who cherished evangelical opinions in the Latin Church. The Dominicans and other missionaries complained of their criminal compliance with idolatrous usages in India and China. This point was solemnly decided against the Jesuits in 1704, but persisting in their own course, they obtained a new decree in 1715, which virtually sanctioned all they desired. Clement XI. gave them a still greater triumph in the bull *Unigenitus* (1713), which condemned the Jansenist doctrines of sin, grace, and justification, in stronger language than ever; it even pronounced them heretical. The court of Rome was now afraid of its slaves. "The Jesuits dare everything," said the pope, and he had not the courage to offend them.

Still the Jansenists, however oppressed and persecuted, propagated their views, not only in France, but throughout Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and even at Vienna and Brussels.¹ The persecutions they endured were more damaging to the church than to themselves, and public opinion set strongly against the Jesuits. Their wealth and influence excited the notice of the different governments: the first was the product of vast commercial and manufacturing speculations, the other arose from a monopoly of the confessionals and the schools. The sway thus acquired being directed to political more than spiritual ends, Benedict XIV. instituted a searching reform; but his successor falling back on the famous *non possumus*, declared it impossible to

¹ Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquis., iii. 93-97.

alter what had been sanctioned by the Council of Trent. The courts of Europe then proceeded after their own fashion.

The first to act was Portugal, where the Jesuits were implicated in a plot to murder the king. The truth of the accusation remains in dispute, but it shows the altered temper of the times, that it was readily believed in a country on which the Order had very strong claims. The missionaries were torn from their simple Indians in Brazil, and carried (packed like negroes in a slave vessel) to Lisbon. From thence the whole Order was transported to Italy, and discharged, with a small allowance for their support, on the papal territories (1759).

Similar measures followed soon after in Spain. The king caused the Jesuit colleges to be surrounded by troops at midnight on an appointed day, and the inmates to be seized and hurried to the coast, where they were embarked in vessels previously provided. On the following morning, not a Jesuit remained in Spain (1767). The involuntary emigrants were transported to Cività Vecchia, but the pope refused to let his children land, saying, that if all princes were to do the same his dominions would be too small to hold such unwelcome returns. The poor Jesuits, after being kept tossing three months on the Mediterranean, were landed in Corsica, without beds or other necessaries. The crowded vessels, the climate, and the hardships disposed of the aged and infirm. The king of Spain was at last prevailed on to grant the survivors a shilling a day, and with this provision they were allowed to settle in the Papal States.

In France the Order was impleaded and formally suppressed, as an illegal association, by a decree of the parliament of Paris in 1762. Clement declared the

sentence null and void, but he was afraid to publish his allocution: the society was abolished, and the revenues confiscated to the State. The example was followed by the courts of Naples and Parma, which, together with Tuscany and Sardinia, were now included in the Bourbon Family Compact. The pope protested in vain. The duke of Parma forbade all appeals to Rome. The Bourbon courts menaced further aggression. The Italian States, Genoa, Modena, Venice, took part against the pope: the emperor was deaf to his entreaties. At last the ambassadors of the Bourbon sovereigns demanded the abolition of the Order itself, and Clement XIII. had summoned a consistory to consider the demand, when he was seized with convulsions and died (1769), not without suspicion of poison.

His successor was the Franciscan friar Ganganelli, who had already shown in the Sacred College his sense of the dangers which menaced the church from the resolute attitude of the chief sovereigns of Europe. On the 21st July, 1773, he signed the bull which had been demanded for the entire suppression of the Jesuits. It was conceived in few but momentous words: "Inspired as we humbly trust by the Divine Spirit, urged by the duty of restoring the unanimity of the Church, convinced that the Company of Jesus can no longer render those services for which it was instituted, and moved by other reasons of prudence and state policy which we hold locked in our breast, we abolish and annul the Society of Jesus, their functions, houses, and institutions."

This decree amounted to a confession of the dethronement of the papacy, and the triumph of Protestantism. Though demanded by papal states, and conceded by the pope himself, it was a measure to facilitate not the subdual of heresy, but the extension of anti-papal

principles within the countries adhering to the Roman communion. The pope could not throw overboard an Order founded expressly to defend his supremacy, without danger to the supremacy itself. Clement XIV. observed as he signed the decree, that it would be the cause of his death, and the following year he expired, being the second pope who was suspected of falling a sacrifice to Jesuit revenge. Clement, like his predecessor, was a good and pious man, but unlike him, he was forward with concessions to the demand of the times. He suppressed the reading of the bull *In cœna Domini*, enlarged the concessions to Sardinia and Portugal, and withdrew the process against Parma. "The popes of the 18th century were, for the most part, as wise, liberal, and moderate as any who ever sat in the chair of St. Peter, but they felt the doom incurred by the deeds of their predecessors, they seemed to be haunted by forebodings of imminent destruction."¹ The tide of change swept on, and the Holy See, instead of directing its course, floated helplessly on the surface.

The sons of Maria Theresa, Joseph and Leopold, successively grand-dukes of Tuscany, were princes of large and enlightened views. The elder was elected king of the Romans in 1764, and on succeeding to the imperial crown on the death of his father, the following year, resigned Tuscany to his brother. The emperor Joseph II. was a bold and ambitious reformer, but wanting in ballast. His rapid assaults shook the papal system in Germany to its foundation. Anxious to consolidate the imperial dominions under one government, and to supersede their ten languages by the Austrian dialect, he would endure no interference from without. He declared all religious Orders free from

¹ Mariotti.

foreign dependence, and the clergy entitled to grant marriage licenses without any foreign sanction. He superseded by imperial edict the canons against mixed marriages, abolished the censorship of the press, together with pilgrimages and many other superstitious observances. Above all, he suppressed two-thirds of the monasteries. Pius vi. made a journey to Vienna in order to remonstrate, but the emperor, alternately stigmatised as Jansenist and Infidel, remained immovable. He was supported by the ecclesiastical electors, who, in a declaration at Ems, desired the Roman pontiff to content himself with the primacy enjoyed by his see in the primitive church.

None of these movements, however, were based on really evangelical principles, or had any higher object than to advance the power of the crown and the prelates at the expense of the papacy. They were accordingly doomed to failure. The Austrian populace resented the abrogation of their favourite superstitions, and the ambition of Prussia inaugurated a Germanic confederacy to check the rising power of Austria. The political struggles that ensued effaced almost all the imperial reforms. Still the German church was permanently shaken in its attachment to the papacy. Leopold, who was confessedly a Jansenist, introduced similar reforms in Tuscany, and the synod of Pistoia discussed, at the very gates of Rome, fifty-seven propositions, which struck at the roots of the entire papal system (1787).

The Inquisition was abolished in Naples, Tuscany, and Parma, in 1782. Naples followed up the step with further reforms; monasteries were suppressed in 1784, and in 1788 the Queen Regent formally renounced the feudal dependence on Rome which had existed from the foundation of the kingdom. From one end of Europe to the other there was not a single state reposing con-

fidence in the Roman court, when the French Revolution burst like a hurricane on its devoted head, and swept it away in a moment.

Many causes conduced to the long-gathered hate and fury of this terrible explosion. The despotism and frightful licentiousness of the French court, the corruption of all public offices, including the courts of justice, and the oppressive privileges of the nobles, had thoroughly disintegrated the social fabric. The inhuman pride of the aristocracy was repaid by the savage animosity of the canaille. The successful insurrection of the British provinces in America had excited a republican spirit, which the literary men laboured to extend and inflame. War and speculation had reduced the finances to the brink of national bankruptcy, and in the circle which monopolised the government, and looked with contempt on the common people, there was not one who possessed the intellect, the principle, and the heart necessary to a great statesman.

The greatest source of danger, however, was the Church: so far from doing its rightful work by uniting the different classes of society in the bonds of Christian fellowship, the French church was itself the most disintegrated and the most detested portion of the constitution. The old Gallican independence had been prostrated at the feet of the crown and the pope; the persecution of the Jansenists had alienated the pious; while the dissensions of the clergy excited the contempt of the scoffer. The wealth and secularity of the prelates and court favourites contrasted scandalously with the apostolical poverty of the country clergy. The unbeliever could even point at ecclesiastics who outran the lay sceptics in turpitude and infidelity. Notwithstanding the zeal and learning of some of the clergy, and the ignorant affectionate piety still subsisting among

the peasantry, the Church was diseased to the core, and the fountain of the poison was universally felt to be at Rome.

The infidel philosophy of the eighteenth century was unquestionably the offspring of the superstitious bigotry and pecuniary corruption which reigned in the Holy See. When the necessities of the young king obliged his minister of finance to have recourse to the States General, the fusion of the three Chambers into one National Assembly, whereby the entire power was transferred to the most numerous order, was brought about by the lower clergy and the nobility. The classes which in England would be called the country gentry and clergy, united with the burgesses against the prelates and grand seigneurs. The first act of this national assembly (while the king was yet upon the throne) was the confiscation of the church property, and the conversion of the clergy into State stipendiaries. A new distribution of dioceses and duties followed, coupled with a dissolution of vows, and the suppression of religious orders. The connexion with Rome was dissolved, and the clergy were required to swear obedience to the State. These reforms were cordially approved by the Jansenists, and, with the exception of the abolition of the papal supremacy and the religious orders, they have been retained to the present day.

The Jansenists gave their consent also to the more extreme measure of substituting popular election for canonical institution, which the then existing authorities refused to grant. In all this it was the papacy, more than the National Church, which was assailed. It was an attempt to pull down Babylon, without destroying the substructure on which she was seated. For alas! the Word of God, the primitive rule of faith, and the rule of the Protestant Reformation, was not the rule

of the French Revolution. The Huguenots had been crushed and scattered; the Jansenists halted between two opinions, and reformers of another spirit quickly seized the reins. Men of blood, confounding the church with her ministers, defied God Himself, on account of the wickedness perpetrated in His name.

These men hurled the whole power of France with insane animosity against the rest of Europe. They entered on a universal war of propagandism, everywhere calling on the ruled to rise against their rulers; and so numerous were the abuses both in Church and State, that everywhere the appeal was responded to. It is worthy of observation that only those nations which eschewed popery were able to resist the tide. *Every throne and every church, without exception, that owned the supremacy of Rome, was prostrated in the dust.* The Holy Roman Empire itself was dissolved, and the chair of St. Peter overturned: the powers opposed to popery were those alone which stood fast, and eventually rescued the others.

Hostilities began with a declaration of war by the French republic against the queen's father, the emperor Leopold, for protesting against the principles of the Revolution. The coalition of Austria with Prussia and Holland was replied to by the trial and execution of the unhappy Louis XVI., 21st January, 1793, and ten days after the National Assembly extended the field of war to England and Spain. All that remained of the French people, after the slaughter or flight of the royalists, rushed into these hostilities. The kingdom was one entire camp. The conscription drafted into the ranks all the single men between 18 and 25 years of age: the married men were employed in making arms, the women military clothing: the old men were required to preach republicanism: even the children were

made to pull lint for the field hospitals. It was a people's crusade against crowns and mitres. Belgium was annexed at a swoop. Nice and Savoy followed, and the Revolution was at the gates of Italy. Ferdinand, grand-duke of Tuscany, brother to the French queen whose life still hung in the balance, acknowledged the republic; the king of Naples declared war against it; the pope excommunicated it. The Corsicans placed their island under British protection (1794); but the same year a young Corsican officer, in the French Artillery, was examining the fortifications of Genoa, and two years later the same officer led a French army to the subjugation of Italy.

The Reign of Terror, and the worship of Reason, came to an end in 1794. Robespierre, who acted as high priest to the God of Nature, with seventy of his adherents, were sent to the guillotine, and the tricoloured flag supplanted the blood-stained banner of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. The first effect of this halt in the rush of democracy was peace, the next the renewal of war on a more gigantic scale, under the direction of NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. His rigorous suppression of the Paris mob (5th October, 1795) changed the destinies not of France only, but of Europe. The Revolution, which began with the rights of man, passed under the control of a professor of war; a man who regarded neither law, liberty, nor life itself, in the acquisition of power; who, more than any other, bartered nations like cattle, and bestowed crowns as mere pieces of patronage; with whom religion was always a jest or a matter of politics; whose remorseless despotism abrogated even the most sacred ties of humanity; who divorced his innocent wife at the call of ambition, and made his brothers repudiate the mothers of their children. The philosophy which had

exchanged the Gospel for the worship of Reason, and enthroned the God of Nature in a reign of terror, culminated in, perhaps, the greatest incarnation of SELF which the world has ever seen.

A single campaign was enough to make Bonaparte, then only in his 29th year,¹ master of Italy. Sardinia, Parma, Naples, were successively reduced. Milan was wrested from the Austrians, and the Legations from the pope.² Modena, Reggio, Bologna, and Ferrara were formed into the *Cispadane Republic* under the protection of France. The next year witnessed the fall of Verona, Genoa, Leghorn, and Venice. The Austrians, who alone had continued the war, were everywhere defeated, and the peace of Campo Formio, signed 17th October, 1797, attested their humiliation. By this treaty the merchant princes of Venice, after a career of more than ten centuries, suffered the fate they once helped to inflict on the eastern empire. Their dominions were partitioned between the French and the Austrians: the sincerity of French republicanism was shown by delivering up the seat of the only republic that held place among European sovereigns to an absolute monarchy; its enlightenment, by consigning the proudest home of Italian civilisation to a German autocrat.

The French portion of the spoil, united with the *Cispadane Republic*, Milan, Mantua, Massa, Carrara, Ravenna, Farenza, and Rimini, constituted the *Cisalpine Republic*. Many of these were unquestioned fiefs of the Holy See; but far from asking the pope's consent to

¹ He was born February 5, 1768, but he chose to say August, 1769, because Corsica had then been incorporated into the French monarchy.—*Alison's "History of Europe,"* cap. xx., note.

² The Legations were those acquisitions of the Holy See which the pope governed by *Legates*, viz., Bologna, Romagna, and Ferrara.

their alienation, Bonaparte exacted of him five millions of livres towards the expenses of the war; while Pius vi. was pleading the neutrality of his position as the common father of Christendom, the unscrupulous soldier attacked and routed his troops, and forced him to a treaty which closed his ports against the adversaries of France, ceded Avignon and the Venaisin to the French, abandoned the Legations, and contributed a further subsidy to the conqueror of thirty millions of francs, with a hundred of the finest works of art in Rome.¹

The object of the French directory was the destruction of the pontifical government, as the irreconcilable enemy of the republic. They urged their general to drive the pope and cardinals out of Rome. Bonaparte proposed to give the Eternal City to the king of Spain, on condition of his recognising the French republic. Failing in this, he resorted to a system of pillage which exhausted its resources, and finally a democratical demonstration was got up at Rome in the accustomed manner, in which one of the French envoys was killed by the fire of the pontifical troops. This misfortune afforded the desired pretext. The French army pouring in under Berthier planted the tri-colour on the Capitol, while their Roman confederates displaying the famous insignia, S. P. Q. R., shouted for liberty. The aged pope was summoned to surrender the temporal government; on his refusal, he was dragged from the altar, and the soldiers plundered the Vatican in presence of its owner. They stripped his own chamber: when he asked to be left to die in peace, he was brutally answered that any place would serve to die in. His rings were torn from his fingers, and finally, after declaring the temporal power abolished, the victors carried

¹ Treaty of Tolentino, February 19, 1797.—*Alison's "History of Europe,"* cap. xx.

the pope prisoner into Tuscany, whence he never returned (1798).

The Papal States, converted into the *Roman Republic*, were declared to be in perpetual alliance with France, but the French general was the real master at Rome. The citizens groaned under his terrible exactions. Churches, convents, palaces, were stripped to the bare walls. The works of art were nearly all carried off. The territorial possessions of the clergy and monks were declared national property, and their former owners cast into prison. The papacy was extinct: not a vestige of its existence remained; and among all the Roman Catholic powers not a finger was stirred in its defence. The Eternal City had no longer prince or pontiff; its bishop was a dying captive in foreign lands; and the decree was already announced that no successor would be allowed in his place.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FRENCH RECONSTRUCTION.

Revolution in France—Resistance of Protestant Europe—Death of the pope in a French Prison—Accession of Pius VII.—Bonaparte's Conquest of Italy—Concordat with France—Humiliation of the Papacy—Coronation of Napoleon—His Importunities on the pope—Tergiversation of Prussia—Kingdom of Italy—Dissolution of Holy Roman Empire—Arrest of the pope—Removal to France—Annexation of the Papal States—Surrender of Pius—Fall of Napoleon—Release of the pope—Return to Rome—Cardinal in London—Reorganisation of Italy—Restitution of Papal States—Popish gratitude to England—Intolerance—Pope Leo XII.—Jubilee—Unchristian Epitaph—Pius VIII.—English Cardinal—Second French Revolution—Gregory XVI.—Repression of Revolution—Pius IX.—Liberal Tendencies—Alliance with Sardinia—Riot at Rome—Flight of Pius—Interference of the French Republic—Papal Aggression—Coalition of France and Sardinia. Expulsion of Austrians from Lombardy—Revolution in Kingdom of Naples—The Legations—New Kingdom of Italy.

THE fury with which the French Republic poured its forces upon Europe carried for the moment everything before it. Few were the Governments strong enough in the confidence of their subjects to despise an armed appeal to disaffection. The Reign of Terror and the Conscription drove the bulk of the French population into the field, and the first successes awoke that intoxicating passion for military glory which is never long dormant in this impulsive nation. Army after army was discharged upon the adjoining kingdoms, with the violence of a volcano, and the scathing torrent bore down all resistance. It was not long, however, before the powers of Europe saw the necessity of uniting against the common enemy. Austria, Prussia, and Holland formed a coalition in 1792, but the two former, gorged with the spoils of unhappy Poland, were in

no condition to champion the rights of nations. Prussia quickly changed sides to partake the spoils of the invader. Of the continental powers Russia made the strongest stand, but England was the only country that, seeking no unlawful gain in the confusion, opposed the tide of aggression from first to last, and at one time sustained alone the cause of national independence.

To the champions of justice the Roman State was an object of equal interest with any other subverted nationality. Hence the singular phenomenon, that the only defenders of the papal government were the powers most opposed to popery. It was no authority of the Roman See which repelled the waves of democracy and irreligion; nor was it a Roman Catholic hand that replaced the fallen chair of St. Peter. The pontifical throne owed its re-establishment to Russia, whose emperor is the pope of a rival communion, and to England, so long the object of papal anathemas, whose constitution demands the exclusion of popery from the throne.

The French, after a furious struggle with Naples and Sardinia, had possessed themselves of the entire peninsula, when the army of Suwarrow entered Italy in April 1799. Bonaparte was then absent on his Egyptian expedition, and a succession of defeats reversed the French successes with marvellous rapidity. Lombardy and Sardinia were recovered by the allied Austrians and Russians. The English fleet liberated Naples, and Commodore Troubridge, anchoring at the mouth of the Tiber, received the surrender of Rome on the 29th September, 1799. The Neapolitan forces took possession of the Castle of St. Angelo the next month.

The pope was still languishing in captivity, and his gaolers, alarmed at the prospect of losing their prisoner, hurried him away to France, where death released him from his suffering the following March. The cardinals

took advantage of the momentary abasement of the French to proceed to the election of a successor: but not at Rome, nor with wonted pontifical pomp, was the new pope enthroned. The Eternal City groaned under the military exactions of the Neapolitans. The Papal States were traversed by opposing armies. It was at Venice that the conclave, with maimed and mutilated rites, proclaimed the cardinal Gregory Barnabas Chiaramonte, by the title of Pius VII.

Proceeding soon after to Rome, Pius commenced the arduous task of restoring the finances and trade of his exhausted dominions: but peace was yet distant from Italy.¹ Bonaparte having escaped from Egypt, and been invested with the authority of First Consul, crossed the Great St. Bernard with an army of 36,000 men and forty guns, and descended like another Hannibal on the plains of Italy, resolved to recover the tarnished honours of France. The Russians were now on his side, and the Austrians proved incapable of resisting him. The victory of Marengo (14th June, 1800) changed again the fate of Italy: the Cisalpine republic was restored; Genoa became the Ligurian republic; Tuscany was converted into the kingdom of Etruria, and Piedmont annexed to France.²

The pope again trembled for Rome, but the First

¹ Cardinal Wiseman claims for Pius VII, at this early period the honour of establishing the currency and free trade on the enlightened basis of modern policy.—*Recollections of the Last Four Popes*.

² The emperor was compelled to recognise these arrangements by the treaty of Lanneville (9th February, 1801), which confirmed the humiliating conditions of Campo Formio, and ceded the left bank of the Rhine to France. Bonaparte gave the Etrurian crown to Louis, prince of Parma, in exchange for that duchy. Bonaparte insisted on Francis signing this treaty, as emperor of Germany, on behalf of the empire, and not only of Austria. The act was obviously in excess of his power, and the diet made some difficulty in confirming it. The princes saw that the empire was no longer able to protect itself, and the Confederation of the Rhine, formed under Napoleon, effected the dissolution of the German empire.

Consul had acquired new views with his new title and authority. Meditating further assaults on the French democracy, he saw the advantage of connecting them with national traditions, by restoring the Established Church. From the field of Marengo he sent proposals to Pius VII., which resulted in a concordat. The pope conceded the alienation of the church lands, amounting to £16,000,000 in value, and the new organisation of the clergy as stipendiaries of the State. The First Consul on his part restored the right of canonical institution, and even abandoned the State *veto* on the appointments. On these conditions the Church of Rome became again the Established Church in France; but Napoleon had no idea of restoring the papacy of old times. The primacy of Rome was not only limited to purely spiritual questions, but the Gallican declaration of 1682 was insisted on as a fundamental principle of the constitution. The church was subjected to State control. No monastic vows were tolerated; marriage was made a civil rite; Protestant churches were legalised; and all was carried out in an anti-Roman spirit.

The papal authority was assailed with still greater rudeness by Bonaparte's proceedings in Germany. The ecclesiastical electorates of the Holy Roman Empire were occupied with as little scruple as any other principalities. He gave away bishoprics, as temporal lordships, to protestant and papist indifferently. Some Roman Catholic States became Protestant. The canon law was everywhere contemptuously swept away. Nearer home the ruthless and ambitious destroyer declared himself president of the Italian republic which replaced the Cisalpine; and the concordat effected in this capacity with Pius deprived the pope of all temporal patronage. Pius declined to publish its provisions, for fear of losing his last hold on the respect of his subjects.

In this humiliated condition the pope was summoned to Paris to assist in the coronation of the modern Charlemagne. His function was limited to the benediction: Napoleon would allow no hand but his own to place the imperial crown on his head, and that of his consort Josephine. As the price of his condescension, Pius ventured to solicit the abrogation of the declaration of 1682, and the restoration of the Legations to the Holy See. Napoleon refused both, but advised him to quit Rome and trust to the eldest son of the church; giving him the choice of residing either at Paris, or at Avignon, now incorporated with the French empire. The offer sounded so like a command, that Pius told him that, before becoming his guest, a resignation of the papacy had been duly deposited at Palermo, in order that a successor might be chosen, in the event of his sharing the fate of his predecessor.

The intrepid pontiff was allowed to withdraw from these too pressing hospitalities, but could not escape, in his own capital, the importunities of the French emperor, who regarded Rome and the church itself as subject to his dominion. "You are sovereign of Rome," he wrote to Pius, "but I am its emperor: all Italy must be subject to my law: your holiness must pay me the same respect in temporal matters that I pay you in spiritual matters." To the viceroy of Italy he wrote that "the rights of the tiara consist in humiliation and prayer: I hold my crown from God and my people. The court of Rome will always find me a Charlemagne, never a Louis le Débonnaire. Jesus Christ has not instituted a pilgrimage to Rome as Mohammed did to Mecca." With these views he imperiously demanded the expulsion of the English, Russian, Sardinian, and Swedish envoys from the Court of Rome: "my enemies must be yours," was his arrogant decree.

These pretensions became the more embarrassing, as all Europe seemed to be yielding before the new power. Napoleon practised on a gigantic scale the art of buying support with other people's property. The breach between Austria and Russia in 1799, was occasioned by his offering Malta to Paul, and partly by a fear on the part of the Austrians that Russian zeal might insist on restoring Venice with the rest of Italy to the legitimate owners. The first power to take up arms against the French republic was Prussia; it was also the first to secede from the coalition and make peace, after seizing Poland on pretence of suppressing Jacobinism. In 1796, Prussia, becoming the secret ally of France, in order to obtain Munster, thwarted all the measures taken against her in the empire. In December 1800, Prussia rejoined the coalition, but the following year was bribed back again to France by the offer of Hanover, Hildesheim, and Goslar. The Prussian monarch entered Hanover in the guise of an ally of George III.; then seizing the government, he closed the Elbe and the Weser against the vessels of the lawful ruler. The king of Prussia was the first, again, to pay homage to the emperor Napoleon, and wear the grand cross of the new Legion of Honour. The crown of Hanover rewarded his servility, but when Napoleon offered George III. his own dominions again, as one of the conditions of peace with England, Prussia complained of the "robbery," and talked loudly of the sin of foreign aggression! The French eagle, however, tolerated no rebellion among the kites. Napoleon turned upon his vassal, scattered his forces at Jena, and, occupying Berlin as a conqueror, dictated from that capital the celebrated "continental system," by which England was to be isolated from Europe on pain of the modern Charlemagne's imperial displeasure.

In 1805, Napoleon, having erected northern Italy into a kingdom, assumed the iron crown at Milan :¹ the Ligurian republic he annexed to France, and gave the duchies of Lucca and Guastalla to two of his sisters. The same year he entered Vienna, and extinguished the German empire on the field of Austerlitz. The emperor Francis ceded his Venetian territories to the new kingdom of Italy, and a large part of Austria to Napoleon's German allies. In exchange for two thousand square miles of territory and two and a-half millions of subjects, he received the dominions of the suppressed archiepiscopal electorate of Saltzburg, and the grand mastership of the Teutonic Order which was taken from Prussia. After this treaty the German empire was a farce. The Confederation of the Rhine placed its leading princes under the protection of Napoleon, and Francis, finding himself deserted, issued a manifesto renouncing the Teutonic sceptre, and limiting himself to the title of emperor of Austria (August 1806).

Thus expired the last relic of the Holy Roman empire. The crown which Leo placed on the head of Charlemagne, a thousand years before, was abandoned before the resistless swoop of the French eagles. Napoleon asserted the ancient title of emperor of the Franks, and nowhere was he more determined to maintain its authority than in Rome.

Pius rejected his pretensions with the gentle but invincible firmness which constituted the strength of his character. To punish his refusal to declare war against England, the French troops again entered Rome (2nd February 1808), exiled the cardinals, and kept the pope a prisoner in his palace on Monte Cavallo.

¹ Again the self-confident monarch placed the crown upon his own head, and Josephine's, refusing to receive it at the hand of the archbishop.

His secretary of state, cardinal Paëca, only escaped arrest by becoming the pontiff's companion in his private apartments. For a whole year they endured their confinement without yielding. In May 1809, Napoleon annexed the Papal States to the French empire, of which Rome was declared to be the second city. When informed of the decree, the pope excommunicated the emperor by a bull, written with his own hand, which was affixed at St. Peter's, and other churches, by agents who escaped detection. This daring act provoked the resentment and alarm of the French troops. They broke into the palace by night, arrested the pope and the cardinal, and conveyed them out of Rome with so much haste that their two purses contained but a single papetto (10d).

At Florence the cardinal was separated from the pope, and sent to a prison in Savoy, where he lay a close prisoner for nearly four years. Pius was hurried across the Alps to Grenoble, whence by Napoleon's order he was transferred to Savona. Affecting to disclaim the violence of his officers, the emperor took care to sanction what had been done: he revoked the gift of Charlemagne, and confirmed the annexation of the Papal States. He subsequently acknowledged that his object was to have the pope in France, and, by making him his own instrument, rule the Latin Church, as the Czar ruled the Russian. The pope, however, remained impracticable, and was detained a close prisoner till the allied armies crossed the Rhine in the spring of 1814.

Meantime, the Roman states enjoyed the unquestionable advantages of French administration. The improvements at Rome were marvellous: monuments disinterred from the accumulations of centuries,¹ the

¹ The columns of Jupiter Tonans and Jupiter Stator, the interior of the Coliseum, the Forum, with the Via Sacra, Trajan's pillar, the temple

rapid suppression of brigandage, and surveys for the long neglected drainage of the Pontine marshes, attested the superiority of secular to priestly government. If Napoleon had been the lawful king, and could have been content to rule at amity with other nations, Rome and the Italians might lament the day when the modern Charlemagne was discrowned. The emperor, however, could tolerate no power but his own. The pope, presuming to exercise his spiritual functions to the displeasure of his gaoler, was treated with great severity at Savona. His counsellors were taken from him and confined in different dungeons. The emperor had the meanness to reduce the table allowance of the pope and his household to five paoli (2s. 6d.) a day: the supreme pontiff was even seen mending his own clothes.

On Napoleon's departure for Moscow, Pius was removed to Fontainebleau, and treated with greater liberality, but still carefully secluded from all advisers likely to counsel resistance to the imperial will. He agreed to abdicate the temporal authority, and the emperor was sanguine of inducing him to accept the archbishopric of Paris *in commendam* with the See of Rome, translating the seat of power to the French metropolis. He promised to invest this new Holy See with greater authority than had ever been known at Rome. All nations should obey it: all the world should tremble at its thunder. It was for this that he filled Paris with the art-treasures of other capitals, and lamented that he could not transport St. Peter's itself.

On his return from Moscow, Napoleon's first act was to visit the pope, when, exercising his well-known powers of dissimulation, he cajoled the old man into a concordat, which tacitly abandoned the temporal power,

of Vesta, and the baths of Titus, owe their discovery or restoration to this period.

and placed the spiritual functions of the papacy in accord with the French empire. Pius was at once set at liberty and loaded with favours. The cardinals were allowed to rejoin him from their several exiles; but when Pacca arrived, the pope told him with tears that he had been overreached and deluded. The secretary agreed that the concordat was dishonourable, and, in a letter to the emperor, Pius retracted his consent, and publicly owned his repentance.

By this time Napoleon was in no condition to resort to violence. The retreat from Moscow had sealed his doom. Pius, taking heart, declared he would listen to no further proposals, save in Rome. He was suffered to depart from Fontainebleau (22nd January 1813), and a decree of the 10th February 1814, restored Rome and the district of Thrasymene to his sovereignty. Still he was detained, on various pretexts, in the south of France, till Napoleon's power was no more. The pope was still in Provence when Paris capitulated to the allied sovereigns, 30th March 1814. Orders were instantly issued to conduct him with all the honours of his rank to the Italian frontier, and he entered Rome on the 24th May.

Pius's first object was to recover the entire sovereignty of the ecclesiastical states; and again it was on protestant England that he relied for support. During the visit of the allied sovereigns to London in June 1814, cardinal Consalvi presented himself with a letter from the pope, and was admitted to an audience of the prince Regent. For the first time for above two centuries, a cardinal legate was seen in his ecclesiastical habit in the streets of London. The prince Regent further violated the restraints of the constitution by writing to the pope in reply: the cost of conveying to Rome the works of art, restored to their owners from the spoils accumulated in Paris, was paid by the English sovereign.

In the reorganisation of Italy, Austria gave up Parma as an appanage for the empress Maria Louisa and the infant king of Rome;¹ while the late master of Europe retired to the diminutive "empire" of the island of Elba. This restless spirit could not long be caged in that obscure retreat. Relanding in France, Napoleon made that desperate attempt to recover his former throne, which ended in dethronement and exile. Murat, who, on the last occasion, had saved his crown at Naples by abandoning his benefactor now threw away both throne and life in his cause. The Bourbons returned to Naples and to Paris; and Italy, so long tossed on the waves of French aggression, was invited to repose under the restoration effected at the Congress of Vienna.

The arrangements thus briefly noted had in view the restoration of the balance of power, as it stood before the eruption of French republicanism. Religious differences were merged in political concord, and the papacy, regarded as a temporal power, owed its restitution almost entirely to protestant and antipapal arms. Of the great powers who dictated the peace of Europe, Austria alone shared the religious communion of Rome, but if Austria had prevailed, the pope would hardly have recovered his dominions uncurtailed. The British plenipotentiaries were instructed to support restitution pure and simple, and, Prussia adopting the same view, Pius recovered the sovereignty of the three Legations, the Marches of Ancona, and the duchies of Benevento and Ponte Corvo. It was not unnatural to suppose that such liberality on

¹ Napoleon bestowed this title on his son, born the 20th March 1811. The emperor's divorce from Josephine, and his marriage with the Austrian archduchess Maria Louisa, took place the previous year: both were in open breach of the laws of God and man, and only legalised by his arbitrary will. The pride of Austria was, indeed, humiliated when the emperor's daughter was delivered over as second wife, in the lifetime of the lawful partner, to a Corsican soldier.

the part of the antipapal powers, coupled with the manifest change in the situation of the world, would have impressed even the Roman See with a spirit of moderation and gratitude. British statesmen openly indulged the belief that nothing was again to be apprehended from the intolerance of the papacy. Shocked at the enormous crimes which had flowed from infidelity, they were anxious to encourage any form of Christianity. A strong desire was manifested to obliterate distinctions of creed, and restore equality and political rights to papists and protestants alike.

Such sentiments may be simulated, but are never truly reciprocated, at Rome. Pius VII. acknowledged his obligations to England with every appearance of sincerity; but the way in which he thought fit to manifest his gratitude, was by labouring for our return to the papal yoke. He revived the English college at Rome for the conversion of his benefactors. He encouraged the building of a Roman Catholic chapel, calling itself a pro-cathedral, in London. On presenting it with a magnificent chalice, he said that "nothing was too good for the English catholics." This was his reading of his obligations to England. In the same spirit he hastened to revive the order of Jesuits at Rome (7th August 1814), an example immediately followed in Spain. The inquisition was next restored. In Sardinia, Tuscany, and Naples, the priests resumed their intolerance, and the cry of popular discontent rose loud in Italy, before the thunders of Waterloo had ceased to reverberate. In France, the government of Louis XVIII. sacrificed the last vestige of Gallican independence, to place the Church in a dependence on Rome never tolerated in any former age.

In 1817 the pope fulminated a condemnation of Bible societies, and the censure was renewed by his successor

Leo XII.: the Word of God was again subjected to persecution from the inquisition. Pius VII. closed his long and troubled pontificate on the 16th August 1823, enjoying, according to his admiring biographer, the steady and unvarying love and veneration of his subjects. A cardinal may be pardoned for believing that "there is no instance in history where the judgment of posterity is less likely to reverse the verdict of contemporaries."¹

His successor, notwithstanding the formidable appellations of Hannibal (della Genga) and Leo³ was a quiet, respectable prelate, chiefly renowned for celebrating the jubilee, which the troubles of his predecessor had prevented from inaugurating the century. The Roman Catholic powers, afraid of political disturbances, threw cold water on the project; but, unmoved by all remonstrances, the pope knocked with his silver hammer on the long closed "Holy Gate" of St. Peter's on Christmas Eve 1824, and, to the joy of an eye witness, admitted in his train the first of that sad succession of apostates from the ministry of the English Church, whose perversion is the disgrace of our times.³ "The Holy See did all it could to make Rome spiritually attractive."⁴ Indulgences were copiously imparted, and "multitudes went back full of gratitude to heaven and the Holy See for the blessings they had received, and the edifying scenes in which they had been allowed to partake."⁵

¹ Wiseman, p. 205.

² It is not generally known that in the signature to the originals of bulls the pope retains his original Christian name, thus: Leo XII. would continue to sign himself "Hannibal."—Card. Wiseman, p. 223, note.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁵ Among these edifying scenes, the cardinal describes with great unction the pope's washing the feet of the pilgrims in the Holy Week. He probably does not mean the blasphemy contained in his words when he writes of the pilgrim so honoured that, "he would find himself waited on at table by that Master who, coming suddenly in the night upon his servants, and finding them watching, knows how to gird himself, and passing along, ministers to them," p. 281. After this, it is amusing to find the cardinal

Cardinal Wiseman, whose expressions these are, asserts that, in a financial point of view, Rome was no gainer by the ceremonial; a striking evidence of the advance of intelligence in Europe, where "pilgrims" are no longer disposed to throw away their money on Friar Tetzels ware. Leo died in 1829, after approving an epitaph much admired by his friends, but which, expressing no hope in Christ or in God, commends his soul "to Leo the Great, *his patron in heaven!*"¹

Cardinal Castiglioni, who succeeded as Pius VIII., and held the See but twenty months, probably owed his elevation to the age and infirmities, which promised the conclave an early repetition of its function. His brief pontificate was signalled by the creation of an English cardinal, in prompt acknowledgment of the Emancipation Act of 1829.² Death took him away from the troubles that burst upon Rome, and upon Europe, from the second French Revolution of 1830.

His successor, Gregory XVI. (cardinal Cappellani), received, on the very day of his coronation, the first rumours of the infection having reached his own dominions. In two days more, Bologna was in insurrection: in less than a week shots were fired in Rome, and the carnival was suspended. Provisional governments were formed in the provincial cities, and a revolutionary army marched upon Rome, demanding a republic. Gregory did not shrink from staining his white robe insinuating that the poor peasantry were really *noblemen in disguise*: nay, "it was whispered that one couple, a German and his wife, were of even higher blood!"

¹ The following is a translation: "To Leo the Great, my patron in heaven, suppliantly commending myself, here amid his sacred ashes have I selected my sepulchre; Leo XII., a humble client, of the inheritors of so great a name the least." Cardinal Wiseman produces this unchristian epitaph as an elegant specimen of the "lapidary style," so much valued at Rome!

² Bishop Weld was named to the cardinalate 25th May 1830.

in the blood of his subjects;¹ he called the Austrians to his aid, and crushed the insurrection. He had no objection to revolution, when it separated Roman Catholic Belgium from the Protestant kingdom of the Netherlands, but he regarded with different feelings the progress of "young Italy" in the opposite direction. A second insurrection at Bologna in 1843, and another at Rimini in 1845, were quelled with equal severity. In spite of Gregory's love of literature and art, and the liberality with which he acknowledged revolutionary governments in all other states, he was so resolute in suppressing the first symptoms of discontent in his own, that when the tiara descended to the present pope in 1846, his first act was to issue an amnesty to no less than three thousand subjects of the papacy, who were languishing in prison and exile, for the crime of not sufficiently valuing the government of St. Peter's successor.

Pius IX., of the noble house of Ferretti, came to the pontifical throne (1846) with the loudest professions of liberality. He followed up the amnesty by the appointment of a National Guard, and the expulsion of the Austrian troops from the territories of the Church. Rushing to the van of the revolutionary movement, that was now agitating Italy from the Alps to the sea, the pope declared war against Austria, the hereditary champion of the papacy, in concert with the king of Sardinia, who was more than suspected of an eye to its possessions. The red white and green flag, for embroidering which the young countess Rosa Testi was condemned to three years'

¹ He was a monk of the Camaldolese order, a branch of the Benedictines, whose habit is white: and as monks assume no colour but their own in any dignity, Cappellani wore the same as monk, cardinal, and pope. —Wiseman, p. 420, note.

imprisonment at Florence in 1831, went forth at the head of the Sardinian army, with the sanction of the Holy See, to be the banner of a united Italy in 1848. This incongruous alliance was of brief duration. Lombardy had been annexed, and Naples was in a state of siege, when an insurrection at Rome at once alienated the pope, and gave occasion to foreign intervention. The French envoy, count Rossi, was assassinated, and the populace, besieging the papal palace, demanded extensive reforms. Pius, deserted by his National guard, yielded for the moment, but fled a few days after in disguise. Forthwith a republic was proclaimed, which at once abolished the temporal power (9th February 1849). Again the pontifical government was extinct, this time by the act of its nearest children, the people of Rome. Again it was destined to be reconstructed, and the restoration was undertaken by the very power which, forty years before, had been the first to assail it.

Pius having reached Cività Vecchia in safety, protested against all that had been done in Rome, and appealed to the powers of his communion for aid to subdue his subjects. A National Assembly was again sitting in Paris, and, singularly enough, it was a French republic that sprang forward to answer the papal appeal, and compel the Roman people to receive again the ruler whom they had expelled.

An expedition marched from Cività Vecchia to Rome, which, assaulting the city, suffered a repulse from its defenders. This rebuff, by compromising the French "honour," rendered retreat impossible. By siege and storm Rome was reduced to capitulate (30th June 1849), and marshal Oudinot sent the keys to the pope at Gaeta. The pontiff resumed his authority under the protection of a French army, and has ever since held his power solely by their support.

The Liberal movement was at once repressed throughout Italy. Pius, going over to the other side in a panic, renewed his relations with Naples. The Austrians recovering Lombardy and Venice, restored also the grand duke of Tuscany, to continue his persecution of the Bible and its disseminators. Charles Albert paid the penalty of his zeal by abdicating the throne of Sardinia, and Italy relapsed into her chronic condition of tyranny, brigandage, and conspiracy.

In these proceedings the Protestant powers took no part beyond the expression of public opinion on the side of liberty. The freedom with which this opinion is always uttered in England, speedily cancels all recollection of favours extended to the government, or the religion, of Rome. The confidence reposed by the British Parliament in the progress of toleration, had been shown by its passing the Emancipation Act, without insisting on securities admitted by Roman Catholics themselves to be reasonable. Yet Pius IX. was no sooner restored to Rome than, from a spiritual tribunal surrounded by French bayonets, he issued a decree (prepared by Gregory) for the reconstitution of the papal hierarchy in England, with territorial designations, in open contempt of the prerogative of the British crown. An aggression, which would certainly not have been tolerated or attempted in any Roman Catholic state, could not fail to provoke resentment, yet it has been permitted to take its course in England. The multiplication of churches, monasteries, titles, orders, and ceremonies familiarise the public mind with papal institutions, and they are watched with profound dissatisfaction by all reflecting disciples of the Protestant Reformation.

The last few years have witnessed another revolution in the Holy See, which, though as yet incomplete, presages a third extinction of at least the temporal

power. In the long struggle against French propagandism, England alone was consistent, because England only desired the triumph of civil and religious liberty. Neither Austria, Prussia, nor Russia was free from the worst crimes of Napoleon I. They could never resist the temptation of plunder. The Grand Alliance for the independence of Europe was constantly interrupted by private attempts at appropriation, and the partitions of Poland and Venice will ever prove the insincerity of the despots concerned in it. When England at the congress of Vienna talked of restoring these nationalities, she was answered that a million of bayonets were ready to perpetuate their oppression.

For the same reason England again stood alone in refusing to join the "Holy Alliance," framed by her allies in the hour of Napoleon's downfall. The despots thought only of the selfish interests of thrones and dynasties; they imagined these to be the chief care of Christianity itself. Great Britain, who thought of the people also, stood forth at the next disturbance of peace in conjunction with France, represented by another Napoleon, against the propagandism of Russia. Sardinia seized the opportunity to recall her name to the disciples of liberty. Austria was reluctantly and dubiously drawn in: Prussia, seeing nothing to be gained on either side, was neutral. It was little expected that the cannon fired at Sebastopol would shake the chair of St. Peter; but the papacy is always consistent in repressing *movement*: whatever is not stagnation may prove destruction.

The appearance of Sardinia in arms by the side of England and France, awoke the spirit of liberty in Italy. At the treaty of peace, signed at Paris 27th April, 1856, the British and French plenipotentiaries declared against the continued occupation of the States of the Church, and the duchies, by foreign troops. They

added that the misgovernment of the king of Naples was dangerous to the peace of Europe. On these points Austria refused to concur, and Russia was silent. An Anglo-French remonstrance to the Neapolitan court was followed by the recall of both ambassadors. These warnings were replied to by extending the powers of the inquisition to an espionage on domestic life. Sardinia beginning to arm was peremptorily summoned by Austria to desist; and ten days after France declared war against Austria (3rd May 1859).

To the surprise of Europe, the German art of war proved wholly unequal to the contest which it had challenged. At Montebello, Palestro, Magenta, Malignano, and Solferino, the Austrians were defeated with a loss of 40,000 killed and wounded. The surprise was still greater when from the field of Solferino Napoleon rode to meet the emperor of Austria at Villafranca, and concluded an armistice without consulting his ally. "France," he afterwards announced, "had gone to war for an idea," but the idea clearly did not include a great and united Italy, independent of France, perhaps outstripping her in the march of freedom. The treaty of Zurich (10th November 1859) added Lombardy to Sardinia, but left Venice to the Austrians, and Rome to the pope, sustained by a French garrison.

In the South of Italy events proceeded faster than was anticipated. Ferdinand of Naples dying on the 22nd May 1859, the chronic misrule inherited and persevered in by his son, Francis II., provoked a general insurrection the following year. Garibaldi leaving Genoa with 2000 men, landed at Marsala, captured Palermo, and was master of the island in a single engagement. Returning to the continent, the victor entered Naples, while Francis fled to Gaeta. The movement extended to the States of the Church, in

which general Lamoricière commanded the papal troops. The Sardinian general opposed him without hesitation. Cialdini took Pesaro, Faro, and Urbino. Perugia and Foligno surrendered to Della Rocca. Spoleto was carried by storm. At Castel Fidardo, Lamoricière was routed, and fled to Ancona, the siege and capture of which completed this brilliant campaign (29th September 1860). Two days after Garibaldi defeated the Neapolitan army at Volturno, and accompanying Victor Emmanuel into Naples, resigned his conquests to his sovereign as king of Italy. The title was formally promulgated by the Turin senate on the 26th February 1861, and the Bourbon struggle was at an end.

The unity of Italy was celebrated by a national festival at Florence, 2nd June; but two things were still wanting to the hopes inspired by Napoleon when he summoned the Italians to the conflict. Italy was to be liberated from the Alps to the sea: but Venice was yet in the hands of the Austrians, and Rome bristled with French bayonets. Victor Emmanuel attempted in vain to complete the splendid vision which had so captivated the national enthusiasm. His imperial ally now frowned on his ambition, and sternly repressed his intrigues. Austria (he began to see) needed support against Prussia, now openly aspiring to the lead in Germany, and Rome was indispensable to his own policy at home. Moreover, France always likes to protect its neighbours better than to see them strong enough to protect themselves. Napoleon bade Italy rest and be thankful; while, in payment for the assistance already rendered, he exacted a cession of Savoy and Nice from the reluctant king, and called upon the French to rejoice in the restoration of their natural boundaries on the side of the Alps.

In Germany, however, things had gone too far to recede. Prussia declared war against Austria, and, by

a series of rapid blows, crowned by a decisive victory at Sadowa, reduced her to a capitulation which united Germany under the lead of her opponent, and put out of the question all further interference in Italy.

The Italians, at the first outburst of hostilities, eagerly offered their alliance to Prussia, in the expectation of wresting Venice from the common enemy. But Austria was unable to fight out the game; after inflicting a severe defeat on the Italian forces by land and by sea, she resigned Venice to the French emperor, by whom it was handed over to Italy. The gift was received with little gratitude by a people who saw the enemy's honour saved at the expense of their own. The nominal evacuation of Rome by the French troops was still more distasteful; since their place was supplied by foreign soldiers commanded by French officers, and avowedly under the French protection. The delusion was exposed to all the world, when on Garibaldi advancing against Rome, with the countenance and secret support of the Italian Government, Napoleon despatched an expedition to its defence, and once more rescued the papacy from the hands of a baffled and indignant nationality.

This anomalous condition of affairs still continues. Italy never ceases to demand Rome for its capital, nor the Romans themselves to demand a share in their own government. Against these legitimate requirements, all that is pretended are the wishes of Roman Catholics in other countries, who being themselves exempt from the yoke, insist on the temporal government of the pope as necessary to the free exercise of his spiritual authority. In vain the Romans ask why they alone of all mankind are to be condemned to perpetual bondage. In vain is it shown from history, that in the days when the Roman See acquired and best

exercised its spiritual authority, the bishops had no temporal rule whatever; that the Church was never worse cared for than when the popes were most absolute, and that every council, and every kingdom, has unceasingly sought the common welfare in abridging their pretensions. The French emperor, for his own purposes, still upholds the tottering chair, which his uncle twice overthrew, and the Protestant monarchies rehabilitated on the ruin of his dynasty. The triple crown is held again, as in the days of Charlemagne, at the sole pleasure of the French monarch. But the Holy Roman empire is no more: the kings of Europe no longer fly to the Holy Father's support. Austria, excluded from Italy and humiliated in Germany, has torn up the concordat with Rome, and now opposes her mitred crown against the tiara, in almost Protestant independence. Italy, united and ambitious, will quit the religious communion, rather than recede from the political possession, of Rome: even Spain, so long the most docile and devoted of subjects, as these pages are passing from the press, has expelled the Most Catholic sovereign in a revolution of three days' duration, and, proclaiming freedom of religion, welcomes the Bible to her noble but benighted population.

The Roman Catholic world is falling away on every side from the false centre, to the preservation of which the rights of humanity have so long been sacrificed. If the French emperor will still defend it, he must defend it alone. Among his own subjects the zeal for the papacy is confined to the peasantry of the rural districts, and out of France the only European population that exhibits any attachment to it are the priest-led people of Ireland. In this country, it is true, the singular liberality of the law allows a scope for papal machinations which every Roman Catholic

government deems inconsistent with its own safety. If the Protestant heart of England were less resolute than it is, the Romish hierarchy, aided by Romanisers among ourselves, might with some reason indulge the hope (recently avowed by its chief at Westminster) of recommencing the conquest of the world by the conversion of England.

This dream of perverts and enthusiasts will soon be dispelled. History is not about to recoil upon her path. The religious supremacy of the pope will probably last as long as there are men who crave "the consolations" of religion, apart from its spiritual experience; who trust the priest before the Redeemer; and would take Revelation at second hand, rather than listen to its majestic voice in the written Word of God. But the temporal government of Rome can endure no longer than it pleases the French emperor to oppose the legions and the aspirations of Italy. Its fall can hardly be far distant, and there will be no one to build it again. Not in that political change, however, are we to expect the fulfilment of the "last woe." Further and more extensive revolutions must probably be carried out, before the great millstone will be cast into the sea, and the mighty angel shall proclaim, "Babylon is thrown down and shall be found no more at all." Nevertheless, *that day also will surely come*, and in the anticipation of it, all faithful voices are even now repeating the Redeemer's cry, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

ERRATUM.

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