

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

BY

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ET EXPECTAVI
UT FACERET JUDICIUM
ET ECCE INIQUITAS
ET JUSTITIAM
ET ECCE CLAMOR



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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

PART I. THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

Chapter I. Between the Old and New Empires.....Page 1
Chapter II. From the Frankish to the German Empire....Page 19
Chapter III. German Ascendancy and Papal Ascent.....Page 35
Chapter IV. Henry IV comes into his Kingdom.....Page 51

PART II. GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

Chapter I. On the Meaning of Justitia.....Page 61
Chapter II. The Break-down of German Royalty.....Page 91
Chapter III. Canossa.....Page 118
Chapter IV. The Fight for Supremacy.....Page 136
Chapter V. A Posthumous Victory.....Page 157

CONCLUSION.....Page 162

NOTES.....Page 168

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....Page 170

VENITE FACIAMUS NOBIS
CIVITATEM ET TURRIM
CUJUS CULMEN
PERTINGAT AD
COELUM ET CELEBRAMUS
NOMEN NOSTRUM ANTEQUAM
DIVIDAMUR IN UNIVERSAS
TERRAS

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PREFACE

It is written Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem, but this attempt at a somewhat critical study of early mediaeval manners, minds and men makes no pretence to have distinguished all the pillars upon which the chosen subject rests.

I have not envisaged the proposition from the point of view of a critic of the sources as such, nor is any suggestion made or implied that the treatment is exhaustive.

I have rather endeavoured to set Canossa in relation to general Western History as a monument, a landmark, a beacon, a milestone and a signpost all in one, whereon if the wayfarer meditate he will find much curious information and guidance as to the mental moral, physical, social and spiritual qualities conditions leanings failings, ambitions and idiosyncrasies of a period especially pregnant with new departures.

The doctrine will emerge that the proper study of Canossa is that of the men concerned, but these individuals are so notably the products of a wide long and deep frame of causation interwoven with precedents, purposes, powers, places and passions that each is a variegated and stratified cross-section of an epoch as well as an original entity.

The opinions expressed, interpretations made, and criticisms ventured upon are personal, and depend for their justification upon any reasonableness which they may inherently possess and are not presented as a built-up mosaic of other evaluations.

It is assumed for the purpose of this thesis that the surface narrative facts as retailed by standard historians are true, and therefore the references in notes are confined to a selection of contemporary documents deemed sufficient to bear out the general interpretation of the Canossan imbroglio.

The method adopted is that of a review with accompanying commentary of the nature and growth of those conditions and traditions, frames of mind, institutions, events and persons which converge to provide the cast, libretto, scenery and action of the drama of 1077, with a frequent use of underlining to emphasize whatever would seem to be pertinent to the elucidation of the paramount problem.

The writer has held himself free to criticize all sides with an impartiality based not upon artificial detachment but on a fundamental disapproval both of the Empire as a futile experiment, and the the Popedom as a dangerous achievement, as well as of the characters of both of the chief protagonists as judged within the zone of their own profession, since that is true which is written Ex verbis enim tuis justificaberis, et ex verbis tuis condemnaberis.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART I

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

Between the Old and New Empires

PAR 1. On the Nature of Historical Events....2. Personality the Incalculable Element....3. The Topographical Setting....4. The Geographical Framework....5. The Roman Tradition....6. The Tradition of the Emperors....7. From Beyond the Frontier....8. Resurgence of the Roman Idea....9. Rise of a Western Church....10. Rise of a Western Great Power....11. The Papacy Rises to the Occasion....12. The Stage is Set for the New Drama.

Certain Significant Popes and Emperors

<u>5th.Cent.</u>	LEO I	(440-61)	
	SIMPLICIUS	(468-483)ZENO (474-91)
	FELIX III	(483-92)	
	GELASIUS I	(492-96)	
	SYMMACHUS	(498-514)ANASTASIUS I (491-518)
<u>6th.Cent.</u>	HORMISDAS	(514-23)JUSTIN I (518-27)
	FELIX IV	(526-30)JUSTINIAN I (527-565)
	JOHN II	(532-535)	
	AGAPETUS I	(535-6)	
	PELAGIUS I	(555-60)	
	PELAGIUS II	(578-90)	
	<u>7th.Cent.</u>	GREGORY I	(590-604)
MARTIN I		(649-54)	
<u>8th.Cent.</u>	GREGORY II	(715-31)LEO III (717-41)
	GREGORY III	(731-41)	
	ZACHARIAS	(741-52)CONSTANTINE VI (741-75)
	STEPHEN III	(768-72)	
	HADRIAN I	(772-95)	
	LEO III	(795-816)IRENE (797-802)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART I

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

Between the Old and New Empires

1. On the Nature of Historical Events

When a certain camel-driver takes flight to Medina he displaces the centre of gravity of civilisation, and when a Mongol ruffian destroys waterworks in Irak the River of History shifts its bed and inundates new ground. A Burgundian Duke is murdered at Montereau and the story of France crosses by a bloodstained bridge to untrodden paths. These apparently distinguishable incidents are themselves complex cross-sections of a tangled growth consisting of interminably ramifying factors focussing upon this place and that person out of an illimitable past. Each is an arbitrarily defined and labelled resultant of work done in a momentary interaction of innumerable facts and forces. It is led up to by various trains of sequence whose convergence brings it into being, and is followed by a new divergence containing this new and infectious modification in the pattern of interrelated occurrences, this extra causative impulse, added item in the sum of memory, increase in knowledge or experience, alteration in relationships or spur to emotion. A historical event is not so much a link in the Time-chain as a knot in the Time-net.

Of such a nature then is the scene at Canossa in January 1077.... a nexus between preceding and succeeding conditions of a more than ordinarily complicated texture, a human drama compounded of persons, intentions and deeds whose frame of reference and association covers a vast area both in space and time. One must select therefore for its interpretation only those ingredients which in the end will yield the most informative and solid precipitate, and by condensation of the more remote antecedents, and expansion of the immediate data seek to arrive at a balanced expression of useful if not exhaustive judgment.

Materially Canossa was a small happening buried in a welter of other events.... a mere meeting of two men at a castle.... but because the men were exactly who and what they were at precisely that phase of their fortunes and of the general evolution of European culture and conditions, the event can be seen in certain aspects and connotations to blaze forth as a strange portent in the firmament of the Early Middle Ages... a Saturn ringed with innumerable moons. The fact that it was an indecisive collision between two psychological engines serves to deepen both the problem and the interest since the intangibles of the mind carry a great deal of its significance. Church and State, Pope and King, Priest and Penitent, Germany and Italy, Cross and Crown are all there, but beyond these externals are the things of the spirit which touch every human happening with incalculable effect and fire... the passions, powers, dispositions, ideals and failings of a Henry IV and a Hildebrand-Gregory. These actualized what others had made possible.

2. Personality the Incalculable Element

It is this element of Personality which introduces the surd into every historical equation. All the Canons, Bulls, Creeds, Councils, bureaucracies and systematizations whereby men have striven to standardize experience, ensure continuity, and register progress can never provide against, control, or foresee with exactitude the emergence of an individuality. The personal factor is the insoluble ingredient not only for the best-laid plans but for the best documented retrospects, since while motives may be explained to a certain extent by the person himself, or by analogy with the behaviour of other persons yet fundamentally every human being is a mysterious novelty to himself as well as to everyone else, compounded according to an infinitely variable specification and issued without warning from the unseen. Who could foretell Heraclius, or that the faineant Basileus would one day ride down the Persian vanguard at Nineveh? Another than Guy of Lusignan might not have dragged the Kingdom of Jerusalem to ruin at Kurn Hattin. Only a Henry IV could have created the strange zigzag line of conduct that led to the castle in the Apennines. So much is this matter of individual human nature disposition and will dominant in the long struggle of the Papacy and Empire, that the impression is unavoidable that at any given moment the general relationship and internal effectiveness of these institutions are governed to an unusual extent by the intimate qualities and defects of the men on the spot. There is a kind of seaweed whose fronds exhibit a double row of bulbous protuberances spaced more or less regularly from end to end. The men who matter in the parallel evolution of the mediaeval Church and State organisms may be compared to these swollen sections of tissue, except that the spacing is irregular and pairs infrequent. In between these notabilities the major claims and self-conscious vigour of the institutions they represent fall flat. Each side undergoes inflation or deflation according to the sufficiency or deficiency of personal qualities in the men. Let the rule of a thickwit or thin spirit beyond the Alps coincide with the rise of a luminous imagination and commanding will at Rome, and the Imperial effectiveness over against the rival sinks to zero regardless of any number of significant precedents to the contrary supplied by some mightier predecessor. Similarly a poor Pope means a demagnetized Papacy, and accumulated claims and ordinances retain no more vitality than if they had been a belt of dried seaweed left high and dry after the tide has ebbed. They indicate the highwatermark of some individual's eminence, not the irreducible limits of an established constitution functioning in independence of incidental mediocrities.

3. The Topographical Setting

History is not a conventional oilpainting upon smooth canvas, but a series of oftentimes frenzied frescoes smeared on the rough and broken plaster of geography. The inertia and accidents of terrain help to make, mould and modify the nature and characteristics not only of the works done on its surface but of the workers themselves. Frequently they canalize the flowing

energy of successive generations into repetitions of the same pattern of event. There are regions of Europe in particular whose history is thick with the folded and refolded recurrence of the same species of happening, as densely packed in some cases as were the layers of tough bull's hide upon a Homeric shield. Of such are the lowland area about the mouths of the Scheldt and Rhine, the Gate of Burgundy between the Vosges and Jura, the Brenner Pass where Imperial cavalcades came and went, or the entry to the Balkans at oft-battered Singidunum-Belgrade. Not least among these localities where Time has precipitated his densest sediment of significant memories is that natural Circus Maximus which contains the whole course of the river Po. Place after place on the floor or sides of that vast arena recalls some notable and recurrent tide in the affairs of men and of ideas. In this flat wedge across the root of the Peninsula lie the vast majority of Italian battlefields both of pen and sword. It is a debating and debateable land upon which passes from higher ground converge from all four points of the compass. In it we find Bedriacum where the German legions of Vitellius seized for a brief space the direction of the Empire, providing a foretaste of barbarous inroad from the north which in other shapes was later on to denaturalize and subvert the character and institutions of the South. Over there to the west is Milan where a Bishop confronted, confounded and condemned an errant potentate in the interests of that ecclesiastical authority over the moral conduct of Kings which a Gregory VII was ultimately to standardize as the inherent Justitia of the Popedom. Down by the river at Mantua a Pope Leo, aided by a fortunate conjunction of circumstances, was able to stage a bloodless repulse of the Hun, thus giving rise to an embroidered legend of spiritual victory. On the hill-slope south of Reggio is Canossa where a greater pontiff than Leo I accepted the surrender of as proud an Emperor as Theodosius to a more developed form of the same mystic authority as had been invoked by Ambrose and deferred to by Attila... thus reversing for a time the omen of Bedriacum, improving upon Milan and Mantua, and adding a further legend of supernatural invincibility to the accumulating credentials of the Papacy.

4. The Geographical Framework

But we must glance at a wider area than is contained between Turin and Aquileia if we would understand the encounter of

1077 at the Castle of the Tuscan Countess. Topography may present us with such things as 'gates' and 'debateable lands' but these lead immediately to questions as to the geographical framework which gives meaning and character to these local features. For our purpose it is essential to take notice of at least one large and fundamental fact in the map of Europe. This that River-line of the Rhine and the Danube whose determination by the Romans as their definitive frontier to the north plays a dominant part in the fashioning of later history, by its diagonal division of the Continent into isolated Baltic and Mediterranean basins which thus split Western civilisation at the root. The influence of the arbitrary selection at a pregnant moment of this defensible

barrier lingered with and underran all subsequent events, enduring long after its garnishing of stakes and forts had mouldered into dust and grass-grown mounds, and the rivers themselves had ceased to represent to the imaginations of civilised men the veritable edge of the significant world. Had Rome proceeded to the Elbe and thus brought the Western Teuton, and especially the Saxon under its formative and directing power the entire story of the West might have run into very different shapes, and such an affair as Canossa, if it had happened at all, might have borne an unsurmisably altered complexion. Be that as it may there can be no dubiety as to the profound influence exerted by this forcible defining as a rampart of the major axis of the mainland. 1. It promoted for four vital centuries a racial and cultural differentiation as between north and south Europeans. 2 It enabled the enclosed area of the Empire to react upon its inhabitants with a unifying pressure hitherto unattainable. 3. It gave bourn to their conceptions of the world that concerned them, and tended to deepen and render more articulate their apprehension of its meaning, value, organic distinction, and structural coordination. Thus for inchoate particularism in politics there could be substituted the idea and practice of an interrelated and centralized citizenship, capable in the long run of so associating itself with the very landscape of the guarded regions that the minds of immigrants and of eventual invaders could come slowly but surely to yield to its subtle suasion and adopt its traditions 4. On the other hand while it delayed it also intensified the doom of the Empire, both by the economic strain involved in its laborious defence, and by its deliberate depriving the Northerners of that civilisation the lack of which in the vast majority of the overrunning hordes made the 'Dark Ages' much darker, and the recovery therefrom far slower and more imperfect than might otherwise have been the case. Though in the decline and collapse of the Western Caesardom the frontier had been first penetrated by immigration, then breached by invasion, and finally obliterated by simultaneous deluge and abandonment the effect of its existence as the highwatermark of Mediterranean expansion remained. When at last it vanished it took another four hundred years for the raw energy of the North and the old-established disciplinary forms of the South to find a modus vivendi and some approach to cooperative understanding. Thus the dualism created by the old division had its repercussions in the later controversies, reaching down even to the foundation question of the degree to which men's brains in a given epoch were able to understand and agree upon the meaning of the ancient classical terms they sought to use again, and the very nature of the authority designated by those terms. Few and tremendous must be the Emperors or Popes who should manage even for a brief period to keep the peace and the power in the political corridor lying between Sicily and Jutland. The longitudinal crack across Europe might be papered over time and again by Frankish and Germanic Empires and by the Papacy itself, but such attempts sufficed no more than temporarily to disguise what could not be mended. They were building the Civitas Dei across an earthquake belt. Henry IV at Canossa was still at heart a headstrong Germanic chieftain from beyond the Wall, and

in Gregory VII we can trace at least something reminiscent of the patient, constructive, legalistic, farranging spirit of Rome.

5. The Roman Tradition Once the Roman City-State had spread and consolidated itself into a State-city it was possible for the incalculable uncertainties of tribal rivalry and leadership to be exchanged for a cultivated sense of centripetal unity under an omnipotent overhead legislative and executive authority. This might be represented at any given moment by an autocratic will housed in a fleeting personality, but it came to possess an indefinite continuity of policy through the growth around it of a bureaucratic structure whose weight and momentum served as a flywheel to bring the machinery of government past the 'dead centres' created by incidental defects or decease in the ruling line. This central government was at once the initiating, controlling, coordinating and defending power embedded in the being and life of the state organism. Within the completed oval circuit of the Empire successive generations of subjects could become so habituated to a sense of the majesty, value, inevitability and irreplaceability of the Roman system and worldview that it could crystallize in their minds into a mystic dogmatic belief in the eternal validity of the whole conception, and Roman principles could acquire the prestige of Natural Law in the political world. For four hundred years did the Roman Roof of Rhine-Danube act like a bony protective cranium over the thinking part of Europe until leading ideas could solidify into immovable truths. Cities, roads, provinces, organized hierarchies both military, civil, and religious, systematized juridical and political practice, the arts of war, architecture, education, local government, sanitation, manufacture and commercial distribution... all such projections of the Roman genius which was in itself a synthesis of the wisdom of antiquity.....could all be developed, tried-out, and stabilized within the great walled-in basin of the Mediterranean and proclaim their superiority and value to all beholders. Conceptions of authority and of religion could pass through their experimental and nebulous stages and reach the phase of possessing sufficient consistency and distinction to act as pattern-moulds for shaping the raw and impressionable mind of the barbarian when he should come. Just as the whole Southern map was a mighty gridiron of roads, a complex branching world-tree of communications springing like some strange horizontal Yggdrasil of stone and concrete from the root of Rome, so was the culture of the south based on a connected and carefully engineered scheme of ideas covering the landscape of life. Many of these forms and concepts might fall into desuetude as did the roads and aqueducts themselves, but the very ruins of them might, like the mausolea of Cecilia Metella and of Hadrian, become adaptable for purposes in the future of which the original builders had never dreamed. The time would come when a Gregory VII would entrench himself among the tombs of the Caesars in Castel Sant Angelo against swords of a Kaiser in the street below. Allotropic forms of the same ideas return again and again into action on the same ground, albeit in a more distorted and adulterated condition every time.

6. The Tradition
of the Emperors

Among these irrepressible relics none were to be more potent for good and ill in the ages as yet unborn than the once full-orbed notions associated with the persons and powers of the Emperors themselves, equipped as they were both with Divinity and Imperium. Each of these attributes of Caesardom had passed like other plants in the Roman conservatory through a developing life-history beginning with what it was under the comparatively simple citizen-principate of an Augustus, and reaching what it became in the gorgeous Diocletianic and Byzantine editions-de-luxe of the science of despotism. The conception of Imperial divinity had its primitive roots in the old Latin cult of the male genius of the householder, and came to mean in practical politics the dutiful and ceremonious acknowledgement by the subject of the secular infallibility of the Caesars, the verbal inspiration of the Head of the State, the inherent connection between the principle of the Empire and that of the universe. Official Christianity had modified the theory to one of Divine commission and viceroyalty, but the vision of God had so greatly enlarged meanwhile that their reduction to a mandatory status scarcely diminished the majestic distinction of the Roman autocrats. A Henry IV would find in the theory of direct appointment a weapon with which to parry, if not defeat, the assumed deposing power of a Bishop of Rome. In the same way the Imperium had grown from a primitive war-measure of temporary dictatorship in emergency, and had expanded into a permanent and comprehensive attribution of legislative and executive authority to one person who should thus not only reign but rule. Attempts had been made by Diocletian to divide at least part of this enormous responsibility among Lords Commissioners, but the experiment failed, and the final duplication of Emperors, in 395 was disastrous. Overhead unity could not be maintained by the name of the Empire alone, it must be personified in a single individual or cease to hold the imaginations of men. A Gregory VII was moved by an instinct inherited from the ages when he not only magnified his office, but made himself as an individual the focus and the fountain of that magnificence, and of its overmastering authority. A third element arises from the blending of these two qualities in the single person of the Emperor, namely the nature of his authority in connection with religious administration. The Imperium included the Sacerdotium, the function of all-highest-priest-prince. In Paganism the State was all in all, and the Temple was its Department for celestial affairs. Under Christianity a reversal took place, which in ecclesiastical circles reached the extreme view that the Church was the paramount consideration, the State being merely its Department for terrestrial affairs. Between these views which lingered in parallel opposition to one another all through the Middle Ages and beyond, there was a wide belt of dubiety, a no-man's-land of claim and counter-claim. The Castle of Canossa stands in the midst of this Debateable Land of the mind, a monument marking one of the more resounding though one of the most indecisive of these bickerings and collisions, between an Imperium in one person which claimed the Sacerdotium, and the Sacerdotium in another person which demanded the Imperium.

The Roman genius had fashioned an organism in which all temporal and spiritual authority centred in one place and will, It proved impossible in the West to reproduce long afterwards an imitation of the Pax Romana and its content with a haphazard reconstruction involving overlapped, illdefined and worse understood claims made by two persons in two widely sundered places. All the more was this so by reason of the utter breakdown of that elaborate system of communications, paved, patrolled, and staged, which alone had rendered possible the governance of the ancient system. We will find anon that crucial Councils do not meet, and strange distortions of policy are allowed to occur for the simple reason that high contracting parties and essential arbiters of national destinies cannot on occasion find military escort. Augusta Vindelicorum was in practice far nearer to the Palatine of second-century Caesars than was eleventh-century Augsburg to the Lateran Palace of the Popes.

7. From Beyond North of the 'Roof' lay the other half of the
the Frontier European peninsula, the dim forests of the outer Germanies, roadless, restless, boundless, knowing no continuing city, a land whose Gods were like overgrown children pleased with crude horseplay, as moody and vague as the misty Baltic and the neverending woods. Slowly at first and then with fast accelerating velocity the Folk poured in upon the atrophying civilisation and now defenceless territories of the Western Empire Irresistibly and unhindered they streamed from the unmapped dangerous lands whence so often in the past had emerged sudden though ill-coordinated pressures upon the armoured frontier which hard-riding Emperors had only precariously withstood. Even now the lava-flow of their eruption and irruption was intermittent and confused, the later waves of invasion being frequently hindered by encountering the already solidified settlements of pioneer streams. Some of these peoples were merely savage and had everything to learn, while others were already tinctured to varying degrees by cultural influences which had percolated among them from the South. Some came as entire tribal units who left the country bare behind them to be occupied by Slavs from the East, others adventured as energetic free companies of forth-farers, many of whom rapidly assimilated the social principles of their new environment, at any rate in those provinces as yet not too utterly devastated to have power over barbarism. It was a medley of mixed elements in different conditions of receptivity which was poured over the broken pattern-moulds of Rome, and their unequal rates of congelation covered the old framework of the Provinces with a crazy patchwork of fluctuating subdivisions, infinitely varied in their capacity to absorb or be absorbed by the mental, moral and material survivals of the past encountered in their immediate vicinity. There were those who for long retained wholly or in part the rudimentary and elementary characteristics of their original culture, while others could quickly understand such things as Roman Law which was itself descended from the Germanic code of the 'Jus Gentium' long ago substituted for the Law of the Quirites under the influence of the landed proprietors of the Later Republic. Hence a Lombard or a Visigoth might at first sweep everything aside and organize

himself according to ancestral custom, but a Frank might react quickly to the atmosphere of the Gallo-Roman amalgam west of the Rhine, and only retain stubbornly, and as it was to prove fatally, his crude tribal habit of divided inheritance. It was the wedge of territory between the Rhine and the Loire which was to be a seedplot and a laboratory for ideas of political reconstruction which some day would dominate at least for a time the chaos of the West. Yet the barbarian brought so much of the large vagueness of the Northern forests...in which it is so much easier to see the trees than the wood...into his conceptions of polity, that when at last an attempt was made to resuscitate the Empire of the Occident, a long period of trial and error had to be gone through in order to rediscover, re-enunciate and re-apply what that Empire was conceived of as having stood for. Yet it was bound to happen that rulers and peoples should hark back to ancient traditions of territorial unity and governmental legitimacy as the value of what had been produced under the old system became more and more appreciated both in survival and in absence. For long it might be resisted sectionally both in theory and practice, but the patient genius of the South was not to be gainsaid in the longrun; and vehicles would surely be found through which the universal Civitas could find expression.

8. Resurgence of the Roman Idea With the dissolution of the West-Roman structure in the fifth century the Name of Rome and most of what it implied ceased to be a portent and became a reminiscence. But no sooner was it but a memory than it became in turn a symbol, an indestructible aetherial palladium, which no ravaging of the Provinces or sacking of the city could obliterate, no invader despise, and no rebuilders of a political dominion among the Imperial ruins could afford to ignore. So long had the idealized notion of the Empire represented the very sum and substance of a developed and articulated corporate life, a definite principle of personal government and impersonal law, so long had it exhibited to the world the embodiment of an otherwise unattained degree of dignity, stability, and efficiency, that the chieftains who now inhabited its wreck were not unreasonably susceptible to the belief that nothing similar to its polity, nor endued with its desirable traits could be erected by the way of imitation. There must be some element of derivation from the original Caesarean deposit which had wrought the original fabric in days of yore. In the search for this they were hampered by one intervening condition and helped by another. There was another long-lost frontier whose influence upon events continued beyond its own demise, namely the artificial boundary created at the death of Theodosius in 395, which confirmed the fission of the Imperial organism into two separate entities with rapidly divergent destinies. Constantine's removal of the capital to Byzantium had been in the nature of a swapping of horses in mid-stream, but the effect of the Honorius-Arcadian split had been rather that of breaking the ship's back in mid-ocean. While the Eastern segment remained afloat, having wedged its bows, so to speak in the impregnable strait of the Bosphorus, the Western part

quickly disintegrated and within eighty years had sunk beneath the waves of barbarism. A Justinian might scheme, a Belisarius or a Narses gain ephemeral triumphs on the stricken field, but the transverse crack from Sirmium to the Syrtis would never be mended again. Bridged it might be from time to time in theory, but always the bridges broke and the gulf remained. Thus when the Teuton strove to restate to himself the meaning of Roman prestige there had already entered a dualism and divergence into the interpreting of the very word 'Empire' current among its contemporaries. The Name itself had cracked across, the exceeding weight of glory had passed along since with Constantine to the New Rome beyond the Dardanelles, and thus all that once more tried to function as a self-conscious revival of civilisation in the West must fend for itself with a broken tradition, and the incomers must learn from the depleted and sodden stock of ideas which still remained afloat all that was ever to acquire of information as to the furniture and force of the great ship had gone down.

Yet for a time the invader perforce looked eastward where the displaced Imperium in its strange Greco-Asiatic metamorphoses still glittered Babylonishly at 'Micklegarth' upon the Golden Horn. On the fall of Romulus Augustulus his dignity had been reabsorbed in the Byzantine diadem, so at first the alien conquerors clung to the purple robe of the remote Basileus, as though warrant of commission from the Brazen Palace was in their opinion required to invest the reality of Italian Kingship with the glamour of legitimacy. But with the years and the shrinking of the Exarchate the prestige of New Rome declined, and as it shrivelled, so did the memory of Old Rome expand once more. Gradually the barbarian came to look nearer home for a sufficient source of that eternal authority which he felt was needed to perpetuate, rationalize and dignify his usurpations, and integrate his dominion with the world-scheme,

9. Rise of the Western Church In the three centuries of anarchy and flux which followed the extinction of the Occidental crown, it was in the surviving ecclesiastical organization that men learnt to perceive a continuation of that peculiar quality of Order in ideas and methods which of old had been among the most impressive associations of the Imperium. A nearby Bishop of Rome, especially if, like a Gregory I, he be a man of outstanding ability, begins to bulk larger in the consideration of the Westerners than does a faded if still haughty autocrat in faraway Constantinople. A reaction to the suggestion of the Theodosian rift is setting in, and the foundations are being laid for the conception of a corporate West that once more should live of its own. Though nominally the Church might be 'one and indivisible', and Rome for long send Apocrisarii to prostrate themselves before the Byzantine throne, such a condition was already racially and culturally undermined, and the Mediterranean system of church organization would some day break its back in the same place as the political structure had done in 395, just as in the 16th century the Roman Ecclesia itself would be split on the long-submerged barrier-reef of the Augustan line. It would come about at last that the European lands west of the 20th meridian of

East Longitude would undertake the solving of their own problems of government and belief, regardless of the alienated and heavily preoccupied residuum of Caesarean succession on the edge of the Black Sea.

The absorption of what remained of Latin culture by the new arrivals, the mental and moral conquest of the physical conquerors was only rendered possible by the persistence through the centuries of decomposition of an organizing and self-propagating Church, whose missionary activity had already made Latin Christianity known beyond the frontiers before the greater mass-movements began. The civilised temper and outlook had thus to deal with far less than impenetrable savagery, and multitudes of the warriors and brushwoodmen had learned dimly to appreciate that Southern religion was a conditioning factor in Southern achievement. For a century and a half before the end of the Empire Christianity had been the official cultus of the Mediterranean basin. Being fundamentally concerned with the infinite value of the personality it had, from its very beginnings, tended to undermine the classic finality of outlook, and notions of exclusive privilege, reinterpreting in the minds of its greatest exponents the idea of the 'world' as devoid for eternal purposes of any frontiers at all. It had been the instinct of self-preservation as against a dangerous and disintegrating propaganda threatening the carefully built-up walls of ancient life which had prompted the fierce persecutions which Christianity had suffered before emerging victorious over the official paganism of the past. But the weight of the Old World had modified both the speed and quality of the transformation. The ponderous Imperial system had had time to control the new energy, and dig channels for it within its own structure, thus enclosing and canalizing a power which if left to itself might have blown the State to pieces there and then. The 'Church' became a Government Department and quickly modelled itself upon the Constantinian bureaucratic machine, acquiescing at first in what might be termed a dogma of 'Two Natures' in the person of the Emperor, as at once the political and spiritual head of the entire organism. But while as a Civil Service she might submit to the preponderance of the State, no power on earth could prevent idealism transcending parchment bonds, or prevent men dreaming ecstatically of an untrammelled City of God.

Under this Christianized Empire great influence had naturally gathered in the hands of the Bishops of those cities which were associated at least by legend with the original presence and missionary labours of actual disciples of the Nazarene. When the political division took place in 395 only one of these 'Founder's Sees' was located to the west of it, namely at Rome itself, persistently and roundly asserted to have been the bishopric and scene of martyrdom of no less a person than the 'Prince of the Apostles' himself. In the confusion of an abandoned West a growing self-consciousness is discernible in the thus notably sponsored Roman See as the providential vehicle for the resuscitation in a novel and potent manner, the antique and unique prestige of the City by the Tiber. It fell heir to the reaction in favour of legitimacy manifesting itself in the hankering of Teutonic Lords

for the crumbs of 'Vicariate' and 'Patriciate' which fell from the Byzantine table, but that once had proceeded from a power seated on the Seven Hills. It was not unlikely that ere long there should come to be formulated a claim both that such titles ought to emanate once more from the former capital, and that the Bishop who represented the main surviving link with the magnificent past should be regarded as indeed the only true fountain of these honours and the authority they connoted. It would only require that a personality or chain of personalities should arise in the episcopal office, as big, bold and farreaching as the opportunities for the double ghost of Imperium and Sacerdotium to materialize and overshadow the West, springing once more like Minerva fully armed from the head of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Already in the world of ideas an Augustine of Hippo has loosed the gigantic doctrine of the overriding Imperium of a Church Decision which alone could interpret, guarantee, and give effect to the Holy Scriptures themselves. It only required that this infallible theological machine should become Romanocentric for the ancient lines of force radiating from the Caput Mundi to be reanimated with illimitable vigour. This ascendancy of the Church over the very text of its foundation-charter was to prove the cornerstone of the Catholic edifice. Always would it be free to pile again and again upon the same original phrases convenient 'implications' endowed with the same validity as the Scripture since their source of authorization was vested in the contemporary Apparatus and not in the closed Canon. Thus equipped with an automatic and portable principle of inerrancy the Ecclesia could travel indefinitely beyond both the letter and spirit of the written records, and mint ~~of~~ immediate purposes a currency of assertions all bearing the same image and superscription, guaranteed as being of the same metal, and defended from investigation or refusal by sanctions which were themselves crystallized assumptions as to the meaning of certain otherwise highly controversial passages. Thus a Gregory VII could sincerely extract to his own satisfaction full justification for his disposition and excommunication of a German King from tendencious and garbled wrestings of a difficult text. Apparently in a dissolving world the Church pivoted upon Rome represented that rocklike and indissoluble principle of authority for which men groped, the focus of a silting process of indiscriminate agglomeration forming gradually an island amid the deluge composed of elements so mixed that they could only pass for a solid unity in an age of abandoned ignorance and imbecile credulity.

The identification of this omniscient and omnivorous Church with the City of the Caesars was accelerated by the character and career of such a bishop as the highborn Gregory I, a mind cast in a large mould, an example of that pivotal multiplex intelligence which ever and anon appears in history to supply the nucleus for a new crystallization, or to galvanize an already established system with living efficiency. The first monk to become Bishop of Rome he took the farreaching step of dissociating monasticism from episcopal control, and using the 'regulars' as direct missionary instruments. This was a casting bread upon the waters which would bring curious and profitable returns to the Papacy after many days.

As a politician he succeeded at least in enunciating if not in enforcing Roman pretensions, even though for the moment such claims drew endless controversy upon him from Illyria, Aquileia North Africa and the Frankish Church. If these resisted they at least learned through Gregory that the ambitions and convictions of the central See of the West were ranging to the points of the compass. With Constantinople he maintained a subservience in words, but in practice was all to Italy that the Basileus had long ceased to be. Above all he personified the idea that the Civitas Dei of Augustine and the infallibility of the Ecclesia could be proved to have a local habitation and a name. The Holy Church throughout all the world must be the Holy Roman Church. Much of the stone and lime was supplied by the thinker of Hippo, but the first of the Masterbuilders was Gregory the Great.

10. The Rise of a Great
Power in the West

By the middle of the sixth century we can perceive the Poppedom already well under way as a nascent principle

of restored coherence in the West. It was a timeous developement for geographically moulded political formations are beginning to define themselves in the devastated area. The swarms are consolidating into units and groups of units, and the question becomes urgent as to the general principle which should govern their relationship to one another. Should it be by way of extreme sovereign independence, or loose federation under Byzantine presidency, or would stability be recovered only by Constantinopolitan reconquest? Another solution than any of these was being compounded in the laboratory of Destiny, namely that among the barbarian states themselves there should arise a political force of Imperial dimensions and quality. The ingredients in the Western crucible have reached a condition of uncertain poise which could not possibly endure. Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Burgundians, Franks, Alemanni, Bavarians, Lombards and Vandals were at a tension and boilingpoint which produced secondary and discontinuous eruptions in every decade, sharpened and made more urgent the ideal of pacification, and yet at the same time made it more doubtful than ever that Byzantium with its rigid bureaucratic apparatus could ever reimpose an acceptable regime. The answer to the Western problem must be home-made. A suitable polarization must take place somewhere within the dim and shifting outline of its chaotic borders, and among the Franks in Northern Gaul there began a process of unlimited accretion and consolidation under a single command which spread with amazing effectiveness and durability, till the dominion which in 481 had been confined to the region of the Meuse and Moselle reached by 614 to cover the basins of Seine and Loire, Gascony, Burgundy, and the vast mountain area around the headwaters of Rhine and Danube as well as the Main basin and the source of the Weser. A century later the Frankish territory embraced practically everything north of the Pyrenees and west and north-west of the Alps. As with the Church, it only needed a personality to arise who should be equal to the occasion and render deep what was already wide, for the territorial integration of the West to translate itself from theory to something approaching fact.

There was to be considerable delay in the production of such a coordinating mind possessed of ripe conditions for the exercise of its capacities. While the Frankish spirit was expansive and adaptable to environment, it was not immediately ready to exhibit the additional virtues of constructiveness and the power of adapting environment to policy. For one thing it was blindly conservative as to its customs in connection with inheritance.

These customs might serve well enough when the matter was that of a patriarch's division of private property among the members of his family. It became an objectionable and perilous principle to apply to the case of public dominions. Rome had learned the lesson of 395 when too late, and the Franks had neither the knowledge or the wisdom to profit thereby. Hence their hegemony suffered constantly and cruelly from inner segmentation, intestine quarrels, and the alternating subordination of parts, culminating in the rivalries of Romanesque Neustria in the Loire-Seine-Somme region and Teutonesque Austrasia covering the Meuse-Moselle-Main-Rhine area. The energy of the race was thus dissipated in wrangles which nevertheless provided in the end a lurid but effective training ground for the forming of certain powerful and fateful personalities.

Another consideration was the incurable degeneracy of the Merwing Kings who had begun well with Clovis but rapidly declined into persistent puppets from whom all authority was drained away by their Mayors of the Palace, of whom a notable series was founded by one Pepin of Landen, an Austrasian, whose grandson Pepin of Heristal had by 714 united Neustria and Austrasia under one Chancellery. His attempts to repair the territorial dilapidation of the realm were continued by his son Charles Martel, who had by his death in 741 not only fended off the dread peril of Islamic domination threatening from beyond the Pyrenees, but had reassembled into a recognizable and workable structure the fragments of Frankland, only to ruin the fair prospect once more by the disastrous necessity of division among his heirs Carloman and Pepin the Short. Hence the royal futility led to the arrival of a family-series of active commoners, untouched as yet with Merwing degeneracy, and exhibiting despite technical hindrances a cumulative power to transmit politico-military ability. The House of Pepin would itself go down but not until it had brought its peculiar genius to a head....the head of a Charlemagne.

11. The Papacy rises to the Occasion Meanwhile the Papacy has been moving by devious routes and slow toward the possession of a standing and condition fitted to cope with this tentative renaissance of political unity in the West. If the See of Rome was ever to attain the giddy summit of control involved in the mandate to 'bind and to loose' it must occupy itself like another Hercules with twelve tasks the tackling of which had already begun long before the 8th century had shown that another Empire was on the way. These main propositions may be summarized as follows:-

(1) The Papacy must disentangle itself from the Byzantine Emperors.

This nominal tie had been thoroughly loosened in the violent controversy aroused by the puritan reforms of the Iconoclast

Emperors against whom Gregory II, backed by all Italy, had rebelled, and to the accompaniment of the rabblings and murders of Byzantine officials had anathematized the Isaurian Leo. The final failure of the East Romans to recover Italy and the extinction of the Exarchate ended Imperial influence over the Western Church.

(2) The Papacy must overcome and overpass the rivalry of the See of Constantinople. From the fifth century onwards the Roman Bishops had by word and deed proclaimed not only their independence of but superiority to the Byzantine prelates. Felix III announced that he was not only Vicar of Peter but of Christ...with all which that implied...while Gelasius I described the Popedom as the sun to the Imperial moon, a doctrine which entirely eclipsed the immediate hierarchy of the East. It had been Pope Hormisdas who took the lead in denouncing the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius, and it fell to John II to be greeted by the pious pedant Justinian as Head of all the Churches....a title repeated by the ruffian Phokas to Boniface III. Simplicius fought strenuously with Acacius of Constantinople over the respective standings of the two sees, and Felix III clinched the matter by obtaining the deposition of the metropolitan, who promptly excommunicated him thus beginning a schism. Agapetus secured the overthrow of Anthimius, and Pelagius II denounced the assumption by John of Byzantium of the title of Universal Patriarch. The situation merged into a standing condition of mutual schismatic defiance, and Rome went its own way in the West.

(3) The Roman authority must be made recognizedly absolute in Church government, and monarchical distinction substituted for mere preeminence by courtesy. Gelasius asserted that Rome needed the cooperation of no Council since it judged all and could be judged of none. John II went further and actually deposed a bishop which was the first act of jurisdiction of the kind in the Papacy. The abilities of Gregory I went far to justify for the moment the boast of Gelasius, and left a legend of what could be done which overrode the contrary examples of a score of inferior successors. Hadrian I began to date the year from his own pontificate in 781. The wrenching of complete subservience out of the hierarchy was to be a long process involving much wrestling with secular principalities and Conciliar powers, and while many Popes would assuredly reign, not all would as certainly exert a homogeneous comprehensive and uncontested government.

(4) The Papacy must obtain physical protection from seizure, detention, robbery and deforcement by invaders, mobs, or local tyrants. Pelagius II had to send Gregory to Byzantine to appeal for help against the Lombards, and Gregory III looked to Charles Martel for similar aid, as did Stephen III with Pepin and Hadrian I with Charles the Great. It was Leo III's experience of violence which precipitated the crowning event of Christmas Day 800. The problem was not to be solved until the Popedom became safely embedded in a unified and sovereign Italian State. The defence of the pontiff was to develop a romantic history of its own all down the centuries from the days of Leo I and Genseric the Vandal past the erection of the Empire as the Temporal Sword to such resounding events as the Tragedy of Anagni, the coming of Charles V the advent of Napoleon the Great, the tortuous and abortive policies of Napoleon III and the storming of Rome by Victor Emmanuel.

The Papal preoccupation has ever been to acquire a watchdog which will only attack intruders and not demand too much in return, and the search for such a 'Defensor' has led Vicars of Christ into strange company and dubious policies.

(5) The Pope must find material means to 'live of his own'. This involved the establishment of something equivalent to the Teutonic Domain, a permanent territorial endowment recalling in some degree the peculiar status of the Imperial Province of Egypt under the Caesars. Gregory I who had been a Civil Servant held that the See of Rome should administer its own estates under the suzerainty of the Basileus, but not until the Donation of the central regions of Italy to the Popedom were such estates considerable. From the time of Pepin the Short the landed property of the Chair became a source of constant concern, with degenerative effects upon the spirituality of the pontiffs which would reach a climax under the House of Borgia. The further augmentations of Papal revenues beyond those provided by their estates would lead one day to high words and deeds which would deprive the See of Peter of much in Northern and North-western Europe which was more valuable than money.

(6) The Popedom must secure the power of self-perpetuation as to office and policy without reference to external mandates or patronage. Felix III resisted unsuccessfully the insistence of Ottokar upon his right to sanction the election of the Bishop of Rome, and Symmachus was able to have the decree reversed. Theodoric's nomination of Felix IV led to widespread resentment, and a compromise....the first of many...was arrived at under Atalaric whereby election was vested in the Clergy and People of Rome, subject to royal confirmation or veto. It was during this pontificate that a senatorial decree forbade the 'Sale of the Papal Office'. Boniface II tried unsuccessfully to nominate his successor, while owing to the Lombard War Pelagius II was consecrated without Imperial sanction, as was Gregory I. though in his case apologies were forthcoming, In 649 Martin I ignored Imperial confirmation altogether. Not until Hildebrand and Nicholas II evolved a Constitutional apparatus for elections was there to be any hope of routine continuity, and even so the question of the State's connection with the matter provided endless grist for the mills of controversy.

(7) The Papacy must be adequately documented. Felix III did not hesitate to apply to himself the ipsissima verba of Jesus Christ (Matt. XII/30. Luke XI/23), while Stephen III added to the actual Donation of Pepin a forged document emanating from his entourage and called the Donation of Constantine which represented that long-dead potentate as granting to Pope Sylvester the rule of all Italy and the West. This had the valuable quality of making any further acquirement of land or authority merely an instalment in the direction of recovering lost property of indefinite magnitude. Gradually there would be accumulated from wrested proof texts, genuine and falsified letters, garbled history, records of precedents, and bold assertions of former Popes a heterogenous mass invested in the popular and official minds with apparent originality and consistency of application, and with the prestige of august and unarguable

authorities who flourished in a remote and idealized past,. Every conducive precedent and its reinterpretation by special pleaders added to the rolling snowball both in size and momentum, till what was questionable at the beginning becomes the unquestionable, and fable acquires the dignity of fact by dint of sheer longevity and iteration. The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals would not arrive till the middle of the ninth century, but long before that it had begun to be obvious that where ambition is there shall the prooftexts be gathered together.

(8) A Papal Monarchy must be supported and expressed by and through a recognized and universally binding body of Law.

The Barbarians had been fully alive to the value of a Reign of Law, and this continuance of a sense of its dignity and prestige especially when based upon Roman jurisprudence gave conditions which enabled a Church Law to acquire influence over minds already attuned to its reception. From the 4th century the 'Canon Law' came into being and multiplied under the episcopal jurisdiction of the Christianized though dying Empire. Its main sources were 1. The Scriptures, 2. The writings of the Fathers, 3. The Decrees of General Councils, 4. Certain letters of Roman Bishops, 5. The Custom of the Church. 6. Selected elements from Justinian's Digest contributed by Gregory I. The redaction framed by Dionysius Exiguus in the 6th century was transmitted to the Franks through Hadrian I and adopted by Charles the Great as the standard cononical authority in his dominions.

(9) To promote its isolated self-sufficiency the Papacy must mobilize in its service a body of men whose lives were already devoted to working out the idea of the self-sufficiency of the technically religious life. Let such men be induced to identify Popedom with Religion and the Roman ecclesiastical monarch would find himself providentially equipped with a ready-made Praetorian Guard. Gregory I came from a monkish cloister to S. Peter's Chair and reorganized the monks as directly dependent agents. Though up to the ninth century nothing comparable to the eventual Cluniac movement had appeared, yet the ground was being gradually prepared by these communal celibates. Asceticism with its abnegation and repression of natural instincts is apt to create a morbid and fanatical desire for power, endowing the character with a high-pressure efficiency in one direction. If the Church was to become a concentrated powerhouse it must inevitably give rein at least to a movement against clerical marriage.

(10) The Popes must prove to the world that in a spiritual sense their office 'lived of its own'. Like the sacred Nile which to the ancient Egyptians had its headwaters in heaven, the source of the whole stream of ever widening activities, claims and responsibilities constituting the life of the Ecclesiastical Empire must be referred back to a single celestial origin, or primal constituting fiat containing the essence of whatever should subsequently develop. The Papacy must not be regarded as a river fed by tributaries but as possessed of an inherent faculty for self-expansion on its own accord. The Source was and is traced back by special interpretation to the word 'Rock' in Matt. XVI/13-19, which is held as meaning neither Jesus, nor the

Messiahship

group of Apostles, nor the objective faith which made Peter utter his Confession of the Divinity of Christ, but the very person of Peter himself. Despite great controversy and the firm holding by men of weight of contrary beliefs it was inevitable that the Doctrine of the Person with all its apparatus of legend as to the Petrine pontificate should prevail, as to build the Church on the Confession alone would have allowed the other Patriarchal and Apostolic foundations such as Alexandria and Antioch to claim that their founders had heartily concurred in the confession, were fully covered by Matt. XVIII/18, and therefore in no way to be subordinated to the Fisherman. Nevertheless dubiety existed, for long since among the Fathers of the early Church there had been a tendency to favour the 'confessional' view in the interests of a preference for the constitution of the Church as a kind of episcopal federated republic as against a monarchical despotism.

(11) The See of Peter must prevent the arrival and be ever ready to cure the ravages of organic diseases and functional disorders within the ecclesiastical body. These fall generally under three heads. (a) Corruptions of the Faith by heresy. (b) Corruptions of personal and official morality as by simony and other abuses. (c) Corruptions of Discipline and uniform efficiency by such arrivals or survivals as Separatist movements, Intractability and divided allegiance of prelates, Conciliar movements, multiplicity of rituals, and the menace of caste fossilization through clerical marriage. Simplicius had led the attack against the Monophysite reaction from the Chalcedon Decrees, while his indefatigable successor Felix III continued his firm stand for orthodoxy. Gelasius asserted that Popes are orthodox ex officio and sui generis whatever Councils might say. Horisdas opposed the Theopaschite Formula of the Basileus, and John I only pleaded with the persecuting Justin I for toleration for the Arian Goths under the compulsion of Theodoric. Felix IV supported Caesarius of Arles against the Semipelagian heresy in Gaul, and Agapetus was actually asked to approve Justinian's Confession of Faith. Gregory I inherited the glory of the accession to the Roman Communion of the Spanish Visigoths achieved at the Council of Toledo in 589. But the ninth century was too early a phase in the evolution of the Popedom to have behind it many examples of deliberate purification. There were those who might have said that at the moment it savoured too much of the tone of its surroundings to be the saving salt even of the ecclesiastical earth.

(12) The Popes must stabilize their relationships with the Northern Emperors. This problem only arose when the reckless policy of Leo III had brought the monster into being, and was to prove the apple of discord of the Middle Ages.

We see therefore that by the beginning of the Ninth Century a considerable quantity of spadework had been indulged in, and files of precedents, ideas, and formulated claims had been opened along the main lines of what should afterwards converge into a full-orbed central theocracy perched upon an exceedingly high mountain. Enough has been done to give big men big opportunities.

and yet curiously enough it is to be a little man..a mere Leo III. who is to be the pioneer in exploiting the gathered ideological momentum of the Petrine Chair.

It would require one endowed with the vaulting imagination of the unknown author of the Book of Jasher to compose an adequate Epic of the Papacy. The sun of the Caesars had gone down, nor could it be induced to linger above the Beth-horon of Western Europe, but already we see the pontifical Joshuas working hard to perpetuate the afterglow.

12. The Stage is set
for the new Drama

We have thus reviewed generally the
masterless period preceding the arrival
of the pseudo-Imperium. Wasted and

broken as the actual roads might be, yet again were they leading men's minds to Rome, where a series of personages claimed to be indeed 'pontifices'...bridge-builders...both from the Old-World to the New, and from this world to the next. They purported to be conservators and transmitters of the fundamental truths of civilisation, the genuine 'Old Masters' without reference to whom no new experiment in the arts of politics, thought, or life could be justified or established. We have seen a sturdy plant growing in barbarian fields on this side of the Rhine which bade fair to reproduce the material force and magnitude of the lost Empire, and have led the leader to expect that anon some attempt would be made so to engraft Church and State that once more a truly Imperial tree would overshadow Europe so that the nations as of yore could lodge in the branches thereof.

We have suggested that such a growth would be unlikely to develop symmetrically and as a united whole. Rather would it be an ill-digested and uncertain crossbreed, for the North had for too long been merely Teutonic, and Rome too long merely a memory, for a satisfactory compound to be produced. It would be an uneasy mixture. We shall find that the short-lived first essay of the crown at Aachen would be too personal to assure its own continuity. In one great man the old dualism might be composed, but not in many lesser ones. Nevertheless the trend of ideas...governed by the pressure of confusion, and by dim promptings from an idealized and garbled version of the past...pointed to some such endeavour being made, albeit raggedly, brokenly and partially. Instead of a solid stem rising up to dominate the whole future of the white race we are presented rather with the vision of a pair of bastard offshoots from the dead stump of Rome writhing in inextricable tangle like the bramble of Jotham among the roots of those nascent nationalisms, which, as children neither of Empire or Papacy, would one day flourish as the cedars of Lebanon.

Rudimentary Church and State institutions, the one as yet more nominal than actual, the other more actual than nominal confront us and one another on the stage of the latter half of the 8th century. These actors have only to meet in the persons of their contemporary representatives on Christmas Day 800 for a strange play to begin.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART I

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

CHAPTER II

From the Frankish to the German Empire

PAR.13.The Papacy finds a Lord Protector....14.The Title of Patrician....15.The Title of Emperor....16.Charles the Great Emperor....17.The Decline of the Karlings....18.Nicholas I. 19.With an Empire in Being certain Problems begin to take shape. 20.Politics assume a certain general Form....21.Thought is canalized in certain general Directions....22.The Church begins to manifest a Revival of Spiritual Energy....23.The Tenth Century presents us with a New Group of Potential Imperialists. 24.With Otto the Great the Empire comes to life again in a German Form.

Certain Significant Popes
and Western Emperors

LEO III	(795-816)	CHARLEMAGNE	(800-814)
		LOUIS I	(814-840)
		LOTHAIR	(840-855)
NICHOLAS I	(858-867)	LOUIS II	(855-875)
		OTTO I	(962-973)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART I

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Chapter II

From the Frankish to the German Empire

13. The Papacy finds From the opening of the 8th century a Lord Protector there commences a rapid sequence of events and persons which entirely alters the balance of weights, forces, and tensions in the West, and distinguishes and consolidates the main powers whose alliance upon uncertain terms was both to make and mar the future. It began with the anarchy at Constantinople following upon the deposition of Justinian II, whereby the Byzantine hold on Italy was loosened, and the Popes were enabled to extend their influence upon affairs. This opportunity to reap where they had not sown was further augmented by the iconoclastic policy of the Isaurian Emperor Leo, which provoked widespread rebellion in the West. But no sooner is the Papacy advancing to a dominant position than Liudprand the great Lombard King overruns the Exarchate and becomes the most powerful man in the Peninsula, thus earning the malignant hate of a thwarted Popedom. Meanwhile Charles Martel proves himself at Poitiers the heavenborn champion of Christendom against the Paynim, and Rome begins a tortuous diplomacy having as its aim the advent of the Franks in Italy. Kingdom shall be made to rise against Kingdom that in the end the occupant of Peter's Chair may sit like a God upon the imagination of their hearts. At last the great door and effectual is opened when the Franks depose their last Merwing and elevate the son of the Hammer to the throne with the enthusiastic concurrence and encouragement of Pope Zacharias, who foresaw in this now strongly grasped sceptre a rod for the Lombard's back. Having caught this Golden Eagle in the net of the flatterer the Papacy lost no time. Stephen II interviews the King in Gaul, anoints him anew, invests him with the title of 'Patrician', distributes largesse among the magnates, enters into a bilateral convention and treaty of mutual advantage and privilege with Pepin, and urgently arranges for the letting loose upon the detestable rulers of Northern Italy of Frankish fire and sword. After two campaigns the Lombards are laid low, and the keys of Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Forli, Urbino, and Sinigaglia are in the possession of the Vicar of Christ, in accordance with the Treaty which had undertaken to 'restore' what the Lombard had seized to the 'Roman Republic and St. Peter'. On both sides therefore we can see apparent cause for satisfaction. Pepin has secured four things:- 1. Dynastic permanence for his House... 2. The principle of legitimacy emanating from an ostensibly original source... 3. The exclusion of a rival from the control of the centre of Western Christendom... 4. The spiritual benefits accruing to holy crusaders. On the other hand the Pope

has certainly not been overreached in the division of the spoil. Upon the See had been conferred the following advantages:-

1. A guaranteed security of person and property from the material assaults of the wicked...2. A vast extension of that property and the political rights which it connoted...3. The recognition of its right and power to create and convey office and dignity as the aboriginal fountain of honour...4. An immense increase of prestige as the reputed Kingmaker of what was now the supreme military and political power of the West. The way to a pseudo-imperialism is open, and the signpost at the head of the way is a pseudo-providence.

14. The Title of Patrician By 756 then Pepin had reason to consider himself the greatest secular personage in the West, and the bridge which connected his dominion of today with the mystic glamour of the Roman past consisted in this title of Patrician hitherto only obtainable from Byzantium, but of which he had been presented with what amounted to a pirated edition by the imaginative Stephen. The Patriciate was a revival of a revival by Constantine of an old Civil Service decoration ranking after the Consular dignity. By the 8th century it had become vaguely associated with some degree of office and function since it had been invariably borne by the Imperial Governors-general of the Exarchate. The invention and bestowal of such letters-patent by the Popes in the crude conditions prevailing in the West could not but generate endless trouble, as no full and detailed understanding existed on the side either of giver or recipient as to the precise duties and limitations attached to these resuscitated antique curios. When it came at last to the conferring of such a title as 'Emperor' the confusion and dubiety reached a climax since titles to be effective marks of degree and guide-rails for service must relate rigidly to an organized hierachical system with a ready-made and exhaustive rubric, etiquette and echelon of precedence such as had been elaborately built up in the East, but that the West even in the heyday of feudalism was never able to establish in plenitude of structure, or universality of recognition and enforcement. It did not help much toward clarification to add the word 'Romanorum' for none could tell whether that meant the historic Roman nation going back to Romulus, which thus identified Pepin mystically with the holy seed of aboriginal rulers, or the 'Senatus populusque Romanus' actually inhabiting the city in the middle of the 8th century which would limit Pepin to a mere contemporary municipal officialdom, or again if it included the technical nationals of the Papal States who would thereby be vaguely liable to his authority. Further clouds roll up when the words 'Defensor' or 'Protector' are included for they might mean anything from a mere ornamental memorial of services rendered...as when the title "Fidei Defensor" was given to Henry VIII of England for a specific act, to implying the assumption by the recipient of certain permanent sentry-duties over Papal property, or again to connoting readiness to further some ulterior pontifical intrigue by useful violence. If the vast majority of the Popes had not been men who only attained the Chair when themselves on the

verge of second childhood, whose memory therefore was better than their judgment, and if, furthermore, they had not been frequently so mentally stunted by their upbringing as to fancy that unrealities could be minted by mere asseveration into sterling coin of fact, it is probable that a great deal of loose trading in margins, unrebukeable usurpations, and the circulating of a debased currency of obsolete ideas could have been avoided, and negotiations might have been conducted in the open day of plain understanding rather than in the shifting twilight of an obscurantist metaphysic. There would need also to have been in the Papacy a good deal less of the spirit of a vulgar adventurer eager to bribe its way to recognition and influence with the looted remnants of the tradition of Rome. Already therefore we see in this reckless revival of antique titles to gratify a useful "strong man armed" a perilous sowing of tares and a gratuitous addition to the disastrous complexities of the future.

15. The Title of Emperor In the year 774 Pepin's greater son Charles arrived at Rome to indulge in the same high-sounding interchange and confirmation of benefits and bestowals. Again we find the materially practical assurance to the Holy See of the safe possession and enjoyment of the precious lands and revenues is repaid by decorative words, of which it was hoped that the recipient would never think of exacting the full implications. By this time the enflamed ecclesiastical ambition had begun to feel the stimulating effect of the 'Donation of Constantine' whereby the past was reshaped through a spurious documentation to a convenient mould into which the present and future could be poured. They could indeed be condescending to mere Kings who aforetime had been at least equal to Emperors.

Though for the next quarter of a century the government of Rome was carried on 'in the name of the Patrician Charles,' already by 781 the Pope is marking the calendar with his own name without reference to the reigns of Byzantines, and the indigenous spirit of overlordship is condensing under the surface of the Roman See, biding its time till an adequate conductor shall be found through which to discharge itself upon the world. By 800 the Frankish dominion was truly Imperial in extent, and its ruler a personage of manifestly Caesarean mould. It only needed the ghostly touch of a vanished hand to invest his political extension and preeminence with the glamour of derivative legitimacy, and transform the energy of his process of arrival into the immovable inertia of a permanent and absolute status. When Charles the Great was crowned Emperor of the West in Saint Peter's Church on Christmas Day 800 neither he nor the third-rate semi-scandalous Leo III seem to have possessed a cool and developed appreciation of the nature of the deed. The Pope was repeating in similar circumstances of requital for material protection afforded, and on a larger scale, the actions of Stephen II and Hadrian I. Again an ancient word of power had been brought out of the arcana of the ages and recklessly employed for the enchantment of a valuable barbarian, but no antidote had been simultaneously provided in the shape of absolute and relative

definitions to ensure the integration of the newly consecrated Imperial dignity with the interests of the Popedom. Had the Pontiff emitted a clear dogma on the spot couched in some such formula as:- 'The Holy Roman Empire proceedeth from the Father and from the Pope', and thereupon exacted an unequivocal acceptance of this credal affirmation from the faithful potentate, subsequent history might have been spared much physical and metaphysical friction and ambiguity. But no such cleansweeping doctrine was forthcoming, and immediately after placing the diadem upon the head of the Frank the Bishop of Rome 'adored his Sovereign in the Byzantine manner'.

Having reasserted for Rome the ecclesiastical primacy which was an allotropic form of the ancient Sacerdotium, the Papacy had thus resuscitated the secular primacy of the Western Imperium, finding a temporarily plausible excuse for this reversal of the policy of Constantine in the contemporary usurpation of the Eastern throne by a mere woman..the Empress-mother Irene. This was of course the thinnest of legal subterfuges since there could be no possibility whatever that the Golden Horn would subject itself to the rule of a remote Teuton at Aachen. Henceforth Europe was to witness the philosophic fallacy of a 'Double Truth' expressed in political terms, a doctrine delightful to Schoolmen, in which the whole body of the Roman Imperium could simultaneously be contained 'under the species' of an Emperor in the West, and 'under the species' of an Emperor in the East. It never came to such debate, for the West simply accepted Charles as the 68th Roman Emperor and the direct successor of Constantine VI, while haughty Byzantium continued upon its own way.

Artificial, nominal and of dubious legality as such a title must essentially be it could not fail to exert a certain catalytic effect upon the politics of occidental Europe. Though the superimposed name might retain its externality, and make little difference to the organization and interrelationship of the other factors in the State system, yet it supplied a focus for the imaginations of men which might in time serve to affect them in the direction of unity of spirit in the bond of peace. The ideal principle of Continental coherence had been solidified into a crown which might fulfil the function of an overhead symbol and draw all men unto it. Though no one could do more than dimly appreciate the theory that Pope and Emperor were henceforth to be in some sense complimentary, and in practice everyone failed to settle finally the vexed question as to whether their mutual relationships were parallel, derivative, emanative, advisory, mandatory or representative, yet the attempt was undoubtedly being made to impart both justification and sanctification to a centralized rule both of force and law in a world torn for more than three centuries by separatist individualisms untempered by an effective overarching political loyalty.

In that illiterate age a Pope could easily persuade himself and others that he was indeed the 'Scribe instructed in the Kingdom bringing like an housholder out of his treasury things new and old. In the Papacy alone could be found that combination of archaeological museum and College of Heralds whose published opinion should dispel the unease which beclouds the splendour of an upstart. It had the wit to dramatize sensationally the reaction from weary chaos. It mattered not that save for one writhing

tentacle the classical world was dead and drowned. The electrifying touch of that surviving limb of the things that were... represented by the hands of the feeble shaveling Leo III... could surely transmit in extenso the legitimating magic of the Caesarean succession. Already before 800 the King's ideal of a Universal Christian Monarchy had been consolidated in the eyes of the world by his own personal prestige and consummate ability to perform the dual functions of such a rule. It had only required the theory to become generally accepted, signed and witnessed that his government was a piece of the true and long-lost sceptre of the Caesars for it to blossom into full-orbed authority, divested for ever for the stigma of its being merely accidental, opportunist, or imitative. Otherwise its quality must be questionable and its duration precarious.

In engineering this wondrous resurrection the Papacy had done itself at once a service and a disservice. It had created a possible opposition which in the future might refuse subordination, deny cooperation, and claim and enforce superiority. It had obtained a guardian-angel for its Eden who might not confine his attentions to warding off intruders but develop a mind of his own as to the condition and governance of the garden itself. On the other hand the See of Peter needed just such a counterpoise, just such a whetstone for the sharpening of its own vigour, a definite resistance compelling future Popes to formulate and justify their pretensions, identify their friends, increase their resources and invest their propaganda with the specious but effective romance of a St. George-and-the-Dragon.

Church and State in excelsis are thus at last personified upon the stage of Western Europe, arguments for the existence of each of the protagonists being based on a conglomerate of analogy, arbitrary invention, tainted evidence, antiquarian pedantry, contemporary credulity, prejudice, and expediency, and now brought to a head by the way of fact. Of such a mingled nature would ultimately prove the controversy which reached collision and incandescence in the personalities concerned in the affair of Canossa.

16. Charles the Great, Emperor No sooner is Charles certified as Roman Emperor No. 68 than his prestige expands to its amplitude. What up to date has been but a fond reminiscence is now made flesh and dwelling among us. His Kingship has been elective and popular, his Empire is by Divine fiat. More even than Constantine or Theodosius he is a theocrat like the idealized holy Kings David and Josiah. But the splendour of his person and renown only disguised and could not eliminate the profound ambiguity of the whole ecclesiastico-political situation. The Government of the West had become a dangerous semi-metaphysical compound of two theocracies in temporary hypostatic union. It was a formidable matter that he who ruled from the Elbe to the Ebro should insist on maintaining a God-ordained authority over the affairs of the Frankish Church, nominate Bishops, control property, summon Synods, define heresies, ordain doctrines, and behave generally as though the Papacy had been a mere John the Baptist making straight in the wilderness an highway for the Empire. There was that in the constitution of his State which could not hope to perpetuate this paramount initiative

and there was that in the Papacy which would not endure that it should so continue.

It was not for Charles to perceive how much the efficiency of his applied idealism emanated from his own personality, and was not guaranteed an automatic survival in the Constitution itself. His abounding energy which allowed him no single capital city but kept him moving on circuit from place to place in a cloud of couriers vitalized indeed the structure of which he was the soul, but could not unfortunately be stabilized as hereditary in his line. An Empire of long growth acquires a self-acting momentum which renders it comparatively immune from damage by unworthy princes. Rome survived Caligula and Commodus and Elagabalus, but the Empire of a single will and lifetime hangs too much upon that peg, and with the hereditary principle introduced too soon into the still raw constitution the decease of the mighty may well bring about the death of his mightiness. A William Pitt may succeed an Earl of Chatham, but more often is it Richard Cromwell who follows upon the great Oliver.

The Frankish Empire was doomed from the outset to impermanence since it was at once too premature, primitive and personal to contain the stuff of duration.

1. It was too much of a crowning compliment to the overmastering personality and influence of one man who, however great, must needs be ephemeral.
2. It was too immense and amorphous to be endowed with defensible coherence with the inadequate means of communication then available.
3. The nature and scope of the Imperial title had been so ill-defined that Charles had had to invent his own interpretation thereof in a manner at once so extensive and peculiar that no successor could be expected to be sufficient for these things.
4. The Empire was wrecked territorially by the Frankish custom of dividing the inheritance on the decease of the great testator.
5. It contained too many rudimentary but nevertheless real national differences, and too many nominal subjections and recent conquests to be more than a thinly veneered cartographical expression by the time the strong hand of the masterbuilder was withdrawn.
6. It was degraded to fatuity by the inane successors of the Great King.
7. The title of Emperor was in a practice limited to and by its territorial possessions, which consisted in a fortuitous concourse of conquests, without racial, topographical, economic or military logic to justify or stabilize its frontiers.
8. Had it not died from other causes it would ere long have suffered disaster from the malignant jealousy of the Roman theocrat.

Of these intimations of mortality only the Third, Fourth, and Sixth pertain exclusively to the Frankish phase of the Holy Roman Empire. The remainder apply with more or less equal force to its Teutonic edition/as well. Yet Charles the Great had shown what could be done with the Imperial diadem, and set a-going a rumour of himself and of his might which was to linger upon the wind of time and be a legendary example and inspiration to many an ironclad Kaiser beyond the Rhine.

17. The Decline of the Karlings We do not purpose to compose a narrative of the events which followed upon the epochmaking though singular phenomenon of Charlemagne's reign. But the significance of Canossa demands that we notice and discuss certain points and persons which emerge in that period of time in which men were growing accustomed to the consciousness that there was an Empire at least in name. For example it is expedient to record...in view of the acrimonious disputes in the time of Gregory VII and Henry IV..that no sooner was Charles the Great in his grave than his son Louis crowned himself in 814 without reference to the Pope, and two years later Stephen IV was elected at Rome without reference to the Emperor. That the matter was satisfactorily adjusted later at Rheims with great pomp and mutual Christian forbearance does not alter the fact that a precedent has been let loose to be picked up and used by anyone bold enough to find it convenient. Again this same Louis 'addiction to a morbid piety producing spectacular penances is to have a strange echo later on in the sensational humilities of a German Henry.

The reign of this same Louis produced two positive problems which were to recur again and again.

1. Civil war within the Empire, culminating in the fearful slaughter of Fontenay and the Partition of Verdun whereby the Frankish dominion which had been built by the sword was dismembered more or less directly by the same means. Eight hundred years later the Thirty Years War would be no less savage, and no more affected in the direction of restraint by reminiscence of the Pax Romana the promotion of which had been one of the ideas that had brought the Empire into being. Two and a quarter centuries after Fontenay diplomacy would still adjust itself to the results of internecine violence even in such subtle matters as the private opinions of Popes about the character of Emperors.

2. The adjustment of working agreements between the State and the Church by documented treaties. Louis and Paschal I entered into a compact of sorts...the first of ~~any~~...wherein it was mutually agreed that 1. The rights of the Holy See over its territorial possessions in Italy were confirmed to it.

2. The Pope should be autonomous within his frontiers, with the reservation to the Empire to intervene in the last resort.

3. Papal elections were to be independent of Imperial control, but the Pope-elect must immediately enter into communication and alliance with the Frankish monarch.

But circumstances altered the case very shortly owing to the difficulties into which Eugenius II fell in the City of Rome, and in pursuance of Article 2 the Imperial Prince Lothair appeared in Italy, his visitation resulting in the promulgation of the 'Constitutio Romana' which introduced important modifications in the original arrangement.

1. The jurisdiction of the See was uplifted from certain important personages within Roman territory.

2. The Papacy was saddled with the presence of an Imperial overseer or Missus.

3. No Pope was to receive consecration till his election had been confirmed by the Emperor.

But with the Partition of Verdun Chaos and Old Night descended upon the Empire which had under Charlemagne imagined that the Dark Age was past.

As with the Merwings so with the Karlings, degeneration was the besetting curse of Frankish dynasts, and when Rome was sacked by the Saracens it looked as though Papacy and Empire had only risen to fall again.

The walls of the Leonine City built by Leo IV to defend the Popedom were a commentary upon the futility of the Defensor whose advent had awakened such high hopes of established safety for the Petrine Chair. They repeated the same message as the ramparts of Honorius 450 years before, namely that the Northern defences could not be depended upon.

18. Nicholas I The Ninth Century produced only one Pope of sufficient calibre to magnify the office and create inspiring precedents. In Nicholas I the Church as a body became possessed for nine short years of an animating and progressive soul. Since Gregory the Great there had been no ecclesiastic of so truly Roman a personality, able and willing to exploit advantage, revive moribund claims, and demonstrate that the Lateran powerhouse both could and should be the central and dominant installation of the entire Western system. The past was brought up to date as from Gelasius I, bishops were given to understand their position as functionaries. Order was taken with a nationalist like Hincmar of Rheims, a devolutionist like John of Ravenna, an intruder like Photius of Byzantium, and with too independent Synods like those of Aachen and Metz. Attempted coercion on the part of the Emperor Louis II, who 'marched on Rome' in the fashion so familiar in Italian history, failed entirely, and the visit of the unarmed Pontiff to the sickbed of the Emperor dissipated the clouds of controversy without recourse being had to the excessively dangerous Jovian thunderbolt of excommunication. The valour and forbearance displayed by the Pope on this occasion were unfortunately of that personal kind which is not susceptible of bureaucratic transmission as a precedent for successors. Had Gregory VII been capable on certain occasions of spontaneous magnanimity at the right moment he might not have 'died in exile'.

Yet even Nicholas was not superior to the abounding corruption of his period. There came to be compiled and circulated a fantastic compost of forged Decretals garnished with the name of the learned Bishop Isidore of Seville. A Decretal was a reply made by a Pope to some question addressed to him on a point of doctrine or discipline, a 'considered judgment' aroused by a specific instance but applicable generally to similar cases. The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals contained a collection of alleged epistles from early Bishops of Rome, and made it possible to 'prove' that what might otherwise have been regarded as dangerous innovations were in reality the resuscitations of timehonoured and admitted rights. Though in the first instance devised to protect the episcopate in general from Metropolitan, Synodic, and secular interference, its terms and provisions were too suitable for bolstering the position and pretensions of the Holy See to be ignored. The Donation of Constantine had reinforced temporal claims, here was a document

which, like a bogus New Testament, could supply textual ammunition for 'spiritual' ambitions. Two principles could be extracted from it:- 1. No Conciliar or Synodal decision was to be deemed valid without Papal sanction.... 2. The Holy See was the final Court of Appeal for ecclesiastics 'oppressed' by secular princes.

With due manipulation it could thus be turned into an excellent weapon for grinding the independence of Bishops to powder, even were they as numerous and determined as the German hierarchs at the First Council of Worms in 1076, and for bringing the pride and policies of the laity to a fitting subservience. In its composition had been fused together garbled conceptions borrowed from Augustine's Civitas Dei, traditions of the personality and influence of Gregory I, and more recent recollections of the theocracy of Charlemagne. It mattered not that persons of different centuries were represented as in correspondence, and early bishops were made to quote freely from the as yet unwritten Vulgate of Jerome. It only needed such a mind as was that of Nicholas I to touch it with fire, when the rocket would go off, and illumine the darkness of the age with its specious glare, which would only be quenched six hundred years later in the cold scholarship of the Renaissance.

But the pace set up by Nicholas could not be kept up, and with his death the Papacy sank rapidly till it became the appanage of women, brigands, souteneurs and the scum of Rome.

The artificial overhead names of Popedom and Empire were in the second half of the ninth century mere husks for the swine to eat. The Karling mushroom had withered....the Vicariate-general of Christ Imperial bid fair to follow suit.

19. With an Empire in being, certain problems begin to take shape. Since the notion of an Over-state has been revived, there inevitably arise certain questions to demand answers which would have not been so urgent without the new crown and its connotations. Amid the anarchic conditions, vagaries of fortune, corruptions, crudities and setbacks associated with this false-dawn of European order, the canonists are only slowly attaining to definition of principles, and the preparation of munitionment for institutional ambition.

1. There was already a tradition of cases in which the Papacy had actually or apparently exercised supremacy over secular rulers. With the Merwings, with Pepin and with Charles the Great, the Popes had..at least in their own estimation..acted as autonomous initiators. Admittedly Charles' personal dominance in Church affairs had rather obscured this theory with a heavy cloud of contrary practice, but such aberrations of genius could easily be forgotten later on, and the tendencious literature of pretension be added to here a little and there a little. The Byzantine phase of the Bishopric of Rome found such things as resistance (to the Isaurians) but never a rounded claim of overlordship such as was to grow in the West. But where there were many Kings there could be found citable instances, so that on occasions a miserable nonentity like Chilperic is referred to as a case in point of the casting down of the mighty from their seat by an allpowerful Pontiff.

The time would come when it would be more important that a legal formula embodying such notions should be forced upon statute-books, than that law, order and justice should prevail in the land. The question as to the whereabouts of 'Supremacy' would take precedence of such incidental matters as the purpose to which such supremacy ought to be put. A Rudolph would some day be certified as a better ruler over the lives of men than Henry IV, simply because the sweetsmelling sacrifice of his verbal subservience was ...like the offerings of another Abel...more acceptable than that of Cain.

2. There was already a dangerously vague impression that Excommunication was a weapon to be used for the coercion of secular princes regardless of the consequence which were bound to ensue in the increasingly complex political machinery now in process of development. It was vague because no considerable body of precedents had been gathered even among the lower strata and certainly no Great Prince had yet provided a test-case. It was dangerous because in a social and military system built on personal pledges and moral credit, there were obvious perils connected with a principle of interference which could declare that an oath of fealty which yesterday was a binding and a just commitment was today equivalent to a devilbegotten comforting of the enemies of God. It was argued that the Pope merely affirms and pronounces that loyalty to be void which had erroneously been attached to an evil oath...what is sinful is self-nullified. But what was an evil oath? When the Saxons were beaten at the Unstrut Gregory VII accounted it a signal Divine judgment upon odious rebels. A very little later and similar rebellion is being held to be laudable and incumbent upon the faithful. In the decadence of the Karlings a threat of anathema or its pronouncement might bring no widespread dislocation to an illknit and rudimentary experiment in Empire, but hereafter it will be a menace so formidable as to bring French, German and even English kings shamefully to heel. Excommunication as the most developed form of the ancient 'Herem and Tabu belongs to a category of plausible artificialities which bring all the more confusion and misery in practice the more incontrovertible their theory is regarded in any given society.

The use of it was damaging for all parties, so that we find, for example, that an erstwhile discreet diplomatist like Hildebrand quickly degenerates into a childish pseudo-Zeus hurling his thunderbolts so frequently that they lose effectiveness and become mere notifications to the world that Gregory is angry again. Its effect in the State was of course to put a premium upon every disruptive force, envy, malice and sedition which could serve its own ends in furthering priestcraft. The clerical mind arguing in vacuo is not necessarily capable of foreseeing the outworkings of so simply phrased an instrument of piety and policy. Even by the time of Henry IV it was by no means clear whether an Anathema did of itself cast down a King, or merely suspend him, or affect his status at all. How far did the mystical ban touch the attitude of the subject to the King's writ?.....if a King was deposed by a special cause in the Bull, did the cancelling of the religious element by absolution tacitly reverse the tenour of the political section?

3. There still remained a great deal of work to be done with the filling in of the framework of the Petrine Foundation of the Temporal and Spiritual Powers. The time is coming when we will have to appeal with might and main to the Prince of the Apostles. It might require the possession of an high stomach for strong assumptions, but these being digested the rest was easy. Having determined upon a negotiable and elastic interpretation of the Rabbinical phrase concerning "Binding and Loosing" a certain sequence of beliefs must be arranged for to connect the ownership of this power solely with Peter, associate Peter with Rome, establish him as the first of Popes, and qualify him to transmit to and endless chain of successors this unique prerogative remarkable alike as a faculty and as a function. By the 11th, century the words 'binding' and 'loosing' would become in the mouth and under the pen of Gregory VII stock phrases for employment on any and every occasion, the expression of a natural-spiritual law as indubitable and obvious as the geocentricity of the universe, or the flatness of the earth.

4. The existence of Emperors was sufficient to awaken at times certain recollections of and dubieties about the scope and nature of the Donation of Constantine. The ninth century ecclesiastical glossators do not appear to have considered that it connoted the temporal authority of the Papacy over the Western Empire, but later there were to arise those who in all practical respects would behave exactly as though they did. The genuineness of this latent instrument was not in question till the beginning of the 11th century, and it was not an article of Canon Law till the 13th century.

20. Politics assume a certain general form

The disentanglement and progressive stabilization of the main elements of civilisation owed a considerable

debt to the Frankish barbarians-in-borrowed-Plumes who supplied the curtain-raiser and prologue to the drama of the mediaeval Empire. As usual it is with Charlemagne that we must associate any positive advance. It is under him that we see appearing what has been under the surface for long enough, namely, a tendency to Feudalize society...the Teutonic solution for the problem of Law and order. Feudalism was a practical philosophy of property, society and defence, a general social principle and hierarchy of Contract and Service which in the future would supply the secular crown with an organization which it was hoped would prove as vehicular to its will as the corresponding Papal hierarchy of Status and Function. It was a compound growth, and only with the Empire do we find it systematically accelerated as to development and application. Under the Great King the peasant proprietor in fee-simple formed the territorial levy for defence summoned by the King...the Heerban. But the fighting-landowner class had also grown up and under the Karlings we find these professional warriors being attached to the Royal and Imperial service by a form of tenure of land-gift based on a new relationship...namely tenancy in return for fighting-services to be rendered on demand. This grant of a 'Fief' was terminable at discretion but tended to become hereditary till heirs failed. Such land was said to be held "In Beneficium" the first distinct five element in feudalism.

From the institution of Benefice radiated a ramifying and complex system of adjustments as simple and solid in appearance as they were clumsy and ill-coordinated in reality. Thus Vassalage which was originally a personal homage of retainership came to be so blended with land-tenure as to be indistinguishable and thus lead to perplexities when a Gregory VII strives to link feudal notions with the relationship of the ideal Emperor with himself. Then Immunity covered all the subordinate vassals in one benefice so that each section of the State was linked to the Central government only by the loyalty of the chief Vassal. What was even more serious was the Immunity granted at last wholesale to clerical establishments, creating enclaves within the land but outwith the judges of the land, Subinfeudation only aggravated the danger of immunity in that the King became more and more separated from control over any given tract by a pyramidal erection of petty lordlings. The beginnings of these apparently simple but ultimately disastrous growths were already under way with Charles the Great, but it was not in his reign that the supreme dangers to which the system was liable were even envisaged.

These dangers were two in number. 1. A situation might arise in which the Prince would be confronted by an inner ring of hostile Chief Vassals beyond whom he could not look for assistance since all below these barons were technically immunized. It is just such a ring as Henry IV^{1st} to face at Tribur.

2. A situation might arise in which the Prince might find that those of his feudatories who were also clergy...Semi-detached vassals...were being turned against him in the matter of governing the State by a Papacy become hostile. Both these perils arose from a failure of the only dement which feudalism had been able to employ..namely the validity of personal sworn troth. In the latter situation this merely spiritual bond had little or no significance for the popedom possessed in the Petrine Mandate an immediate solvent for all such matters of conscience, and in the former case, if the barons by their rebellion were serving the See they also could become partakers of the celestial immunities within the gift of the Pontiff. Time was to show whether feudalization of prelates under the Germanic phase of the Empire would or would not exhibit disadvantages that outweighed the manifest usefulness it possessed for a period.

<p>21. Thought is canalized in certain general directions</p>	<p>If the ninth century saw an attempt being made to order the bodies of men as units in systematized groups and ranks for the purposes of general government, so also was it a period of <u>endeavour to set their minds in some path of development and coordination</u>. Already Alcuin, and Raban Maur and Scotus Erigena have been in the field serving their vision of an all-embracing Empire of the Mind..a Summa which should contain all and explain all, harmonizing Reason and Revelation, Science and Faith, Philosophy and Theology... in other words reconciling for practical purposes the Pope-and-Emperor in human character and understanding. If Archimedes demanded a <u>fulcrum</u>, the Scholastics sought <u>A Compendium</u>.</p>
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AS with Politics and Religion the result in fact fell far short of the ideals professed, and partook of the quality of heterogeneous conglomeration typified by the works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite...as much a fused-together lump of salvaged classical scrap-iron as were the Papacy and the Empire themselves.

Originating with a sixth century monophysite sect the Areopagite Treatises which reflected the Neo-platonist reveries of Proclus, Damascius, Ammonius, Saccas, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Plotinus himself were destined to supply the early Middle Ages with that groundwork of ideas afterwards abandoned for Aristotle. The work had as its 8th and ninth century sponsors and supporters such notable figures as Hadrian I, Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald. When at the instance of the latter Scotus Erigena translated it into Latin the reign of the Areopagite had begun.

Its significance for our purpose is to be found in its doctrine of the Divine Transcendence which was of a nature to allow of the largest claims of a Papacy to represent a Divine Immanence not otherwise provided for. Minds accustomed to its notions of a plurality of mediators could accept without strain the idea of such a Pope as Gregory VII...by his own showing an intimate confidant of the Mother of God, and SS. Peter and Paul...as in a very special sense only "a little lower than the angels".

As under the influence of such revivals of the concept of the Absolute as were represented by Pseudo-Dionysius the vision of the Deity could grow less anthropomorphic, so could the vision of the Pontiff become more theomorphic to the greater glory of practical religion.

Erigena himself in his "On the Division of Nature" blended Augustine and 'Dionysius' into a semi-pantheistic system which at least served to popularize the notion of world-unity. Of such stuff combined with Latin versions of Aristotle's Logic compiled by Boethius in the 6th century, the same writer's 'Consolations of Philosophy', a few inferior manuals and commentaries and Plato's 'Timaeus' consisted the teaching of the Karling Schools...a poor and patchy reminiscence of the mighty Greco-Roman cultural edifice which internal decay and the Teutonic earthquake had brought down 400 years before.

22. The Church begins to manifest a revival of spiritual energy

Ninth century Empire and Anarchy combined to produce at least two

lasting effects upon the organization and outlook of the Church as a whole.

1. Charlemagne's Christian Monarchy put a premium upon Patronage, which Northern feudalism would only serve to increase and that would require centuries of struggle to modify and eliminate.

2. When anarchy supervened the moral value and influence of Churchmen sank to zero, and the Monastic Idea gained an impetus in a world of external confusion which would have a farreaching effect when its original negative ideal of Retreat was transmuted into a positive doctrine of communal service and attack. The Benedictine system of 'useful communities' had been spread abroad by Gregory I who sought to conquer the world by means of men who

had fled therefrom. But the system was fissiparous and provided for no coordinating overhead control, and the prestige and value of the monks fluctuated. Under Charlemagne they had been used as practical civilisers, but Louis the Pious fostered the ascetic element to the extent that the monasteries bid fair to control and depress learning at the expense of the Karling Schools. The ingredient of Fanaticism was thus cultivated, a narrow and ignorant violence of orthodoxy which, properly handled, would one day prove itself indispensable for the propulsion of the Church machine. For a short time there was in the region of Saxony a movement exhibited among the new Karling bishoprics and monasteries which amounted to nothing less than a rudimentary Renaissance of real religion and art, but it was doomed to eclipse as with the advance of institutional ambition the energy of the Church lost both light and heat and manifested itself only in Power. Philosophers might be seeking a compendium to include all, the Monks with their rapidly hardening doctrine of the omniscience of the 'Church Fathers' were forging a Procrustean rack with which to wrench all. Once give them to conceive of the Papacy as such a readymade instrument and the Popedom is assured of an unending supply of monomaniac support for its wildest pretensions.

23. The Tenth Century presents us with a New Group of Potential Imperialists.

The ninth century had witnessed the first attempt to reach some

political solidity of groundwork after a barbarian deluge which had submerged everything in the West but the lone Ararat summit of the Popedom. That the Frankish Empire proved to be a second Babel ending in confusion of tongues did not lead as in the ancient tale to a cessation in building some kind of Imperial tower. Already before the Century is over there are signs in the North of the formation of a new nucleus of cohesion and hegemony... a Germanic Bloc of four Dukedoms (Franconia, Saxony, Suabia and Bavaria) whose intermittent support of German Kings.. could it be made habitual.. gave promise of a stable power-unit being established some day beyond the Rhine. With the election of the powerful Duke Henry of Saxony in 918 a process of consolidation begun long since receives the acceleration only to be derived from an adequate personality who has worthy successors.

1. Henry is both a man of war and of statecraft, eminently fitted to tackle the task of converting nominal overlordship into actual sovereignty.

2. He had the warrior Saxons at his back, who represented a tradition least affected of all by Karling politics, and who thus supplied at the right moment a narrow but virile nationalism of spirit, liable to become profitably infectious, counteract blind separatism among the tribes, and help to put some heart into the cumbrous working of the feudal machinery. It would be shown later that these vigorous Baltic braves had it in their hands to make or mar the German crown. Their swords would one day point out to a Henry IV the cold road to Canossa.

3. The danger from Wends, Danes, and Magyars was so pressing that the internecine feuds of feudatories must perforce give way to the obvious necessity for a unified command. The old Roman

experience is being repeated which exhibits the military Emperor preceding and then emerging with the Princeps.

4. The Church had owed so much of her rise and expansion in Germany to the Pax Carolingia..however imperfectly that had been enforced,that it was natural for the prelates to support a hopeful revival of efficient central government. The semi-secular status of German bishops was at this time a positive asset in a period of transition. Indeed it was by lavish gifts of patronage to Duke Arnulf of Bavaria that his final adhesion to the general policy of the Bloc was obtained in 921.In German opinion such patronage was an indefeasible prerogative of State. He would need to be a bold and permanently distant Pope who should raise any question on the subject of Investitures. Bishoprics were the one type of feudal Beneficium unentangled with heredity and minorities and disputed successions. Each vacancy gave an opportunity to the patron to appoint a fresh and mature vassal animated by personal gratitude and guided by mutual understanding.

That he should have relinquished the Bavarian patronage showed how far Henry was prepared to go in pursuit of unity and peace, but his alienation of it to a subordinate did not alter the principle that it remained in secular control.

From 924 onwards the King devoted himself to the establishment of Marks or buttress-provinces which should at once defend and define the now dimly self-conscious Kingdom of the German nation. His State was still a Confederation bound together at the top by his crown, but as he moved from victory to victory, built towns, organized markets, and inspired men with courage and hope the nominal unity tended to become flushed with a more personal feeling, and once more the stage was set for a revival of Imperial organization and the timehonoured name.

24. With Otto the Great the Empire comes to life again in a German form.

Otto I was an edition-de-luxe of his valiant father

In a reign of 37 years he brought the prestige and practical value of the Imperial idea to a level not inferior to that which in the first flush of renaissance had be-glamoured the crown of Charles the Great. He had to face two spasms of separatism and civil broil, originating in one case in lingering jealousy of the Central Government, and in the other in the treachery of his own son Ludolf... a detestable tendency in German princes of the blood which Henry IV was to experience to his bitter cost. But by the sword by statecraft and an extensive employment of patronage, he not only quenched rebellion, but reorganized the Duchies, and brought into being a school of clerical statesmen upon whom he relied as the main civilizing instrument of the Crown, serving with far greater efficiency in posts of political responsibility than the general run of illiterate and violent lay feudatories. A whole series of new foundations in the Marks gave an opportunity for well-chosen bishops and abbots to integrate the standard of life of the inhabitants with that of the Kingdom. The German clergy welcomed the advantage to themselves (as against the greed of lesser patrons) of direct dependence upon the crown, whose authority was, for the time being at least, as indispensable to

their own prosperity as their subservience was indispensable to the King. They were in short the stabilizing, perpetuating principle which made Empire possible, furnishing German politics with a tradition which must necessarily form an integral part of the political inheritance and outlook of a Henry IV.

But the more the German hierarchy proved their value to the State the more irksome grew the knowledge that technically they were subordinate 'in purely ecclesiastical affairs' to the sink of corruption by the Tiber. A sharp warning to this effect was administered by Otto's own son William Archbishop of Mainz who resisted by an appeal to Rome the King's projected subtraction of Eastern Saxony and the Wendish March from the jurisdiction of the See. If the consolidation of a coherent Germany was ever to be brought about with the untrammelled aid of the all-important ecclesiastics the German Crown must set Italy and Rome in order. In 951 he assumed the crown of Italy at Pavia, appointed Berengar of Ivrea vassal-King, and might have consummated the reform of the Southern situation had affairs in Germany not summoned him back to deal with rebels and Magyars. The Roman ulcer remained for another nine years without the much-needed operation. But in 960 Pope John XII, son of Alberic a "Duce" of familiar Italian stamp, appealed to the King against the alleged overweening of Berengar, and, having procured the election and coronation of his young son Otto as 'King of the Germans' Otto the Great in August 961 passed the Brenner in the armed splendour of a mighty host. Once more has the North been called in to redress the balance of the South.

On the 2nd of February 962 Otto was crowned Emperor by John XII in the City of Rome.

A century and a half had passed since anything approaching so far-reaching an event had occurred in the West. Another Charlemagne had arisen, this time from beyond the River-line, who brought the same spirit to bear upon conditions which were in many ways a vast improvement upon the raw uncertain medley of the Frankish period. Within five years the omnipotent dictator had established a relationship with the Papacy such as had been known since the Byzantines, had tried and deposed two Popes, set up two Popes in succession of his own choice, and had Germanized and Imperialized the Holy See as the ecclesiastical function and aspect of the Empire.

The last ten years of his life witnessed the apogee of his personal rule, creating a precedent which a Henry IV could look back upon but never emulate. Poland and Bohemia did him homage, while the now independent kingdom of France, along with Danes, Muscovites, Bulgars and Hungarians sent ambassadors to his presence. His son Otto the Imperial Crown Prince (created joint-Emperor in 967) was married to a Byzantine Princess in 972 who brought the still lingering remnants of Greek Italy as her dowery.

A boundless and benevolent despotism in which the Pope found his place as Metropolitan Primate had solved for a moment the ever festering problems of Church and State, Germany and Italy, the magnates and the Crown. Superficially it might well appear to observers in 973 that the Germans had accomplished for Central Europe the ever desirable miracle of unity and peace.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART I

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

CHAPTER III

German Ascendancy and Papal Ascent

PAR.25.Otto II dies too soon....26.Otto III Brilliant in Theory but Unfortunate in Practice....27.Tenth Century Experience served to Emphasize the Inherent Difficulties of an Imperial Revival....28.But Witnessed the Advent of New Forces facilitating an Ecclesiastical Revival...29.The Passing of the Thousandth Year is Ominous not of the End of World-Struggle but of its Intensification...30.Henry II leans to the Cluniacs but Conrad II is an Imperial Champion...31.The Secularized German Church. 32.Under Henry III the Papacy Begins its Ascent to Power....33. A Greater than Nicholas I Appears....34.Leo IX goes about to Establish Ecclesiastical Righteousness....35.The Glory departs from the Empire and Doubtful Personages become Prominent....36. More Vicissitudes for the Popedom....37.The Election Decree of Nicholas II....38.Is Supported by Farreaching and Constructive Political Intrigue.

Certain Significant Popes and Emperors

10th.Cent.		OTTO II	(973-83)
	GREGORY V	(996-999.....OTTO III	(983-1002)
	SYLVESTER II	(999-1002)	
11th.Cent.	BENEDICT VIII	(1012-24).....HENRY II	(1002-24)
	BENEDICT IX	(1033-44-46).....CONRAD II	(1024-39)
	(SYLVESTER III)	(1044-1046)	HENRY III (1039-56)
	(GREGORY VI)	(1045-1046)	
	CLEMENT II	(1046-1048)	
	LEO IX	(1048-1054)	
	VICTOR II	(1054-1057).....(HENRY IV minor)	
	STEPHEN IX	(1057-1058)	
	(BENEDICT X)	(1058)	
	NICHOLAS II	(1059-1061)	

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25. Otto II dies too soon. Otto II had a Burgundian Mother and a Byzantine wife, and we may therefore look for some modification of the pure Teutonism of his father's outlook and policy. It was his ambition to deepen and consolidate the spirit of citizenship within the artificial but now well-defined Imperial belt of territory between the Baltic and the Mediterranean. Sedition had followed upon the withdrawal of his father's iron hand but the young Emperor was equal to the task of suppression and reorganization. Rome having once more become the scene of faction under a new dictator Crescentius the sworn Defensor of the See marched southward, and in 981 restored the frightened Pontiff Benedict VII to his threatened Chair. War followed in Italy against the Sicilian Moslems, but its course was dogged by disaster and disappointment, and though at the great Diet of Verona in 983 German and Italian lords agreed to a Holy War against the Paynim, and chose the little three-year-old Otto III as Imperial successor to forestall pretenders should anything untoward befall, a new Wendish revolt in the North, and the refusal of Venice to assist the Crusade ruined the project. A sudden illness at Rome carried off the young Emperor before he had had time to show more than a fraction of the mettle that was in him. The German Empire had now to show whether it was proof against the internal strains and external pressures incidental to a sudden minority. It was manifest that only a warlike Prince who was 'stark to any that withstood him' could hope in a still semi-barbarian and raw-edged society to curb disunion at home and rebut aggression from the outlands. As befitted an environment of ever recurring military danger the civilisation which was emerging was heavily armoured. Men, mansions, monasteries, cities, and the State itself were learning to wrap themselves in ponderous panoplies of steel and stone. The ruler of such a crustacean era must himself partake of its nature and be indeed a Castellan of castellans, or else one day even a Vicar of the Prince of Peace will confront him with a "triple enceinte" at Canossa, and defy the lightning of his wrath from the embattled keep of Castel Sant Angelo. But now thirteen years of a female Regency confronted the Empire, and an instant seismic disturbance racked the great organisation.

1. In the North a heathen revolt of Wends and Danes was only suppressed by the hard-driving valour of the stout Markgraf Eckhard of Meissen. 2. In Italy the Sicilian Moslems once more gained foothold on the mainland, and Rome fell away to its festering factions as of yore. 3. In Germany itself Henry ex-Duke of Bavaria, who had been driven out by Otto II in 976, raised the standard of rebellion and seized the regency from the Empress-mother Theophano. But the Saxons declared against

him and in favour of Theophano, and what was even worse the hated See of Magdeburg which had been ~~carved~~ by Otto I out of the jurisdiction of Mainz and the Wendish Mark adhered to his cause and thereby completed his discomfiture. The Regency thus survived the upheaval, but it soon became apparent that it was upon the political prelates that the good ordering of the realm did most surely depend. Especially after the death of Theophano in 991 they exercised that moderating and consolidative influence upon affairs which Otto I had intended that they should do. So greatly does the German Church at this crisis preponderate in council, in control of events, and in the education of the young Prince, that it may be said to have identified itself as the chief civil bulwark of the German Empire. The premature decease of Otto II thus accelerated a departmental development in loco regis which would accentuate the virulence and modify the course of the coming struggle with an ascendant Papacy.

26. Otto III is brilliant in Theory
but unfortunate in Practice

Otto III grew up with a
mind still more detached
from pure Teutonism than

had been that of his father. Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim his tutor had inspired his romantic soul with glowing visions of the sacred splendour of Holy Church, and these blended in his soul with his hereditary Byzantine inspiration as to the sacred splendour of Holy Empire.....an idealistic ferment which bid fair to generate a character suited to personify the mediaeval Messiah who should come. Unfortunately there had not been found a alchemy which would combine into a "Universal Medicine" for the troubles of the time the quicksilver of an enthusiastic temperament and the iron of contemporary circumstance. With two Popes of his own choosing he worked in harmony for the unification and promotion of a Holy Romano-Germanic polity and culture, finding as he did so that there was no lubricant so effective for the smooth working of the multiple engaged gear-wheels of the ecclesiastico-political machine as "personliche Freundschaft". Especially when he raised to the Popedom the remarkable personage Gerbert of Aurillac as Sylvester II did this spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation between the heads of Church and State cause a new and enlarged train of ideas to flow in the mind of the Emperor. Rome alone must be the seat of the renovated Roman State, and a new palace arose on the Aventine to house the long truant Imperium at last returned to dwell in Caesar's land. In so far as it meant that Pope and Emperor would be constantly in contact the idea was reasonable enough....indeed it was the only durable solution for a problem otherwise hopelessly complicated by mountainous and interrupted distance. But as a project for the practical government of the vast rambling oblong territory of the Empire it was doomed to failure, since Germany was in no condition to tolerate and obey a permanent absentee. Vague Imperialism they cared little about when based on fancies about the name of Rome. It was asking of the Germans that an Otto could exact obedience beyond the Rhine.

In pursuance of this overmastering notion of a Romanization in fact as in name Otto and Sylvester laboured at the task of improving both manners and machinery. Byzantinesque formalism and functionaries began to enclose the Imperial entourage in that dried-up unreality of stiff pomp which bore as little relation to a vivid and vigorous personal majesty, as the flat staring mosaics of Constantinople bore to naturalistic portraiture.

Among other fruits of the exotic element in the Imperial temperament was a strange institution of seven "Judices Palatii Ordinarii", an ecclesiastically-staffed supreme court of judicature, who should have the function of ordaining the Emperor and electing the Pope, acting thus as a standing Electoral Board of High Commissioners... in other words a central switch-board for the dual powerhouse. Granted the premise of a Roman capital, the idea was excellent and antedated considerably the vaunted constitutional achievements of the Electoral Decree of Nicholas II and the Golden Bull. But it was born out of due season and had no chance of survival.

While the monkish mathematician and pedagogue Sylvester and the romantic Prince are devising refinements for the higher administration in an atmosphere of Christian fraternity the land of the Germans became the scene of controversies containing little trace of that exalted sentiment. Certain acts of the harmonized Supreme Government in connection with new Sees at Gnesen in Poland and at Gran in Hungary, which arbitrarily mutilated the jurisdictions of Metropolitans, seemed to the German clergy a betrayal of the carefully reticulated and progressive system of Church Extension which had been the policy of Otto I. The twin-spirited idealists in the clouds of their world-building dream had failed to take account of the growing nationalism of the German Bloc, and the correspondingly definite predilections of the German Church. The temperature of passion over the test-case of Gandersheim began to rise north of the Alps, and with it German obedience entered into a precipitate decline. Rebellion first in Germany and then behind Otto's back in Italy and finally in Rome brought hurricane collapse to all Papal and Imperial plans, and amid an utter dissolution of their personal authority Otto III and Sylvester II died in 1002. Otto's reign had served merely to bring into strong relief certain insurmountable factors in the general situation. 1. The

incompatibility of a German with an Italian policy. 2. The incompatibility of a national Church with the schemes and dreams of the Papacy. 3. The Incompatibility of German Kingship with universal Imperialism. 4. That the apparently ideal equilibrium of two wills at headquarters did not in practice guarantee the equilibrium of the Empire. In six years the young Oriental enthusiast and the old occidental mathematician had proved that the complex Imperial problem contained more surds and unknown quantities that could be solved either by the 'Al-jibra' of Cordova or the theatricalities of Byzantium.

27. Tenth Century experience served to emphasize the inherent Difficulties of an Imperial Revival seen the Frankish matrix broken and obliterated, and the

The second hundred years of Empire had

association of the Crown Imperial with the Crown Royal of Germany. It is essentially the century of the House of Saxony with its intensive systematization of territorial coherence and frontier-defence, and its extensive employment of the clerical element for political and cultural purposes, But the vicissitudes undergone by the leading exponents of Teutonic Imperialism exposed to view the ill-assorted patchwork lining of the outwardly magnificent Imperial mantle.

1. There was demonstrated how dire was the effect of the Italian incubus upon any attempt to enunciate and carry through a clear and unified policy.
2. Time and again it was shown how near to the surface was the old separatist spirit among the Germans, liable at any moment to crack the plaster from beneath on which the fresco of Imperial unity was painted.
3. It might be observed how quick to blaze up was that anarchic and factious spirit which has subsisted along with intermittent subservience to oppression all down the centuries of Italian history.
4. The absolute necessity was proved of some working concordat, preferably between Germans, which should enable the Emperor to trust in the Papacy as a coadjutor and not as a rival, as a supporter of the peculiar Germanic Church system, and not as an interfering opponent.
5. Again was evidence forthcoming of the impossibility of building the House of Church-and-State upon the ever shifting sands of accidental temperaments and incidental personalities. We have not yet reached in the West the invention of a working Constitutional Monarchy either in Church, or State. Paper schemes and solemn oaths vanish as though they had never been, and Concordats flush or pale according as the mental and spiritual constitution of high contracting parties is sanguine or anaemic.
6. The virtues and value of the German Church as an asset of State were exhibited so prominently and unarguably that future rulers will find the Investiture-policy of certain future Popes not only intolerable but impossible to understand, to the great prolonging of strife and of the miseries of the land.
7. The geographical and racial situation of the Empire as an arbitrary and illogical artificiality became so obvious as to be almost absurd. It might be compared to a lengthy plank see-sawing uncertainly upon the pivot of the Alps. When an Otto III went South the Germans rose, when he rushed hotfoot to suppress them the Italians rose. It had neither organic growth nor military cohesion nor racial affinity nor the least shreds of patriotic inspiration to commend or sustain it...only 'rotten parchment bonds' and an occasional army.

And yet despite the manifold objections to its existence, and hindrances to its effectual working the Empire had been launched upon the Time-stream as a fact which could not be gainsaid, and that no one suggested should be abolished. Neither Popes nor German Kings could resist its fatal glitter, forgo the pride of

bestowal and reception of its sinister and heartbreaking diadem, or extinguish the lingering expectation that some day its costly and perplexed perpetuation would be justified in a European sense.

28. But witnessed the advent of new forces facilitating an Ecclesiastical Revival In the firmament of Tenth-century Europe certain stars begin to make their appearance whose beneficial or malign influence would ultimately prove the first magnitude as affecting the destinies of Christendom. With the Mediterranean practically a Moslem lake, the North-western Continent tormented by Scandinavian marauders, and the North-east a dangerous Slavonic welter, it was high time that some spirit of reorganization and revival manifested itself outside the Germanic Mark-ring as well as within it.

1. In 910 the Abbey of Cluny was founded, from which radiated a new dynamic energy calculated to transform and transfigure the whole outlook and activity of Monasticism. Under this impulse the last traces of negative isolation as a monkish ideal vanished, and there was put into practice the conception of an integrated centrally-controlled and spreading machinery, disciplined in method and independent in purpose. At last we see emerging a systematic driving-force behind the Papal throne whose gathering zeal and momentum will enliven and propel that institution into policies and performances of which few of its constantly changing and only occasionally effective puppet-Peters had ever dreamed. Its distinctive characteristics were:-

- 3 1. The doctrine of the complete autonomy of all Cluniacs under the sole supremacy of the Papacy.
- 4 2. The extension of the realization of that supremacy as far as it could possibly be forced.
- 1 3. The insistence upon a real asceticism as the method of obtaining dominion for righteousness in the Church first and also in the world.
- 2 4. A centralized system of monastery-extension and supervision.
5. The revival of the study of Canon Law and the precedents which supported the claims of Papal Monarchy.
6. The ultimate extinction of all lay control in Church affairs and organization.

Not until the 11th century had the Cluniac propaganda penetrated Church life sufficiently to make it certain that one day the Tiara would be in a position to move formidably against the pretensions and practices of the Crown.

2. In 912 was founded the Duchy of Normandy whereby a new ingredient was introduced into the European caldron. The patient gravitational power of the land-mass and its civilisation had at last gathered the restless rovers into its field and gained thereby an extraordinary access of potential energy to the sum-total of its citizenship. The 11th century

would see Italian suns flash upon the iron nasals of their helmets in a manner daunting alike to Pope and Emperor. There would be times when the destiny of Church and State would be balanced on their sword-points, and a Gregory VI would be defiant to the last ditch because of the knowledge that a Norman Defensor was coming down the road.

3. Mainly to Church influence inspired by the indefatigable Gerbert of Aurillac (afterwards Sylvester II) a great feudatory Hugh Capet became King of France in 987. He was supported by the giant fief of Neustria very much as Henry I had been by the Saxon Duchy. The phantom monarchy of the Karlings of Laon had departed, and a new and powerful version of French sovereignty is inaugurated without the mirage of pseudo-imperial ambition to distort its vision, or the mill-stone of Italian politics to unbalance its progress. All unwittingly the Papacy has laid the foundation-stone both of Anagni and of Avignon, but for the moment it is not disadvantageous that there should be a strong and independent Kingdom in process of formation on this side the Rhine, though at a stroke it deprived the windy theory of a Universal Empire of all practical meaning.

29. The passing of the ~~Thousandth~~ Year is ominous not of the End of World-struggle but of its intensification. Despite the apparent confusion and disappointment surrounding the death of Otto III and his Papal henchman, there is reason to feel that Europe is entering upon a phase of effort and experience which will be less barrenly Sisyphean and more creatively volcanic. In another hundred years Christendom will have attained a sense of spiritual if not political coherence sufficient to enable it to embark upon a militant foreign policy of its own. But before such a degree of Continental self-consciousness can become habitual in the mind of the commonalty an intensification of internal struggle is to be looked for...much "kicking against the goads"... before the landscape of ideas can be defined, and the source of generally acceptable leadership determined. The failure of the Imperial idea as a panacea for anarchy has allowed the rival antidotes represented by Nationalism and Ecclesiasticism to thrust themselves into prominence and power...rivals at once to one another and to the Empire. The second half of the Eleventh century will witness a blazing collision of all three forces, through the smoke of which will be visible the dim towers of Canossa as a symbol, a symptom, a legend and an allegory of the turmoil.

30. Henry II leans to the Cluniacs but Conrad II is an Imperial Champion. There being no direct heirs to Otto III the Duchies of the Bloc elected Henry of Bavaria whose time and energies were chiefly to be occupied in a Polish war, in an abortive Italian campaign and in controversy with the prelates of the German Church who detested his friendship for "foreign" priests, Cluniac ideas, and his own nominee Pope Benedict VIII who supported the Emperor in the Bamberg Controversy which was a parallel to the Magdeburg trouble in the reign of Otto I. In that case Mainz had appealed

to Rome against the Crown, now it was the Crown that used the Pontiff against Mainz. Italy fell away once more, and Rome sank to the level of a Tusculan appanage, having endured for a third time the dictatorship of a scion of the Crescentine House. When Henry and Benedict passed away in 1024, the German Church made a strong bid for a successor who should be untainted with Cluniac notions. The influence of the great Bishops carried the day, and Conrad II was not only a German of the Germans, but was supported by the Lombard hierarchy as well. In three years Germany, Lorraine and Italy had been restored to order and allegiance, and Conrad had been crowned by Pope John XIX at Rome with a splendour reminiscent of the event of 962. In 1032 the Kingdom of Arles or Burgundy passed into Imperial hands, the seedplot of the Cluniac movement being thus included within the boundaries of a State whose ruler had only attained his crown because of his anti-Cluniac propensities. Conrad now ruled what had once been the Eastern and Central divisions of the original Karling Empire, and from Calabria to the Danish March, and from Cambrai to Vienna there extended a dominion at least temporarily superior in homogeneity and expectation of survival to any preceding phase of Imperialism since 800. Conrad's main preoccupation as administrator was with the tangled condition into which feudalism had fallen with the development of a vast undergrowth of lesser fiefs, some of whose tenants outflanked their immediate superiors by practising direct allegiance to the crown, while others were only too securely entrenched behind their suzerains. The method adopted for the reformative standardization of the system, and the curbing of the power of the greater barons and feudalized bishops both in Germany and Italy was that of Hereditizing the lesser vassaldoms, a scheme supported by Pope Benedict IX who sympathized with the proposal as it suited his own Countship of Tusculum. The Emperor further strove to unify Germany and secure an undisputed succession for his son by making the Crown-Prince Henry Duke at the same time of Bavaria, Swabia and Carinthia. He also encouraged the growth of a Civil Service which might one day prove an efficient substitute for the valuable but at times obstreperous ecclesiastical machine. In this there was a touch of real foresight born of experience with such prelates as Aribert of Milan, for the stronger the Church became politically, the more dangerous to the Central Government would be any defection from obedience which might arise.

31. The Secularized German Church We have seen how the German Church has been keeping pace both with the spirit and manners of the feudatory chieftains within the Teutonic Kingdom, increasing in national self-consciousness and administrative influence and pride till it amounted to little short of a mitred baronage. The leading causes of this secularization are worth noting, since anything is significant in view of the contest to come which emphasizes the special position of German ecclesiastics as notably interwoven with the texture of the State. Several factors combined to make

the Northern prelates more and more predominant in local as in general government.

1. The deficiency of culture among the vast majority both of nobles and commoners gave the 'cleric' as such a distinctive position in the community.
2. The principle upon which the Church was founded transcended the narrow tribal particularism which for so long affected the 'barbarian beyond the Wall' long after the Wall had gone. The ecclesiastical mind was therefore better trained to think in general terms, and envisage continuous and comprehensive policies than was that of the average armoured feudatory.
3. In feudalism it was peculiarly advantageous to be able to appoint to benefices men who were not only accustomed in their own profession to discipline and order, but were untrammelled by family ties.
4. The deliberate policy of the Ottos had been to develop the bureaucratic utility of the Church machine. They thus employed for purposes of secular government that element which the Ecclesia had long ago absorbed from the spirit and example of the Constantinian secular bureaucracy. Clerical statesmen had a better grasp upon the essential life and tone of the parish-network than had either the Imperial taxgatherer or the local magnate.
5. The constant succession of ruinous wars threw more and more influence into the hands of those people in any ^{cases} sort of authority who stayed at home and were professionally inhibited from fighting. The Duke and the Markgraf rode to battle but the Bishop was always where he could be found.
6. The Church ordinarily produced a standardized type of man devoid at least of the acquisitive violence of the military adventurer prone to and armed for rebellion at a moment's notice. A greater percentage of churchmen than of laymen could be trusted to exercise responsibility without perpetual supervision, which was a particular consideration in a country of vast provinces and bad roads, as well as of few and small towns where otherwise there might have been bred a well-conditioned burgher-class from which trustworthy civil servants might have been recruited.

It will be obvious that so powerful an engine of authority must be either an asset or a liability of the first order according as it favoured or thwarted the policy of the Prince.

32. Under Henry III the Papacy Begins its Ascent to Power

Though Henry III was not faced with the usual problem of rebellion when he came to the

German throne in 1039, a succession of tasks immediately confronted him which might well test the energies of an Imperial Hercules. A nationalist movement in Bohemia, a heathen reaction in Hungary, the jealousy of France, and an infinitude of domestic complications in Germany itself arising out of the feudal policy of Conrad II had all to be suppressed, smoothed over, or attended to. Above all it was in the matter of Italy and the running sore

of the Papacy that the new King was to manifest most conspicuously his highminded determination and his power. The moral aspect of the Cluniac movement... especially after his marriage with Agnes of Poitou...had affected him sufficiently to make him keenly alive to the flagrant putrefaction of the Vicariate of Christ. The gross scandals associated with the pontificate of the Tusculan Benedict IX had actually brought about the election by the Romans of an Anti-pope Sylvester III. Panicstricken Benedict sold his Tiara to a remarkable personage who called himself Gregory VI, and combined simoniacal practice as to his means of obtaining the See, with a genuine reforming zeal after he had obtained it. Thereupon Benedict repented of the sale and reclaimed recognition as the Supreme Pontiff. Thus the crucial year 1046 witnessed an Unholy Trinity of Popes which could not be endured.

Appealed to by a Synod of Rome Henry descended into Italy, condemned at Pavia the practice of Simony, deposed two of the Popes at the Synod of Sutri, and got rid of the third at Rome. Suidger of Bamberg was made Clement II on Christmas Day, and in turn placed on Henry's head the Imperial Crown. The long Night of the Popedom was ended, having endured for one hundred and eighty-eight years of alternating or simultaneous subserviency, mediocrity, degradation, mere worldly cunning or amiable fatuity, since the day when Nicholas I had gathered the threads of pretension and authority like a fisherman's net into his strong hands. Two hundred and forty six years before, Charles the Great had received the Western Diadem in the same place and on the same festal day. This time we have already eighty-four years of German dominion to form a background such as Charles had never possessed. Surely this time the long deferred hopes engendered in 800, in 858, and in 962 will see the reward of their lingering labours in the imagination of the generations. A new era might be expected to dawn with a German Emperor and a German Pope of reforming zeal, practical minds, effective personalities and consolidated and cooperating power.

His Majesty and His Holiness began their complementary activities without delay. These were men of affairs and there is in them no reminiscence of the rootless romanticism of an Otto III. While Henry mastered Rome and the bandit nobility of its environs, and brought the Normans who had for 30 years been establishing themselves in Apulia into the orbit of his feudal suzerainty, the Pope dealt with such outstanding questions as that of precedence among the factious prelates of Aquileia, Ravenna and Milan, and by the erection of the Metropolitan See of Salerno brought the same Normans into the orbit of the ecclesiastical system.

Once more a German Emperor may return to Germany with a sense of accomplishment in the matter of ordering the turbid politics of Italy, and with him travels that same Gregory VI, who, though guilty of the Greater Simony, had been the least undesirable in general character of the three Popelings whom omnipotent Caesar had swept away. An insignificant figure in the north-bound Imperial cortege was the chaplain of this same deposed Gregory, an obsequious and yet observant young man, a worldly-wise and yet an earnest young man, a great though unobtrusive admirer both of the simple-minded inconsistent and not unlovable ex-pontiff and of the excellent majesty of Henry III. The name of this fateful youth was Hildebrand.

33. A Greater than Nicholas I appears The tranquillity of the Empire was of brief duration, and Henry became quickly involved in trouble with certain restless magnates, of whom the chief were the Lords of Lotharingia and Tuscany. Added to these disturbances the sudden death of Clement II left Rome once more a prey to the Tusculans supported in their treason against the Patriciate by the Tuscan Marquis Boniface. But with astounding energy and skill the Emperor succeeded in thwarting the plans of his enemies, and though his Papal nominee Poppo of Brixen died within a month of his accession yet a strong man in every sense of the word was not lacking in the shape of the great Bruno, Bishop of Toul who assumed the Tiara on Feb. 12th. 1049.

The Papal reaction from its own degeneracy is well under way, and in the person of Leo IX a farreaching impetus was given to the process of regeneration. Nicholas I had asserted the technical supremacy of the Popedom in the Church before that institution had found its own soul. Now at last after much tribulation had appeared a man who put the moral before the technical, and whose pontificate would be devoted to rebuilding the waste places of the spirit within the zone of discourse of ecclesiastical affairs. Statesman, scholar, soldier and saint, of high birth as kinsman of the Emperor, stately, kindly and adroit in the governance of men, humble and zealous as priest of God, Bruno infused the giant ecclesiastical machine with his own disinterested vision and vigour. Once more as with Nicholas there is demonstrated the dependence of an institutional upon a psychological organism, and once more, as with Gregory I, it is a 'hochgeborne' who gives tone to policy and colour to power.

As Bishop of Toul Leo had mediated between France and Germany in 1032, and recently in the trouble with Lotharingia he had proved himself the champion of Imperial peace. His nomination took place at Worms on Christmas Day 1048, was accepted with reluctance, and only on the condition that his election should be ratified by the Roman Clergy and People. Travelling through Burgundy he visited Cluny where the ex-chaplain of the now deceased Gregory VI was living. Him he gathered up in his train and in the guise of a humble pilgrim the Pontiff-designate moved southward into Italy to be greeted by a vast concourse at Rome whose unanimous acclamation surrounded a dignity most worthily attained. The Imperial reformation of the type of Popes to be supplied to a long-suffering Christendom has in three years effected a complete re-orientation in popular expectancies and standards of judgment. Flunkeys, paramours and Counts of Tusculum have had their disastrous day, and the princely Bruno is swept into plenary dominion on the crest of a wave of pathetically eager hope that at last the reign of righteousness has come to stay. This would not be the only occasion on which the observant youth Hildebrand would assist at scenes of tumultuary approbation in connection with the exalting of hopeful Pontiffs. Indeed he would not only experience it in his own case but live to hear the dread antiphony accompanying popular disillusion. But both these dooms are hidden from us as today we march behind His Holiness in pious triumph into the Eternal City.

34. Leo IX goes about to establish Ecclesiastical Righteousness

It was high time for the mere routine business of the Holy See that an

accepted leadership should be in the saddle of affairs. Short Pontificates and distracted vacancies cannot be repeated in quick succession without considerable disarray of management. It is now that the astute ex-chaplain from Cluny enters definitely upon that long public career the echoes of whose resounding events would pass far beyond the century in which they took place. Made Cardinal Subdeacon, the young Hildebrand applied his energies to the reorganization of the decrepit finances, a task which he accomplished for immediate purposes by combining a shrewd business-instinct with a well-tempered cultivation of the good graces of local and Beneventine magnates. But for the moment the greatness of Leo IX overshadows both the person and work of his ultimately more notorious and less lovable coadjutor.

The Pope had risen to the full imagination of his sacred opportunity and began forthwith to cleanse the Augean stable of the ecclesiastical system. If he sympathized with the ancient claim that through the Popedom the Priesthood should govern the world he was determined that it should not be by worldly priests that the ruling was done. At an Easter Synod at Rome and a Whitsuntide Synod at Pavia fulminations against Simony and Clerical Marriage were issued. These were so drastic that their realization would have ruined the Church in Italy by abolishing wellnigh half the incumbents at a stroke. Modifications followed but so ingrained were these habits in the Peninsula that the Decrees remained more as monuments of intention than as engines of actuality.

From Pavia the Pope proceeded to join the Emperor in Germany, where he invested the Archbishop of Köln with the office of Apostolic Archchancellor, and brought the rebellious Godfrey of Lotharingia to the dust with a Bull of Excommunication. A humiliating penance by the proud lord obtained pardon, but little did the Emperor Henry think how in a few short years a son of his own would tread the same Valley of Humiliation before one who at the moment is a trusted servant of his good friend Leo. Having thus subjected the Border State to the common weal, the determination of the Pontiff projected itself through the Gap of Burgundy and envisaged the bringing of the Gallican Church to his effective control. At the Synod of Rheims despite the sullen opposition and studied abstention of the King and many of his prelates, certain formidable propositions were enunciated, breathing the developed principle of the Cluniac Reformation.

1. The Pope was declared the sole possessor of the title of Apostolic Primate of the Universal Church. This vindication of the Roman position involved the excommunication of the Spanish Archbishop of Santiago di Compostella who had dared to assume the designation of "apostolicus".
2. Twelve Canons were passed for the better government of the clergy. These were mainly directed against Simony and Non-celibacy...the twin bugbears of the Cluniacs...but included regulations concerning usury, wedlock within the prohibited degrees, and an order that election to church office should be by "free election of clergy and people".

3. A very dangerous Article asserting the sole right of the Pope to invest the Prelates of Christendom with the insignia of their office was put forward but for obvious reasons not pressed.

These general principles were again promulgated in the Imperial presence at a Synod of Mainz, but in a manner vastly more conciliatory and less dogmatic that had been the case at Rheims. The cases of discipline dealt with were more obviously concerned with matters of morality than of tendencious technicalities such as in France had brought the Bishops of Rheims, Sens, Amiens, Beauvais and Lyons, and the entire episcopate of Brittany under citation, rebuke and ban. Church and State beyond the Rhine were still so inextricably blended that to handle Church affairs in Germany one must moderate the tongue of zeal with the thought of discretion. But an observer acquainted with the logic of the new Roman outlook must have meditated with misgiving upon the situation which would arise should there come into action a Pope who might refuse to make 'fish' of France and 'fowl' of Germany. A Cardinal-subdeacon in far-off Rome might also find time to meditate upon the matter...but not necessarily with misgiving.

Not content with the ordering of the visible world, Leo dealt at a Synod of Rome with the metaphysical aberrations of one Berengar of Tours. It is not pertinent to our subject to discuss with omniscient churchmen the transmutation of eucharistic elements, but mention of the Berengarian Controversy draws attention to the strange welter of alchemical fancy and empirical dogmatism in which the age tended to soak the subjects of its debate and the objects of its belief, and gives a clue to the quality of the minds which were to be turned with ever increasing vehemence to the question of the nature, status, essence and function of the Papacy.

So far all has gone well but now local troubles with men of violence...the bane of the Papacy...intervened in the shape of a quarrel with the Normans over Benevento which the Emperor had given to the Holy See. Yet again must the Vicar of Christ appeal for aid to the Imperial Defensor, and for once take a hand himself in the red business of war. In 1053 Leo and the Papal forces were defeated at Civitate by the terrible ironclad adventurers, the Pope himself being treated with respect by the victors, though he continued to intrigue against them even with far Byzantium.

But in connection with the latter the furor theologicus overcame even the desire for secular aid, and Leo's excommunication of Caerularius consummated that breach between East and West which for so long had hung nebulously in the balance.

At the last moment the soldier in Bruno-Leo had flared up and rendered dubious the atmosphere of a pontificate otherwise so devoted to the highest ideals consistent with the times, but before he could pursue any further adventures in the secular realm the great Pope passed away in the spring of 1054, having bequeathed to the Church precepts and examples as to the nature and method of 'righteousness' of a quality to stimulate many, of whom not the least receptive would be the brooding intelligence of Cardinal Hildebrand.

35. The Glory departs from the Empire and Doubtful Personages become Prominent The influence of this 'wily Italian' is now formidable in Rome and it was thought that none but Hildebrand should succeed to the rejuvenated pontifical office. But neither were the gilded frontals of popedom desirable to such a temperament, nor was the hour convenient in the interests of the Holy See. It was still necessary that the occupant of the Chair should be a German supported by Imperial arms since the shadow of the Norman was over all the South, and no amount of merely 'spiritual' lightning could pierce the linked mail of their regardless hearts. A deputation headed by Hildebrand secured after much negotiation the election of Gebhard Bishop of Eichstadt, an able and wealthy counsellor of Henry III as Victor II. Even Teutonic feudalized prelates have their uses as long as the Norman stubbornly sits in Papal territory and cares for none of these things. Whatever expectations Hildebrand may have formed of this pontificate, the year 1055 in which it took place was a turning-point in various fortunes, and a darkening down of many bright hopes. It marked for one thing the sudden developement of a dangerous league against the Empire through the marriage of the widow of Henry's implacable enemy Boniface of Tuscany with his chief German opponent Godfrey of Lotharingia, whereby two enormous fiefs were combined in hostility to the Crown. Prompt action and a last march into Italy saved the situation, and saw the taking into honourable captivity of the new Lotharingian Duchess Beatrice, and her daughter Matilda the heiress of the Tuscan dominions. The morbid craze of this latter woman for Popes and Popedom, combined with her commanding geographical and military position in Northern Italy would one day be a cancerous affliction to the Majesty Royal, and her Castle of Canossa twice witness the ignominy of a stricken King. Again the year 1055 witnessed the fatal departure of the great Henry, who died in the thirty-ninth year of his age, having compressed into seventeen years of unremitting toil an almost Napoleonic energy and capacity which had lifted the Empire to the very summit of attainable splendour, had almost nationalized the Germanic Bloc, had held Italy to an unexampled rigour of obedience, and above all had reformed the Papacy. This latter achievement was morally the most worthy, and politically the most dangerous of his deeds, since the Papal organism was such that restoration to health meant an inevitable recurrence of those prideful and predatory instincts which lay beneath the surface ready to take advantage of any future weakness in the Secular Government. The Extreme-left wing of the Cluniac party would not remain content with the mere insulation of the Church from worldly dangers and administrative abuses, but, like Venice amid its lagoons, would soon be extending their ambitions to the mainland of the Imperial system. With Henry's death the Romano-German feudal composite is faced once more with a minority and a female Regency. The accompanying stress and confusion exhibited as usual the truth that the contents of the Imperial crucible was a dubious mixture of ill-assorted ingredients, mottled with clashing loyalties, insoluble individualism and racial prejudices, and seething with unregulated local contractions and expansions. While the feeble Empress Agnes wore

the now nominal Crown, the strong personalities of the moment were Victor II and the mighty Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia-Tuscany whom the Pope reinstated in his dominions, while appointing his brother Frederick Abbot of Monte Cassino and Cardinal of S. Chrysogonus. The Lotharingian Brothers are becoming a power in the land, and Hildebrand the Tuscan of Soana is not slow to add their potentialities to the list of Papal assets wherewith anon would be fought the case against the Teutonic hegemony. A Latin reaction is under way against an idea of unity inscribable only in Gothic characters. If an Italian Emperor is inadmissible there is at least that in Italy which may yet outweigh the Kaiserthum in the councils of the West. The web of Empire has become a tangle of broken strings, but behind the Papal throne is a comb of intelligence gradually straightening out selected threads as raw material for a new spinning.

36. More Vicissitudes for the Popedom The death of Victor II deprived the distracted Empress-Regent of her ablest counsellor. Without reference either to Hildebrand or the Crown the clergy and people of Rome elected the highborn Frederick of Lotharingia and Monte Cassino as Stephen IX. The City is acquiring the Hildebrandine habit, and the new pontiff is a choice in the best manner of the Reforming policy. Peter Demian of Monte Avellana, the friend of Hildebrand and enemy of Clerical Marriage, is forced into the Cardinalate of Ostia, a Lotharingian Humbert the enemy of Simony and Lay Investiture is created Archancellor of the Papacy in place of the Archbishop of Koln and launched upon Germany with a Papal Brief against simoniac abuses, while Hildebrand himself becomes Cardinal Archdeacon of Rome and is legated to the Imperial Court to obtain confirmation of the Pope's election. But hardly has the Legate reached Germany when news arrives from the South that the reliable Stephen is dead, and that once more Crescentine and Tusculan winds are rushing to fill the unforeseen vacuum of the Holy See, and revive the regardless days of Benedict VIII and John XII by electing a Crescentine Bishop of Velletri as Benedict X.

With the aid of the allpowerful Godfrey Hildebrand convened and carried through a Council at Siena which elected the Burgundian Gerhard Bishop of Florence as Nicholas II. At a Synod at Sutri the upstart Benedict was deposed and excommunicated, and at Rome Ducal steel and Hildebrandine gold soon swayed the fickle populace to acquiescence. The electing had been done by the Cardinal Bishops of the local Dioceses around Rome, and what with an Imperial interregnum in the North and the present uncertainty in the South, an opportunity seemed to present itself for erecting at last a Constitutional machine to secure the perpetuation of its own headship within the Church. We must render the Sacred Dominion immune from such perturbations as have just occurred, gather up and standardize the traditions and claims of the ages, and surround the Holy Chair with a bureaucratic Bloc, more cohesive reliable and impenetrable than ever the German Dukedoms had been to the Throne of the Empire. Only so would the great work be advanced of making the Church once and for all a closed Corporation, with a continuous and independent policy.

37. The Election Decree of Nicholas II A great Lateran Council was summoned consisting entirely of cis-Rhenane prelates by whom the Latin Initiative would be asserted, and the Roman position readjusted to support effectively and for ever the claims hitherto spasmodic and shortlived. The deliberations of the churchmen culminated in ~~the~~ the Election Decree of 1059 which constituted the seven Cardinal Bishops of Palestrina, Porto, Ostia, Tusculum, Silva Candida, Albano, and Sabina as an Electoral College of the first instance, whose decision need only be ratified by the assent of the Clergy and the acclamation of the People, while the Imperial right of Confirmation was relegated indistinctly to the background. The Roman Clergy were to have prescriptive right to the Popedom ~~an~~ ordinary, but the College was free to select any person and elect in any place. The whole was fenced about with soul-shattering anathemas against any who should violate its terms, retrospectively justified and prospectively perpetuated the process of election of Nicholas himself, and in itself represented the finding of the long-sought principle of stability by its establishment of a permanent Board of Lords Commissioners, limited in numbers but recruitable indefinitely in time. At long last the haphazard and miscellaneous methods which had debased Papal elections to the level of a game of chance are yielding to the more business-like conceptions of His Eminence the general Manager.

38. Is supported by farreaching and Constructive Political Intrigue Meanwhile the Cardinal-manager has been to Capua and secured from the Norman Richard, brother-in-law of Robert Guiscard Count of Apulia and Calabria that immediate protection for the Roman See which was so urgently required against Benedict and his bandits. At a stroke Hildebrand has reversed the policy of Stephen IX by seeking to conciliate instead of crushing the grim adventurers. On being recognized as Lord of Capua the now respectable territorial magnate marched upon Rome, taking in his stride Tusculum, Mentana Palestrina and Galeria where he seized the hapless Benedict and ~~dropped~~ him to an ignominious degradation before the Roman Council. At the same time Desiderius of Monte Cassino was made Cardinal and Apostolic Vicar in Campania, Apulia and Calabria and succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the mighty Robert the Crafty. In the material sense therefore the Papal position in Italy and its immunity from military or tumultuary deforcement has been vastly and quickly improved, since with the North under Godfrey and the South under the new amenable Normans the Holy See might deem itself well entrenched. The acumen of Hildebrand is not shown to better or more prophetic advantage than in this prompt securing for the New Papacy the almost legendary valour of the fierce rovers. These labours were in the following year to be consolidated by the Papal investiture of Robert Guiscard with the Dukedom of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. The Imperial lion being dead sinister changes are taking place in the Italian jungle which one day will render impotent the most strenuous efforts of a Henry IV to imitate his father's policy and power.

Thus by an arrangement which only the most infantile belief in the validity of the Donation of Constantine could rob of its harsher outlines as of a bandit's bargain, the Papacy acquired a suzerainty over Byzantine, Saracenic and Imperial Italy, and a military guard for the Election Decree and its implications... a new Cerberus before the portal with no worldembracing theories or ancient precedents stirring him up to claim also to be ruler within the Gate.

There remained as yet unsettled the question of Lombardy where the clergy had now for some time been greatly harried by fanatical 'reformers' led by Anselm Bishop of Lucca who denounced the age-old custom of clerical marriage sanctioned by no less august a person than S. Ambrose himself. A great rabblement supported the propaganda and earned for the movement the contemptuous title of 'Patarine' or ragged. To still the tumult on the lines of the latest Roman orthodoxy comes Peter Damian who with Anselm holds a Synod which suspends the Archbishop and orders the Episcopate of Lombardy to make submission to and at Rome, to the greater glory of the ascetic cause and the reckless sowing of seeds of future trouble in the dangerous and powerful See of Milan.

Rome itself was indeed no paradise of innocent hearts altogether set upon the promotion of the new order and the new spirit. While Nicholas resided chiefly at Florence the redoubtable Cardinal-Archdeacon dominated all business in the City but had a problem to handle such as could well occupy a lifetime to understand let alone unravel. The splendid robber-haunted capital was still a welter of crosspurposes and passions which if exposed to the light of day would hardly have resounded to the credit of the Vicars of Christ. Where the Son of the Carpenter of Nazareth had achieved so little, it could hardly be expected that much would result from the domination of the Carpenter's son from Soana.

- (1) Many of the Roman nobles were of German descent and Imperialists' sympathies so they hated Papal encroachments.
- (2) Others of the nobility were of Latin origin but with family traditions connecting them with the See, so they hated personally all recent upstarts.
- (3) Under the stimulus of the new 'reforming' movement and the autonomy promised by the election system, ambition and ecclesiastical intrigue naturally occupied the whole attention of the higher clergy.
- (4) The Popes, in default of family connexion with leading Roman families had to keep the City in subjection by means of the new Norman allies whom everybody hated.
- (5) The venal and fickle rabble, as rapacious and unprincipled as the nobles and clergy, were herded into dubious observance of law and order by a soldiery hardened to every extremity of sacrilege and blood.

There was therefore as much explosive matter ready to turn the Papal summit into a crater at a moment's notice as there was in the Germany of the minority. Only the now sagging Imperial cause lacked three things which in the South served at least for the moment to propel the chariot of the Popedom across the seething lava-field beneath the thin crust of appearances. These were:-
 1. The hard will of Hildebrand. 2. The hard determination of thousands of disciplined fanatics. 3. The hard swords of Robert the Crafty.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART I

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

CHAPTER IV

Henry IV comes into his Kingdom

PAR. 39. The Death of Nicholas II Intensifies the General Confusion of the Times.... 40. The Nature of Northern Arbitration depends upon what has been happening in Germany.... 41. There are Cross-Tensions in the Mind of the Boy-King as in the Church and the Empire.... 42. Henry IV begins badly by falling foul of the Church. 43. And Antagonises the Baronage, the Saxons, and Rudolf of Swabia. 44. The Position of Royalty in Germany.... 45. The King's Task.... 46. The King in Action.... 47. The King in Suspense, his Kingship in dire Straits, and his Kingdom in the Meltingpot.

Popes and Emperors.

ALEXANDER II	{ 1061-1073 }	
(HONORIUS II)	{ 1061-1072 }	HENRY IV (1065 King)
GREGORY VII	{ 1073-1085 }	(Emperor 1084-1106)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART I

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

CHAPTER IV

Henry IV comes into his Kingdom

39. The Death of Nicholas II Intensifies the General Confusion of the Times Again sudden death hurled the affairs of the ecclesiastical high command once more into the meltingpot. On the 27th July 1061 Nicholas II who, throughout had served the Hildebrandine and 'reforming' movement, and had willingly lent his image and super-
 scription to the minting of the new policy, passed away. Instantly the pro-German party in Rome despatched the Insignia of the Patriciate to the young King with a request that a nomination be made to the Tiara. It was two months before the Hildebrandine machinery could be got to work since it had first to be seen to that Godfrey and the Normans were coordinated in will, in power, and in readiness to uphold the Conclave against Imperialists, factionaries of the brigand noblesse, and the Lombard prelaticals. On Oct. 1st 1061 Anselm of Lucca, pupil of Lanfranc of Bec, close friend of Duke Godfrey, Lombard countryman of Hildebrand himself, once high in favour with Henry III, and recently a Crusader against clerical marriage in Milan, was enthroned by night in the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula behind a dense hedge of Norman spears. This installation of a man of whom it might have been expected that his character and associations would unite most parties had the opposite effect. No sooner was Anselm Alexander II than confusion became worse confounded.

1. The Romans were infuriated by the presence of the ruthless knights of Richard of Capua by whose forcible presence alone the thing had been wrought.
2. The Imperialists were outraged by the studied omission of all reference to the Opinion of the Crown.
3. The Lombard Prelates resented bitterly the elevation of so violent a pro-Patarine whose machinations had compelled the lowering of their proud heads before the footstool of Nicholas II.
4. The German Bishops had already protested against the notorious Decree and were in no mood to acquiesce in this first example of its working since promulgation.

The Lombard Opposition came immediately into action under the leadership of Guibert of Ravenna, the Imperial Chancellor for Italy. Their Council resolved to withhold recognition from a Cluniac, and wrote to the Empress pointing out that Imperial Confirmation had been ignored, that unless drastic measures were forthcoming the Church would become unmanageable, and that Godfrey and the Normans would had been enemies of her late husband were up to the hilt in the conspiracy.

On October 28th. 1061 a Synod of German and Lombard Bishops assembled in great strength at Basel where the young Henry was



invested with the Patriciate, the election of Alexander II annulled and the Veronese Cadalus of Parma elected as Honorius II. Even then there was no real agreement for

1. The Germans disliked an Italian, and would have preferred a return to the days when the occupant of the Chair was guaranteed as of sound Teutonic stock.
2. It was certain that though the See of Milan would rejoice, the widespread 'reform' sentiment would be alienated by so flagrant a reactionary.

Despite overt symptoms of rebellion against the Hildebrandine policy, the situation in respect of Simony and Clerical Marriage had so far advanced by this time, that a definitely anti-reform Pope was confronted with conditions of opinion only comparable to those painfully discovered by the Emperor Julian when he tried to revert to Paganism. There were many who acclaimed the reversal of recent policy, and resistance to its methods, and yet were so infected by its principles as to object to a blind return to the status quo ante. Nevertheless in the zone of immediate events a formidable uprising of which no man could see the end was obviously gathering both weight and way. Hildebrand in his building of the New Papacy had not scrupled to employ both covered cunning and naked force. His enemies were of the same mind as to methods and for the moment appeared to be possessed of the windward position. His election secured, the Antipope lost no time. A powerful propaganda under the direction of Benzo Bishop of Alba went before him and embarrassed the Hildebrandists in Rome with a virulent and well-financed campaign of detraction and abuse of the type much favoured by Anselm of Lucca and Peter Damian in the Milanese imbroglio. Richard of Capua was absent on private affairs and savage mobs raged in the streets against the Alexandrians, whose hired gangs in turn fought to regain the precinct of S. Peter's from the clutch of the Honorians. Everywhere were the titled robberknights of Campania and Galeria hewing down the mercenaries of the Cardinal-Archdeacon, whose zeal to return blow for blow was stimulated by a stream of gold from the coffers of 'the ex-Jew financier Leo the friend of Hildebrand in the days of Pope Leo IX. An observer might have fancied himself back in the year of the dreadful streetfighting between the Flavians and Vitellians. The armour and warcries were different but the spirit was the same. To this pass had 'Righteousness' descended that it should depend for its future upon the chances of a murderous broil between led-captains and tavern bravoes in the reeking purlieus of the Leonine City.

Suddenly the tumult ceased, and Cardinals, nobles, mobs, Honorians and Alexandrians found breathing-space and a notable reason for retirement into corners and back-alleys, for there had appeared from the North the Lord Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia-Tuscany with an overwhelming host, quelling the struggle, and dismissing the claimants to the Popedom to their respective Sees, there to await the arbitration of the King's Majesty. The reassertion of the Latin Initiative had been balanced by the stirring up of Northern self-consciousness. It seemed fitting that the scales at the last moment should be held by the man whose power extended on both sides of the central watershed.

40. The Nature of Northern Arbitration depends upon what has been Happening in Germany The withdrawal of the strong hand of Henry III had produced a complex web of cross-tensions in an atmosphere where sudden acts of resolution were at last free to reap rewards which honour denied.

1. The Empress Agnes was no Theophano but a feeble listener to the advice of the last counsellor, and possessed of a morbid ... though in her case not undesirable... yearning to have done with a world she was incapable of handling and to retire to the restful inanities of a convenient convent.
2. The feudalized Prelates were keenly jealous of the favour and confidence shown by this woman to Henry Bishop of Augsburg, and objected strongly to the petticoat influence which dominated in the education of the young Prince.
3. The wealth and power of these same Churchmen was being eyed with increasing disfavour by Dukes and Margraves who found (as in the case of Adalbert of Bremen v. Ordulf of Saxony) the haughty ecclesiastics at least their equals in effective ambition. Yet so paramount were the Bishops in affairs of State that their cooperation was necessary in any enterprise directed to the adjustment of the Kingdom.

The firmament of German politics was ruled by a galaxy of powerful personages in helm and mitre, and by their conjunctions and oppositions the horoscope of the helpless Kinglet would be determined.

On Easter Day 1062 the abduction of Henry from the control of the Empress was achieved by Otto of Bavaria and Ecbert of Brunswick in collusion with the Archbishop Hanno of Koln

This dubious and high-handed performance was applauded by Peter Damian since at the subsequent Whitsunday Assembly of Notables the tutelage of the German Crown was confirmed to Hanno who should pay for the supreme position thus attained by supporting the candidature of Alexander II

The October Council at Augsburg decided for Alexander who was reinstated in January 1063 in a Rome which still contained in the Castle of S. Angelo a sullen band of Honorian partizans. Thus had intrigue, bribery, and violence marvellously... and according to the enthusiastic meddler Peter Damian 'providentially'.. furthered the Reforming interest, and obtained for it a foothold on the ground-floor of the Imperial Headquarters. It meant that:-

1. The German Hierarchy in the shape of the Koln-Metz-Bamberg-Halberstadt clique was reconciled to the Election Decree and Hildebrandine policy.
2. The Royal right to control elections had been practically waived on the side of the Imperialists.
3. The free choice of the Conclave had been equally admitted by those who otherwise in their own interests should have resisted it.

Stripped of the pietistical phrases with which such proceedings were plentifully bedizened, the cause of the Popedom may be said to have overpassed the immediate crisis by a superior exercise of cunning, violence and opportunism. Caiaphas and Pilate had found common advantage in the methods of Barabbas.

41. There are Cross-tensions in the Mind of the Boy-King as well as in the Church and the Empire while Alexander then is perched forcibly albeit uneasily in the Chair of S. Peter with the help of Lotharingian and Norman spears, Germany simplifies its internal problems into an outstanding rivalry between the now paramount Hanno of Koln and the rapidly ascending star of Adalbert of Bremen, the Honorian leader in Germany, a highborn ambitious courtier of princely mien and habit whose personality attracted the young Henry to the same degree that the arrogant austerity of Hanno repelled him. Between these contrary tutors the boy's character was sufficiently distorted and misfitted to the grave responsibilities of Empire to make the trend of that future he was destined to control a matter of doubt and fear. His tuition in the ways of life was hard where it should have been tactful, and indulgent where it should have been disciplined. Accustomed by both perilous pedagogues to see corruption, greed and violence employed as instruments of government, alternately restricted and pampered...it is no wonder that it was a spoilt youth of ill omen who entered upon a reign the initial stages of which had been governed by planets so baleful.

Meanwhile Alexander II vindicates his Pontificate by holding a Synod at Rome (Easter 1063) at which the oft-repeated decrees against Simony and Clerical Marriage are renewed and the Antipope anathematized for the said sin of Simony and also for violence. This latter charge argues the complete absence of any sense of humour in one who had been Anselm of Lucca.

Honorius counters this blast by a Synod of Parma supported by the still recalcitrant and vigorous Episcopate of Lombardy.

Excited by the irrepressibility of the opposition, the volatile Peter Damian wrote to Hanno urging the convocation of a General Council to obliterate the duality in the Popedom once for all, a meddling interference which angered Hildebrand and his Papal tool who had no desire to see the resurrection of questions so recently buried. But the fiery lieutenant had set the matter in motion and a Council met at Mantua on May 31st 1064. Charged with intriguing with the Normans and with irregularity of election Alexander cleared himself by a facile oath which sounded sooth in the willing ears of the commissioners, and the scene ended with the Te Deum, the cursing of the wretched Honorius, and the violent suppression of a counter-demonstration by his partizans by the forces of Matilda of Tuscany who thus emerges as Defensor of the Constitution. It may be unseemly for a woman in the shape of an Empress Agnes to have part or lot in the election of a Pope, but a Countess of Tuscany can serve a useful purpose in preserving the elected one both here and hereafter.

It was into an atmosphere thus loaded almost beyond endurance with complex electrical tensions of counterpulling ambitions, ideals and personalities that Henry IV entered when on March 29th 1065 he was girded with the Sword Royal at Worms in the presence of Adalbert of Bremen, Hanno of Koln and Godfrey of Lotharingia. What had been a heavy burden for the wise and well-conditioned father would prove an overwhelming problem for the impulsive and ill-regulated son.

42. Henry IV begins badly by falling foul of the Church

The first four years of the new reign augured little good for the Henrician regime, and enabled the

Papacy to make an ominous advance in its pretensions against the royal position. The Regency being nominally at an end the dominance of Adalbert became precarious and within a year had been extinguished by a Diet at Tribur at which the indefatigable Hanno and his confederate nobles compassed his downfall, whereby a great diminution of royal authority was occasioned in the Slav, Scandinavian and Saxon North where the Archbishop had been an Imperial bulwark. Hanno however failed to regain ascendancy, and interest and importance focussed upon the headstrong boy. In 1066 he was married against his will and reacted by plunging into scandalous courses. For three years after Tribur the German Church and Nobility held the reins by appointing Bishops as Prime Ministers in rotation, who characterized their administration by the cordiality of their relations with Alexander II from whom they desired to obtain for Henry the Imperial Crown lest the Papal power in Italy should have no German counterpoise. But Church and State were both shocked into indignant activity by the announcement at Whitsuntide 1069 that Henry was set upon divorce from his neglected Queen. This was a matter for dire disapproval and at a Diet of Frankfort the Papal Legate Peter Damian threatened the dissolute nineteen-year-old King with the severest ecclesiastical penalties and the withholding of the Imperial Crown if he pursued his wild intention, while Siegfried of Mainz was equally censured and threatened for connivance with the royal aberration. Yielding to the adjurations of the Diet the King consented to consummate and sustain his marriage, by which change of mood there was brought into his tragic and twisted life a gracious companionship which was to stand him in good stead hereafter. We see here a serious advance in Papal practice since it is but one step from withholding a crown not yet given to taking away a crown already being worn. There is also discernible the very dangerous fact that Henry's will has been diverted from its intention less by internal conviction of wrongdoing than by the minatory admonition of external authority. With such a temperament the wound may be dissembled and the riposte delayed but some form of revenge is sure.

Peter Damian's report to Rome was comprehensive and illuminating. While the King had impressed him not unfavourably he had much to comment upon as to the licentiousness and corruption, the simony and concubinage prevailing everywhere.

Hildebrand resolved to strike quickly and high. Siegfried of Mainz, Anno of Köln and Herman of Bamberg were summoned to Rome on a charge of simony and returned to Germany in so abject a condition repentant piety that their credit as statesmen fell to zero, to the joy of Adalbert of Bremen who once more came to front in political affairs. Hardly had these great prelates given an edifying if ominous example of the new Roman power than the great Godfrey of Lotharingia died, leaving the infatuate Hildebrandist Matilda of Tuscany to prove to the Imperial interests in Italy that they had exchanged the politic though sullen opposition of the elder Duke for a much more vivid and concentrated hostility on the part of his stepdaughter.

43. And Antagonises the Baronage the Saxons, and Rudolf of Swabia As though driven by some dark spirit of discord raised up to destroy the Kingdom, Henry made enemies on every hand. The growing animosity of his greater nobles was heightened by his persistent dislike and distrust of them... a sentiment the existence of which was not perhaps entirely unjustifiable, though its exhibition 'more Henrico' was to the last degree impolitic. He fell into the habit which has destroyed a multitude of Kings of confiding high offices of State to personal favourites who earned for their master the hatred of the people by their extortion and insolence. He went further, and as though to prove the perversity of his genius he fastened upon the Saxons... the very buttress of the throne of Otto the Great... and drove to madness a people whose favour or enmity might still mean life or death to the German Crown. Saxony and Thuringia were covered with royal castles filled with garrisons of rapacious soldiery whose behaviour uprooted the last vestiges of a loyalty the King could not or would not win. Lastly he made an enemy of Rudolf of Swabia, brother-in-law to the innocent and wronged Queen Bertha, who became head-centre to a strong party of disaffection, whose sullen mood furnished a seedplot for treasonable designs whereof the fruition hereafter would be misery and battle. It was as though the brilliant abilities of Henry III had returned to earth with a devilridden desire to undo down to the smallest particular all that the great Schwarzer König had built up.

44. The Position of Royalty in Germany Uninstructed wilfulness on the part of the young King was rapidly undermining a position which at no time possessed a bedrock constitutional foundation, but was honey-combed with ambiguities, and only subsisted through the inertia of use and wont the accidents of personality, and the politic compromises and well-ballasted acumen of opportunist statecraft.

1. In theory the King was elected by the nobles, but in practice election had receded in favour of Jus Hereditarium upon which Henry IV was never tired of insisting.

2. The King held office "Dei Gratia"... mediated through the ceremonies of Unction and Coronation at the hands of an ecclesiastical authority which might any day come to insist that as a channel of "Grace" it was also a manipulator of "Will".

3. He wore the Crown of political feudal authority, the Lance of Command-in-chief, the Sceptre of Judicature, and the Sword of the King's Peace.

4. He was Lord of Towns, Offices, Jurisdictions, Mints, Tolls, and Markets which he could lease by Charter.

5. He was not above the Law but its Lord Protector, and failure to do the common justice justified rebellion.

6. His will was modified in all matters affecting the Kingdom in general or a prince in particular by the Diet of Princes whose status as rulers was a complex network perpetually in a state of transition, and deriving partly from tribal custom, from function and appointment, from heredity and subinfeudation. This extreme lack of hierarchial symmetry, as well as the age-old family feuds and immediate personal rivalries of the magnates formed at once an element of weakness and strength to the Crown, since while they militated against a unity of obedience, they also were an equal

hindrance to unity of rebellion.

7. Walled Towns with the security they afforded for the development of trade, and their usual association with a Bishop ever alert to promote their financial prosperity became foci of loyalty to the King as a preferable source of justice and protection to the rapacious baronage. In the halcyon days of close cooperation between the Bishops and the Crown it was only natural that the burgher-class should acquire an interested but nevertheless genuine attachment to the Central Government. Henry IV would live to value the support of the cities in the tragic days to come.

8. The Royal Domain was the mainstay of the King's finance since there was no direct taxation, but again the lack of symmetry in the organization of the revenues provided an infinity of loopholes by inheritance, exchange, escheat, the sale of rights and offices, and the levying of recognized contributions-in-aid which made it difficult to cut off the Crown entirely from financial resource.

Thus while the inchoate multiplicity and superficial illogicality of the Teutonic Conglomerate would have driven a Byzantine Heparchos to despair, it possessed its own advantage from the royal point of view, since, except in very extraordinary circumstances, any opposition must be as shapeless and ill-coordinated as the Government it opposed. Unfortunately for Henry his temperament seemed to have been expressly designed to bring those 'very extraordinary circumstances' headlong into being at a period when there existed in the South an ecclesiastical power in a position to exploit to the utmost the coincidence of motive, opportunity and determination in the domestic enemies he had wantonly raised up against himself.

One of the main preoccupations of his predecessors had been so to modify the crude feudal simplicity of the Great Dukedoms as to prevent an evil day when the ring of magnates might combine to crush or at least paralyse the Crown.

1. By attaching one or more Duchies directly to the Monarchy
2. By frequent changes in their dynastic lines.
3. By balancing Dukes with Palsgraves.
4. By carving out Marks and ecclesiastical Immunities.
5. By making Dukes do menial service at Courts and Coronations thus emphasizing their officialdom.

The ways of Henry tended rather to precipitate their crystallization into links of an iron chain with which the King would one day be bound.

45. The King's Task Henry for a time was conciliatory to the Hildebrandine Papacy since his own conduct had forced upon him a multitude of political problems, and with the exception of the rebuff at Frankfort the Church at first confined itself to warring against ecclesiastical abuses. His mind developed rapidly under stress and began to discover within itself an unexpected patience and statecrafty cunning which learned quickly how to employ placation and dissimulation to repair on second thoughts the damage his arrogant impulsiveness had wrought.

His ultimate aim when he grew old enough to envisage one at all must be to restore an authority in Germany and Italy at least equal to that wielded by his illustrious father. This involved:-

1. The building up of the Royal Domain depleted during his minority.
2. The subordination of the immediate magnates.
3. The suppression of the Saxons.
4. The subordination of Tuscany and the Normans.
5. A definite return to the status quo of 1046 in connection with the Papacy.

Most of this was thoroughly un-cluniac in tendency, not to speak of anti-Hildebrandine, but for the moment progress must be by way of discreetly managed facts without too much overt disclosure either of theory or intention. In moods of discernment he was quite capable of perceiving that concessions, the promotion of easily-inflamed divisions, and a skilful employment of well-advertised humility on occasion would serve him better than crass material force. It was better to heal the diseases of the State by manipulation and treatment than by crude operations with drawn steel. It was his misfortune that the natural headstrong wilfulness which he managed intermittently to conceal in times of adversity became uncontrollable when success had momentarily crowned either his diplomacy or his arms. The pupil of such diverse tutors as Hanno and Adalbert was himself an example of uneasy dualism, single enough in ambition but double-sided in temperament, rash and weak when most proud, dangerous and strong in certain kinds of humiliating misfortune. Henry IV was to provide entirely against his desire an Archimedean fulcrum for the lever of the Papacy, fulfilling this function not by reason of unified solidity but of the paralysed inertia produced by the internal opposing tension of the two sides of his character.

He thus reflected the very nature of the Empire with its irreconcilable North and South sectors, and was to prove himself equally capable of hardfisted Teutonic brutality and slippery Italian stealth. He failed as the Empire failed because no coordinating principle could be established to blend and discipline the whole.

46. The King in Action No sooner was Henry's domestic situation simplified and his erstwhile regardless behaviour at least moderated by reconciliation with his wife than he set himself to grapple as best such a youth could with the troubles of his kingdom. To reconstruct the territorial bedrock of his financial power by rebuilding the Domain involved the recalling of grants, the recovery of services withheld, the reversal of local encroachments, and the prevention of usurpations. Hence the castle-building in Eastern Saxony and Thuringia which unfortunately served as much to vitiate the psychological as it promoted the material consolidation of the royal authority. It wounded the Saxons in their sense of independence... that element in them which made their country a notable and difficult ingredient in the German system. Neglect and usurpation of royal rights had prevailed for so long that any reform must generate anger and resistance, and the introduction by the King of South German fiscal and military officials still further embittered

a dour self-centred and resentful race. But 1071 found these extreme Northerners compelled to make unconditional surrender to a triumphant Henry who, under the influence of the politic Adalbert of Bremen, was for once restrained and clement in the hour of victory. But he was unable to prevent a widespread alarm infecting not only the Saxons but the rest of the nobility whom the King openly treated as though they were mere tools to his will. Blinded by the facile success of his first large proceeding of State the King went further and collided with the Popedom on the assumption that his star was on the ascendant. Forgetting the advantages of meek discretion he deliberately attempted to thrust one Godfrey upon the volcanic See of Milan as against Atto the Hildebrand-cum-Alexandrian nominee. The retired Archbishop Guido had secured the investiture of this Godfrey at the German Court under vehement suspicion of simony and he and his protege had been excommunicated in consequence, to escape which Guido had done penance, and Godfrey had fled to Castiglione. Now on Jan. 6th 1072 Erlembald the Patarine tool of Hildebrand carried the election of Atto with a mob of peasants. This infuriated the burghers, and it was only by force supported with much money from Rome that the City was for a time controlled in the Papal interest. Henry replied by the despatch of Rapoto of Bohburg to enforce his will against the Papalists, and at a Lombard Synod at Novara Godfrey was consecrated. The response to this was the excommunication of five of the Royal Counsellors, but Henry maintained his high carriage since his act of investiture and enforcement was in a manner entirely understood by Teutonic ecclesiastics.

of a type)

This fatal Bull of Excommunication from which would spring a myriad of woes was the last act of Alexander II who died anon. Peter Damian who for all his fanaticism had often protested against the vaulting ambition of Hildebrand which was losing all sense of distinction between secular and sacred affairs was already dead. As the year 800 had been, and 962 and 1046 this year 1073 is to be a "bodiless childful" of farranging potentialities for the future.

The mood of Henry in his character as man of action being dominant he must needs allow it to run its course. In 1071 the Dukes of Poland and Bohemia had been summoned before the King and bound over to keep the peace. On finding the Polish Duke ill-disposed to obey Henry summoned the feudal array to rendezvous at Goslar on August 22nd 1073. But under cover and pretext of this military assemblage which they pretended or possibly believed to be intended as a punitive expedition against Saxony, a sudden and dangerous conspiracy of malcontents came into being and to a head. The Bishops of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, the markgraf Ekbert of Meissen, the Margraves of the North and East Marks, Otto of Nordheim, Herman Billung, and the Thuringians smarting under certain tithe-claims of the Archbishop of Mainz formed what in baronial Scotland would have been termed "ane band and covenant" against the King. On June 29th they held a conference from which emanated a refusal to obey the summons, and an ultimatum demanding the razing of the Saxon Castles, The restitution of lands violently seized, the dismissal of evil counsellors, the removal of concubines from the royal entourage, and the cessation of scandals in the

private life of the King. In default of submission to these demands they threatened open war.

The result of this deadly thrust was the instant deflation of Henry's pride. From Goslar he fled to the Harzburg and from there to Hersfeld Monastery after a desperate forest ride of four days. Here a group of friends gathered round him at whose feet he fell with passionate entreaties that they at least would be faithful to him. This extraordinary capacity for self-abasement was further exercised in a letter to Rome entirely rescinding his former pretensions. (See later in Par. 58) Meanwhile Saxons and Thuringians have been laying furious and jubilant siege to his castles and by the end of August many of the hated strongholds have succumbed to their devastating attentions. At last Siegfried of Mainz persuaded the insurgent leaders to a parley at Corvey where it was agreed that a Conference should be held at Gerstungen on October 20th, till which time the Saxon hordes should refrain from the harrying of the fortresses.

47. The King in Suspense, his Kingship in dire straits, and his Kingdom in the Meltingpot To this pass has the son of Henry III come in eight years, that already he knows not if the Crown will remain on his head beyond the twentieth of October next. Already the idea has gone abroad that it may not, and yet all is uncertain for the Opposition who would have it so is a temporary aggregation in a state of purblind anger guided by no clear principle and inspired by unequal degrees of antagonism. The Saxons are generally unpopular and with certain sections the Magnates are more hated than the King. Germany is experiencing the same perplexity as had so often agitated the Popedom in the days before a machinery for constitutional succession had been erected. Of course there are the Bishops but they on this occasion are sharply divided between those who shout with the multitude and comfort the princes, and the others who work for peace and the King. So suddenly had the crisis developed, and so little prepared were the conspirators of June 29th to exploit their advantage with constructive effect when the battlefront of the royal arrogance so easily broke down, that it would be small wonder if deliberations at Gerstungen should prove abortive. The atmosphere of debate is overcast with the Saxon fury, and the smoke of their castle-burnings proclaims crudely enough the negative aspect of their immediate desires, but there is no leader to set the Kingdom in a new order agreeable to a general will either with or without a Henry IV as King.

There remains only the Pope, and in that connection neither the political soothsayers nor the party leaders have any definite assurance beyond uncertain hopes and dim forebodings, for at Rome the death of Alexander II had opened a new chapter in the story of the Holy See, and on that very same June 29th when the Northern storm broke, Hildebrand had ascended the Pontifical Throne.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART II.

GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

CHAPTER I

On the Meaning of Justitia.

48. The Hildebrandine Ideal. Before proceeding to a closer examination of the Canossan drama it were well at this point to consider and summarize briefly the salient features of the complex web of ideas comprehended and idealized by Gregory VII under the oft-repeated term "Justitia". In common with many men of that effective imagination which entitles them to the ascription of greatness he was less an initiator of things absolutely new than a representative, a psychological synthesis of a past built up by other minds and mer now rendered dynamic through his personality. He is prone as others of the type have been to vagueness, superficial inconsistency and a not infrequent mishandling and misinterpretation of his own ideas, but though prophecy be a treasure in earthen vessels its trend, sources, and irreducible minimum of permanent meaning must be traceable to a certain extent, sensed if not entirely brought to light, if, as with Gregory the tough substance of an epoch is indeed to be stamped with the superscription of his word-symbols. Justitia in the Hildebrandine mind may be described as a syndrome of several conceptions covering the persons, Characters, conducts, places, powers, traditions, and claims within the 'spiritual' sphere. In short and in practice the comprehensive ideal of Right Order both abstract and applied within the...to him... boundless gravitational field of the Papacy. It belonged to his temperament as the defect of his virtues that frequently and at crucial conjunctions he should have identified himself and his own opinions, moods and will so closely with this transcendental cosmic order as to lay himself open to the charge of maniacal egotism...the disease of grandeur 'by which sin fell the angels'. But apart from this tendency which obviously increases with age there is much in the Gregorian notion of 'Righteousness' which he genuinely regarded as subsisting apart from his personality. This is a fortunate strain of humility in the Carpenter's son from Soana, since apart from his sincere imaginings and vehicular function as a channel for certain contemporary and traditional forces the character of Hildebrand is not in itself peculiarly profitable either as an example or an inspiration. It was his primary Ideal that this Right Order should be ascertained and enforced at any and every turn of events for the unifying and standardizing of public and private mental moral physical social and spiritual life. A Hildebrand could scarcely help yielding to the temptation to recognize first in the Papal machine and ultimately in himself the Divinely appointed Ascertainer and Enforcer. Wherever and whenever this earthly trait predominated the Justitia he professed to serve assumed a sinister complexion remarkably like that of Iniquity. Justitia is a lovely goddess with an illegitimate sister whose name is Superbia.

In his best and most detached moments and in the crucial question of the relationship of Church and State we may perceive that the Ideal Justitia might be defined as Constructive Co-operation between complementary forces and between the various stratified orders of functionaries composing each institution at a given moment. Unfortunately the Empire was the worst possible sub-structure upon which to erect this spiritualized Olympian system of ideally adjusted interdependences, cross-references, and mutual subserviencies. The nascent re-civilisation of Europe was still too raw and recent to have penetrated to more than a very few significant individuals, illiteracy, superstition and stark violence were too rife, passions too elemental, the principles of lawfulness too little respected, the coincidence of men of good will in the corresponding highplaces on either side too uncertain intermittent and brief, the geographical and racial setting too irregular and divisive, the political and military situation within the without the frontiers too confused and variable, and the chief protagonists too lacking in detachment and sufficiency of vision for Justitia in practice to be much more than a mere catchword for policy, a bludgeon for controversy, and a bone of contention for interested theorists. The effective application of an abstract criterion requires in the concrete an impeccable and impartial tribunal and with all due respect to the Vatican Council of 1870 and its opinions, it can hardly be established that either Hildebrand or the Papacy had ever been or were ever to be recognizable reflections of that Justitia which exalteth a nation.

49. The State and the Spiritual Power. There is first then the age-old problem of the co-existence and interwoven association of the State and Church institutions. We have seen these maintaining an uneasy and often interrupted but on the whole tolerably average balance up to the middle of the 11th. century. A mixture of pragmatism, opportunism mutual understanding, intelligent restraint, obsequiousness, fear, self-interest and sometimes sheer lack of convinced energy had enabled affairs to be carried through in a heterogeneous and muddled fashion, workable only because of the incidental common-sense of some of the contemporary representatives of Church and State. As long as hard and fast definition was not insisted on by purists and pedants a manner of use and wont lubricated the motion of proceedings. A specimen case is furnished by the Diet of Augsburg in 952 which Otto I summoned by advice of the Bishops to consider spiritual affairs and the state of the Christian Empire...non minus de negotio spirituali quam de statu christiani imperii tractare disponeret...and in turn was invited to be present at the discussion of sacred matters, which deliberations though containing legislation not initiated by him, were conducted under his aegis and supported by his power...mentis corporisque nisu ecclesiarum rerum auxiliatorem defensorem promptissimum se esse promittendo certificavit. (1)

Again Otto III actively presided at Councils...Consentiente et judicante Domino Ottone Imperatore Augusto (2) and elsewhere... Praesidente Domino Ottone tertio Augusto Caesare et Domino

Gregorius papa quinto (3)...thus striving to put into practice his conception of the Empire as a binary system with dual control. (See Par.26) Conrad II at Rome took the same ground of technical equality...Reverendissimus igitur papa et piissimus imperator...patriarcham...investientes..ex apostolico et imperiali decreto...etc. (4) while at Frankfort it is... Praesidente imperatore Conrado cum episcopis XXII.. etc. (5) Henry III at Pavia (Par.32) obtains agreement and cordial assent... Per victoriosi regis Henrici preceptum et sanctae synodi laudatione atque corroboratione statutum est et sancitum. (6). and at Mainz in 1049 is referred to with approval...in qua nobis consedit prudentissimi filii nostri Heinrici Romanorum Imperatoris augusta majestas etc. (7) Gregory's early association with Henry III and his expressed admiration for that potentate in his letters make it clear that at least until hardened by advancing age and by bitter experience with Henry IV into demanding blind subservience as the condition of Justitia for Kings he had behind him and in his own mind an acceptable tradition of mutual conference and deference as between the heads of the Great Departments.

In the same way place and provision was made at least at times for the lower strata of society below the Olympians to co-operate with the great ones in decisions. This had been a fundamental thought in the Justitia of Bruno of Toul when he conditionally Accepted the Popedom from the Crown.(Par.33) When as Leo IX he went to Rheims the proceedings were conducted...assensu etiam et laude cleri et populi. (8)...while the epoch making Council of Nicholas II (Par.37) which promulgated the Election Decree was attended...et clericis..ac laicis.(9). Alexander II proposed a Council..religiosis clericis et fidelibus laicis. (10). The great Synod at Rome in 1076 excommunicated Henry IV in the presence of diversi ordinis clericorum et laicorum copia. (11). The attitude of Gregory at Canossa and throughout the controversy passes markedly to the dictatorial till Obedience is equated with Justitia, and the armed violence of parties is substituted for the free discussion and consent of the unterrorized. But while the business of Church and State co-operation might in the hands of compatible persons and on well-understood issues pursue its course despite a lack of standardization and uniformity there were not lacking restive commentators whose writings served to exalt or depress in theory the ecclesiastical as against the political function. Time and again Popes had made some such remark or asseveration (See Par.11) but since the advent of Imperial Germany the pontiffs had been less vociferous in their expressions of theory in connection with the Crown. But nothing could prevent the subject being dragged out and worried by the publicists. RATHERIUS of Verona held that a King should venerate a Bishop. (12.) deprecare sanctos..venerare episcopos...and remember that they are set over him, not he over them...noveris illos tibi, non te illis esse praelatos...Constantine had spoken humbly before the Nicene Prelates...Vos..nobis a Deo dati estis dii, et conveniens non est ut homo iudicet deos....Bishops can only be judged by God..nisi ab ipso Omnipotente. (13)..and are higher than Kings because they create them...Quia et reges ab episcopos instituti..and not vice versa...episcopi vero a regibus etsi eligi vel

decerni, non valent tamen ordinari institutos. (14)
Gerbert-Sylvester (De Informatione Episcoporum) takes the same high line characteristic of hierarchs in all ages, and asserts that Episcopal dignity is without peer...Honor igitur, fratres, et sublimitas episcopalis nullis potest comparationibus aequali.. State and Church Crowns are as Lead to Gold...quasi plumbi metallum ad auri fulgorem compares...secular rulers bow to spiritual rulers and their decrees..quippe cum videas regum colla et principum genibus submitti sacerdotum et exosculatis eorum decretis orationibus eorum credant se communiri...and yet when Abbot of Bobbio he admits himself the Emperor's servant..Gerbertus quondam liber..loquatur dominus meus servo suo. (15).

Wazo of Liege insisted to Henry III that the unction of a secular Prince was unto Death..ad mortificandum..but that of a Priest unto Life..nos auctore Deo ad vivificandum ornati sumus. (16). When Conrad I exiled three Bishops without trial Wippo asserts that this caused grave offence...quae res displicuit multis sacerdotes Christi sine iudicio damnari...since Bishops are only truly dishonoured if honourably condemned...ex quia sicut post iudicalem sententiam depositionis nullus honor exhibendus est... but uncondemned they deserve reverence..sed ante iudicium magna reverentia sacerdotibus debetur.(17). We see here that objection was only raised to the arbitrary application of the King's justice not to its applicability even to prelates. On the other hand when Wiger of Ravenna was cited to appear at the Imperial Court and his case was referred to an Episcopal Commission Wazo declared that a Southerner could not be judged by a Northerner.. Italicum episcopum nequaquam a se cisalpino debere iudicare.. (18) Bishops owed Obedience to the Pope and Fidelity to the Emperor.. Summo Pontifici oboedientiam, Vobis autem debemus fidelitatem..if the case was secular it was for the Emperor...in secularibus.. but if spiritual...contra ecclesiasticum ordinem..it was a Papal concern...id discutere pronuntio apostolici tantummodo interesse. This is an interesting example of 'Italianism' of outlook, as also of the manner in which a subject could be dismissed with a few well-rounded and plausible maxims of little use without a clear idea prevailing among all parties in a specific dispute as to what was or was not contra ecclesiasticum ordinem.

Peter Damian leans now to Imperialism and now to Papalism but commits himself to the description of the Pope as Rex Regum et Princeps Imperatorum cunctos in carne viventes honore ac dignitate praecellit. (19) He speaks with what was to become a prime Gregorian motif when he says that Christ had given to Peter ..beato eternae vitae clavifero...the Laws of Heaven and Earth.. terreni simul et coelestis imperii jura commisit. (20)..and again .. Mox ut Petro coeli terraeque jura commisit. (21). In exhorting Henry IV to support Alexander II against Honorius II he avers that the King only deserves obedience if he obeys his Creator..sed tunc deferendum est regi cum rex obtemperat Conditori... (a phrase which for the practical purposes of simple Kings equates a Hildebrandine nominee with the Almighty)... if disobedient his subjects may depose him..Alioquin cum rex Divinis resultat imperiis ipse quoque jure contemnitur a subjectis.(22). The levity and loose thinking enshrined in these statements need to be seen to be believed. It comes to it that a parcel of armed rebels may

justify high treason merely on the ground of their superior theological insight. The isolation in vacuo of the monkish mind could scarcely be more clearly revealed. The utter regardlessness of what Civil War entails to millions, the tacit assumption that the remote case of Samuel v. Saul in an antique Judaeian upland might easily be applied without modification to the enormous ramifications of 11th. century Central European royalty point to a dangerous type of infantile paralysis afflicting the mental processes of the most influential thinkers of the day. Howbeit the Creator has not left himself without witness for behold...Priest and King are interdependent..veritate connectitur. .dum et sacerdotium regni tuitione protegitur, et regnum sacerdotalis officii sanctitate fulcitur...The King bears the sword against the enemies of the Church...Rex enim praecingitur gladio ut hostibus ecclesiae munitus occurrat...The Priest is the prayerful Mediator between God and the State...Sacerdos orationum vacat excubilis ut regi cum populo Deum placabilem reddat.. (23). The Function of the Priest is Compassionate Care.. visceribus debet pietatis affluere, et in maternae misericordiae gremio sub exuberantibus doctrinae semper uberibus filios confovere...while that of the Judge is Punishment, Deliverance, and the upholding of right and Justice...ut reos puniat et ex eorum manibus eripiat innocentes ut vigorem rectitudinis et Justitiae teneat...The Secular Tribunal differs from the Seat of the Priest...Distat plane tribunal judicis a cathedra sacerdotis. (24). The one is armed to punish the unrighteous..Gladium portat ut eum in ultione iniuste viventium exerat...the other bears the staff of innocency to maintain peaceable discipline..iste baculo tantum contentus est innocetiae ut quietus et placidus teneat custodiam disciplinae....The Sword of the Priest is to temper that of the King...Gladium sacerdotis mitiget gladium regis...while the Sword of the King sharpens that of the Priest...gladius regis (tur gladium acuat sacerdotis.(25). 'tis a happy union..felici conjungun
 From the style and content of the above it may be easily seen that Hildebrand had not far to seek for inspiration as to the nature of Justitia. Leo IX had gone about to establish ecclesiastical righteousness (par.34)...the new fashion will undertake the task of setting up political righteousness as well. The platitudes are excellent but leave no margin for honest difference of opinion, tend to emphasize the punitive and military function of the King as the chief value of the secular arm in the eyes of the Church, ignore entirely the special conditions in the Germany to which they were primarily directed, and assume that -- such words as "Righteous" and "Unrighteous", "Care" and "Punishment" are a stabilized verbal coinage current for the same value anywhere and at any time.

The general trend of the above quotations is in the direction of teaching that Justitia is another name for mutually respectful collusion between Church and State, the latter 'respecting' the former for its transcendental status, the former condescending to 'respect' the latter for its temporal function, the bias in all cases being in favour of the ecclesiastic as an originating or at any rate mediating Mind as against the King who for all intents and purposes must consider himself as little more than an ironclad mechanical appliance.

50. On the Electing of Popes One of Henry's chief accusations against Gregory VII would be that his election had been irregular and was therefore invalid. The evolution of Justitia in this important aspect passed through various phases of development not unmixed with setbacks. It had been the confusion of precedents in this matter which the Election Decree of Nicholas II had been intended to supersede. In 898 in the case of John IX it was held that since the Roman See is exposed to violence on the death of Popes.. plurimas patitur violentias pontifici obeunte... the consecration of a successor required due notice to the Emperor whose agents would suppress disorder... qui violentiam et scandala in ejus consecratione non permittant fieri.. this State supervision must be ensured by Commissioners... praesentibus legatis imperialibus.. and the Pope-elect not be required to swear anything to the diminishing of the Imperial interest.. NE ECCLESIA SCANDALIZETUR, vel imperatoris honorificentia minuat. (26). This is an example of the State as simple Policeman. In 965 on the death of Leo VIII the Emperor would not propose a successor but sent overseers in whose presence an election took place... Et Otgerus et Liuzo ab imperatore diriguntur. (27). This was in accordance with Otto's own Privilegium of 962 in which it is provided that elections take place before Commissioners... in praesentia Missorum nostrorum... with a mere watching-brief... In super etiam ut nullus missorum nostrorum cujuscunque impeditio argumentum componere in prefatam electionem audeat prohibemus. (28) In 996 Otto III selected Gregory V and Rome acceded to his desires.. Hunc quia regi placuit a majoribus electum.. adduxerunt Roman. (29) In 999 Otto claimed to have appointed Sylvester II.. Domnum Silvestrum magistrum nostrum papam elegimus .. ordinavimus.. creavimus.. conferimus. (30). In 1047 Henry III asked for advice from Wazo of Liege as to a successor for Clement II. Wazo asserted that Gregory VI was alive and could only be judged by God.. (in other words the Emperor had neither power to raise up or cast down).. summum pontificem a nemine nisi a solo Deo dijudicari debere.. Henry proceeded to appoint Poppo of Brixen (par.33) whereupon the opinion was expressed in the French Church that it is a sin. The Emperors are not in Christ's place... Ubi enim inveniuntur imperatores locum Christi obtinere?... rather are they bloody and devilish.. potius offitio Diaboli surguntur in gladio et sanguine... Henry is an odious person... infamis erat... unfit to rule even laymen.. in quo etiam nec laicum dijudicare poterat... The Pontiff is reserved to the judgment of God only.. ille autem soli Do qui eum suo judicio reservavit. (31)... Anyhow the French Bishops had not been consulted. (Can it be that this is where the shoe pinches?). Episcopi Franciae nec invitati sunt nec dedire consensum... so they need not obey.. qui ergo secernuntur ab ordinatione absolvantur et a debito obedientiae. (32)

Thus disapproval of one alleged trait disapproved of in the personal character of an Emperor of the moment might be fastened upon as justification for opposition and separatist movements, while on the other hand approval of another trait argued in the opinion of others the necessity for the precise opposite.. as witness Peter Damian who happened to admire Henry for being against simony... per occidentalia regna virus symoniacae hereseos

letaliter ebullisse (33)..Indeed Henry's services in this matter gave him pre-eminence in the ordering of the Church..ut videlicet ad ejus nutum sancta Romana ecclesia nunc ordinetur..so that none should be elected to the Holy See without his authority..ac preter ejus auctoritatem apostolicae sedi nemo prorsus eligat sacerdotem. (34)

So greatly did temporary and subjective impressions of personality and the pre-occupations and interests of the observer influence judgment upon the validity and application of abstract principles. Humbert echoes this commendation of the great King...His diebus suis tam a se quam ab ecclesiasticis imperii sibi crediti personis tantum sacrilegium removit aliquantulum, quamvis instaret multum et cuperet remove totum. (35)..while Gregory VII speaks of Henry and his Queen in high terms..Quibus non possunt nostra aetate ad imperii gubernacula inveniri aequales. (36). All of which tends to show that rules and theories were pliable with acceptable persons and only retained their rigidity for the recalcitrant. This would have been a proof of common sense flexibility if any agreement could have been generally reached as to the qualifications an Emperor should have either to justify his selecting of Popes at all or guarantee his choice of right ones. With Peter Damian and Humbert anti-simony covered a multitude of sins. Leo IX was moving toward a more regular and wide basis of election when he fenced about his own elevation with provisos...He was elected in the Imperial presente ..ante praesentiam gloriosi Henrici III Romanorum Augusti..by a Council.. ad onus apostolici honoris suscipiendum eligitur a cunctis.. He asked for three days and accepted on condition that the whole CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF Rome consented..si audiret totius cleri ac Romani populi communem esse sine dubio consensum..only when before Rome he was assured of this..unanimen omnium acclamationem...was he consecrated and enthroned..cunctis applaudentibus consecratur..apostolicae cathedrae inthronizatur.. (37)...

The Election Decree gave the primary place to Cardinal Bishops. imprimis cardinales episcopi..and other cardinals..mox sibi clericos cardinales adhibeant..they might elect outside Rome if it were impossible in the City..si electio fieri in urbe non posset..and Popes might reign outside..electus tamen sicut papa auctoritatem obtineat regendi...while the Imperial interest was conserved..salvo debite honore et reverentia dilecti filii nostri Henrici .sicut jam sibi concessimus. (38). (See Par.37).

This finally deprived even the most amiable Emperor of his initiative, returned to the Privilegium of 962, allowed for riots in the City, and kept the Popedom in the electoral region of a small permanent Board.

The Election of Gregory VII had been achieved in so hasty and tumultuous a fashion that pedantry could argue against its rigid compliance with the letter of the Decree. It had been done with unprecedented haste..violenter sibi impositam fuisse ecclesiastici regiminis necessitatem..and certainly the Cardinals had followed the popular choice and not guided it.. but his consecration appears to have been acceptable to Henry at the time for after explanations made to the Imperial Commissioner

he indicated unqualified approval and directed that the affair should proceed...libenter suscepit satisfactionem et laetissimo suffragio ut ordinaretur mandavit. (39)...Anyhow Henry's abject submission by letter from Hersfeld after June 29th. puts subsequent attempts to deny full pontificality to Gregory entirely out of court as far as the King is personally concerned. To rake up dubieties as to the election in later years was a feeble manoeuvre only serving to emphasize the cynical and reckless opportunism of Henry's attitude to the Pontiff, and rendering only more glaring the hypocrisy infusing his revival of the role of the Prodigal Son. (Par. 58).

Justitia then in Papal elections is enshrined at last in the Decree of Nicholas, modifiable under special circumstances of haste and popular excitement, still slightly tinged with politeness to a Lord High Commissioner, but fundamentally a self-initiating and self-supporting function, secure in a regularity and legality destined to obtain universal recognition.

51. The Justitia of Episcopal Appointments. What applied to the central luminary extended also to the planetary prelates. Here again there is presented to us a long history of divided counsels and heterogeneous practices until Gregory and Henry confront one another on the issue and the long-drawn-out clamours of the Investiture Controversy (see Par. 53) herald the coming of the Mediaeval Papacy into the days of its strength. The general custom had usually involved the convergence upon the settling of appointments of the minds of clergy and people and the consent of the State. In 945 Atto of Vercelli writes that the following conditions are necessary:-

1. Clergy and People must have free right of election.. nullum clerus vel populus praejudicium patiatur sed libera sit eis absque alicujus controversia facultus tranquille quem melius praeviderint elegendi...

2. The Veto of the Metropolitan may be exercised if the candidate be found unacceptable upon examination...Electus quoque tam a Metropolitano quam a caeteris comprovincialibus episcopis diligentissime examinandus erit...quem si convincere poterit de culpa removeantur gratia....

3. If the choice prove satisfactory due notice shall be sent to the Feudal Superior and consecration shall take place with his consent...cum consensu et notitia principis ad cujus ditionem eadem parochia pertinere videtur solemniter et devotissime consecratur. (40).

Abbo of Fleury asserts that there are three kinds of election:-

1. Of the Crown with concordia totius regni
2. Of the Bishop with unanimitas civium et cleri
3. Of the Abbot with sanius concilium coenobialis congregationis (41)

Fulbert of Chartres refused to take part in a consecration where the Prince had taken the initiative without free choice for bishops, clergy or people...a Principe unus obtruditur ut nec clerus nec populo nec ipsis summis sacerdotibus ad alium deflectere concedatur (42)....and elsewhere he formulates a scale of requisite conditions...1. Eligente Clero.. 2. Suffragante Populo 3. Dono Regis. 4. Approbatione Romani Pontificis. 5. Per Manum Metropolitanam. (42).

In 1049 Leo IX promulgated the rule that none should govern in the Church without election by clergy and people..Ne quis sine electione cleri et populi ad regimen ecclesiasticum provehatur. (43).

In the case of Berthold v. Hugh for the See of Besançon the former is deposed not so much for the direct guilt of simony as for outflanking by that simony the legitimate rights of the electorate..eundem Bertaldum a filiis Ecclesiae non electum.. whereas Hugh had entered by the strait gate..qui per ostium intraret. (44) But in the background there is always the possibility of the State taking action, as approved by one Rudolf Glaber who assumes that Kings have the right of appointing to sacred offices..Nam ipsi reges qui sacrae religionis idonearum decretores personarum esse debuerant. (45).. and modified by Gerbert who when writing in the name of the Archbishop of Rheims to the Empress Theophano tells her to be sure not to appoint any-one to a See not appointed thereto by the Archbishop..Si in regnorum confinio quaelibet ecclesia vacaret pastorem in ea non alium constituendum nisi quem..delegerimus.(46)..incidentally he would recommend one Gerbert praestantem habemus Gerbertum.

In the name of the Archbishop of Trier Gerbert denounces the folk of Verdun for refusing a royal nominee..voluntate hereditarii regis..elected with provincial episcopal consent..consensu et favore comprovincialium episcoporum electum. (47) and elsewhere has occasion to record the donation of an abbacy by Otto III..quod abbatium..nuper Joanni monacho donaverimus. (48) On the other hand, he writes to the monks of Fleury in wrath concerning claims based on royal appointment..pretendat sibi reges duces seculi principes qui se favore solummodo eorum monchorum fecit. (49).

In the case of Arnulf v. Gerbert the Bishops asserted that they had elected Arnulf under pressure from the populace..clamore multitudinis impulsii..(as it is written Vox Populi Vox Domini..) but as a matter of fact the Vox Populi is not infallible at all ..non erat Vox Domini vox populi clamantis Crucifige..crucifige... the Fathers have said that election should not be by a mob..non liceat Turbis electionum facere..The Bishops should prove the Candidate..probenet..they therefore with the consent of the Kings Hugh and Robert..favore et conventia utriusque principis nostri ..and of the godly among the clergy and folk..assensi quoque eorum qui Dei sunt in clero et populo..elect Gerbert..eligimus.. Gerbertum. (50)

There is a refreshing element of common sense in this vigorous assertion that popular acclamation is not necessarily a guarantee of Justitia, though there is a doubtful Damianic note in the reference to those qui Dei sunt reminding the reader of those Kings who obtemperant Conditori when agreeable to contemporary fashions in Church opinion. (See Par.49. p.64). Peter Damian as might be expected from the stern critic of German conditions (par.42) attacks the system of appointing to Bishoprics as a reward for secular or Courtly services as though Patronage could be exercised pro arbitrio et ad libitum. (51). It is the abuse and not the principle of which he disapproves. To Faenza he writes

with praise for the people who had waited till the King came..ut non eligatis episcopum usque ad regis adventum. (52) while on the other hand he accuses Honorius II of claiming the See without the will of the Church...Ignorante Romana Ecclesia Romanum te episcopum eligi..And what of the Senate, Clergy and People and the Cardinal-bishops withal? ...quid tibi de cardinalibus videtur episcopis? ...Canons declare that the humblest shall have a say as to their ruler...vel humilis cujuscunque ecclesiae clero liceat liberum de illo qui sibi praeferendus est habere judicium.. This is the order:-

1. The Cardinal-Bishops..per episcoporum cardinalium fieri debeat principale judicium
2. The Clergy..secundo loco jure praebent clerus assensum.
3. The People..tertio popularis favor attollat applausum.
4. The Royal Assent..usque dum regiae celsitudinis consulatur auctoritas..unless there is special haste ..nisi..periculum fortassis immineat quod rem quantocius acceleare compellat. (53).

This is practically the substance of the Election Decree, and though applicable to Popes in the first instance, its principle of Convergence of all parties is that toward which an approach is being made in the case of other Bishops than that of Rome. The Election of Wazo Bishop of Liege is an example of the State taking a last and reluctant place in the procedure. He was unanimously elected without the King...as was Gregory VII..and then sent to Ratisbon where Henry was..ubi forte Henricus aderat.. The Staff and Letter were handed to the King...Virga episcopalis cum ecclesiae nostrae litteris praesentatur..who considered it the next day...res agenda in crastinum differtur..along with bishops and princes of the palace..et reliquis palatii principibus ...it was urged that this unapproved election should be set aside and a royal chaplain appointed..ex capellanis potius episcopum constituendum..which Wazo had never been..Wazonem numquam in curte regia desudasse...but finally the King was persuaded to accept Wazo ..petitionem nostram conciliant (54).

John XIII appointed an Archbishop of Salzburg on a unanimous application by clerical and lay Bavarians..electione et postulatione omnium pene nobilium Bavariorum scilicet clericorum et laicorum. (55)..and Gregory V appointed Arnulf to Auxonne with a plenary concurrence that could hardly be exceeded... 1. Domno Imperatore jubente.. 2. et episcopis Romanis, Longobardis atque Ultramontanis judicantibus..3. consentiente et acclamante Ermengauda comite..4. cum clericis..5. et optimatibus ..montanorum.. annulumque et virgam pastorem ei dedit. (56) Clement II confirmed the election of the Archbishop of Salerno by unanimitas cleri et populi una cum..principe Guaimario. (57). A crucial case was provided by the See of Milan where the general consent of bishops, clergy and people tended to choose prelates in deference rather to the Ambrosian Lombard tradition than in accordance with the latest advices from Rome. It was possible in that troublous and independent centre for an entire Episcopate as well as Cleri and populi to prove themselves not to be qui Dei sunt, and for a King to fail obtemperare Conditori by giving an electorate its apparent desire. (par.46) The

The Justitia of Hildebrand could not endure this Mordecai at its gate...Instantiis archidiaconus ille Hildebrandus..ad quem eligendum necessarium dicebat Romanum fore consensum. (58)

With the exception of the last and special case, these examples of opinion, practice and decree suffice to show that Justitia made for extension rather than contraction of the franchise, and indeed even the Milanese affair is not entirely contrary thereto since the Patarine agitation was a subsidized propaganda to convert the electorate rather than to supersede them.

They therefore exhibit certain ground for the indignation of Gregory VII at the gross infringements of the principle committed by Henry IV when in such cases as Fermo, Spoleto and Milan he tried to do south of the Alps what had often been allowed to pass in Germany without comment. Intruded nominees of a Henry IV would for that reason alone be regarded with suspicion, and the arbitrary method of appointment be the subject of protest. It was not that the Imperialists...as we shall see... had no case at all, but the tactless arrogance of the King diminished the value of their arguments, and exasperated the opposition into deeds and words which might never have been spoken.

52. Justitia in Action Against
the Purchase of Preferment.

Justitia might pin her faith
to the virtue of an extended
suffrage, but neither

candidates nor electorates could be guaranteed in perpetuity as of the rare and refreshing sort qui Dei sunt. A jungle growth of corrupt practices naturally arose pari passu with the swelling wealth and power of an ecclesiastical machine in whose workings there was still so much that was haphazard and personal. Comprehensively termed Simony the habit of bribery for the influencing in favour of individuals the motives and actions of those qualified to elect and invest had developed to such dimensions by the 11th. century, that in many regions it had become a recognized straightforward transaction. There were so many ways in which it could be done from the bald transference of hard cash to the subtle engendering in the mind of an elector of a tacit assumption that should he promote such and such a candidacy he would ultimately hear of something as yet unspecified to his advantage. It was quite bad enough for the Church to have prelates thrust upon it by potentates whose chief concern in selection was that the nominee should be a competent and reliable partizan and politician. (Par.23.p.33.). It was infinitely worse to be at the mercy of that money which has no conscience or plan at all. For long there was little enough conscience among the human agents of the traffic but the Cluniac Movement supplied that quickenning of spirit and discernment which gradually turned public and official opinion from what had been the acceptance of a standing custom into the apprehension of a growing menace In the great Investiture Controversy the war against Simony vs something of the dignity of moral purpose to what might otherwise have been a mere pride-ridden quarrel over precedence and procedure. Rudolf Glaber asserted that Kings judged candidates by the size of their gifts..illum videlicet a quo ampliora munera suscipere

sperant. (59)..and reports Henry III as informing German and Gallic Bishops that the widespread corruption was wellknown to him, and as decreeing that no clerical rank in the Empire should be purchaseable at a price..ut nullus gradus clericorum vel ministerium ecclesiasticum pretio aliquo acquireretur..furthermore he himself would freely give things religious..ita et ego quod ad religionum ipsius pertinet gratis impendam..since God had freely given him the crown..sicut enim mihi Dominus coronam imperii sola miseratione sua gratia dedit...Let them do likewise. volo si placet ut et vos similiter faciatis. (60).

But any optimism generated by well-meant decrees and better-meant advice is dissipated by the formidable indictments of Cardinal Humbert (Par.36.p.48) who asserts that for any practical effect to be discernible in the campaign against the vice Henry had died too soon..immatura morte praeventus..as for the French King he is incorrigible..et expugnare non cessat in cunctis suae ditionis partibus. (61)..Everybody is implicated..a summo..usque ad nimium omnes de ecclesiasticis rebus sibi negotiari non praetermittunt...All kinds of rulers are guilty..Imperatores quoque, reges, principes, iudices..(62) It was with the peace and prosperity of the Church that the traffic revived..simul vero pax est reddita christianis in tantum..pestis illa antiqua redit. (63). It had gone so far that those who desired authority had to swear to retain simoniacs..se observaturum et defensurum juramento et scripto confirmaverit..The Emperor himself had to swear to quash the antisimoniacal laws..cogitur summus princeps jurare ne leges..debeat observare sed potius evacuare.(64). The very decorations of churches had been stripped off to pay for office..emblematum basilicarum pro hoc negotio distracta. (65). In Italy ruination had been caused by the practice..a fundamentis destructa et eversa..desolata..relicta..spoliata. (66). And all the time ordination and consecration obtained by simony are null and void..Quomodo enim in eis perdurare potest quod nullatenus acceptum est. (67)..qua ad perditionem suam populique christini deceptionem per imposturam abutuntur. (68)

Though not a whit behind Humbert in zeal against Simony Peter Damian holds a different opinion as to the validity of the office PURCHASED..Quibus tamen si catholica fiat ordinatio sacrae dignitatis officium ad quod non merentes accedunt perfecte suscipiunt. (69). and considers that those who had innocently received ordination from simoniacs should not be penalized..sed id potius ne hii qui ab eis gratuito consecrati sunt, locum sui gradus omittant. (70). According to him the Church suffered as much from promotion for non-ecclesiastical services as from cash-paid transactions. None should have or hold per praemium..or per curialis obsequii famulatum..or for ambitu saecularem. (71). Greedy men become sycophants..in clientelam potentium tanquam servos se dedititios obscoene substernunt. (72). Princes are not to bestow office arbitrarily..pro arbitrio ad libitum. (73). In this he echoes Humbert who denounces greedy clerks seeking benefice by laborious servitude..maximas et continuas angustias or by odious complacencies..scurrilitas vel fallax adulatio. (74).

While in Germany especially there was a considerable case for the feudalization of Bishops.. (par. 31) the degeneration of the clerical office into an article of merchandize whether paid for in money or service was not only demoralizing in itself but led to a still greater confusion as to the proprieties and limits of the ecclesiastical function. In the minority of Henry IV Adalbert of Bremen and Count Wernher sold anything and everything indiscriminately. especially abbacies.. quicquid ecclesiasticorum quicquid secularium dignitatum est erubatur...in abbates vero.. tota libertate grassabantur. (75). Leo IX at Rheims issued a Canon that anyone who obtained an office by purchase should surrender it to the Bishop...id cum digna satisfactione suo episcopo redderet..that no layman should hold a benefice, nor must a cleric bear arms or hold secular office..aut mundane militiae deserviret (76). Though Germany could hardly be said to be ripe to listen to the latter injunction, it was inevitable that Justitia should tilt against a distorted set of conditions in which counts drew the revenues of Abbots, and Abbots rode armed to war. Considering how notorious had been the corruption of the Papacy itself, how tainted its outlook and conduct with favouritism, politics, selfseeking, territorial and financial bargaining, it could hardly be otherwise than that the Church should have been infected with intrigue, and the recruitment of its staff guided by other considerations than those of saintly idealism and selfless service. To a contemporary hostile observer the career of Hildebrand itself might easily wear the semblance of a long and tortuous manoeuvre for self-advancement. Indeed, so complicated was the ecclesiastical function becoming that it might be argued that the man of versatility and ambition self-trained in adroit diplomacy and the arts of pleasing was more likely to prove an efficient unit in the machine than an unworldly person whose only asset was virtue. The subtler forms of Simony were thus a schooling in Method for the intelligence, if in the spiritual sense they warred against the soul.

Since men 'clerically' trained were in constant demand for Government work, competition for billets tended to be keen, and to be pursued with every available expedient. Sheer bribery might in the end be extinguished by legislation, but it was a counsel of perfection to envisage a hierarchy untainted by curialis obsequii famulatum or by ambitu saecularem, concerned exclusively with 'zeal for the glory of God, and the advancement of Christ's Kingdom in the world'. For that Justitia must wait a long time.

53. Justitia in Action against Lay Investiture Patronage then might be exerted in response to several stimuli. 1. That a good man might have a good opportunity of exercising goodness in the service of men's souls...which was the Way of Justitia.

2. As a form of recognition of services rendered...the nature of these services varying according to the moral quality of the parties concerned.

3. As a method of securing retainers from whom usefulness might be expected in the future.

4. As a means of obtaining money

indirectly as in the case of the 'tulchan bishops' in Scotland.

5. As a commercial transaction pure and simple. Neither princes, prelates, clergy or people were impervious to blandishment in one form or another, but while within the orbit of ecclesiastical officialdom it was possible in time to mitigate abuses and erect a procedure which should be free from the grosser corruptions, no hope of betterment could be entertained as long as the Church lay open to invasion by the raw will of purely secular personages. Affairs in Germany were little improved when Henry attained his majority, and even Alexander II would appear to have wavered and had lapses from the strict path for when in 1070 the Bishop of Bamberg was haled before him on a simony charge he received bribes to quash the case..multa et preciosa munera papae dedit..recovering himself sufficiently to enjoin the culprits not to do it again..quod haec ulterius facturi non essent. (77).

In 1071 Henry forced a simoniac and thief upon the See of Constance, and the Archbishop of Mainz found himself between two fires in consequence, as the King threatened him..multa a Domino meo sustinui, timeoque me adhuc graviora passurum et ecclesiae meae magnum fere detrimentum..and the Pope forbade him..ne eum qui designatus est in Constantiensem episcopum ullo modo consecrarem. (78). This is an example of Henry's behaviour and of the quandary of the feudalized prelates. In 1073 Henry admitted in his 'Prodigal Son' letter (Par. 56) that he had been in the wrong with regard to Milan, and that it was for the Pope to decide the matter..ut vestra apostolica districtione canonice corrigatur..and in 1074 (Par. 61) the Papal Legates avoided the simoniac King. They had come to deal with Simony and the German Prelates resisted them..VEHEMENTER HOC ABNUERUNT OMNES EPISCOPI TAMQUAM INUSITATAM LONGEQUE A SUIS RATIONIBUS ALIENUM.. they said they would only yield to the Pope himself..ipsi Romano pontifici..Henry supported the Legates as it might lead to the deposition of the Bishop of Worms and others who had hindered his war with the Saxons..qui eum bello Saxonico offenderant..but the matter was finally referred to Rome. (79). We see here a pretty complication characteristic of the involved ecclesiastico-political turmoil occasioned both by the existence of, and attempt to uproot an abuse interwoven with the very structure of the State.

It is with Henry IV that the situation darkens, for the Imperial sentiment is no longer reformist and therefore consultative and tactful, but leans to the stabilization and exploiting of convenient abuses. Henry III could be trusted but his son was quickly beyond the pale..in duritia sua permanens..neque exhortationi nostrae parere voluerit. (80).

Already in 1073 we find him writing to the Bishop-elect of Lucca forbidding him to receive investiture of the Bishopric from the King..te ab investitura episcopatus de manu regis abstinere..till Henry has forsworn the company of the excommunicate..donec de communione cum excommunicatis Deo satisfaciens..and made his peace with the Papacy..rebus bene compositis, nobiscum pacem possit habere. (81). Here Henry is not censured as an investing authority but temporarily invalidated by technical wickedness. We have got to the stage that we may withhold an otherwise

acknowledged right from an ill-conducted individual. Not yet has our Justitia risen up against the entire principle, for in 1074 the Count of Die is not censured for electing a Bishop with general consent...cum consensu aliorum omnium in episcopum elegeras. (82), and to the Count of Fermo in a lucid interval of Henrician rectitude he writes that a suitable candidate be selected with the Royal concurrence..tum regis consilio. (83). In 1075 Gregory rejected two nominees of the King of Aragon and the regius bishop but promised to consider further recommendations..et salubris annuente Deo responsio dabitur. (84), while in 1076 the famous test-case of Fermo and Spoleto given by Henry to his own creatures the Pope is moved to doubt if a Church can be given by any man..si tamen ab homine tradi ecclesia aut donari potest. (85). This remark is illuminating for it shows Justitia in the Gregorian mind fomenting dubieties as to the system itself. In 1077 he refused a recommendation of the French King to Chartres till enquiry shall have been made as to the mind of the diocese..ut...voluntatem omnium cognoscas. (86) In 1079 he treats a Magdeburg election as the affair of his protege Rudolf but insists that the full tale of the electorate be taken account of..cum omnium religiosorum..et laicorum consensu et electione. (87) (Incidentally we may note that the emphasis upon the consent of clergy and people is a useful brake upon arbitrariness not only in connection with lay interference but also with the arrogance of the higher Churchmen, as witness the objections raised to the thrusting upon Trier of one Cuono by the Archbishop of Koln..per interventum Coloniensis..whereat there was much wrath..Graviter et indigne nimis tulit tam clerus quam populus Treverorum quod ipsi in electionem admissi consulti- que non essent. (88).)

But all the same, it is not difficult to understand how impatient a mediaeval and military prince might well become of the cumbrous procedure involved in obtaining unanimity. A smooth routine could only arise in an entirely incorporated Church without feudal commitments, a condition which Justitia must remain without as long as in Germany at least the mitre and the coronet had the same political value. So far the principle of State-interference has been allowed for, and only the degree and manner of irruption and control have occasioned friction.

It is to Cardinal Humbert that we must look for a more sweeping denunciation of the participation of the State. According to him a Canonical Appointment should be in the following order:-
 A Bishop should be 1. Elected by the Clergy..a clero eligendus.
 2. Asked for by the People..a plebe expetendus.
 3. Consecrated by provincial Bishops..a comprovincialibus episcopis consecrandus.
 4. Approved by the Metropolitan..cum metropolitani iudicio. (89).

It is Princes who have usurped the right of bestowing offices..arrogantia et avaritia principum nostri..whereas in Byzantium it is an ecclesiastical affair..et solis metropolitanis vel episcopis ceteris disponendae reliquuntur. (90), though even he finds a place for the Prince as confirming the secular share

which the People exercise...est enim prima in eligendo et confirmando saecularis potestas quam velit nolit subsequitur ordinis plebis clerique consensus. (91) (The learned cardinal here puts his finger on a significant fact that to allow the "people" a voice at all perpetuates the 'lay' element in the appointment of bishops.)

Since then the Secular authority has overridden Church and people all order has been lost...ad reprobationem sanctorum canonum et totius christianae religionis conculcationem praepostero ordine omnia fiunt...How indeed can laymen rightly bestow Ring and Staff?...Quid enim ad laicas pertinet..Baculas et Annulas..distribuere?. (92)

Here arrives the famous Ring-and-Staff question upon which symbolic transference Humbert fastens as indicative of the whole proceeding, though throughout the great controversy there is dubiety as to the scope of the word 'Investiture', meaning as it does to some writers considerably more than the final conferring of the insignia.

At any rate, there was far more than symbolism involved in the tremendous commotion over the See of Milan (Par. 38) Concerning this Arnulf holds that it had been the ancient custom in Italy for the King to appoint a successor at the request of Clergy and People... Rex provideat successores Italicus a clero et populo decibilliter invitatus..Rome opposed this...Hoc Romani cononicum negant...and Hildebrand as Archdeacon had striven to have Rome's opinion recognized..ad quem eligendum necessarium dicebat Romanum fore consensum. (93). The death of Guido gave rein to the conflict and Erlembald the Patarine procured the election of one Atto by some of the clergy and people in 1071, thus violating loyal custom..spreta vero regum veteri providentia. (94) The majority of the clergy..major civitatis portio ex clero..and the wiser people (the Imperialist equivalent to "qui Dei sunt" of Par.51.p.69)..ac sapienti populo..desired however the King's rights and the older custom..priscae consuetudini..and the Bishops of the Province consecrated Godfrey at Novara by royal mandate..accepto a rege mandato. (95). On the accession of Gregory he confirmed Atto, and this action was agreed to by Henry in his letter from Hersfeld. The climax arrived in 1075 when at the Synod of Rome (Par.62) the Pope forbade that Henry should have any right to grant bishoprics..interdicit regi jus deinde habere aliquod in dandis episcopatus..and went so far as to prohibit all laity from the investiture of Churches... omnesque laicas ab investituris ecclesiarum summovet personas.(96) This was apparently a final blow at the Church-and-State connection, but in common with other sweeping decrees, it soon proved itself liable to modification if not to entire collapse, since by January 1076 the Pope is writing that he will consider nominations from the King for reasons of tact..ne pravae consuetudinis mutatio te commoverit. (97)..though investiture itself by princes and the sale of their consent is an ancient evil..antiqua et pessima consuetudo. (98) and no Metropolitan should consecrate one who had received office from a lay person ...qui a laica persona donum episcopatus susceperit. (99).

In the case of Gerard of Cambrai 1077 and Huzmann of Spier 1078 the Pontiff accepted the excuse of ignorance of the Decree of 1075. Decretum nostrum ante investituram pro certo non cognovisti. (100)...a startling commentary upon the difficulties attendant upon the dissemination of orders from a central authority in 11th. century Europe.

In November 1078 Rome reiterated the injunction that no cleric was to receive investiture at the hands of any lay person whatsoever. vel alicujus laicae personae viri vel feminae suscipiat. under pain of condignam satisfactionem excommunicationi...all appointments bought. interveniente gratia. and those made without cleri et populi. are null and void. irritas esse dijudicamus. the guilty parties being thieves and robbers. fures sunt et latrones. (101).

Again in March 1080 it is repeated that no abbot or bishop laically invested shall be deemed as such. nullatenus inter episcopos vel abbates habeatur. and all parties in such a transaction are to be excommunicated. (102) while in case of a vacancy Rome or the Metropolitan must send a Bishop to superintend an election by clerus et populus. without fear or favour. remota omni saeculari ambitione timore atque gratia. otherwise there is no election and the elective power is absorbed in the Holy See or the Metropolitan. electionis vero potestas omnis in deliveratione sedis Apostolicae sive metropolitana sui consistat. (103). This marks the apogee of Gregorian policy as to the Justitia of Investiture. Superficially it would seem also to signalize the end of secular contamination of the fountain of recruitment. In fact however, the very urgency of repetition from Council to Council, indicates that it was rather the Way in which men should walk than the path the majority would tread for long enough. The curse of landed property and mounting wealth and influence rendered it almost impossible for the Church to substantiate a claim to complete isolation. In vacuo it was both autocratically and democratically ideal, but in a world of nascent nationalisms, jealous and alert rulers, and the centralizing unification of States into which clericalism had been kneaded from of old, the political aspect of the Church could not be ignored by statesmen, nor would a long array of parchment thunders from Rome avail to keep secular hands from the levers of church control.

But the trend of practical expediciencies and experience did not deter the publicist from debating the point with equal erudition and inconclusiveness. The flux and medley of social and political conditions, and the plausible precedents supplied by previous history made the problem insoluble by any way save that of hard-driving arbitrary fanatical legislation in one direction pursued relentlessly to the end regardless of consequences. Nevertheless contemporary expressions of opinion are informative if of small public weight in an illiterate age. For example Wenrich of Trier in 1081 admits that there is a show of reason why the Bishop should not be elected by the Prince. aliquam tamen speciem rationis exhibet. but there had been undue haste, and actually the decree against lay investiture had not

been ex religionis zelo but rather ex principis odio. (The obvious Gregorian animus against Henry IV which was the crowbar by which his mind had been wrenched into the final prohibitionist attitude of 1075 gives colour to this accusation, though of course the Papalist could reply that Henry had brought it upon himself.) When the antiking Rudolf came upon the scene his nominees were sanctioned or at least considered whereas episcopal nominees of Henry though of unexceptionable canonicity..legitime electio, communi assensu receptis..were condemned for the crime of fidelity quia fidem tenent. Anyhow appointment by the Prince was a time-honoured custom..longa jam aetate senit. (104). The reference to the actual behaviour of Gregory to his favoured Rudolf is a discomfoting exposure of the shifting foundation upon which the most resounding Papal pronouncements were built. The Hildebrandine Justitia had moods in which she tempered law with expediency out of respect for persons, and gave disrespect of other persons the force of law.

Guido of Ferrara maintained that the office of a Bishop is spiritual, and derived through other Bishops from the Holy Spirit. quia licet per ministerium episcopi tamen a Sancto Spiritu conceduntur..but he has secular commitments derived from the Prince, the tenure of which requires renewal from incumbent to incumbent. Hadrian I and Leo III had granted powers of investiture to rulers by which they were associated in the general business of establishing Christian order..ut defensores christianae rei publicae fierent..especially on election day..et in electionibus episcoporum turbatio popularium conquiesceret..Moses was not a Priest..Moyses sacerdos non fuerit..yet he ordered the priesthood. per eum sacerdotes ordinandos instituerit..and anyhow is the Royal Unction not greater in some ways than the Priestly?..majorem unctionem..sacerdotibus habeant?..they ought not to be reckoned as mere laymen..nec debent inter laicos computari. (105) The Decree of Nicholas II ordained that the Imperial consent must be obtained..nullus deinceps Romae poneretur episcopus nisi christiano consentiente principe..All secular authority of the Bishop is from the State..regum sunt et imperatorem..and therefore such things as exemption from taxes are under State control..sed nec ipsi clerici publicis vectigalibus et tributis absolvi possunt si non eadem auctoritate solvantur. (106)

Apart from the vagaries of Henry himself the Imperialist position was based upon a practical sense of the necessity of integrating the priest with the social system in so far as the said priest was a citizen of this world at all. We need not linger over such barren matters of subjective impression and opinionated propagandist metaphysics as the attempts to prove by assertion the relative position in the scale of transcendental values of the major unctio and minor unctio of Crown and Mitre. Nor is there much profit in discussing the inconsistencies to be traced between Hadrian I and Gregory VII. What concerned the Government was the possession of a working agreement with a world-wide institution in general and its local branch in particular that it would be not merely harmless, but positively helpful. More saeculi this was crudely symbolized coram populo by the

exchange of decorative objects..crowns from Churchmen..rings and staves from statesmen, and moderate men on either side saw little to recommend in any violent and absolute upsetment of this modus vivendi.

But especially on the Papal side practicality in the circumstances if of less importance to the controversialists than stridency of averment.

Manegold of Lautenbach assures his readers that the Decree of 1078 is unexceptionable and right since it is in accordance with

1. Catholic Tradition..quam sit catholicum.
2. Decisions of Councils...si autentica concillia.
3. Apostolic Authority..si decreta apostolica.
4. Patristic judgment...si diversos diversorum patrum tractatus vellent legere.

The Apostolical Canons excommunicate anyone elevated secularibus potestatibus... Leo I refused validity to an election brought about non a clericis electi nec a plebibus expediti....Supporters of State Patronage traverse the tradition of the Fathers.. permissorum patrum testimonium...falsum sit... base motives and methods characterize the angling for ecclesiastical office..fastu secularis glorie et potentie cupiditate. (107). Old Testament evidence is irrelevant since the Christian dispensation transcends the old order..in novitate spiritus et non in vetustate litere.. (An excellent remark applicable to a great deal more than the question of Investitures). (108). Investiture by the King is absurd as well as wrong since the ceremony has to be repeated by the consecrating bishops...baculos et annulos..iterata commendatione recipere. (109).

Thus far Manegold working on a system of general statements about general history. But unfortunately very few elements of Papal Justitia were such that the historical method could not be used as effectively against them as in their support. By 1097 the process of bombardment of the rival entrenchments by precedent and counter-precedent had strewn the field of controversy with many exploded arguments but had scarcely advanced the action as between the main bodies of combatants. There was danger indeed that the Papal fortress of the Decree of Nicholas II with its admission of Imperial interest in pontifical elections would be seized and its guns turned upon the ecclesiastical host. Gregory is dead but his Justitia is still toiling in wordy war with his opponents and it is time that the formidable Cardinal Deusdedit brought into play the irresistible subtleties of his peculiar mental apparatus for sapping and mining.

Cardinal Deusdedit is roundly against all who assert that the Church should be subjected to the State...qui dicunt regali potestati Christi ecclesiam subjacere.

1. The King has no right to appoint Bishops..regi non liceat episcopos constituere.
2. They are simoniacs who buy and sell Church and Office..mercantur vel vendunt..
3. They are schismatics who ignore the canons and receive power from Kings and Laymen..a regali tamen et laicali accipiunt

potestate.

4. Yet clergy are all honourable men...a saecularibus pasci debet atque honorari.

5. The State ought not to interfere with them..nec res ecclesiasticas regere.

6. No disrespect is intended to the State..honoris regio derogare..for the King's business is to support the Word of the Church..sacerdotis...verbo..with the Sword of Terror...terreat vel puniat ferro...and he is thus God's Vindex in iram. (The Cardinal's notion of the State is still that of the useful 'mechanical appliance' (Par.49.p.65) even more crudely expressed than by Peter Damian. A certain type of peaceable theorist is dazzled by the glittering idea of steel as the ultima ratio not only of Kings but, with convenient indirectness, of theologians.)

7. But Priest and Prince should not get in one another's way..ne quod ab altero aedificatur ab altero destruat.

8. For the Apostolic Canons had established a rooted tradition against secular preferment..ab illis traditam inviolabiliter servaverunt.

All this is fairly familiar assertion arrived at not without a certain degree of effrontery not uncommon in the practice of apologetic. But there is one matter in which the artillery of bald statement must be supplemented by the spade of sanctified sophistry.

9. It is admitted that the Roman Church had gone so far as to concede the right of notification to the Emperor especially in the Election Decree of Nicholas II which provides that the State should be notified after election but before consecration..facta vero electione..regi notificata ita demum pontifex consecraretur. (This is a serious weakness since the enemy could say that what was done in the case of the Bishop of Rome was applicable to any lesser prelate.)

That this may cease therefore to be an Imperialist weapon it must be insisted upon that any or all of the following arguments must be accepted....

- A. The attempts by the State to depose popes had invalidated this section of the Decree by the introduction of Anti-
ea popes..prius Cadalous...postum Guibert^{us}..who were nothing less than semi-antichrists..apostatas Antichristi precursores.
- B. If that was not enough it could be pointed out that the documentary evidence had been tampered with...ita illud reddiderunt a se dissidens...so that none could be quite sure of its provisions.
- C. Even if that argument fails, and Nicholas did issue such a regulation it was invalid anyhow as he constituted only one Patriarch and Council..unus scilicet patriarcha cum quolibet episcoporum concilio..and could not over-set ..abrumperet..mutare..what had been ordained by Five Patriarchs..quinque sanctorum patriarcharum..and 1250 Fathers...sanctorum patrum MCCL.and confirmed by Emperors..christianissimis Imperatoribus. (110).

- D. (Should you require further persuasion) it ought to be remembered that Nicholas II was only human after all homo quippe fuit..and might have been misled..ut contra fas ageret surripi potuit.
- E. At any rate we may be sure he was the kind of man who would have annulled his Decree if he had been shown that it contravened patristic opinion ..hoc idem fecisset si tunc tot patrum sententias in unum collectas vidisset easque suo decreto tam concorditer adversari perpendisset. (111).
- F. Apart altogether from Nicholas II the fact remains that subsequent perversion by State-interference does not invalidate original customs in episcopal election ..perversitas..a..principibus superinducta..non pre-judicat eidem sanctae consuetudini quatalibet obtinuerit temporum curricula. (112).
- G. Lay appointment to ecclesiastical office is self-condemned by its fruits for it causes Simony..hanc pestem seminarium esse symoniaca..and all the heresies and damage of Christendom, as well as neglect of duty by churchmen...contemptis suis episcopis a clericis ecclesia Dei deseritur. (113).

His Eminence the author of this treatise has thus disposed to his own satisfaction of the detestable lapse of the unfortunate Nicholas II by a remarkable process which if applied to various Popes and Councils might indeed furnish astonishing if not thoroughly alarming results. He cannot in the heat of rhetorical composition have entirely realized the besetting perils of his method of attack. A hostile critic of the institution he is defending might be led to understand that while Popes and Clergymen are all honourable men, yet the very text of their most fundamental decrees is open to plain doubt, their most important enactments of today liable to paralysis at any moment by an arithmetically-minded antiquarian, human frailty, ignorance and forgetfulness can bewray their most exalted judgments, councils can err even to the extent of being entirely oblivious of decisions made by previous councils, and cannot regard their own conclusions and enactments as final, but only as provisional orders to be rescinded immediately on receipt of fuller information as to the customs prevailing at some indeterminate date in the far past arbitrarily described as "original". It might be remarked that the learned Cardinal would have been better advised in the interests of his clients to keep to first principles and immediate problems rather than thus to flounder away the dignity of Nicholas II and incidentally of the Popedom.

The Gregorian Justitia as to Lay Investiture is amorphous and in transition, hampered not only by the enormous vested interests it attacked but by the inconsistent manner in which the principle of non-state-interference was applied in practice, however sweeping the decrees might sound. Angered by Henry the Pope had at last committed himself to the policy but much more than the remaining ten years of his life would have been needed if he was to see anything but dire confusion result from its promulgation or his own tentative attempts to navigate it across the German maelstrom.

54. Justitia in action against the King's Majesty. Gregory VII's function in the historia drama of the Mediaeval Papacy would appear that of one raised up to stimulate others to think by what he did, rather than to think things which moved others to do. He was not so much an originator of ideas as an animated gesture of defiance against the ideas represented by Henry IV, in the course of which defiance he managed to dramatize certain leading Cluniac notions in a fashion which secured them the maximum publicity. A distinct strain of histrionic sensationalism is traceable in his career masked and balanced in his Hildebrand phase by a counter-tendency to superficial self-effacement, but revealed in his pontificate by the number and violence of his anathemas, and the pose of hero-martyr which reached its climax on his death-bed. His excommunications of royal counsellors, of the Deposition-committee of the First Council of Worms, and above all of Henry himself served as texts and pretexts for much discussion as to the Justitia of such acts, in particular in connection with the casting-down of Kings.

For instance, we may hear the considered opinion of Bernard of Constance in 1076 when the Empire is reverberating with stroke and counterstroke between Worms and Rome. (Par. 74).

He holds that the Apostolic See is supreme irrespective of the character of the occupant who is however usually open to admonition,..a subjectis moneri persepe tolerabant..since it was the Papal desire to be orthodox..secundum instituta canonum vivere papa quod est apostolicum..in his condemnation of the contumacious As for getting rid of Popes a Church Council might be able to do it..sed potius in Romana synodo audiendus..but ofcourse there is always the Scripture.."The Disciple is not above his Lord"..non est discipulus super magistrum..and the case of Symmachus whom the Synod left to the judgment of God..sed totam ejus causam Divino judicio..commisit. (114)...though there may be exception in the event of heresy..si in aliqua heresi fuerit publicatus..and at any rate Gregory had challenged discussion of his own appointment and offered to abdicate if unworthy..seque ab apostolica sede..descensurum promisit si quid in eo dignum deposicione reperirent..The Excommunication of Henry IV, obstinate despite patient dealing..post multos admoniciones resipiscere nolentem..was canonical...canonica promulgatione nullum dubitare confidimus..as he had been warned..in qua ipse regem saepius a se premonitum..and waited for...multo tempore expectatum. (115).

This is a moderate if superficial statement of the Papal viewpoint whose promise is that the Bishop of Rome is unarguably in a position to "Warn", "Wait for" and then Anathematize the Head of a State with the appalling results of such action in practice left discreetly without mention.

Gebhard of Salzburg is not quite so smooth a technician, since to him neither side presents a blameless picture but rather an overlapping welter of war-guilts, in which however he sustains a papalist thesis that it was the other side who began it.

In his view the main trouble began with the failure of the faithful to boycott the excommunicate... Haec namque dissensionum causa est et seditionum quod illi ab excommunicatis non abstant et non abstinendum docent (116).. for anathema^{h)} whether justifiable or not must stand until competently reversed.. Deposition of Popes is inadmissible, and oaths of allegiance made to opponents of the Pope must not be kept, as they are accessory to evil.. ad faciendam iniquitatem. (117). How can Churchmen support a Christian Prince in breaking Christian Law? ..ut christianus princeps a christiana lege homines discedere cogat..and defiling holy places with the murder of Peter's servants..ut loca sanctorum sanguine consecrata famulorum Sancti Petri cruenta strage incessanter polluat...They claim to be faithful Petrine...beato Petro..devotos..and yet attack the Pope for unjustly condemning the King and many Bishops ..qui in homines immeritos..sententiam promulgavit..Even if the Pope acted harshly..super eos manum aggravaverit..right-thinking prelates should have persuaded the Prince to find legal redress. ..quod ecclesiasticis discussionibus agendum erat..and not mere destructive reprisal..ne ecclesiae regulas penitus confunderet (118). They need not complain of the Pope's conduct for their own action at Worms had begun it all, since it was not the Pope who first cast them off..in illos..nullam sententiam destinavit.. but they him ..sed ipsi primitiae discordiarum.. abrenunciaverunt..which had been the beginning of sorrows..Inicia dolorum haec. (119). Granted that the dislocation of public affairs by the paralysis of the Government is a small matter compared to the satisfactory enforcement of unlimited sanctions by an Italian priest, that the ordinary habit of attaching HONOURABLE INTENTIONS AND PERSONAL INTEGRITY TO OATHS AND contracts may be a virtue today and a sin tomorrow according to the moods and opinions of a third party not present, and that the fact that, though the Vicar of Christ behaved as badly as anyone else, he was not the first striker in the brawl practically exculpates him from blame... the argument of Gebhard may be termed a fair presentment. He certainly puts his finger on a major source of infection when he denounces the ill-judged precipitancy and violence of the Council of Worms. But that Council was only a projection of the precipitate and violent mind of Henry IV whose contrarious character under-runs the whole controversy, forming, in our opinion, the anvil upon which the Papacy in a crucial period hammered out its own destiny. The Imperialists who lived in the middle of the practical difficulties connected with the changing of allegiance at a moment's notice, and the social disarray produced by sudden orders to treat persons of large political importance as non-existent were keenly alive to the extraordinary and dangerous muddle into which affairs could be thrown by far distant pontiffs dealing in abstractions and issuing blind commands.

Wenrich of Trier, whom we have already met (Par.53.p.77) as a defender of lay investiture and of politically loyal prelates, is shocked at the disorders produced by the policy of the New Papacy and especially at the unheard-of innovations of attacking the King's majesty...novum est..et..inauditum pontifices regna gentium tam facile velle dividere...and (unless he immediately abdicated) of excommunicating him..anathemate damnare. (120).

Gregory I had enjoined reverence even to exceptionable rulers
 ..quacunq̄ue inutiles vel etiam infames.. (121) and at any rate
unjust anathemas are invalid, for what has as its motive personal
bias and private injury is neither scriptural..nec scriptura ✓
testatur..nor reasonable..nec ratio recipit..(122). The Pope has
no power to divert the allegiance of subjects and it shall not be.
 ✓ ..non te in hoc domne papa audimus..we are immovable..istud
 ✓ nec nos sequi nec tu potes precipere..as for this antiking
 ✓ Rudolf he is detestable..in revocabiliter perversum..virum
 ✓ desertorem, hominem proditorem..a murderer..homicidia ejus..
 ✓ recensere possumus..a trigamist..tres uxores..simul tempore
 ✓ viventes..his entourage also is tyrannous, ferocious and greedy
 ✓ ..non desunt autem adhuc alii qui tyrannica violentia regnis
 invasis viam sibi ad thronum sanguine paraverunt..rapinis,
 ✓ truncationibus, suppliciis regnum sibi stabilierunt...and Gregory
 forsooth befriends them..hi omnes amici domni papae appellantur
 (123).

There is a certain pleasure to be derived from reading the
 uncompromising strictures of this sturdy loyalist. They constit-
 ute a formidable indictment of the realities occasioned by long-
 distance meddling. If Rudolf was anything like what is described
 as a typical product of the unsavoury welter of German society
 (which Peter Damian denounced) Gregory's case for Justitia as
against the personal wickedness of Henry falls entirely to the
ground. Doubtless a Gebhard of Salzburg could argue that as
 Henry was bad first the Pope had no concern with the moral
 qualities of a convenient anti-Henrician, but there are others
 who might feel that for her own sake Justitia would need to keep
 to technicalities in this quarrel. The Papal wrath had this
 defect that beyond a certain point (very quickly reached) any
stick was good enough wherewith to beat the offender...and the
Pontiff's remoteness from Germany only exaggerated the ill-
effects of this tendency since he might eagerly accept in possibly
ignorant good faith the polite verbiage with which the anti-
Henricians could cover their real character and conduct beyond
the Alps. This regardlessness of the weapons employed has ever
been a besetting fault with a certain type of longrange idealist,
and it was indulgence of this fault with the ferocious Normans
which in the end was to bring horrible disasters upon the City
of Rome and the Pope's own grey hairs in sorrow to the grave.

An interesting point in connection with the deposing of Kings
 is brought out by Crassus of Ravenna who makes great work of
 the Law under which the Crown was hereditary and therefore the
 position of Henry as King unassailable..nonne Henricus rex
jure et corpore possidet regnum. (124). This recalls to mind the
 peculiarity of the German situation in which the royalty had
 grown up by itself without papal interference (as with the Franks)
 and the real link with the Popedom was the Imperial Crown
 assumed by Otto in 962, Latterly it had grown to be understood
 that the 'Royal' connoted the 'Imperial' whether actually worn or
 not. The Bull of Deposition of 1076 invaded Henry's German King-
 ship, deliberately describing him as Heinrico regi filio Heinrici
imperatoris. (Par. 64) but none the less swept everything
 away from him as though he was fully Emperor and had everything
 to lose.

A certain anonymous writer of the same period sets forth yet another aspect of the Imperialist standpoint when he emphasizes the intimate association of the great Emperors with the ever recurring muddle as to papal elections and rival candidates, where there was so urgent a necessity for the prevention of irregularities...even though of itself the Papacy could be judged by no one..a nemine nisi a se ipsa iudicata est. (125). The Senate and People of Rome swore to Otto I that they would elect no Pope without the consent and co-operation of himself and the Imperial Crown Prince..nunquam se ipsos electuros absque electione vel assensu ipsius et filii sui...Henry III after deposing certain Popes established the same rule..ut nullus in apostolica sede absque electione sua et filii sui pontifex eligeretur..and fully aware of the ambitions of Subdeacon Hildebrand..sentiens autem..Hildebrannus..ad culmen hujus honoris dominandi libidine captus..made him swear to make no approach to the Chair without his permission..preter ejus licentia et assensu. Nicholas II had decreed that anyone elected without Henry's permission was a Sathanas..not apostolicus but apostaticus..to which decree Hildebrand subscribed...propria manu subscripsit (126) Hildebrand seized the Papacy with the help of Cencius..per Chinchium..Henry protested..legatos..Romam direxit..and ordered him to descend..ut de sede apostolica descenderet..but only after wars, seditions, destructions, misery and burnings..bella..seditiones,..homicidia..detruncationes..pauperum oppressiones..rapinas..incendia...did he occupy the City, establish Clement secundum antiquam consuetudinem...and obtain the Coronam Imperialem...Roman Emperors had done this before, refusing some Popes and setting up others..alios ipsi constituerunt. (127). Whatever weight may be attached to the assertions as to Hildebrand's election, the Imperialist case as to the superior position of the Crown and therefore to its irremovability by Bishops of Rome drew considerable support from actual history. While ecclesiastics could discuss the way of transcendental and ideal theory coloured with their own professional interest their opponents could point to the way of recorded fact, and indeed Henry's proceedings at Rome. (Par. 102) were modelled on his father's handling of a similar situation. The author also renders a service by pointing out the sufferings of the wretched countries which had to pay for these quarrels about priests and precedence with blood and ruin. But the danger of appeals to history lay in the identification of persons with the institutions they represented...particularly on the papal side we find that the "State" can do no wrong if identified with a Henry III and can do no right if personified by Henry IV. The one could depose Gregory VI and all was well, the other had only to attempt to touch Gregory VII and it is an unheard of abomination. Even legality had little entity or force apart from personality.

Wido of Osnaburg in defending the election of the Antipope Guibert travels over much of the same ground of stock anti-papalist arguments as to the position of the Crown in elections, and the appointment of new pontiffs. With Guido of Ferrara (p.78) he holds that the King is not really a mere layman but shares in

Holy Orders..sacerdotalis ministerii particeps..and though there have been evil Kings no Pope has hitherto put them to the ban.. nemo censura pontificum verbo excommunicationis exasperare presumpserat...for Popes ought to do all things to edification.. ad edificationem..and Gregory's attack on Henry had been highly unedifying since it loosened subjects from their sworn troth.. quia ubi juramenti promissio violatur..thus manufacturing perjury..necesse est ut perjurium continuo committatur..and fomenting disorder..concordiae vinculum rupit, seditiones movit, sciamata excitavit..So disastrous a Pontiff ought to be cast down since no good could accrue to the body of the Church if the Heads were at war.. his duobus ecclesiae capitibus discordantibus. (128).

Wido thus underlines the important point made by Wenrich as to the localization of the effects of anathema. It could not be allowed to affect the political allegiance of subjects who would thus surrender their personal honour to the keeping of a concocter of secret divinations as to the political situation five hundred miles away. Naturally if it could be established that a Pope could not subtract the allegiance of subjects neither could he remove the object and recipient of that allegiance from those subjects, and the attempt to do so only showed his unfitness to rule by exposing his inability to foresee and appreciate the ghastly effects of his meddling. Popes might be deposed without calamity since either the Emperor was there to hold the lists or nowadays the Decree of Nicholas II has provided machinery..but the German crown was too brittle as yet to be wrenched at without calamitous and bloody upheaval.

Nevertheless such thoughts do not disturb Bernard of Constance who builds up a case-book in favour of the banning of Kings to the usual Damianic effect of identifying the contemporary fashion of Church opinion with the Will of God, and to the utter vitiating of the value of plain words by the attachment of a reservation to oaths of allegiance which are to be obeyed nisi quam ex catholica lege debent dominis...for to support the "unfaithful" is to be faithless and the oath taken "in God" must not be kept "against God"...quae contra Deum sunt oboedire nolumus. (129). The plausible and rotund virtue of such general remarks disguise the disastrous facts of their application in a cynical and ruthless society only too pleased to find tame sophists to justify resistance to any political control whatsoever.

Bernald the Chronicler goes back for ammunition to the hackneyed and unreal argument of the Petrine Mandate which had given power to depose even princes of the Church..summas Patriarchas.. and thus 'a fortiori' secular rulers of man's creation..ex humana adinventione. Oaths to a ruler bind only as long as he is such and if he ceases to rule...prelacione fuerit privatus..so does obligation to obey come to an end..nequaquam...subjectus.. juramentum subjectionis ipsi ulterius servare debet. All this happens automatically, the Church simply formally declaring the

the fait accompli for the information and necessary action of weaker brethren..propter quorundam infirmorum dubitationem..who have to have everything set down in detail..qui in talibus causis nihil putant actum nisi quod specialiter fuerit praenominatum. (130).

Had the Empire been a Platonic City-State whose entire electorate could meet in the Agora of a morning the infantile simplicities of such airy assumptions as satisfy Bernard and Bernald and their kind, might not have betrayed their inadequacy for a time at least. The facile binding-and-loosing dogma in particular we shall find employed to weariness by Gregory VII as a battering-ram against which the stubborn gates of social, political, historical and racial fact are by no means to be permitted to prevail. Again it might be true that in a mechanical Utopia where every subject was built to a standardized and dehumanized pattern, the technical deposition and civic annihilation of the puppet-ruler might immediately and without friction be equally recognized and accepted by the puppet-subjects. But unfortunately the Empire contained A vast and mingled array of ill-co-ordinated facts, and among them none more important than the truth that Personality had been given so decisive a place even by the most rabid papalists (so that if Henry III did a thing it was right, but if Henry IV it was wrong) that it was impossible but that turmoil, conspiracy and confusion would follow upon any tampering with the personal nexus holding together an otherwise ramshackle and heterogeneous political aggregation. Gregory VII fell between two stools for he tended to think in terms of Kings in general when he should have been discerning Henry IV, and to be betrayed by his own personal feelings about Henry IV when he should have been discerning practical and perdurable principles applicable to Kings in general. Hence the rebuff at Canossa when he failed to obtain possession of the German Crown. (Par.79.P.121).

That there were other minds more conscious of the complexities of the real world beyond the Cathedral Close is shown in the appearance about 1093 of the De Unitate Ecclesiae Conservanda of uncertain authorship but quite positive value. It betrays a refreshingly independent spirit in dealing with the now dusty relics of historical precedent which were wont to be carried in procession across the pages of papal apologists. For the first time we have Gregory's favourite 'cases' critically handled, especially such a supposedly crushing example of Papal autonomous action as the deposition of the last Meroving, and the erection of Pepin to the Frankish throne. Certainly Zacharias and Stephen had shared in the matter, but only to the extent of endorsing action already determined by the magnates against a mere royal nonentity..nihil amplius (regii honoris privilegium) habere nisi quoddam vani nominis simulacrum..Pepin was made King by these leaders.. communi suffragio principum...and Gregory is simply falsifying history in asserting that the Popes were the master-minds who brought these events about...ut nisi sola auctoritate sua Hildericum...deponerent et absolverent omnes Francigenas a juramento fidelitatis.. (131).

As for the instance 'Theodosius v. Ambrose' it was true that the prelate had excluded the Emperor ecclesiastically but had not

interfered with his political status nor with that of the heretical Valentinian...neque enim tale aliquid temptaverit.. / 2
 Ambrosius quando etiam pulsabatur pro studio hereticorum Valentiniani....minis atque verberibus. (132). It is doubtful.. incertum tenemus..if Arcadius was excommunicated by Innocent I (133) and after all Gelasius had already established that God had set up Two Powers whose functions had been distinguished by Christ himself..sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discreverit...and any confounding of the Divine arrangement..quis contra haec ire temptabit.. is rebellion against God..nisi qui Dei ordinationi resistit? It had never entered the heads of the old Popes..numquam concipientes animo..to cast down Kings and Emperors..aliquos de regibus sive imperatoribus deponere..rather they left them to God..Divino Judicio.. (134). Hildebrand and his bishops had indeed done evil in defying the Divine order..contra Dei ordinationem..and Church custom and discipline..usum atque disciplinam ecclesiae..and in usurping the royal authority.. usurpaverunt sibi ordinationem regiae dignitatis..The Hildebrandine policy by breaking down the distinction between the two powers haec duo principalia quibus regitur mundus..tended to the ruin of both..extirpare et ad nihilum ducere. (135). Henry did not go do Rome to scatter the flock..ut dispergeret oves Christi..but to gather them in one..ut congregaret eas in unum...seeking to get right with Hildebrand..cum Hildebranto redire in gratiam..or to replace him with another Pope..substituere aliam papam..but the Pontiff refused to treat unless the Kingdom was resigned into his hands..nisi offeret sibi regale sceptrum et redderet in manus suas regiam potestatem et honorem et regnum..at which the fray began...tunc demum usus est belli necessitate. (136).

There is an element of realism in this treatise and a forcible reminder of the eternal truth of the Double Citizenship contained in the original pronouncement of Justitia as to rendering unto Caesar and to God their respective and complementary allegiances. The author brings into strong relief the growing megalomania of Gregory which blurred the distinctions between the institutions and had lost both in endeavouring to seize all. His reading of history is on a different plane than that of the hasty and disingenuous pseudo-antiquarianism of the Hildebrandine school. He does not solve the problem but contributes to its easement by bringing back to notice the historical truth that Church and State had managed to work together when technical domination was not discussed and both parties had walked warily, tactfully and Christianly in the dim borderland where their functions could so easily overlap and collide. But eloquence and cogency of argument are of no avail against closed minds unalterably convinced that the Petrine Mandate is their throne and Emperors their footstool, that illusion for whose plastic presentation Canossa supplied a melodramatic cartoon.

55. Commentary upon Justitia. As no one in the 11th. century could see Justitia with a single eye the whole body of practical and literary politics was in the semi-

darkness of interested partiality, in which it was difficult for the partizans to see anything resembling the justice of their opponents' point of view. The main issues upon which the subsidiary problems depended might emerge with tolerable clearness at least at times, but an artificial mist of deliberately generated cross purposes enwrapped the arguments and like the gunsmoke at the battle of Lissa reduced what might have been an ordered tactical contest into a blind melee. The Settlement of Worms would of course clear the air to a certain extent but the reign of Gregory himself was a phase in the preceding battle in which none..least of all Justitia..could foresee the issue. It was all very well to issue with Sinaitic thunder a series of prohibitions from 'Thou shalt not traffic in clerical office' to 'Thou Henry IV shalt not reign', but unfortunately the recipients of these commandments were not a frightened huddle of escaped slaves but a half-continent seething with internecine strains and counterstrains, and by no means unanimous as to the wisdom and authority of the voice from the mount. Every incident deed or utterance in the controversy produced a crop of diametrically opposed opinions and there was no impartial tribunal where residual doctrine as to first principles could be extracted. This might have been the opportunity and glory of the popedom but who could see the windless peak of ultimate Justitia in an institution which claimed to be the chief and only righteous contending party from the beginning, and to be judge, jury and gaoler as well?

Could a German King depose a Pope, and conversely could a Pope depose a German King? No final dictum could be arrived at for in the circumstances of the 11th. century such deeds were only effective if there were rebels to effect them. Had the Romans obeyed their Patrician and risen against Gregory the answer to the first question would have been in the affirmative, and if Henry IV had had solid support from Germany the reply to the latter question would have been in the negative.

In the region of abstract opinion few concerned themselves with such questions unless moved to do so by self-interest in which case their minds were biassed from the beginning toward one or other of the ready-made party platforms. As frequently occurs in such debates the search for Righteousness degenerated into a quarrel about Rights, and the party which trumpeted Justitia ensued it with an unlovely pharisaism which might be accused of having achieved less in the direction of the Pauline 'providing things honest' than the armed secular power which swept such abominations as John XII from the Vicariate of Christ. The Justitia of the Gregorian regime provoked more questions than she answered. The Imperial chessboard was the scene of a game in which the same piece was black on one square and white on another. For instance the Saxons were bad when they rebelled against a Henry in favour with Rome, but good when they rose against him in disgrace. Excommunication of the person in the case of Henry IV connoted deposition from political status but not so in the anathematizing of the too near and too powerful Robert Guiscard. Rudolf could do what his opponent must not attempt because he was a useful tool. What Ambrose did to

Theodosius was worthy of quotation ad nauseam, but woe betide any-one who cited his regime in any other connection.

If anathema loosened ipso facto the allegiance of subjects, what were these same subjects to make of 'conditional absolution'? If the wrath of Justitia was so great that the first and major portion of the comprehensive Bull of 1076 (Par.69.p.103) was exclusively devoted to the extermination of Henry as King, why was she not infuriated with the Germans who tacitly ignored that section of the fulmination, and how came she to permit Gregory VII to submit to the refusal of the crown by Henry at Canossa as though he felt he had gone too far? (Par.79.p.121)

If Simony was a fearful thing, how came it that Gregory VI was so revered by his chaplain that his buying of the Popedom was not held by him to have illegitimatized his pontificate, a fact advertized to the world by his adopting the name of Gregory VII? Justitia was in fact still too liquid in itself and too heated by immediate and personal passions to set into definable shapes.

Not yet could it exhibit itself like the codified Roman Law as an absolute organic manifestation of a coordinated and long-standing culture and realized religion. The Spiritual and Temporal moulds were both inadequate in design to contain the whole, and were broken and twisted both from without and within by the raw haste and personal incompatibility of contemporary protagonists, and even the compromise arrived at under new management and in war-weariness was a patched-up image with feet of clay. As mediated through Gregory it was not sufficiently empirical to adapt itself at the right moment to special circumstances, nor was it enough of a developed General-Staff 'Doctrine et Plan de Guerre' to force circumstances into conformity.

It was still almost entirely 'relative to the observer', and the period covering the vision of Gregory and the folly of Henry is but one phase and test-case in the interminable search for the ultimate meaning of the commandment.. Apodote oun ta Kaisaros Kaisari kai ta tou Theou to Theo.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART II

GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

CHAPTER II

The Break-Down of German Royalty

PAR.56. At the Accession of Pope Gregory VII....57. A Letter to Godfrey of Lotharingia....58. A Letter from Henry the Prodigal Son....59. The Norman Protectorate....60. The Fiasco of Gerstungen....61. A Letter to the Archbishop of Magdeburg....62. The Lenten Synod of Rome 1075....63. The Fatal Victory of Hohenburg....64. The Coming of the Storm....65. A Local Outbreak....66. The First Council of Worms.(The Case of the German Bishops....67. The First Council of Worms.(The Case of the King's Majesty....68. The Lenten Synod of Rome 1076....69. The Bull of Deposition and Anathema against Henry IV.70. Form and Substance of the Document....71. Commentary on the Double Fulmination....72. Henry IV Elaborated his Position in a Letter of March 27th.1076....73. Form and Substance of the Document....74. Henry Summons a Second Council of Worms....75. Diet of Tribur.1076.

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56. At the Accession of Pope Gregory VII Nearly a quarter of a century had elapsed since Leo IX had recalled Hildebrand to Rome (Par.33) and in that time the reforming Papacy had succeeded in establishing a constitution of sorts, and had widened and deepened the theory and practice of its autocratic dominion over the Church beneath. In doing so it had vastly complicated its relationship with the State alongside. The Holy See had made its claim to absolute control over the episcopate sufficiently well-known to have created a customary habit of thought which came slowly to weigh with the minds even of the most obstinate advocates of local autonomy. In the same way it had taken so definite a prohibitory stand, at least on paper against glaring abuses that these were beginning to be looked askance upon and no longer held the field as the obvious and normal method and state of affairs. The momentum of Rome was gradually increasing under the impulse of the purgative and propagative spirit of Cluny, which had found for itself a channel in the personality, policy and power of Hildebrand. Western Europe is exhibiting hopeful symptoms of a Romish orientation. France has been shaken up by the sensational Synod of Rheims (Par.34) and despite the sullen opposition of the Crown may be accounted an increasingly valuable asset in the Grand Strategy of the Popedom. Spain is shaking off the Visigothic Use and has failed to establish the apostolic title for Compostella. (Par.34) England has its Hildebrandine Lanfranc at the ear of the Norman Conqueror, and the Norman allies of the See of Peter in Southern Italy are at least of service as a bulwark against the remnants of Byzantium and the aggression of the Saracen. Hungary and Poland are still obstreperous, but by 1072 the mighty Bohemian See of Prague has yielded to the direct rule of the Tiara despite the baffled jealousy of Siegfried of Mainz. Thus a satisfactory crust is hardening around the edges of the Empire, and it is only within the Mark-ring of the Teutonic 'Mitteleuropa' that passions remain molten and eruptiveness undiminished, the fiery overflow affecting ever and anon the dangerous area within the mountain-ring about the Lombard Plain, where the Metropolitan See of Milan, like another inflammable Gomorrha detonates intermittently with the hot hates of Patarines, burghers, Ambrosian reactionaries, papalist progressive and Henrician Imperialists... a most devilish caldron happily fenced off from us by our trusty henchwoman Matilda with her watchtowers on the Appennines. Germany had lost the coordinating personal grip of Henry III, and for years had been suffering the woes of a land whose King is a child and whose prophets are light and treacherous persons... a veritable stronghold of vested interest swollen up in an atmosphere of semi-anarchy against Justitia and all her works.

Pope after Pope

had done his best, but it was high time that someone was chosen who would not only do better but succeed in his doings. The time had come for History which had builded a Charlemagne's crown out of Mayors of the Palace to do the same for the Popedom by elevating to its throne one who himself had been the controlling agency behind successive occupants of the Holy See. The Cardinal Archdeacon Hildebrand who had represented for so long an incarnate principle of developing and tendencious continuity in the shadow of a series of pontificates, the undecorative but commanding manager behind the scenes of a dissolving pageantry of transient tiaras, was on a sudden raised with tumultuary haste to the Chair of S. Peter. (Par. 50. pp. 67-8) The Chooser of Hildebrandines was himself the Chosen, and the next twelve years were to show how he who had been so long the watcher by the threshold would behave in the open. No mortal man can assuredly tell whether he had subtly and with forethought striven for this climax, or if his eager protestations to all and sundry that it was truly forced upon an unwilling spirit were veritable transcripts of his inner conscience. At least he and Rome and the Church were extraordinarily ripe for some such crowning event, and the circumstances over against the Empire exceedingly convenient. It was a case in which the Constitutional procedure was so accelerated by popular and official unanimity and clamour as to be less transgressed than simply rendered superfluous, and without pedantic enquiry into technicalities the wind of Destiny must be accepted as blowing where it listed. At least so evidently thought Henry IV until his circumstances had so improved at home that he could afford to adopt the standpoint of the precisian.

57. A Letter to Godfrey of Lotharingia May 6th/73

Already his correspondence as Pope had begun before the actual ceremony of consecration, as witness

a letter to Duke Godfrey in which he protests that:-

1. No one could more desire the King's wellbeing than himself... *neminem de ejus praesenti ac futura gloria aut sollicitiorum aut copiosiori desiderio nobis praeferri credimus.*
2. He would rejoice if Henry would follow his advice as to the maintaining of Justitia... *si in tenenda Justitia nostris et consiliis acquieverit.*
3. But nothing would prevent him from vindicating Justitia himself... *as it is written.. "Maledictus homo qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine".*
4. He is no man-pleaser since "Si hominibus placere vellem servum Dei non essem" (137)

Here we notice that at this stage Henry is expected to "Follow advice" and is considered to possess at least the rudiments of Justitia, as his duty will be to maintain something already deemed to be more or less in existence. His own attitude is valiantly foursquare without a hint of the manœuvres and expedients to which descent will have to be made later on, even to please the man Rudolf. Also we may remark the ominous Old Testament spirit of the reference to swords and blood with which we shall hereafter be fortified against the horrors of Civil War.

58. A Letter from Henry the Prodigal Son. Sep/73 From the midst of the Saxon troubles (Par.47) arrived to the new Pope an extraordinary document from Henry at Hersfeld, breathing a spirit of such abject repentance and submission that it would seem almost impossible to imagine that it could be accepted at its face-value by anyone acquainted with the Henrician temperament. That it seems so to have been by the Pontiff is a clue to the scene at Canossa where the terms and spirit of this effusion were reenacted in melodrama for the benefit of a Pope proved thereby to be afflicted with a weakness for penitents.

1. Henry confesses iniquity but hopes for the best..sperantes de vobis in Domino ut apostolica vestra auctoritatis absoluti justificari mereamur.
2. For various reasons, both personal, circumstantial, and pertaining to the ill-counsel of others he has indeed been very bad...Eheu criminosi nos et infelices.
3. He has "sinned before Heaven and in thy sight"..seductoria deceptione peccavimus in coelum et coram vobis (138)
4. And is "no more worthy to be called thy son".et jam digni non sumus vocatione vestrae filiationis.
5. (For he has been guilty of trenching upon Church affairs..nos res ecclesiasticas invasimus..of trafficking in holy things and generally has shown a need for papal guidance..quia soli absque vestra auctoritate ecclesias corrigere non possumus.)
6. And in seeking counsel and help can only say "Make me as one of thy hired servants".vestrum studiosissime praeceptum servaturi in omnibus.
7. As for Milan it is for the Pope to decide..ut vestra apostolica districtione canonice corrigatur..and for the future he will be good..nos ergo vobis in omnibus Deo volente non defuerimus..aided by the magnanimity of His Holiness..rogantes id ipsum suppliciter paternitatem vestram ut nobis alacris adsit clementer in omnibus. (139)

As a calculated and carefully expanded paraphrase of the submission of the Prodigal Son this letter can scarcely be said to bear the stamp of original and spontaneous sincerity. But it can certainly be described as a monument of folly. At a stroke of the pen the Imperialist position and interest as to Lay Investiture, Simony, and Milan are delivered over to the enemy, Gregory's pontificate certified, and his right to unlimited interference conceded. If anything could serve to fan the flame and direct the course of Hildebrandine ambition it was such a document, for though the Pope might quickly discover that it was a mere diplomatic duplicity framed to ease domestic politics by hoodwinking the Holy See into Henricianism, its specifying of the main points upon which Henry pretended repentance confirmed Gregory in his conviction that these points were the very signposts of Justitia. It is an old and dishonoured trick of fence to drop on one knee as though stricken and then thrust fiercely upward under the unsuspecting opponent's guard. Only nine years before the Conqueror had employed the tactic of the 'simulated withdrawal' at Senlac Hill, as afterwards did Charles of Anjou at Tagliacozzo and many another captain. Henry as a histrionic penitent was to show in the same way that the gift of humility was a ready weapon in his armoury of statecraft.

59. The Norman Protectorate Involved as Gregory was in the usual papal preoccupation of consolidating the safety of the pontifical dominions the receipt of this letter must have provided a welcome if momentary satisfaction to one whose experiences nearer home were frequently that armed secular persons are hard to negotiate with. The wolf at the Papal door was a different creature from the fox beyond the Apennines. Robert the Crafty though reported as lying ill at Bari was found to be in excellent health and lavish of polite but vague assurances of loyalty. On being summoned to do homage he at first refused but afterwards arrived at Benevento so formidably escorted and so suspicious of one who professed friendship with his rivals Richard of Capua, Landulf of Benevento and Gisulf of Salerno that nothing came of the interview. Landulf and Richard however agreed to protect the papal person and property, and signed a convention whereby they agreed to invest no one with a church benefice who had not been sanctioned by Gregory. They were thus secured against any application to themselves of future legislation which should abolish lay investiture entirely. The combination of proximity, usefulness and irresistible military might tended to limit the activities of Justitia to unfortunate rulers who were further away, less protective in value, and harassed by revolutionary outbreaks. Richard of Capua in particular who has already been an invaluable defensor to the schemes of the Cardinal-Archdeacon (Par. 39. p. 51) was permitted in return for placing all churches in his territory directly under Roman jurisdiction to transfer his feudal fealty to the Pontiff under pretence of the suspension of his Imperial allegiance until "admonished thereto" by Gregory. When we have succeeded in addition in enrolling a local militia, and have garrisoned the strong places of the Patrimony we feel ourselves secure even though the contrition of Henry IV were not to last.

60. The Fiasco of Gerstungen Meanwhile Henry awaited at Wurzburg the issue of Gerstungen (Par. 47) where he was represented by the Archbishops of Mainz and Koln, the Bishops of Metz and Bamberg, and the Dukes of Swabia and Carinthia. The political importance of the German clergy (Par. 31) is indicated by the proportion of two to one in which the churchmen outnumbered the lay delegates. Characteristically the Saxon leaders produced among their arguments at this peace-conference a serried muster of 14,000 spears..cum 14 milibus armatis (140) a tale of brutal wrongs, tyranny and licentiousness was poured into the ears of the Assembly..inauditis criminibus.. and it was determined that so monstrous a travesty of kingship should no longer reign. Deposition and the election of a successor would take place at a greater convocation at Tuletide where Rudolf of Swabia might see his way to accept the crown. Restlessly Henry moved to Regensburg and Nuremberg, his nobility deserting him as he goes. He fell ill..gravissime aegritudine correptus..and for a moment it looked as though he would forestall the deposition, but by the beginning of December he had recovered sufficiently to be warmly welcomed by the staunch royalist burghers of Worms (Par. 44. p. 57) and encouraged by the information that the attempt of the Archbishop of Mainz to convene a Council of Election had broken down. Left to themselves the tribes had

scarcely shown a matured and cohesive political instinct, nor could such be expected in a State system pivoted so crudely upon personality, and at present wrenched and reeling with rivalries and antagonisms as between baron and baron, clan and clan, town and country, prelate and prelate. The shadow of Rudolf the sinister Schwabener begins to bulk large as the nominee of a clique, but even he dare not grasp the prize till a full council of Princes has signified its will.. nisi a cunctis principibus conventu habito.. and it has been decided that the thing could be done without perjury.. sine nota perjuri integra existimatione sua id facere posse decerneretur. (141) This latter scruple is doubtless good hearing for the worthy churchmen present. My Lord of Swabia may be calumniously reputed to have three wives.. simul tempore viventes (Par.54.p.84) but at least in matters of importance he manifestly has the fear of God before his eyes. It will be a good thing when his doubts upon the score of perjury can be set at rest by the power Ligandi et solvendi devised for the tender consciences of such oves Christi.

Berthold of Carinthia on the other hand is not so minded to melt down his plighted troth in the soothing oil of the Universal Medicine. Already has he adjured the Saxon rebels to consider the reverence due to the abstract idea of the King's Majesty.. et deferendum regiae majestati quae apud barbaros etiam nationes tuta inviolataque fuisset.. however justifiable their claims they ought to agree to a meeting convened by the King of the Princes.. quo rex totius regni principes evocaret.. before whose common judgment.. juxta communem sententiam.. he might clear himself.. purgaret.. and set right whatever needed correction.. et quae correctionis egere viderentur corrigeret. (142)

We see here not only a sense of the dignity of the Crown superior in every way to that of its unfortunate wearer, but in both cases discern in the references to the Princes a rudimentary constitutional procedure serving to some extent to remind the Germans of the principle of overhead unity and political continuity. But we see also a situation in which the desire might arise for external arbitration among such as were not as sturdy as Berthold of Carinthia, and furthermore there might be welcomed in some quarters an arbitrator equipped to obliterate all previous commitments, and facilitate the repudiation of irksome debts of loyalty.

61. A Letter to the Archbishop of Magdeburg. Dec. 20th/1073

On December 20th Gregory VII entered the arena in force with a letter to the Arch-

bishop of Magdeburg and the Saxons.

1. He laments the hostilities which have broken out between them and King Henry.. quod inter vos et Henricum regem.. tam inimica studia exhorta esse.
2. Which have resulted in widespread calamities.. multa homicidia, incendia, depraedationes ecclesiarum et pauperum ac miserabilem patriae vastatem.
3. He had entreated the King to delay proceedings till papal envoys had had a chance of enquiring into... diligenter inquirere.. and adjusting the business.. ad pacem et concordiam aequa valeant determinatione perducere.

4. Let them observe an armistice likewise to aid the process of peace-making..easdem pacis inducias observetis.
5. He himself will strive to establish Justitia without fear or favour and bring about a lasting settlement.. stabili pactone studeamus efficere.
6. Those whose Justitia has suffered injury..et conculcatae Justitiae violentiam pati cognoverimus..will be favoured and protected..favorem et apostolicae auctoritatis praesidia conferrimus. (143)

This is the assured tone of Gregorius Arbiter acting upon the assumption(justified by the wretched letter from Hersfeld) that his position is at the apex of the present political triangle, and sufficiently understood on all sides as to require no special promulgation. A Truce accompanied, it might be hoped, by a corresponding 'waffenstillstand' in the ideas and ambitions of parties would provide an opportunity for this new demiurge to bring order out of chaos. The creative "Fiat Justitia" would be followed doubtless by its manifestation ex nihilo.

Unfortunately it was impossible to freeze the liquid stream of events and passions into shapes that would await the leisured appraisal of Rome. The new Moses has serpents to handle which will not congeal into manageable rods at the word of command. Already Henry's spirit is rising again to the temperature of action, and the snows of January 1074 witness a fierce though vain endeavour to restore the balance against the Saxons. In this he failed, was compelled to surrender to their demands, and only recovered a little negative prestige by the wide revulsion of feeling caused by the "Harzburg Outrage". At Nurnberg at Easter he met the promised legates from Rome in whose presence he renewed his profession of repentance, and his excommunicated councillors were absolved..per judicium eorum anathemate absolveretur.(144) The Envoys demanded a national Council at which they should preside and promulgate the Decrees of Justitia against Simony and Clerical Marriage. But the hierarchy would have no president but the Pope, and in his absence the paramount figure of Siegfried of Mainz.(Par.53.p.74) The arrangements broke down, and flattered and be-gifted by the King, but furious with the prelates the Commissioners returned to Rome to find Gregory immersed in a lengthy, complicated and entirely futile attempt to energize and organize a Crusade, which should have the miscellaneous effect of giving the Popedom the prestige of world-leadership, promoting in the mind of the Byzantines the desire to repay for military assistance by evincing an amenable spirit towards papal pretensions, perhaps defeating the Seljuks, and certainly of crushing the Christian but at present abominable Robert Guiscard. But the Defensors betrayed a lamentable inability to rise to this project. The pious Beatrice and Matilda found their vassals in revolt, and the Pisans would not march under the Normans. The only Crusader who went East was the odious Robert himself, to become involved in high matters of State which will have a vast bearing on future affairs in Italy by reason of their tendency to occupy the Norman's attention and demand his absence at very awkward moments. But at the moment of writing to the King after the return of the Legation with friendly messages (the Pontiff is

in the mood of his purpose and knows not that it is doomed to failure. Assured of the King's repentance he is actually willing to confide the Church to Henry's care..tibi Romanam ecclesiam relinquo..while he himself devotes his attention to the Crusade. Henry is blessed and absolved by Omnipotens Deus and by the merits and authority of the inevitable 'princely pair'..meritis et auctoritate beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli..and it is prayed that his life temporal shall be guided and his eternal welfare assured..ad vitam aeternam perducat.(145)

This is Gregory in a melting mood which singularly becomes him and serves to remind us that he is writing to a boy of twenty-four. Peter and Paul may be rhetorical conventionalities, but for the moment they may indeed be symbols of a real benevolence in the feelings of Gregory toward the wayward youth. Already he has written to the Empress Agnes expressing a sense of relief that through the repentance of the King a grave peril had been lifted from his Kingdom..simulque regnum ejus a communi periculo liberari.(146) though again we must not allow friendliness to blur the lively consciousness of the thunderbolts that await unrighteous stewards of power, so we write to the returned Prodigal on another occasion to remind him that the function of royalty rests on Righteousness..et tunc demum regiam potestatem recte te obtinere cognoscas..and must employ itself in the restoration and defence of Christ His Church..ad restaurationem defensionemque ecclesiarum suarum.(147) for hath He not said..qui autem Me contemnunt erunt ignobiles.

The year 1074 had opened with the attempt to exert the authority of an Arbitrator in a Germany at a standstill for lack of leadership. This had failed, but the recovery of the King both in connection with the Church and with the politico-military situation is making a Henrician of the Pope, who cannot afford to ignore the advantage of having the North once more under strong and apparently amenable control.

62. The Lenten Synod of Rome 1075. The year 1075 contained two events of prime importance in the development if not the bedevilment of public affairs. At the Lenten Synod of Rome Gregory VII smote fiercely at the hydra-heads of the opposition to Justitia. Five Counsellors of King Henry were excommunicated for simony, and threats, suspensions and at least one deposition hurled at the occupants of the Sees of Strasburg, Speier, Bamberg, Pavia, Turin, and Piacenza. The still unspeakable Robert Guiscard came under the ban, and a like fate was held over the head of the French King. Then came decrees against Simony and Clerical Marriage, and a momentous and total prohibition of Lay Investiture.(Par.53.p.76) To denounce clerical marriage was bad enough especially for Germany where adversus hoc decretum protinus vehementer infremuit tota factio clericorum (148) but the abolition of lay investiture struck at the root of the entire political system.(p.42) to such an extent that on second thoughts restraint was put upon its publication (after the manner of Leo IX(p.45)) as though it had been decided at the last minute to regard it more as a threat than as a blow.

We shall see later that Gregory is prone to promulgate first and temporize afterwards, a peculiar and intermittent tendency to 'fortiter in modo, suaviter in re' which grievously complicates the analysis of his diplomacy. Certainly only a Henry who was still in the mood and character of the Prodigal-Son-restored could be expected to submit immediately and entirely to so revolutionary and politically staggering an innovation.

64. The Fatal Victory of Hohenburg. June 1075. And alas for Justitia, that mood and character were far removed from Henry IV by the time the sensational terms of the Lenten Synod had percolated to the royal headquarters, for the fortune of war was at last smiling upon the King's embattled front, and at Hohenburg upon Unstrut in Thuringia he smote the Saxons hip and thigh. Destiny could have devised no more fatal means for hardening Pharaoh's heart. At Gerstungen in October (where the 14 milibus armatis (p.94) are not now in evidence on their side) the Saxons submitted to the reimposition of the garrison-system, and the re-distribution of their fiefs among the retainers of the conqueror. Peradventure the time has come for fulfilling the dream of the late Adalbert of Bremen..our royal tutor..and establishing a direct despotism in the North. The Sword has triumphed and to it the Pen is fittingly deferential. All unwitting of the psychological effect of the wine of victory upon the unstable brain of the King Gregory hastened to congratulate the triumphant young warrior.

1. He rejoices that Judgment has fallen upon the Saxons
De superbia vero Saxonum vobis injuste resistentium quae Divino Judicio a facie vestra contrita est pro pace ecclesiae.
2. He laments the shedding of so much Christian blood..
dolendum quia multus christianorum sanguis effusus est
3. But he is ready to open the Church to the Victor...
gremium tibi sanctae Romanae ecclesiae aperire..as Lord and Brother and Son..ut Dominum, Fratrem et Filium as long as he behaves himself..nihil aliud a te quaerens nisi ut ad monita tuae salutis non contempnas aurem inclinare. (149)

But the battlemaddened Henry was not to be held either by what he had said or by what others advised. He had proposed confidential pourparlers with Gregory, but already has he informed Beatrice and Matilda that the opinion of the Princes is paramount. The nobles had stood by him for once, and with them in cooperation German affairs would be settled without Rome. Eberhard of Nellenburg, one of the Counsellors anathematized at the Synod of February was sent to Italy to make alliance with the Lombard prelates and the unseemly Robert Guiscard. Bishops were thrust upon the vacant Sees of Fermo and Spoleto, and a crisis provoked by the forcing of one Tedald upon the See of Milan. At home he openly practised Investiture with Ring and Staff, consorted with the banned counsellors, and took no steps to interfere with clerical concubinage. All was ominous of the mood of Henricus Superbus, and the Pontiff must shed the comfortable illusions which had moved him to write the letter of congratulation. In October papal emissaries on the subject of concubinage were hustled and ejected (from the

Archiepiscopal Synod of Mainz, and in December a royal favourite Rupert of Goslar was imposed upon the vacant Bishopric of Bamberg. Ruopertum Goslariensem. fecit episcopum. (150) Ephraim has indeed returned to his idols.

64. The Coming of the Storm. Gregory was confronted with the fact that the Battle of Hohenburg was likely to produce a progeny of battles nearer home. One Cencius and Cardinal Hugh within the City were allied with the leaders of the Antipatarine faction in Lombardy, whose hands had been vastly strengthened by the advent of Nellenburg. Though the hateful Robert Guiscard refused the Henrician blandishments he had no hesitation in attacking the March of Camerino and the Duchy of Spoleto held by Godfrey of Lotharingia from the King and claimed by the Papacy...an intrusive complication which exposed the helplessness both of Church and State in face of the cynical Normans. It was manifest that the grip of the Church upon affairs must be restored without delay, for Rome itself, Southern and Northern Italy and Germany were all affected by a wave of intransigence which only required coordination by some master-anarch to render the Gregorian pontificate a tragedy for Justitia instead of a triumph. But how restore it?..that was the question. On December 8th. 1075 Gregory wrote in indignation to Henry protesting against a conduct which had asserted humility but acted in arrogance, had not separated itself from the banned, and was uncanonically appointing Bishops..as for example those to the Sees of Fermo and Spoleto whom Gregory knew not..contra apostolica sedis tradidisti Firmanam et Spoletanam ecclesiam.. quibusdam personis nobis etiam ignotis. (151) He was ignoring the Decrees and failing to show gratitude for Hohenburg. The bearers of this missive were given an oral message to deliver which assumed the perennial charges of immorality to be true, gave the technical offence of association with the excommunicated the prominence due to its iniquity from outraged officialdom, and summoned the King to the forthcoming Lenten Synod..de criminibus quae objicerentur causam dicturus..failing obedience to which the Anathema would immediately be launched against him..absque omni procrastinatione eodem die de corpore sanctae ecclesiae apostolicae Anathemate abscidendum esse. (152)

Greatly excited by this stern message Henry dismissed the envoys cum gravi contumelia, and since the accusations of moral laxity in particular had been a notable plank in the Saxon platform he scented collusion in spirit if not indeed in fact between the Pontiff and his sullen if now suppressed enemies. He exhibited to his supporters the audacious arrogance of this attack upon the royal dignity, and summoned a Council to meet at Worms on January 24th. which should deal summarily and by counterstroke with this monstrous uprising of Gregory against the Crown. Indeed no less an act of State was contemplated than that they should do at a distance what his father had done at Rome..namely to set themselves ad deponendum Romanam Pontificem. (153)

As is not uncommon with great crises and conflicts of long preparation, the actual outbreak was marked by the violent suddenness and fast-unrolling complexity of an electrical storm. But a few short weeks separated the apparently clear sky of the Letter of Congratulation after Hohenburg from the thunderwrapped

and passion-ridden aspect of the firmament now arching over the Holy Roman Empire.

65. A Local Outbreak Indications were not wanting in detail of the insecurity and fierce confusion of the times. Hostilities were not to be confined to a war of parchments. On a rainy Christmas Eve little more than a fortnight after the despatch of the threatening message Gregory was attacked in Sta. Maria Maggiore by armed ruffians who wounded him and dragged the unresisting pontiff to a tower of Cencius his enemy..in domum quondam munitissimam abripuit.(154) An assemblage of infuriated citizens rescued him, but Cencius escaped to Lombardy to help in the mischief over the appointment of Tedald which Cardinal Hugh and Guibert of Ravenna were sedulously fomenting. The Cardinal himself consecrated the interpolated prelate, and proceeded to ~~Germany~~ Germany there to take part in the forthcoming Council of Worms. Conspiracy is at its height and sinister figures emerge and move in the dim underworld beneath the glittering superstructure of the Gregorian vision of Justitia. Inimical and therefore iniquitous as these stirrings in the slime must be to a Gregory VII, it could not be said that they provided an atmosphere unfamiliar to a Hildebrand. Time was during the earlier Patarine struggles and elsewhere when rabblement and secret agitation had not come amiss even to agents of the Vicariate-general of the Second Person of the Trinity. Had it been an Antipope for example who had been mobbed, it might be possible to discover even now that the affair had come about Divino Judicio. And now of all persons on earth the Heir to the Empire was the last to whom the Successor of Peter might look for the material aid of which he had written not long since that it was ad restaurationem defensionemque Ecclesiae. War has been declared both above and below, and for the moment it is the populus Romanus which hereafter is to be bitterly disillusioned (Par.102) that serves as Defensor of the See.

66. The First Council of Worms
The Case of the German Bishops

On January 24th the momentous Council met in the ultra-royalist City of Worms. It was

attended by two Archbishops..Mainz and Trier..twenty-four German, one Burgundian, and one Italian Bishop. Bremen and Salzburg abstained. Having listened to an amazing denunciation of Gregory's character and life delivered by Cardinal Hugh, the prelates resolved to subtract obedience from Gregory VII..for so vile a liver..qui tantis vitam probris ac criminibus commaculaverit.. could not be Pope..papa esse non possit..nor have the Dispensing Power..nec ullam juxta privilegium Romanae sedis ligandi aut solvendi potestatem habeat vel..habuerit.(155)

The Episcopal Case as drawn up for the benefit of Rome contained the following points:-

1. Gregory had stirred up strife and set the people against the prelates and clergy..Sublata enim..omni potestate ab episcopis..omnique rerum ecclesiasticarum administratione plebeio furori per te attributa.

2. He had insisted that without him there could be neither Episcopus nor Presbyter.
3. He had deprived the Bishops of dispensatory power.. aliquam potestatem vel ligandi..vel solvendi, praeter te solum aut eum quem tu specialiter ad hoc delegeris
4. He had been irregularly elected in contravention of the Decree of Nicholas II which laid it down that none could be Pope without the Cardinals, People, et per consensum auctoritatemque regis...of which Decree he himself had been "auctor, persuasor, subscriptorque".
5. He was a scandalous liver with some woman..alienae mulieris..and allowed petticoat influence in Church affairs..omnia judicium omnia decreta per feminas..per hunc feminarum novum senatum.
6. For these injuries and infamies they withdrew obedience obedientiam quam nullam tibi promisimus..renuntiamus.
7. If they were not his Bishops he should not be their Pope tu quoque nulli nostrum amodo eris Apostolicus. (156)

The preoccupation here is with ecclesiastical technicalities and moral reprobation, the alleged griefs of the institution and its officebearers. With the exception of the reference to Cardinal Deusdedit's bete-noir (pp.79-81) in the Decree of Nicholas the King's damage has no part in the matter. As a protocol of high rebellion it smacks of haste and superficiality and the belated protest as to irregularity of election is three years overdue. They suggest that Gregory is exercising a novel authority..quod novam quandam indubitamque potentiam tibi usurpando arrogas..but what they mean is that they do not like the strenuous Gregorian application of principles already adumbrated for long enough. It was certainly "new" to the self-contained German Hierarchy to feel the Southern grip closing upon them. It was inevitable doubtless that capital should be made out of the papalist devotion of the pious Beatrice and Matilda, but the vague violence of tone in reference to them as to everything else serves to create the impression that the whole document is a bundle of excuses and insinuations scraped together to justify an ill-conceived and impolitic manoeuvre. The Bishops are shrill in direct proportion to their apprehension of the risky nature of the proceedings, and their noisy and melodramatic reaction is neither dignified in itself, nor will it be permanent either in mood or effect. They have mistaken their man.

67. The First Council of Worms
The Case of the King's Majesty

King Henry on the other hand is more concerned with the attack upon himself. The Pope had

attacked the Bishops who were his friends, and then had dared to to turn upon the Head of the State.

1. In ipsum caput insugere ausus est.
2. Gregory had threatened to deprive him of soul and kingdom..mihi animam regnumque tolleres.
3. Not words but deeds must answer this, hence the royal summons to a Convention of Magnates..generalem conventum omnium regni primatum.
4. This Assembly had determined the Deposition of the Pope..te nullatenus in apostolica sede posse persistere.

5. He himself had agreed with this decision
Ego quoque assentiens..
6. And by virtue of his rank as Patrician of the City of Rome..patriciatus Deo tribuente et jurato Romanorum assensu
7. He ordered him to vacate the See..ut descendas edico..
since He Henry denied the validity of Gregory's Pontificate..omne tibi papatus jus quod habere visus es abrenuntio.(157)

Behold then the Hohenburg tone of Henricus Superbus to whom the Hersfeld tone is as though it had never been. We are a man of deeds like our redoubtable ancestors and predecessors, and that the Deeds be assured of achievement we forthwith write to the 'Roman People':-

1. That they should rise against Gregory..exurgite igitur in eum fidelissimi, et sit primus in fide, primus in ejus damnatione...
2. Not to Kill..non autem ut sanguinem ejus fundatis dicimus
3. But to depose..sed ut eum si nolit descendere cogatis.
4. That they might receive another Pope appointed with the consent of Bishops and People..et alium communi omnium episcoporum et vestro consilio a nobis electum in apostolicam sedem recipiatis.
5. Who should be able and willing to heal the wounds of the Church..qui quod iste in ecclesia vulneravit curare et velit et possit. (158)

All this sounds very well but the 'People' addressed have only lately rescued the Pontiff from violence, and have admired the courage and magnanimity of his carriage during the Cencian ordeal. Also the archaic 'Patriciate' (Par 14.p.20) has never received much respect save when its mantle has covered an armed potentate actually on the spot with a large army.

The tone of these letters is apparently conclusive and irremediable. They give the impression of setting in motion as a matter of judicial routine a powerful and inexorable machinery. In a unified and close-knit society such an Order-in-Council might be deemed to be as good as obeyed from the moment of promulgation. But in the condition of the Empire at the moment it was but a salvo of blank ammunition serving only to give away Henry's position to the enemy. The King had committed the fatal error of rashly and arrogantly drawing an edgeless stage-sword upon Gregory. For a brief moment however the fulminations from Germany give a specious impression of thorough-going reaction, and the Lombard Episcopate is persuaded at Piacenza to accept the Depositic Decree as an Act of State. Apparently the Norther two-thirds of the Empire, the whole region between the Baltic and the Appenines has had enough of Gregory and his ways. Once more Rhine-Danube and the proud streams of Po will appoint to the Tiber the order of its goings. An armistice now on the 'basis of the warmap' would have confirmed the impression that the Anti-Gregorian flood was both wide and deep. Wide indeed it is but exceeding shallow and there is no armistice. Already before the ink is dry the Worms prelates have developed misgivings, and the Lateran Palace is preparing the thing which made them suddenly afraid.

68. The Lenten Synod of Rome 1076 On February 21st. a great assemblage was gathered in the Lateran. The Empress Agnes was there, as well as 110 Italian and French Bishops, and a swarm of abbots, monks, priests and laity. One Roland a clerk of Parma also appeared with the portentous documents emanating from Worms and the King. It was an incredibly poor exhibition of embassy. The Heir of Otto and of Henry III the majesty of Royal Germany is represented not by the thunder of galloping hoofs and the glitter of the eagles but by the raucous shoutings of a single impudent shaveling who is lucky to escape the dungeons of S. Angelo or worse. Amazement and fury greeted the reading of the instrument of deposition, and immediate measures were adopted to mark the signal and farranging indignation of an outraged hierarchy. Gregory himself was probably the least disturbed of the angry churchmen, for under his hand is an elaborate document made ready like Napoleon's resistless Guard to be hurled into the fight at this precise juncture. Papa nihil permotus (159) proceeds on the day following the astonishing outburst of the wretched envoy to abolish his enemies collectively and in detail. Siegfried of Mainz and the whole Council of Worms, Eberhard of Nellenburg and the entire Episcopate of Lombardy were smitten with the Ban. But the Chief Delinquent requires special attention, and against him Olympus produces its supreme thunderbolt.

69. The Bull of Deposition and Anathema against Henry IV

1. O Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, incline to Us I beg Thy Holy Ears, and hear Me Thy

Servant whom Thou hast nourished from infancy. Thou and my Mistress the Mother of God, and thy Brother Saint Paul are witnesses for me among all the Saints that Thy Holy Roman Church drew Me to its helm against my will; that I had no thought of ascending Thy Chair by force, and that I would rather have ended My Life as a Pilgrim, than by secular means to have seized Thy Throne for the sake of earthly Glory.

2. And Therefore I believe it to be through Thy Grace and not through my own deeds that it has pleased, and does please Thee that the Christian People who have been specially committed to Thee should obey Me.

3. And especially to Me as Thy Representative and by Thy favour has the Power been granted by God of Binding and Loosing in Heaven and Earth.. ligandi atque solvendi in coele et in terra.

4. On the Strength of this Belief therefore, for the Honour and Security of Thy Church, in the name of Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, through Thy Power and Authority, I withdraw from Henry the King, son of Henry the Emperor (who has risen against thy Church with un-heard-of insolence) the rule over the whole Kingdom of the Germans and over Italy.. Heinrico Regi.. totius regni Teutonicorum et Italiae gubernacula contradico .

5. And I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the Oath which they have made or shall make to him.. et omnes christianos a vinculo juramenti quod sibi fecerunt vel facient absolvo.

6. And I forbid anyone to serve him as King.. et ut nullus ei sicut regi serviat interdico.. for it is fitting that he who strives to lessen the honour of thy Church should himself lose

the honour which belongs to him.

7. And since he has:-

- (A) Scorned to Obey as a Christian
Quia sicut Christianus contempsit oboedire
- (B) Not returned to God Whom he has deserted
Ned ad Dominum rediit quem dimisit
- (C) Associated with the Accursed
Participando excommunicatis
- (D) Practised Manifold Iniquities
Multas iniquitates faciendo
- (E) Spurned My Commands (which as Thou dost bear witness I issued to him for his own Salvation)
Meaque monita quae pro sua salute sibi misi Te teste spernendo
- (F) Separated himself from Thy Church
Seque ab Ecclesia Tua separando
- (G) Striven to rend it
Temptans eam scindere

I Bind Him in Thy Stead with the Chain of Anathema..Vinculo eum Anathematis vice Tua Alligo..and,leaning on Thee,I so bind him that the People may know and have Proof that Thou art Peter,and on Thy Rock the Son of the Living God hath built His Church,and the Gates of Hell shall not Prevail against it. (160)

70. Form and Substance of the Document Of the Seven Sections into which we may divide it for purposes of analysis, the First establishes the rhetorical form governing and framing the composition. It is an address to Saint Peter upon whom is the whole responsibility for the using of Gregory at all. Cast in this mould it exhibits that faculty for self-externalization and the erection of frontlets which is so peculiarly Hildebrandine. The remote phantom of the Galilaean Fisherman is invested with those attributes of supreme dignity and power which the Gregorian Papacy is striving to realize. Personified Hildebrandinism is conjured up as a ghostly figure-head in whose name Gregory may act, as he had acted for and behind so many Popes in his halcyon days of powerful obscurity. Gregory was indeed the servant of a Vision which had "nourished him from infancy", and now in this hour of crisis that Spectre of his own genius wrapped in the mantle of the ages presents itself to his inward eye masked in the pale stern features of the Prince of the Apostles crowned with an Imperial Diadem. The Theotokos and the Man of Tarsus are but thin wraiths supporting the the central Figure, about whom it has long since been forgotten in the interests of churchcraft that there was once said.. "Vade retro Me Satana quoniam non sapis quae Dei sunt sed quae sunt hominum".

The Second Section continues the argument into contact with practical politics, and contains the simple- sounding but fatally elastic phrase the precise connotations and limits of which are as variant and unfathomable as the Luciferian ambition of man.. "That Christians should Obey Me"..to what extent and

in what capacity?. Apparently as with the Donation of Constantine the Donation of Peter was bounded only by the obstruction of temporal circumstance, its terms like those of the Donation of the Overseas World by Alexander VI covering everything discovered and undiscovered, born and unborn, identified or implied in human conduct. If it had been Paul and not 'Peter' that had 'nourished' Hildebrand from infancy he might have given more weight to the saying. "Non quia dominamur fidei vestrae sed adiutores sumus gaudii vestri." The Third Section passes from the Theory of Universal Obedience (that obsession of pontiffs) to the judicial nature of the authority to be obeyed, namely the Exclusive Dispensing Power to bind and to loose, to set up and cast down in a fashion far transcending that of a Nebuchadrezzar. We notice the extremely personal tone of "specialiter pro vice Tua Mihi commissa" with its distinct suggestion that it is not the See that makes the Man but the man Gregory who makes the See.

Having reached this summit of despotism in four dimensions (from which the kingdoms of this world might well appear the small dust of the balance) Gregory proceeds in the Fourth Section to loosen the Kingdoms of Germany and Italy from Henry's grip, in the Fifth to loosen the individual subjects from all and every form of allegiance, and in the Sixth to loosen the crown itself from the King's head on the pretext that disrespect to the ecclesiastical institution disqualifies a man from claiming any respect as a political institution...a somewhat startling non-sequitur.

Only in the Seventh Section do we arrive at the ecclesiastical anathema imposed for seven alleged misdemeanours of a general nature. These are extremely vague and so similar in type as to be practically interchangeable. There is only one specific charge, that of consorting with the banned. The horrid crime is at once a "scorning to obey", a "persistent desertion of God", an "Iniquity", a "spurning of Papal commands", and a "rending" of the unified discipline of the Church.

Herewith and hereby Henry IV has his status and quality as a recognized and recognizable Christian person loosened from off him, and he is bound in the fetter of a social and religious boycott.

It is this latter incarceration which in the peroration is deemed to prove to the world that Peter is Peter, to the binding together of the foundations of the Church and the loosening of the Infernal Gates.

A critical observer might remark more cogently that it rather served to demonstrate that Gregory was Gregory, to the binding together of the Cluniac movement with the megalomaniac tendencies of the Hildebrandine Popedom, and the apparently final loosening of the Teutonic hegemony.

71. Commentary upon the Double Fulmination An astonishing dubiety as to both manner and motive characterizes this seemingly cleansweeping slash of the Spiritual Sword. The Council of Worms had 'deposed' Gregory because he was not fit to be Pope as proved by the distressing results of his pontificate. This was at least a reason whether justifiable in fact or not. But here in reply no political reason

is given for removing a political leader. "Contra Tuam Ecclesiam qui inaudita Supp̄bia insurrexit" is manifestly a justification for the imposing of Church sanctions, but whence came the notion that it entailed also an invasion of the political arena? Why was the first and major portion of the document devoted to invoking the cooperation of a hagiological machinery which would have rejoiced the heart of Pseudo-Dionysius (p.31) in an act of arbitrary interference with the indigenous German Crown which was not and never had been a Papal creation? Can it be that Hildebrand is exercising belatedly that authority of arbitration which he had intended to exert when he wrote to Magdeburg in December 1073 (Par.61.pp.95-6) after Gerstungen and before Hohenburg? If so he is merely assuming without consultation that the German tribes who then had spoken of deposing Henry themselves are not only in the same mood, but would now be glad to have the matter taken out of their confused management and settled once and for all. Even so was not anathema sufficient to paralyse the King's regality as the forthcoming Diet of Tribur (Par.75) evidently thought when it made Henry's recovery of Christian status the condition of his political rehabilitation? Was the Deposition merely a furious 'tu quoque' riposte of anger or as with the Investiture Decree of 1075 a case of 'promulgate first and temporize afterwards' (Par.62.p.98)? or was it a blind gamble on the ability of Saxon malcontents to make it good, or another example of the Hildebrandine tendency to think that any stick was good enough to beat an opponent with, or again could it be that Gregorian Justitia-on-the-warpath had developed a predatory instinct desirous of securing for the Papacy a useful precedent for reaping where it had not sown?

Certainly the whole thing required elucidation, and the attempts to explain it served only to breed more confusion than ever. Gregory himself only makes the darkness more visible when he seeks to justify himself on paper. Against those who scented vindictiveness in his action, and for the benefit of the ill-informed in the North he writes:-

1. The whole affair has been entirely impersonal

Nos Justitiae zelo impulsos et non aliqua commotione injurias concitatos. (How useful now is that splendid frontlet for our Hildebrand)

2. Doubts and questionings have however disturbed the Faithful in Germany..quosdam inter vos..de excommunicatione quam in regem fecimus dubitare ac quaerere...utrum juste excommunicatus sit.

3. One must therefore be explicit as to reasons.

(A) Henry has kept company with those who pro sacrilegio et reatu simoniacae haeresis excommunicati sunt.

(B) He has refused both act and promise of repentance for his misdeeds..pro criminosis actibus vitae suae.

(C) He has sundered the Body of Christ, that is the Unitatem Sanctae Ecclesiae..and therefore..Pro his inquam culpis synodali judicio eum excommunicavimus (There is no mention of the Synod in the Bull of February which is entirely Petrine-cum-personal)

(161)

While these are all excellent reasons for anathema they do not explain the Deposition as a separate act.

Nor are we helped much further when Gregory writes to Hermann of Metz in August to defend the excommunication.

1. He argues that precedent justifies the anathematizing of Princes..regem..excommunicari..for Zacharias deposed the French King..regem Francorum deposuerit. (We do not read that Childeric was excommunicated but sent to live in a monastery..a very different matter. This is another Hildebrandine non-sequitur.)

2. Gregory I had held in one of his letters that the Pope could not only excommunicate..reges et duces contra sua dicta venientes non solum excommunicavit..but judge..sed etiam ut dignitate careant iudicavit. (162)

3. Did not the blessed Ambrose excommunicate and interdict Theodosius?..non tantum excommunicavit sed etiam ne praesumeret in loco sacerdotum in ecclesia manere interdixit.

4. Does not "Pasce oves Meas" include Kings?

5. The Petrine Mandate..Ligandi et Solvendi..includes everything in Heaven and Earth..nullum exceptit.

6. Why should the Apostolic See thus fitted to judge in spiritual matters not also judge in temporal matters?..Quodsi Sancta Sedes Apostolica divinitus sibi collata principali potestate Spirituality decernens dijudicat cur non et secularia ? (The greatest and most dangerous of the non-sequiturs)

7. Is not Kingship rooted in Pride?..superbia humana

8. The Episcopal Office in the creative Grace of God?..Divina Pietas.

9. No one is to absolve Henry the King..de ipso Rege..nullus eum Praesumat absolvere.

10. Only the Pope is to do this on fitting redress being made ..sincera satisfactio nobis..notificata. (163)

We notice that there is no very clear idea in the Pope's mind as to where anathema ends and deposition begins, though of course when dealing with the egregious Robert Guiscard while one may ban one does not deprive.

Ambrose is justified for imposing what is now the monopoly of the Popedom, but no Bishop must now be as independent as Ambrose and take Henry's anathema away.

The ancient and plausible fallacy must of course be paraded that spiritual Jurisdiction conveys not only political rights but efficiency to the incumbent.

But the outstanding fact of this letter is the revelation that the great Bull of February had been conditional and not absolute.. more of an ultimatum than the stroke of a headsman's axe..an important difference of which there is no hint whatever in the document itself. "Si eum Divina Pietas respexerit"..there had been no such loophole on the 21st February.

Moreover he is still being described as King, and anyhow how could the suggestion be made that his obtaining absolution would somehow leave him as he was before this unfortunate quarrel, if by a separate article he had been made entirely different from what he was before? Either that separate article would have to be annulled or the fact that it had ever been promulgated tacitly dropped. And yet if the Bull had been at the moment of composition more minatory and directive than condemnatory and annihilative..as the subsequent defence suggests...why did the Dethronement

occupy so large a space, and indeed why was it there at all? Why the haste to forestall any difference of opinion which might have arisen had a threat of deposition brought about a Congress of German notables, and how, when Henry through this violent act is no longer King, can he be looked to to supply sinceram satisfactionem as a now private person for regal misdeeds?

At any rate the German 'faithful' still require coaching in the sincere milk of the Hildebrandine word, for we write at length on September 3rd to all whom it may concern in regn. Teutonico habitantibus.

1. If people will only read the Bull diligently they will find out all about the case..quid de eo debeat fieri indubitantur cognoscetis.
2. It is there shown why he was banned..cur sit anathematis vinculo alligatus..and deposed..et a regia dignitate depositus..(Note the change of sequence) and how the people are freed from their allegiance..populus..eidem promissi sit absolutus.
3. For the sake of Henry's Father and Mother..patris ejus et matris..he would be merciful but only to one who regarded the Church as his Lord..praelatam ut dominam..and not as his handmaid..subjectam ut ancillam.
4. If Henry will not repent another must be appointed in his room who will do exactly what Gregory demands..ea quae praediximus..and whatever seems necessary for the Christian Religion, and the welfare of the Empire..quae videntur christianae religioni et totius imperii saluti necessaria.(The order of importance is notable)
5. If an Election is required..si valde oportet ut fiat..they must report the person and character..personam et mores ejus..of the candidate to the Pope that he might confirm the election apostolica auctoritate.
6. It was due to the Empress Agnes and himself to take them into consultation if indeed they intended to remove her son..quod ejus filius a regno removeatur consilium ab ea et a nobis requiratur de inventa persona ad regni gubernacula.

(164)

To refer back to the Bull does not enlighten our understandings which have been darkened thereby. But we learn here that the pious Agnes to whom the German baronage had paid scant attention in the days of Kaiserswerth (Par 40.p.53) is held to be a sentimental lever for moving the hearts of the faithful, as Gregory's recollection of the admired father is admitted by him ^d to weigh in the balances concerning the son. It is manifest that the whole body of the et cetera which constitute the good of Religion and Empire is contained under the species of praediximus. Despite these voluminous explanations we are still uncertain as to whether the deposition and anathema are parallel or derivative or complementary.

72. Henry IV elaborates his Position in a Letter of March 27th/ 1076 The sum and substance of the decision of the Worms Council is set forth by the King in the following letter to him who is now his archenemy.

1. Henry, King, not through Usurpation by by the Holy Ordination of God.. sed pia ordinatione Rex.. unto Hildebrand at present not Pope but false Monk.. falso Monacho.
2. Such greeting as this thou hast merited through thy disturbances, inasmuch as there is no grade in the Church which thou hast omitted to make a partaker not of Honour but of Confusion, not of Benediction but of Malediction.
3. For (to mention few and especial cases out of many) not only hast thou not feared to lay hands upon the rulers of Holy Church, the anointed of the Lord, the Archbishops namely, Bishops and Priests, but thou hast trodden them underfoot like slaves ignorant of what their Master is doing. Thou hast won favour from the common herd by crushing them; thou hast looked upon all of them as knowing nothing, upon thy sole self moreover as knowing all things. This knowledge however thou hast not used for edification but for destruction so that with reason we believe that S. Gregory whose Name thou hast usurped for thyself was prophesying concerning thee when he said "The pride of the Powerful increaseth in proportion with the number of those subject to him, and he thinket that he himself can do more than all".
4. And We indeed have endured all this, being eager to Guard the Honour of the Holy See. Thou however hast understood Our humility to be fear and hast not accordingly shunned to rise up against the Royal Power conferred on us by God.. in ipsam Regiam potestatem nobis a Deo concessam exurgere non timuisti ..daring to threaten to divest us thereof.. quam te nobis auferre ausus est minari.. as if we had received the Kingdom from thee.. quasi nos a te regnum acceperimus.. as if the Kingdom and the Empire were in thine and not in God's hand.. quasi in tua et non in Dei manu sit vel Regnum vel Imperium.. and this although Our Lord did call us to the Kingdom, but did not call thee to the Priesthood.. te autem non vocavit ad sacerdotium.
5. For thou hast ascended by the following wiles, namely, (which the profession of monk abhors) thou hast achieved Money, by Money Favour, by the Sword the Throne of Peace, and from the Throne of Peace thou hast disturbed peace, inasmuch as thou hast armed subjects against those in authority over them.. (Query.. The Saxons?.. the Patarines?) inasmuch as thou who wert not called hast taught that Our Bishops, called of God, are to be despised.. (Simoniacs?.. the Lay-invested?.. the Ambrosians?).. inasmuch as thou hast usurped for Laymen the ministry over their priests.. dum laicis ministerium eorum super sacerdotes usurpasti.. allowing them to depose or condemn those whom they themselves had received as teachers from the Hand of God.

through the laying-on of hands of the Bishops..(? Erlembald the Patarine.)

6. On Me also who (though unworthy to be among the Anointed) have been nevertheless anointed to the Kingdom..thou hast laid thine hand..tetigisti..on Me who.....as the tradition of the Holy Fathers teaches,declaring that I am not to be deposed for any crime unless (which God forbid) I should have strayed from the Faith..nec pro aliquo crimine nisi a Fide (quod absit) exorbitaverim deponendum asseruit....am subject to the judgment of God alone. For the Wisdom of the Holy Fathers committed even Julian the Apostate not to themselves but to God alone to be judged and deposed..judicandum deponendumque commiserit. For the true Pope Peter himself declares.."Fear God,Honour the King" but thou who dost not fear God dost dishonour in Me his Appointed One..in me constitutum ejus inhonoras. Wherefore Saint Paul when he had not spared an Angel of Heave if he shall have preached otherwise hath not excepted thee also who dost teach otherwise upon earth. For he says.."If anyone, either I or an angel from Heaven, should preach a gospel other than that which shall be preached unto you he shall be Damned"

7. Thou therefore..Damned by This Curse..and by the judgment of all Our Bishops and by Our Own...Descend and Relinquish the Apostolic Chair which thou hast usurped..Descende vendicatam sedem apostolicam relinque. Let another ascend the throne of Saint Peter who shall not practise Violence but shall teach the sound doctrine of S.Peter..beati Petri sanam doceat doctrinam..I Henry by the Grace of God together with all our bishops do say unto thee..Descend,descend to be damned through the ages..Descende,descende,per secula damnande.

(165)

73. Form and Substance of the Document The First Section contains the substance of that of which the remainder is an elaboration. Henry's status is Divinely legitimate with all which that entails, and Gregory is more than an attacker of an inexpugnable throne, he is himself actually non-suited as being an upstart with all that such a disability connotes. The result has been (Sect.2) general confusion. More specifically (3) he has treated the hierarchy with arrogance to the delight of the mob, and exalted himself upon their repression. In (4) there is exposed the ever open sore beneath the purple robes both of prince and prelate, namely the problem of the derivation of political authority, and the function and scope, if any, of a human Mediator (Par.6.p.6.) Henry has direct commission from on high, but Gregory has arrogantly approached the Throne. (The significance of "Minari" as usual with the bandied terms of these amateur composers of State Papers immediately throws out of gear any systematic notion of the trend of events up to this moment, since it either refers only to the negotiations ante-dating the 21st. February, or to some understood conditional meaning behind the absolute form of the Gregt Anathema, or again is employed by Henry to rebut the idea that the worst the Pope

could say or do could in fact be anything more than a "threat" in the military sense to his impregnable position. Then follows a series of allegations (5) as to the corrupt manner of Gregory's ascent to power, and in (6) the King denies that he can be deposed save for heresy, and raises up both Peter and Paul to condemn the man who imagined himself peculiarly favoured by these tutelary divinities as guilty of heresy himself. The Seventh Section clinches the matter by launching at Gregory the Pauline Anathema. The tone of this deliverance is unadulterated Superbia. It is the apex of a summit of sheer insolence rising up between the two Valleys of Humiliation of Hersfeld and Canossa. Yet it contains little (except for "Minari") which does not show where Henry is ..or thinks he is..at the moment of composition. Admittedly the doctrine of Kingship had been left nebulous and dependent upon forceful personalities ever since the dubious excursion into high politics of the remote Leo III, and anyhow its German form had roots which did not grow in the gardens of the Lateran. To assert its direct dependence upon the Almighty was as sound as any other derivation as long as a sedulous ecclesiastical propaganda had not persuaded the majority of subjects that the voice of the Popedom was vox Dei.

Again there had undoubtedly been in the career of Hildebrand-Gregory much that laid him open to accusations of intrigue, terrorism, and the manipulation of strange funds. To him the end had justified the means, but to anyone who hated the end, the means must be doubly detestable.

He had certainly "Disturbed peace", but could answer that he had only quickened those who were "dead in sins", and that the 'Peace' of a Henry meant the death of Justitia, to which Henry could answer not only that Milanese rabblings were of doubtful righteousness, but that the prevailing system in Church and State, though perhaps illogical, had functioned to the satisfaction of the majority in several generations, and that a meddling Cluniac mania for pyramidal uniformity had done more harm than good, to which the obvious reply was that the system had only worked with Kings who had common-sense, and that could immediately earn the same response from Henry...and so on..an interminable argument. The use of proof-texts from Hildebrand's favourite Dioscuri Peter and Paul is not unskilful as such things go, and it is a matter for interesting meditation that the King should find in the Epistle to the Galatians ammunition against the Papal ambition at least as cogent to his partizans in the 11th century as were arguments drawn from the same source to the followers of German Luther in the 16th century.

Looked at in connection with the means actually under his hand to enforce its decisions and purpose it is a poor essay in statecraft a mere paper simulacrum of Otto the Great returned to Weltpolitik seeking vainly to achieve with a goosequill what ~~the~~ mighty prototype had accomplished with the sword.

74. Henry summons a Second Council of Worms. May 15/76

the great game is likely to go.

The opponents have now more or less shown their hands, and the world gathers round to discern which way The sensation was formidable for

the two nominal heads of Christendom had mutually declared one another unfit to rule. The abstract Justitia of the opposing causes had naturally less to do with defeat and victory than had the strength or weakness of the bonds which bound the antagonistic institutions together within themselves, and even then no clear estimate of possibilities or respective resources was possible in what amounted to a civil broil devoid of that distinctiveness associated with the clashing foreign policies of closed national corporations. Each party could cling more or less sincerely to the general idea that it was the true dominant partner who had had the misfortune to have nursed a viper in his bosom, and it is the viperine element which emerges in the correspondence. The extreme crudity of the proceedings becomes obvious when we perceive how far-reaching decisions fundamentally depend upon angry individuals uncontrolled to the degree of their fury by long-sighted discretion..intoxicated with dangerous metaphors, encouraged by a subservient interested and dependent entourage, and purblind through lack of a competent and responsible Secretariat and Intelligence Department. We are far removed even with a Hildebrand from the subtle, intricate and accomplished diplomacy of a Rodrigo Borgia. Hence State Papers are almost absurdly idiosyncratic, sublimely unconscious according to the moods of the authors of the tenour of previous overtures, complete reversals of policy are frequent, and naive apologies as between private persons are accepted as factitive instruments of State.

But it soon became obvious that Henry IV was wrestling with principalities and powers that were beyond his ill-coordinated strength. The 'religious' solvent broke the ground under his feet. Sub obtentu Religionis (166) the Princes fell away from the King, and the chief ecclesiastics refused to fall away from the Pope. (167)

The mass of the Clergy and laity followed the Pontiff, and the death of the best and strongest of Henry's supporters was interpreted as a disastrous omen. (168). Gregory made it easy for all possessed of the tender conscience of a Rudolf (p.95) to break allegiance by deputing Bishops to grant absolution. (169). Best of all from the Papal point of view the Saxons revolted. (170)

Verily there reigned in Germany a situation after the Hildebrandine heart.. Regnabat tum temporis ignorantia et superstitio per Germaniam ut decreta Romani Pontifici vulgo haberentur pro oraculis. (171)

At Rome the Pope meanwhile strengthened the defences of the City though he relied considerably upon Matilda's Tuscan bulwarks, and opened negotiations with the hitherto intolerable Robert Guiscard despite the fact that the Norman was still under the ban.

At Utrecht Henry had the "perjured Monk" anathematized to order by the local Bishop, and summoned another Council to meet at Worms at Whitsunday, the explanatory document being couched in the following terms which express once more the stock doctrine of coordinate duality which it is so easy to say and so difficult to sustain, eked out with the Gibbous conception of the Sacerdotium as fundamentally a political engine, and of the Civil-cum-military power as a ready-made persecuting weapon, the whole conditioned by the contemporary obsession for crude Obedientia as the whole duty of Man.

1. Gregory has usurped two Powers contrary to the Divine Will Regnum et Sacerdotium Deo nesciente sibi usurpavit
2. Thus contravening the Plan of the Two Swords of which Jesus said "It is enough"..de duorum gladiatorum sufficientia typice intelligi innuit,cui...respondit "Satis est".
3. Whereby he indicated a definite Duality of status and function...significans hac sufficienti dualitate spiritualem et carnalem gladium in ecclesia esse gerendum.
4. The Sacerdotium is to secure Obedience to the King after God..ad obedientiam regis post deum.
5. The Regnum is to conquer the external enemies of Christ ..ad expugnandos inimicos Christi exterius..and constrain subjects to obey the Sacerdotium..ad obedientiam sacerdotii interius omnes homines docens fore constringendos.
6. In striving to overthrow this balanced arrangement Hildebrand is damaging both powers,since he (who is possessed of neither) casts down what he did not set up quia ipse me regem non constituit regni me privare studeat. (172)

This latter assertion penetrates to a vital element in the complex and peculiar situation,namely that while airy talk about Kings in general may be of academic not to say cloistral interest this particular King drew his regality entirely from beyond Rhine-Danube,and it could indeed be a matter of grave debate as to whether Gregory had not been entirely ultra vires.(p.111)

To the general mind however the plain antithesis has emerged of a King and a Pope each striving to prove the other a refractory functionary of his own in the interests of the dictatorial monopoly over Church and State which in the rage of controversy each has set up as his immediate objective.

But the King's plans crumbled as he made them.One of his chief witnesses Altwin of Brixen never came to Worms,and William of Utrecht died in April sine communione.(173) The Court was deserted and the Saxon prisoners of war-escaped to foment rebellion. The Second Council nullum habuit effectum.(174)

Neither had a Council at Mainz on 29th.June,and an attempt to recover Saxony through Bohemia failed entirely. The King returned to Worms in utter dejection,for a deadly paralysis had attacked his fortunes,and the mood of Hohenburg evaporated through the many wounds of his spirit. The Star of Peter is on the ascendant and the remnant of the royal party is reduced to a despairing defensive.

75. Diet of Tribur In September Henry stood alone for Saxony and Swabia were in irrepressible revolt, and except for certain royalist cities the foundation of his authority seemed to have vanished. A Conference of nobles and prelates at Ulm decided to summon a Diet at Tribur on the 16th October to which Gregory appointed Altmann of Passau and Sieghard of Aquileia his legates.(175) The place-name itself was of ominous portent since it was here that Charles the Fat had been deposed in 887 and Adalbert of Bremen reduced from his high estate in 1066. The gathering was representative of the entire Church and State system of Germany temporarily united by hostility to Henry,and by the chance which the situation offered to many to fish in troubled waters.

Considering that not nine months had elapsed since the prelates at the Council of Worms had written to Rome in terms of the most calculated and injurious insolence, there is a certain sublime effrontery in the manner whereby Siegfried of Mainz and other episcopal delinquents sought and obtained absolution at Tribur. If Henry was a noteworthy example of the type of mind associated with David King of Israel in his alternations between headstrong misdemeanour and headlong repentance upon discovery he certainly was not unprovided with examples of how to mend violence with cunning in the behaviour of the reverend Fathers in God of the German Church. Included in the warp and woof of Gregory's character there would seem to have been a personally attractive but politically disastrous simplicity with regard to the human faculty for dissimulation, a proneness to accept melodrama for fact which was to stand him in ill stead at Canossa. Nevertheless one can see that in this case the action of his Legates in accepting the contrite prostrations of the penitents was dictated less by the idealistically formalist tendency to take tears at their face-value characteristic of priestly circles, than by as much shrewd policy as dictated the submissions themselves, since with absolution fresh upon them the prodigals could scarcely behave otherwise at this crucial Diet than as docile supporters of Rome.

A further stage in the isolating of the Chief Delinquent having been thus accomplished it remained to be seen how far the Spirit of the Letter to the German Faithful of Sept. 3rd (p. 108) would guide the deliberations of the Diet, in other words to discover what precipitation would result from the introduction of the Papal ingredient. At any rate the Council has no difficulty in deciding that the Pope has the right to excommunicate the King and has been right in doing so. But when it came to the question of deposition there was no chance of unanimity either as to the rights of the matter or what it would be right to decide upon. Contrary winds and currents perplexed the navigation of debate.

1. The validity of the Papal deposition could be denied in toto, were it not for an array of newly-Hildebrandized Lord-Spiritual who must stand by the spirit of their penitence.
2. The Deposition could be formally ratified were it not for the Lords-Temporal who were in no mind to acknowledge an absolute right in the Pope to dispose of the German throne.
3. It might be tacitly assumed were it not that the legatine instructions had modified its absoluteness, and appeared to counsel mercy to Henry for his parents' sakes and only suggested a new election as a last resort.
4. It might be tacitly ignored and a new deposition by the Germans themselves put into force, were it not that the Legates were there to see that such independent action on the part of the Northerners was not permitted (even though one might read into the letter of September the idea of a provisional election to be confirmed by Rome)
5. Some arrangement might be come to which while it ignored the deposition of February delayed any proposed German action till the Pope should come himself as Arbitrator.

6. A more developed form of Plan 5 would be one which in the meanwhile:-

- (a) Put Henry on a definite footing of suspended regality
- (b) Conceded to him a chance of possible rehabilitation at another Diet if within a certain time-limit a certain condition were fulfilled.

The majority having at the moment little confidence in the promises of political amendment emanating from Henry at Oppenheim across the river ("pollicens omnium quae eos offenderant in reliquum emendationem"(176)) this condition could be found in the Excommunication, by making Henry's chance of having his case reconsidered at all dependent upon his obtaining absolution from the ecclesiastical ban before the expiry of a given period of time.

It might be expected that such a compromise would....

- (a) Serve as a valid proof of his sincerity to those who still strove to believe in him, and were anyhow far from eager to renounce their plighted troth to the King's Majesty.
- (b) Be acceptable to the politically pro-Henrician though now ecclesiastically pro-Gregorian section of the Diet, since as feudalized prelates they were not necessarily anxious to exchange their secular leader for some new and probably all-too-papalist adventurer.
- (c) Please the royalist bourgeois by giving their King one more chance to keep 'Nibelung' faith, and save the country from the prolongation of civil war.
- (d) Give the Pope an apparently paramount position while actually restraining his influence on intermediate events to the 'religious' sphere.
- (e) Conserve the general political initiative and control to the Magnate-ring, since....
 1. If Henry failed to fulfil the condition it would be by their ordaining that his deposition came thereby automatically into force by default. The more ~~2/~~ difficult the conditions were made the harder would it be for Henry to win through, and the more likely it would be that at the decisive Diet a tabula rasa would confront them which no important party could call in question.
 2. If by some extraordinary feat he did obtain absolution and came to the Diet as a Christianus-redivivus, it would be for them to annul the suspension of his regality, as it was they who had put it into force.
 3. If Gregory himself did not arrive, as might quite well happen if the date of the Diet was fixed for the wildest period of the Alpine winter, and an unfortunate hiatus develop between the promise of safe-conduct-and-convoy and its performance, their position would be stronger than ever.
- (f) Increase the combined control of Church and State over

the Henrician variety of German Kingship since...

- (1) By seeking absolution as a condition laid down by the Princes he would definitely acknowledge their pivotal position.
- (2) By seeking it from the Pope he would (A) acknowledge that his attack upon Gregory's position had been unjustified, and (B) commit himself entirely to 'obedience in all things concerning the Church'

It is not suggested that at Tribur any single brain envisaged as a unity the entire schema of what we have described as Plan 6. In the seven days of debate in the cross-tension of parties the delegates swayed and stumbled from one proposal to another..at one moment listening to Henry's offer to surrender the whole government to the Magnates if they would leave him with the title and insignia of royalty..sola regii nominis regique cultus rata sibi manere insignia..at another moment rejecting him utterly and making up their minds to a new election..ut absque ulla dilatione virum nobis provideamus qui praecedat nos..of one who should destroy any enemies however exalted of Justitiam et veritatem Dei et sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae auctoritatem..(in which expression of holy if murderous purpose we can detect the familiar phraseology of distant Hildebrand.) (177) Then the Suabians and Saxons seeing that the victor of Hohenburg was being reduced to an ominous desperation and the donning of arms for a final stand, broke away from the proposed deposition and ultimately under the persuasion of Hugh Abbot of Cluny the Diet agreed to come to terms with the King on the basis of what for convenience we have intituled Plan 6.

- A. There would be a decisive Diet at Augsburg in February 1077..in purifications sancta Mariae Augustam
- B. If by that time (the anniversary of the Anathema) Henry had not secured absolution from Gregory his crown was forfeit.
- C. Till then he was suspended from governing.
- D. He must live at Speier with nullam regii apparatus pompam as a private individual accompanied only by the Bishop of Verdun, his Queen, paucisque ministris.
- E. At Augsburg under Pontifical Presidency his fate would be decided.

The Diet of Augsburg has thus receded from finality of decision and resolved itself into a committee of ways and means for effecting if possible at a future date the reinstatement of the King, while the Legates could congratulate themselves on having driven an ecclesiastical wedge into the theory of German Kingship and broken it down as a closed corporation. They had also secured recognition of the farreaching effect in favourable circumstances of Anathema.

Henry himself had obtained a breathing-space in which opportunity might arise for the turning of tables. Furthermore one half of the Bull of February was now so much waste paper since neither the Pope nor the Germans had followed it up by treating him as an abolished political ~~entity~~ entity. Again despite the concession of

the status of suspension, the Diet had depressed his prestige to such a degree that no humiliation undergone thereafter could add anything to his royal abasement. It would cost no more of his depleted store of self-respect to play again even more effectively and ostentatiously than before the role of the Prodigal Son.

His outlook after Tribur may be simplified to the following terms.... By the grace of Gregory absolution may be secured that by the grace of the German Princes such absolution may recover for him the government of the realm.

To this had the diadem of Otto and of Henry III descended, and there remained for the unfortunate youth to cogitate upon the problem of how by spiritualizing the valour of Hohenburg and materializing the humility of Hersfeld to cause the radiance of that clouded crown to shine once more.

(178)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART II

GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

CHAPTER III

Canossa

PAR.76. Henry determines to Outflank his Enemies....77. The King makes a headlong Journey to Intercept the Pope....
78. Henry comes upon the Pope entrenched at Canossa....
79. The Demand for the German Crown....80. Difficulty of the Papal position....81. Henry takes drastic Action....82. The Stratagem is Successful....83. The King's Achievement....
84. Henry and Lombardy....85. Gregory and the Germans....
86. Forcheim and an Antiking....87. Letters of May 1077....
88. Henry goes to Germany....89. The Pope goes Home.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART II

GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

CHAPTER III

Canossa

76. Henry Determines to
Outflank his Enemies

Henry then, by the will of the nobles still precariously King de jure, and in the eyes of the Church a rotten

branch deserving to be hewn down and cast into the fire abode at Speier for the space of two months. But already the brain which had been so bitterly acquainted with self-induced adversity in the few short years that had elapsed since he had entered into power, is actively revolving the most effective methods of escape.

After all he was not much older than was Casanova long centuries afterwards when immured in an apparently hopeless situation under the Piombi of the Doge's Palace. One is apt to forget that we are dealing with one who was little more than a boy albeit sophisticated even beyond the ordinary standards of mediaeval youth. It was probably their appreciation of this fact which tended to moderate the counsels of his high and mighty elders whose frequent leniency, if indeed they believed the worst charges made against him, is not otherwise entirely easy to explain. Even Gregory could hark back to his "incomparable parents" (Par. 71. p. 108) in very much the tone of some fatherly friend of the family who could still cherish hopes that heredity would anon assert itself and the wild oats cease to be sown. His first motion was to send Udo of Trier to convey his submission to Rome, and inform the Pope that he would visit him and seek absolution in person. But the Pontiff nequaquam consentire voluit (179) and insisted that at Augsburg alone would Henry be heard, a rebuff which makes the 'condition' of pre-Augsburg absolution appear as disingenuous on the Papal side as on that of the Princes who made Speier the place of confinement and barred the passes to the South. The 'loophole' had sounded well on paper but on second thoughts it would be more convenient to have a tabula rasa in February. Udo returned with this discouraging message and with the news that Gregory was about to make a progress to the north which would only end at Augsburg. By December 28th 1076 the pontifical cortege was at Florence where the pious Matilda arrived to welcome her hero and conduct him to her capital city of Mantua which place was reached on January 8th, from whence it was expected that the German Princes would supply escort.

Meanwhile Henry had received the Papal message and had determined upon an impetuous and desperate resolve. He would waylay Gregory and wring from him that which was supremely necessary for him to obtain if he was to face the Diet of Augsburg at all. It was a decision at once cunning and bold. It meant a long detour to the west, and a fearful transit across wintry passes,

but it contained the vital element of surprise, and an acute perception of his enemy's weakness as an institutional functionary. A parlous situation can sometimes awaken in certain temperaments an unexpected resource of vigour and vision which can overpass both mountains and men. Henry would descend upon the unsuspecting Gregory as the young Bonaparte came upon Melas at Marengo, and by a masquerade of that humility at which he was an adept strike shrewdly at the vulnerable spot in that Hildebrandine pride which the Outrage of Cenci (Par. 65. p. 100) had shown would not yield to force. The subtlety was that of Paris the son of Priam, or (to be more in keeping with his race) of Hagen of Tronje in the Nibelungenlied who knew where Siegfried could be wounded by the Cross upon his vesture.

77. The King makes a Headlong
Journey to Intercept the Pope

Shortly before Christmas
accompanied by his queen and
infant son and an exiguous

attendance the bold adventurer secretly left Speier and travelled to Besancon in Burgundy where he was received by the Count William uncle of the King's mother. (It was not like the Flight to Varennes in the last days of the French monarchy.. the luck held all the way) From thence the party proceeded southward till they entered the lands of the Marchioness Adelaide of Susa whose avarice wrung five rich bishoprics from the harassed pilgrim as the price of assistance. (180) In one of the coldest winters in the memory of living men the travellers crossed the Mont Cenis amid the snows driven on by the valour and endurance of despair. There were places where the Queen and the Crown-Prince had to be slung in baskets down icy slopes reminding one of the expedients resorted to by Marmont in the Great St. Bernard to facilitate the passage of his guns. At last they came to Susa and Vercelli and the wide Lombard Plain, and it was when they came to the latter place that word arrived to Gregory as to John of England when Richard I escaped from safe keeping that 'the Devil was loose'.. Regem jam esse intra Italianam. (181) The news that Henry was across the Alps disturbed the comfortable sojourn at Mantua where the pontifical train was awaiting the safe-conduct promised from Germany. Gregory would be scarcely less taken aback at the information than were the Florentines of Savonarola's day at the advent of Charles VIII, or the Romans had been when they became aware that Hannibal was over the passes. It was not without reason that ~~the~~ ancient Rome had sought another frontier-line than that of the Alpine semi-circle (Par. 3. p. 3) so fruitful of sensational surprises in Italian history. In a region so hostile to himself and his policy, so seared with feuds and infested with bandits, it was only behind Matilda's spears that the Pope could be at ease even in Mantua. And now the very Chief of the Antipatarines had plunged into the welter and no man could tell if an army might not spring out of the ground in consequence. Nor could anyone foresee what fearful use might be made of such an army by the volcanic Henry of 'Hohenburg'. The old Hildebrandine problem of physical security for the Popedom emerges again sudden and alarming, and we are far from ~~the~~ Castel Sant'Angelo and the thick bastions of the Leonine City

We cannot tell on the information supplied up to date ~~ut~~ utrum scilicet veniam admissi postulare an injuriam excommunicationis suae militari manu persequi plenus animorum adveniret.(182) and some means of protection must be decided upon immediately. The ever solicitous Matilda rose to the occasion and hurried the Pontiff southward to the Appennines where on a mountain spur rising 1500 feet above the plain stood her fortress of Canossa whose triple enceinte of impregnable walls should in this crisis serve to shelter the triple crown. In "gloomy and repellent isolation" the Castle rose from a rock 160 feet high, encircled by the famous three lines of rampart which enclosed as well as the lofty keep, barracks for the garrison, lodgings for the castellan, a church, a monastery, workshops and storehouses. Here the Pope held court and here like leaves blown before the wind of Henry's approach came a crowd of excommunicates both lay and ecclesiastical (183), the casualties of this first stage in the controversy to implore in the garb of penitents that absolution which Gregory alone could give. The time was thus fully occupied with this smaller fry, who were lodged and suffered penance in the houses which clustered irregularly without the gate. Thus in material security but naturally in very considerable perplexity the Pontiff awaited the coming of that enigmatic, incalculable and dangerous young man Henry IV.

78. Henry comes upon the Pope entrenched at Canossa The advent of Henry into Lombardy was welcomed as much by ordinary citizens weary of the feuds as by the Antigregorians. It was hoped that some surcease would be found for the long agony of disorder. It is a doubtful commentary upon 11th century Justitia that the dictum of the learned Gallio should have so little weight in its counsels. But so long had quaestiones de verbo et nominibus et lege been an active source of iniquum et facinus pessimum(184) even in the unholy streets of Rome itself, that at any rate in distracted Lombardy (Par.56.p.91) there were many to look with pathetic expectancy even to dubious an upholder of law and order as Henry IV. The eyes of a Christian Pontiff, as well as those of others more generally described, may be at the ends of the earth seeking the bubble "Supremacy", what time sober citizens are afraid to cross the piazza, and dead men lie in the gutter of a morning. But Henry's mind is made up and he will not tarry nor head a Lombard rising till his purpose has been achieved. Leaving his wife and child and those adherents who had gathered about him at Reggio he moved resolutely into the foothills toward Canossa accompanied only by his mother-in-law, her son and the Marquis Azzo of Este. It was a bleak country through which he trudged by Quattro Castelli into the hills, a region of barren slopes and earthen mounds, the debris of oldest Appenine studded with the lone towers of Matilda's defensive system against the plainsmen and now all wrapped in stormy snow...a Dantesque landscape well suited to frame a desperate adventure of the soul.(185) By a

lateral gorge debouching in the valley of the Enza they must pass till beyond Rossena on its perch of red rock they could see the looming mass of Alba Canossa frowning from the summit of its sharp high horn of stone.

On January 21st the royal pilgrimage arrived at its grim grey goal amid the snows, in mournful and weary conditions irresistibly reminiscent in miniature of that other tragic winter day which was to see the surrender of Bourbaki's Army of the East at Les Verrieres. (186)

Before Henry's eyes rose the seemingly inexorable stronghold which might be termed a lion's den or a fox's earth according to the bias of opinion as to the character of Hildebrand. For three days he lodged in one of the houses below the blind and forbidding steep and strove to negotiate in the chapel of S. Nicholas with Matilda and Hugh of Cluny his old and kindly intercessor at Tribur for reconciliation with the unseen, entrenched and therefore terrible pontiff. But mediation proved unavailing with one who had discovered in the phrase "statuto die in Augustam" a hard frontlet behind which to conceal the Gregorian perplexity. The Pope had learned the lesson of Hersfeld and has mounted to the high mood which had prompted him to hurl by his own authority disguised under the phantasy of the Petrine Mandate the sentence of deposition. For the moment he is in character as the Primum Mobile and World-disposer, and his other aspect as Priest of God is temporarily in abeyance. Yet it could not be entirely so nor yet for long, since in him any tendency to arrogance must ever be tempered by cautious perplexity.

1. Should he insist upon the spirit of the original Augsburg plan, and ignore the letter of that awkward proviso which had ostensibly made so much to hinge upon ecclesiastical absolution?

2. Could he possibly believe in the penitence of this slippery youth who had already shown himself so apt a pupil of the Prodigal Son?

3. If this did happen to be a sincere repentance, a real turning-point, could he justify the exercise of his prerogative of mercy without first consulting that Germany which was so much more important than Henry IV?

4. Was his prestige in the North strong enough to weather the storm which would arise among the more rabid of the anti-Henricians if he came to terms by the wayside with the King they no longer desired?

79. The Demand for the German Crown 5. Could he on the other hand deem this as a providential opportunity for vindicating his claim to be not only an arbiter between the parties but above them both..a kind of mystical Whole of which they were but incidental parts..and at the risk of exciting German jealousy obtain possession of the crown?

This latter idea prevailed and the demand was made that Si veraciter eum facti poenitet Coronam...nostrae potestati dedat.

(187)

Consistent as this might appear with the Bull of February it no longer bore any relation to immediate facts since it denied the

understanding arrived at at Tribur where the Papal deposing-power had not been explicitly acknowledged but rather rebutted by avoidance. Besides Henry was excommunicate for high crimes and misdemeanours committed as King and not for being King, and therefore the attention of the Court must confine itself to the contents of the charge-sheet, and not extend its activities to questions of status which depended upon the will and authority of third parties not present or convened.

It was all very well to have written at the Lateran Palace.. "Totius Regni Teutonicorum et Italiae gubernacula contradico" and "ut nullus ei sicut regi serviat interdico" (Par.69.p.103.) but Tribur had made it reasonably clear that there were practical and rooted objections to the full realization of what was implied therein, and the very fact that the Augsburg Plan had been formulated was an indication that a 'deposition' which in the ordinary sense of the term should have settled Henry's business once and for all was regarded in the North as by no means a res judicata.

Hard-driven as he was the King refused point-blank to submit to this final blow which would sever at once the single thread to which he clung as a royal person, namely the non-papal origin and nature of his crown, and gratuitously lessen if not destroy even the meagre advantage he had obtained in the divided counsels at Tribur. He had come like Agag walking delicately but he was not minded to allow Samuel to hew him politically to pieces before Augsburg.

Gregory had committed a tactical error of the first magnitude, analogous to that mistake in the art of war which allows what should have been only a reconnaissance to commit the whole army too soon to a general action and the risk of defeat. He had shown his hand too heavily at the beginning and from the moment of repulse his movements were compelled to conform to those of his enemy. One can quite understand that in dealing with a person of Henry's stamp the first instinct of a negotiator must be to secure some concrete proof of sincerity apart from those verbal protestations in which the King could on occasion be only too eloquent. But the German Crown was not for conveyance by private treaty and any proposal to tamper with it could be refused instantly with a plain "Non Possumus". Besides two could play the game of insisting upon the whole Augsburg and nothing but Augsburg. Once again is Hildebrand caught out trying to associate antithetical or inconsequent notions as though the intoxicating power ligandi et solvendi overrode even simple logic. It was impossible to insist with any pretence at Justitia upon statuto die in Augustam and at the same time alter the very nature of the said statutory day by discrowning Henry beforehand, in virtue of a novel access of authority not contemplated by those to whom the Augsburg arrangement was originally due.

80. Difficulty of the Papal Position A determinedly hostile observer might well find occasion to describe Gregory's handling of an admittedly unexpected contretemps as both irrational and weak. A defender might advance the argument that it was rather the situation than the man which deserved such appellations, since while it may be

true that "one man in his time plays many parts" it is not to be expected of any man that he shall do it simultaneously. Over-centralization partly in fact and partly in theory had brought Gregory's position to such a pass that if he personally was suddenly rushed upon for a farreaching decision he found himself baffled by the mere multitude of the inter-connected considerations which confronted him.

And yet our persistent ~~xxxxxxx~~ detractor might reply that:-

1. A large proportion of the responsibility for this overcrowding of the Papal canvas lay with Gregory himself, who as Pope had rather indulged than restricted his early diaconal habit of general-managing. (Par. 38, p. 49)
2. Included in this excessive rocussing of authorities upon one person were various assumptions and presumptions of doubtful origin, value and validity, and more often than not of extreme impracticality, which only a monkish mind bemused with the absurd 'ligandi et solvendi' would attempt to force into current acceptance, and thereby on occasions earn such rebuffs as that which greeted Gregory's demand for the crown.
3. There have after all been many men who could face and overcome infinitely more complex difficulties because undisturbed in their own minds by crazy gusts of Superbia masquerading as institutional ambition.

It was certainly difficult to determine at Canossa in which direction was to be found the Way of Justitia.

1. Gregory might absolutely refuse all negotiation whatsoever until statuto die in Augustam, and trust to the stout walls of Canossa to buttress the negation.

This had been his first motion, but had been receded from under pressure of mediation and the attractive notion of seizing the German diadem. If Henry remained importunate there was no technical reason preventing his arrest in the name of the Princes as a fugitive from Speier. If Gregory still believed in the terms of the Bull of February he would not be laying hands upon a King at all but on a recreant knave seeking to corrupt the fount of justice. Unfortunately there were severely practical objections to such a course including the danger of a Lombard rising, even though the expected escort from Germany turned up after all and in force.

2. He might agree to discuss matters upon conditions propounded by himself.

This had been tried with regrettable results since his overweening demand had served only to exasperate the King and lose for himself the bargaining-initiative.

3. He might admit Henry to audience unconditionally and without delay.

In doing so he could trust to his own love for Justitia, and to that peculiar impressiveness and force of personality (which in

old days had overawed even the independent Peter Damian) to carry through the interview without damage to his policy. But such a course was not in fact as easy as it looked.

- A. What profit could accrue to the Papal cause Byom such a colloquy? Henry could not possibly say more than what had been written in the Hersfeld letter, or in the message forwarded to Rome recently through Udo of Trier. Any results of such a conference could hardly be other than to the advantage of the dictus rex and the depreciation of the pontifical freedom of action.
- B. What assurance could he have that in a personal interview he would not be overreached, in view of that peculiarity of his own temperament which connects him psychologically with the Peter of his intense devotion?(188) No one, and least of all Gregory could have foreseen the upshot of such a meeting, for there would be engaged in the matter:-
1. His own personal feelings which might relent.
 2. His dream of political~~y~~-ecclesiastical supremacy which might harden.
 3. His sense of commitment to the Princes which might hamper/his initiative.
 4. His sense of unpreparedness for this wayside petition which might confuse his mind.
 5. His still smouldering wrath which might warp his judgment

Beyond all that there was the fact of his priestly duty to repentant sinners which was the unarmoured part of his Caesaro-papal constitution. It was this vulnerable element which he had hidden like a hermit-crab in the hard shell of Canossa, and it was fear for an attack upon him in that quarter which may not unreasonably be assumed to have been the prime deterrent which prevented him from retaining control of the situation by a frank discussion of the outstanding problems before he was forced into compliance with a demand for interview.

4. He might like a chess-player simply sit and wait for the King's move.

Though for the moment Gregory had on his side the powers of Bishop Castle and Knight, the faculty of checkmate in this strange game lay with the Black King. In a fatal moment the Pope had shown that his refusal was not absolute, he had condescended to Plan 2 and had received a check, and now Henry was driven to put into action his final and most dangerous resource.

81. Henry takes Drastic Action Summoning all the stamina of frame and will at his command the King determined to force this autocrat back upon his priesthood. That future ages might misinterpret the scene and mistake the theatrical appearance for the practical fact meant nothing to him. He was a realist and his mind had concentrated to a point directed at the obtaining of this vital absolution, and if the present age were made to ring with the sensational news of what he was about to do so much the better for the overmastering by public opinion of the reluctance of Gregory.

Once upon a time he had written abjectly from a distance, now he would act abjectly upon the very doorstep, and stage an irresistible frontal attack upon the Vicar of Christ as such, cutting the loss of prestige if only he could thereby cut the Gordian knot of his affairs. Better a tarnished crown than a lost one, wiser to shed a part temporarily than he might retain the chance of regaining the whole permanently. After all from the point of view of dignity Hersfeld-cum-Gerstungen-cum-Tribur could hardly be worsened, and anyhow humiliation before a priest was the common lot of men. He was barely twenty-seven and much could be done with his regality before Death should demand unanswerably the surrender of his diadem. The man who had braved the snows of Saxony and the Mont Cenis was surely not to be daunted by the trampled slush at the gate of Canossa. Besides he could not be described as embodying in his person at the moment the State-Principle as though commissioned as plenipotentiary to surrender the Empire to the Popedom. It was as an individual that he was acting, and he was doing so to regain that plenary position not to hand it over to Gregory. There would have to be a deal of holy talk about the Holy Father and "sinning before Heaven and in thy sight" but idealistic shavelings accepted that sort of stuff as coin of the realm, and as long as in return they delivered the goods according to specification what mattered the expenditure of wind and water in the shape of words and tears? Future ages might say as they liked but here and now Henry would drag back from Gregory what Gregory had taken, so that thereafter he might drag back from the Princes what they had taken. If this be accounted a crude and cynical interpretation of Henry's attitude let it be answered by pointing to the crudity and cynicism of his upbringing and environment and personal career, as well as to the cynical crudity in practice (underlying all the interminable pietistic phraseology) of the Popedom as seen from Henry's originally warped viewpoint, and unfortunately not altered by subsequent experience. If Hildebrand was the prime example and exponent of the only known form of Christianity Henry's ~~tendency~~ tendency to duplicity can be more easily described than blamed. So early in the morning of the 25th January 1077 the King climbed barefoot and in the coarse wollen garment of a penitent up the path which led through the enceinte to the main door of the Castle, where he knocked for admittance but in vain. It was to all spectators a sensation of the first order. The Romano-German Imperial heir stood alone there till the evening and on the following two days the weird drama was repeated before a portal that was not more ironbound than seemed the heart of the Pope. Surely it must be the Hour of Ligandi and Solvendi is in abeyance. And yet if Gregory required concrete proof of his sincerity this vigil in the bitter blast and driving snow ought to suffice. (It would have been more bitter if Gregory had demanded it instead of the foolish and arrogant stipulation about the crown. But because Henry himself had volunteered to do this thing it was a projection of his own will and therefore easier to bear.)

It was an age when the physical posture was very largely relied upon as a guarantee of the state of the soul. In the sphere of the Church as in the case of punishments under the criminal law

cruelty and publicity were exaggerated not so much from sheer vindictiveness against the person as from a desire to spread a deterrent knowledge over as large a proportion of the illiterate populace as possible. Naturally such things as public penance under prescribed forms..which might be described as a form of Trial by Ordeal..put a premium upon able-bodied hypocrisy. But the conditions at Canossa were such that even though Gregory might have sufficient acumen to see through any ordinary case of sham contrition he was certainly confronted here with an amount and quality of external evidence sufficient to blind all but the Satan of the Book of Job.

Three dreary days of snow and tears and freezing wind..manifestly there must be some definite end to this determined proceeding. It would be intolerably impolitic to allow the stubborn penitent to die before the door of a freezingly merciless Priest of God. Even though Henry might recover somewhat at night from the effects of exposure by day there was a limit to the endurance of flesh and blood.

But the fourth day did not see the same apparently pathetic performance. Henry had withdrawn to the Chapel of S.Nicholas where he again sought the mediation of the Abbot of Cluny, this time with seemingly incontrovertible evidence of his repentance to support his demand for admission to the Presence.

82. The Stratagem is Successful Meanwhile Gregory has been undergoing pressure not only from his own feelings and failings but from those of the entourage including the prayers of Matilda, and it became impossible for a Priest to ignore the consensus of appeals for mercy which Henry's consummate stagecraft had evoked. Besides Henry is still King in name as well as in hereditary essence and even cloud-compelling Pontiffs need sometimes to study the reactions of the common herd to over-humiliation of their sovereign Lord.

The trend of Hildebrandine doctrine had tended to affirm that no ruler, however exalted, was other than an erring human soul in the eyes of the Church, and it would look exceeding strange if in this case a German King should be treated with a special severity beyond anything meted out to those other souls with whom the Papacy had hitherto insisted on equating him.

The personal and spiritual side of affairs became dominant and Ligandi lost its grip upon the tone of debate. On second thoughts perhaps the theoretical and political considerations would not come by such great damage were he to listen for a moment less to the hard high tones of Justitia than to the whisper of Misericordia. After all with their absolution-proviso the Tribunates had made a possible bridge across which not only Henry but Gregory himself might escape from this impasse.

Misericordia gained strength and Solvendi became her watchword. In response to Henry's renewed attempt at a parley the Pope consented to negotiate upon terms of reconciliation. Seven Commissioners were appointed on the Papal side, while for the King there spoke the Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishops of Osnabruck and Vercelli, the Abbot of Cluny and certain laymen. A Protocol was signed and sworn to which was little more than a repetition of the spirit of Tribur with no distinct increase in Henry's verbal liabilities.

1. The King must attend a meeting of the German nobility whenever convened by the Pope..
die et loco quemcunque papa designasset..(189)
2. He must be prepared to retain or to forfeit his crown according as the Pope as Arbiter declared him guilty or innocent of the charges laid against him..vel retineret regnum si objecta purgasset vel aequo animo amitteret
3. If proved guilty he would be declared unfit to rule by the ecclesiastical laws..si probatis criminibus regio deinceps honore indignus juxta ecclesiasticas leges decerneretur.
4. He must forswear both the insignia of power and its exercise. nulla regi cultus ornamenta..nihil circa rerum publicarum administrationem juxta consuetudinem suo jure ageret.
5. If retained as King he must obey Gregory ..subditus Romano pontifici semper dictoque obtemperans foret and help him to purge the land of everything contrary to the ecclesiastical laws..ad corrigenda quaecunque in regno ejus contra ecclesiasticas leges prava consuetudine inolevissent.
6. He must provide a safeconduct for Gregory or his Legate across the Alps.
7. The King must undertake in connection with the complaints made against him by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Germany either to do Justice according to the Papal judgment..aut Justitiam secundum judicium ejus..or make peace according to his advice..aut concordiam secundum consilium ejus faciam. (190)

Failure to fulfil these conditions would involve the cancellation of his absolution, his reduction to the status quo ante Canossa in its extreme Gregorian sense of political annihilation, and the election of another to reign in his stead. There is little here which is not already implied in Tribur. It is certainly no more humiliating and may be taken on the whole as an elaboration thereof. Apart from the fact that as a composite promise it was of no practical value beyond its immediate purpose of overreaching the Pope..an object to attain which Henry would have promised anything whatever... it contains certain points of interest as illustrative of the men, the occasion and the times.

1. There is no mention of Augsburg as though a doubt had arisen in Gregory's mind as to the likelihood of that particular arrangement being realized, and as to the wisdom of allowing the Germans to order Conferences when and where they liked.
2. For the moment Justitia has found a synonym in the "ecclesiastical laws" which are deemed to be able to disqualify a King from rule and royalty.
3. Again we have a curious variant of the Petro-Hildebrandine tendency to associate incompatibles, only in this case it is rather to dissociate compatibles.

Henry is expected to promote aut Justitiam..aut
Concordiam..as though the ideals of the 85th Psalm
 were not for § 11th Century Germany.(191)

At any rate a farrago of words reinforced(as the Letter from
 Hersfeld had not been)by technically valid symbolic acts has
 achieved its purpose,and at last the young diplomatist has over-
 come the reluctance and indecision of Gregory VII and obtained
 his immediate desire.

The inner gate of Canossa was opened and Henry entered the
 presence of the Pope before whose feet he fell with the cry of
 "Spare me,Holy Father,spare me"...an edifying spectacle not more
 offensive to the dignity of man than the very similar performance
 of John of England before the Legate,though without the crude
 exhibitions of ecclesiastical arrogance which consummated the
 disgraceful episode of 1214.

Amid general tears Henry was raised from the ground,blessed,and
 conducted to the Church where Mass was celebrated.(192)

Thereafter dinner was served..regem ad prandium vocavit.. and
 Henry loaded with warning and advice..diligenter instructum..
 was permitted to depart in peace.(193)

83. The King's Achievement The King had secured a bare and
 conditional absolution,the very
 minimum of foundation upon which to begin the rebuilding of his
 shattered fortunes. But he had secured it,and while for the
 moment he was scarcely more than a plain citizen he was no longer
 less than one as he had been since the Bull of February. He could
 at least face the world of his troubles as a technical Christian
 without which status he was demagnetized for all time in
 Christendom. His conditions were no harder than those of Tribur
 and anyway he was so accustomed by this time to the practice of
 his peculiar version of the Pauline"quae quidem retro sunt
obliviscens"that he need not fear for himself that his present
 outward appearance of a broken spirit and a contrite heart would
 interfere with his effective seizure thereafter of emergent
opportunities,since in such matters his "Jekyll" had arrived at
 a reliable understanding with "Hyde".

Like Turenne he had proved the value of a sudden flank march
 through the Gate of Burgundy (Par.3.p.3),like Aetius at Orleans
 he had come upon his enemy pinned down in a certain place,as
 with Joshua at Bethhoron the very elements had conspired to beat
 down the resistance of the foe, and like his contemporary William
 of Normandy and England he had shown the value of a tactical
 retreat..in Henry's case into the Valley of Humiliation..for
 drawing the coverts of the opponent. Acting on his own
 spontaneous initiative he had dislocated the Papal policy which
 had been generally based on the assumption that after Tribur
 affairs could be comfortably controlled to a desired end over
 his diminished head,and he had discovered in the depths of his
 own despair a flicker of the Napoleonic instinct for defeating
 his adversaries in detail. He had struck at the Pope to cut the
 one really effective and universally recognized link which
 bound Hildebrand to the Northern rebels,and had done so by

dividing against itself the house of his enemy's soul. Instead of militating against his hopes the fact that he had performed a record penance could be turned into a positive asset to be exploited for all it was worth in the event of a public revulsion of feeling in his favour, since there were many who though they loved not Henry hated still more the enforced degradation of the crown before an overweening priest who refused to open his gate. Thus the general situation may be said to have undergone a change but scarcely a simplification when the King regained the circle of his friends at Reggio.

The Raid of Canossa had been like the advent of a dark star disturbing the balance of the visible luminaries, and setting up new and incalculable modifications in the trend and tension of present forces without in itself throwing any light whatever upon the solution of the problems in debate.

84. Henry and Lombardy The immediate effects of the Treaty of Canossa were naturally felt in the present surroundings of the King. The encounter had taken place beside the great median area of Lombardy, the Debateable Land, where all was still a medley of passion and counter-passion, of acrid and multilateral hates. There were those who looked that Henry should have quelled the chronic disorders of the country and with them the powerful party of the Imperialist and Ambrosian Conservatives who had hoped to see the detested Gregory humbled despite the pious Matilda and her Tuscan spears. The apparent humiliation of the King filled these partizans with fury and so alienated them from Henry that despite his explanations of motive and policy they bitterly reproached him for pusillanimity, threatened to enforce his abdication themselves, and with the boy Conrad as their King... *filium ejus.. regem sibi facerent.* (194) to march on Rome and with a new Pope to upset the regime of the odious Hildebrand. This was a "March on Rome" that was not undertaken but that their minds should entertain the idea even as a threat makes the threateners at one with an ever recurring tendency in Italian politics to envisage the same drastic solution for the troubles of the Peninsula. Though the project was abandoned the leading nobles withdrew in sullen ire from the royal entourage, and many towns withheld the customary hospitality.

Simultaneously with this grave defection from the 'craven of Canossa' in Northern Italy the Patarine party took heart of grace, egged on by two Papal Legates Gerald of Ostia and Anselm of Lucca whom the antipatarine Bishop of Piacenza promptly arrested. Henry arrived at Piacenza shortly after this coup de main, and with that sublime obliviousness to the inflated phraseology of treaties characteristic of both sides began from that city to negotiate with Gregory for Imperial coronation despite Article 4 (p. 127) which denied him any use of insignia. Gregory seems also to have mislaid the memory of this item for he refused the request not on the ground of the treaty but because of the imprisonment of his legatine commission. Henry had lost enough prestige in Lombardy already to make him hesitate to risk losing any more with the Imperialist prelates, and despite the

entreaties of the permanently futile Empress Agnes he resolutely sustained the imprisonment in defiance again of the Capitulations of Canossa which stipulated for absolute obedience to the Pope in Church affairs.

Doubtless he might argue that the zone of discourse at Canossa was primarily concerned with Germany, or that the provisions agreed upon were only to take effect after the deliberations at Augsburg or elsewhere, but his present conduct in the interval was ominously inconsistent with his attitude in the snow before the gate.

When he came to Pavia the King began to feel himself the focus of an increasingly obvious opposition to the Holy Father, and though the situation remained as ever tense and confused there were not lacking signs that should give Gregory furiously to bethink him whether indeed he had not been overreached at Canossa by that dangerous young man.

85. Gregory and the Germans The Pope had given the German nobles to understand that close co-operation was to ^{be} the ~~the/idea~~ keynote of his relationships with them. But now after Canossa it begins to be doubtful as to where he stands with them. His explanations emphasized the failure to send an escort till the King had stolen a march upon both parties, and he began that advocacy of delay till he arrived which was to prove one of the most irritating and deleterious elements in his diplomacy. This obsession about safeconducts is a curious development in the traveller of old Hildebrandine days and the stout withstander of Cencius. The fate of Europe was supposed to hang upon his journeying but he would not move. Evidently he either had not or had lost the spirit of Scribe Ezra another judge-propagandist of "ecclesiastical laws" in that he could not rise to say "Erubui enim petere a rege auxilium et equites..qui defenderent nos ab inimico in via" (195) But doubtless he had sufficient reason in the realities underlying this ill-conditioned scramble over words and names. As long as the overhead wrangling went on between theories of Universal Christian Monarchy..that legend of Charlemagne (Par. 16. pp. 23-4) and Universal Monarchical Christianity..that phantasy of the Popedom..plain government was neglected and the best-intentioned travellers misdoubted them of the roads, a practical everyday explanation of

1. The desire among mediaeval citizens for a real King to reign over them for their good.
2. The failure of the Imperial Idea as too ambitious for the machinery at its disposal, and too jealously regarded and circumscribed by the very vassals who should have been the arms of its law but preferred the liberty of private rapine and war.
3. The consequent growth of more wieldy and governable national states.

But as things are the Lord Pope dare not move without a hedge of pikes.

The Germans who had met at Ulm to discuss the news of Canossa intimated to Gregory that a Diet would be held not now at Augsburg but at Forcheim on March 13th. (196) To this Gregory might come or send a Legate. At the same time the sinister

Rudolf (Par. 54. p. 84) sent a messenger to Henry to dissuade him from attendance and to Gregory to urge his coming if he obtained an escort from Henry. Thus another intriguing brain has entered the arena to darken counsel in its own interest, for this double manoeuvre was practically a guarantee that neither King nor Pope would be present at Forcheim, where the ground would be clear for the politics of the Magnate-ring and incidentally of the Schwabener.

Henry was still deep in Italian matters and despite Canossa was hardly likely to agree to furnish forth the journey of the Pope to a hostile Council behind his own back.

Gregory as usual had recourse to the unsatisfactory system of Legation, despatching two Bernhards..cardinal and abbot..to temporize or in the last resort agree.

86. Forcheim and an Antiking The Diet of Forcheim was small but well packed with anti-

Henricians, who ignored the legatine plea of the first instance ~~to~~ to await the Pope, and on the general understanding eagerly accepted that Henry was not keeping the promises of Canossa proceeded to do what they had come to do namely to elect Rudolf of Swabia in the room of a Henry who was still there. As usual the fact of his representation by Legates gave Gregory the opportunity to protest that he had nothing to do with it though his ambassadors purported to be Ministers Plenipotentiary... sine meo consilio...elegerunt sibi Rodulfum ducem in regem.(197) The Legates succeeded in introducing among the conditions of Rudolf's acceptance by Rome

1. The renunciation of hereditary claims to the crown for his family
2. Permission for free canonical elections to Bishoprics.

The State had always valued the non-hereditary character of the feddalized prelates (Par. 23. p. 33) and here we see a counter-move on the part of the Church to loosen dynastic control of the headship of the State, and thwart the paternity which had stood Henry IV in such good stead for the more easily manipulated system of patronage. Again as usual Rudolf swore anything and everything including obedience to the Pope and the despatch of a safe-conduct. But Gregory (temporarily Canossa-wise) reserved judgment till he should have investigated the merits of the rival Kings. Amid bad omens the upstart was crowned at Mainz by the haughty arch-meddler Siegfried but found that only in Saxony was there a welcome for this unloved creation of the baronial clique.

Scarcely seven weeks have passed since Canossa and already it is ancient history and confusion is worse confounded.

The situation is getting beyond Gregory's control not to speak of his vision, and there are now two headstrong German parties organized behind two crowns. The illusory appearance of triumph at Canossa with its single crowned head prostrated before the Papal footstool has dissolved in an unsubstantial pageant. Once more the ideal of homogeneity in the region between Sicily and Jutland is proving likely to cause more trouble in the pursuit than value in the attainment.

87. Letters of May 1077 Towards the end of May Gregory wrote two letters of which the first was an Epistle General addressed to every rank and station in regno Teutonicorum.

1. Both Kings have sought the favour of the Roman See Uterque namque rex a nobis immo ab apostolica sede cui licet indigni praesidemus adiutorium requirit.
2. He is prepared to render this help. parati sumus
3. To the Righteous Party... ei praebere auxilium cui Justitia ad regni gubernacula favere dinoscitur.
4. If either King refused Safe-conduct he would be excommunicated, since if the See of Peter judges spiritual matters how much more terrena et secularia.
5. He is neutral between the Kings and neither for fear nor favour will he do anything contrary to Justitia...neque terrore neque amore flexi aliquod contra Justitiam adiutorium promisimus. (198)

Manifestly we are prepared to recognize that both Kings exist as such simultaneously.

Also that Anathema has degenerated into a mere bludgeon for general purposes.

Again we are compelled to vindicate our position mystically with the argument spiritualia et secularia (p.107) which is degenerating into a wearisome cliché perilously suggestive of dialectical bankruptcy.

The general effect is that of advocating delay which 'more Hildebrando' will rapidly harden into the hollow unreality of a fixed idea behind which he can hide from responsibility if events refuse to mark time until he shall come up with them.

At the same time the two Legates..Bernardo ecclesiae Romanae diacono, et Bernardo Abbate Massiliensi..must receive direct instructions to the same general effect.

1. They are to demand of both Kings the essential safeconduct..quatenus viam nobis illuc secure transeundi aperiant et adiutorium atque ducatum per tales personas de quibus vos bene confiditis praebeant ut iter nobis Christo protegente pateat.
2. For he seeks to deliberate the case between them inter eos causam discutere..and with the help of clericorum atque laicorum ejusdem regni..to settle the question as to which side is favoured of Justitia..cujus parti magis ad regni gubernacula Justitia favet demonstrare.
3. The duty of the Popedom is to decide the greater questions..majora ecclesiarum negocia discutere..inspired by Justitia..et dictante Justitia diffinire
4. The German Question is so weighty and dangerous..tantae gravitatis..tantique periculi..that to neglect it would cause the Church great injury..non solum illis et nobis sed etiam universali ecclesiae magnum et lamentabile pariat detrimentum.
5. Whichever King resisted the Papal will..nostrae voluntati ac deliberationi..or the advice of the

- Legates..vestra monita..was to be deprived of totius regni gubernacula..and excommunicated..a liminibus sanctae ecclesiae separate.
6. For it is as Idolatry..scelus idolatriae..to disobey the Holy See..qui apostolica sedi oboedire contemnit.
 7. But the other King who humbly obeys our Orders..nostrae jussioni humuliter paruerit et oboedientiam universali matri sicut decet christianum regem exhibuerit..is to be supported by a plenary congress of clergy and laity and and the Legates themselves are to confirm him in regia dignitate by virtue of Gregory's Petro-Pauline authority per auctoritatem..Petri.et Pauli nostra vice confirmate.
 8. And are to command all clerics and laity in omni regno to obey him sicut oportet regi. (199)

We can discern in this ponderous deliverance a few elements which illuminate the Hildebrandine frame of mind, though they no more than did the document itself to elucidate the actual situation.

A. It is evident that the old man's nerve is breaking down either under the after-effects of the Cencian attack, or the shock of the Canossan Raid. This German Imbroglia is of the first importance and yet he must boggle and threaten over secure transeundi and iter pateat. What after all is he afraid of? His Legates seem to travel without let or hindrance, why not the Pope? Does he think to find himself in a Piacenzan gaol with Gerald of Ostia? In view of the urgency of affairs can there not be found in all Italy a sufficient guard for the Holy Father against lanzknecht robbery under arms? It is neither to Henry's advantage nor that of Rudolf to lay violent hands upon the Papal train. And anyhow why this remarkable anxiety to associate the Kings officially with the office of Defensor which at other times has been freely transferred to more competent hands? The Northern Question was difficult enough without the intrusion of this fussy personal complication, about which it is not easy to avoid suspecting either disingenuousness or senility..either hoping that Henry would fail to obey, or merely behaving as it is written.. "Dicit piger..Leo est in via et leaena in itineribus".

B. More boldly than ever is the Popedom being identified with Omnipotens Deus since to thwart its merely administrative directions is equivalent to the worship of stocks and stones.. a characteristic Hildebrandine wresting of notions.

C. Similarly Blindfold Justitia and blind Obedientia are pronounced identical for all practical purposes, as are Gregory and his Legates in spite of the fact that the pope did not entirely endorse the decisions of his Forcheim Commissioners.

D. Notable also is the command to the German hierarchy to Obey the justified Prince as though the German Church is not yet a complete imperium in imperio and one must arrange advice to suit persistent local habits of thought.

Unfortunately for this new Delphic Oracle it could not focus the attention of more than a section of its audience, and for this new Moses he could not arrest the waters of the Time-stream till the Israel of the Popedom had passed over to the Promised Land of unchallengeable and entire control. (Par. 61. p. 96)

88. Henry goes to Germany The news of Forcheim spurred the King to action, and from Pavia he moved by Aquileia to Regensburg despatching messengers to the Pope to ask for assistance against this usurper whose election in the presence of the Papal Legates was a clear infraction of the Canossa Compact. Gregory replied as to Rudolf that he would hear both sides and uphold the favoured of Justitia. By May the King has gathered to him the loyalty and support of Bavaria Swabia and Burgundy, and is finding a far wider reality of favourable opinion than his enemies had thought for. So much is this so that in June he is preparing at Nuremberg to attack Saxony the Rudolfian stronghold, paying no more attention than does the upstart to the demand for safeconduct or its accompanying threat of anathema. Both sides are becoming impatient of Gregory's tergiversations temporizings and demands for delay. Compulsory arbitration was a form of settling disputes of which the 11th century could quickly tire, since swords were easy to draw, the arbitrator far away and unconscionably dilatory, and his conceptions of Justitia heavily entangled with scrolls of wordy lore about Peter and Paul and other hindrances to fighting men. Gregory's Justitia pleased no one for it apparently recognized both Kings temporarily but withheld indefinitely the decision as to which possessed substantive rank, having indicated by Canossa that it was possible for Henry to expect recognition, and by Forcheim that the Rudolfians were by no means devoid of standing with Rome. Furthermore neither Henricians nor Rudolfians were sincerely attached to the notion of the German Crown being at the Papal disposal at all, since Henry had refused to surrender the diadem at Canossa, and the Princes had elected Rudolf on their own initiative at Forcheim. Apparently they both angled for Pontifical support under the lingering impression of the appalling effect of the Bull of February 1076. Far from showing himself at this juncture the Master of events Hildebrand-Gregory like a ship dragging her anchors in heavy weather is exhibiting himself somewhat in the character of an opportunist who cannot grasp his opportunity.

89. The Pope goes Home Gregory went back to Rome whence he had set out to put the Empire to rights. He left a Germany which he had never reached a prey to the misery of exacerbated faction. For a time at least the accursed mistake of Canossa is acting upon him like a disease rending the inwards of his policy and power. The Hildebrand of old days who had chosen Popes and devised expedients with such practical discernment is floundering among men and movements which he can neither appraise nor control. No wonder at his election he had strenuously demurred at being brought out into the open. The most conspicuous act of his pontificate now harried him like an incubus since it was his unfortunate delay in Lombardy which had been the conditioning factor in the restoration of one King to competency, and the erection of another King to flout that competency. The spirit had been willing but the flesh had been weak and now a cross-tension of wilful spirits was creating a turmoil which mere rhetoric about beati Apostoli could not allay. Give him to govern a subservient world by couriers and letters as from a remote inaccessible throne, or even from

behind it, and he would be sure of himself and of Justitia. But in the sudden and personal ambushment of Canossa he had been shaken, perplexed and overreached, and no equanimity could be recovered till he was once more in the familiar surroundings of the Eternal City. Justitia was an uncertain Goddess, and in view of the sea of troubles into which she was leading him, the glory of having done his priestly duty at Canossa, and the pride of having seen the Imperial heir at his feet were beginning to tarnish, as though the scene had indeed been only a tinsel melodrama of unrealities with an undercurrent of blood and tears.

When on November 12th. 1077 the Papal Legation declared for Rudolf at Goslar, and sent envoys to receive the Papal approbation, Gregor y could do nothing, for Henry's messengers arrived simultaneously, and as by that time the King's partizans included practically the whole of Germany except the ever obstreperous Saxony, the World-arbiter took refuge in ambiguity and equivocation, and reopened negotiations with the man who like Jacob at Peniel had extorted from him a blessing.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART II

GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

The Fight for Supremacy

- PAR.90. The Lenten Synod of 1078 continues the Negotiations....
91. The Lenten Synod of 1079 multiplies words to the darkening
of counsel....92. Which is not illuminated by Gregory's own
contributions....93. But the Omen of the Arrows points out the
Way....94. The Lenten Synod of Rome 1080 brings the period of
hesitancy to an end....95 The Second Excommunication and
Deposition of Henry IV....96. Form and Substance of the Document.
97. The Counterblast of Brixen....98. Confusion and the Death
of the Military Messiah....99. A Letter to Altmann of Passau....
100. The Lenten Synod of 1081 and a Letter to Hermann of Metz....
101. At last Henry has done with wordy controversy and Marches
on Rome....102. The coming of Robert the Crafty and the sack
of Rome....103. Flight of Gregory and his death at Salerno....
104. "I have loved Justitia"....105. "And hated Iniquity"....
106. "Therefore I die in Exile"....

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART II

GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

CHAPTER IV

The Fight for Supremacy

90. The Lenten Synod of 1078
Continues the Negotiations

The antagonists having rebounded from the Canossan collision and returned each to his own end of

the lists, there begins a wearisome and highly unsatisfactory period of negotiations from a distance. At the Lenten Synod of February 27th to March 3rd. 1078 the grave situation in Germany was discussed without stressing the question of Lay Investiture lest German resentment be aroused.

Henrician Bishops were received without demur and the Acts of Council included a resolution that in view of the serious plight into which Northern affairs had fallen..Quoniam his et perturbatio regni in maximum sanctae ecclesiae periculum et detrimentum cotidie redundare cernimus..

1. Legates should be despatched..nuncii et latere..mittantur
2. Who should hold a Council of the Pious and of lovers of Justitia..religiosos et Justitiae amatores
3. Either to compose Peace..aut finem et pacem juste componant..
4. Or to determine on whose side was Justitia..cui parti magis Justitia faveat..and lend the weight of Apostolic authority to making that Justitia prevail..et apostolica auctoritate munita Justitia vigoris et auctoritatis robur optineat. (200)

After all Legates are a preferable means for conducting affairs as a kind of mediating screen than the method of direct presence which had proved so humiliating at Canossa.

We have not advanced a whit beyond the Letters of May 1077 and are still imagining that there is wisdom enshrined in the Articles of Canossa which had suggested that Justitia is an alternative to Peace .(Par.82.pp.127-8)..aut pacem..aut Justitiam. What did "Peace" mean anyway?...That Germany should be divided amicably between two Kings, thus reproducing the disastrous fissiparous policy of the Karlings? (Par.10.p.13)

This decision was communicated by Gregory in an Epistle General which urged upon its readers the ideal of Peace.(201)

Again on July 1st the Pope wrote to all clergy and laity in Germany to the same effect, informing them of a projected Council at which his Legates would finally decide between Henry and Rudolf.(202)

The use of a facile pen and a complete battery of c/rystallized phrases is becoming manifestly more convenient than the risking of laborious perils in the Brenner Pass. But the new Legation conducted by Udo of Trier failed completely, and brought down upon their cause the disappointed fury of Rudolf and the Saxons who had expected Papal support, and war broke out in earnest.. despite threats of anathema...and the counsels of Rome relapsed into ambiguity.

91. The Lenten Synod of 1079 multiplies
Words to the Darkening of Counsel

To the Lenten Synod
of 1079 both Kings
sent envoys who vied

with one another in touting for the Pontifical favour.
The Henricians swore that unless hindered by lawful cause..
exceptis legitimis sonis, morte vel gravi infirmitate..etc.

1. They would come by Ascension Day..infra terminum
Ascensionis Domine..
2. And conduct the Legates to Germany..qui legatos
Romanae sedis secure ducent et reducent.
3. Where Henry would obey in all things according
to Justitia and their judgment...secundum Justitiam
et Judicium illorum.

The Rudolfians, not to be outdone, swore that if the Council were
held in Germany..si colloquium ex vestro praecepto constitutum
fuerit in partibus Teutonicis..

1. Rudolf would himself attend..vel ipse veniet
2. Or send representatives..vel episcopos et fideles suos
mittet
3. And would accept the judgment of Rome..quod Sancta Romana
ecclesia decreverit
4. He would do all he could to help the Legates and the
Cause of Peace..ut legatis provenire ad pacem regni et
concordiam possit.
5. Unless hindered by lawful cause..morte vel gravi
infirmitate vel captione sine dolo. (203)

It is interesting to observe that the candidates themselves have selected for their slogans the opposite heads of the strange antithesis presented to them. Henry who feels himself the hereditary legitimate prince and is at present finding his cause supported by more provinces than are holding by his opponent offers the Way of Justitia, while Rudolf who on August 7th 1078 had suffered a beating at Melrichstadt in Franconia appears eager for the blessings of Peace. Both use identical ~~Latin~~ phrases as to the kind of 'lawful causes' which might hinder their fulfilment of the undertaking.

In view of this admirable unanimity of good intentions on the part of these men of violence the Council reiterated the decision of the previous year...

1. To send Legates..ad partes vestras mitterentur
2. Who should convoke an Assemblage of lovers of Peace and
Justitia..pacis et Justitiae amatores
3. Who should either make Peace..aut pacem componant
4. Or declare canonical judgment upon the mischief-makers
aut super illos qui sunt tanti dissidii causa canonicam
censuram exercent.
5. Should anyone obstruct, make war or be rebellious, let him
be Anathema..anathematis eum vinculo ligamus. (204)

Officially and on the surface we are still where we were twelve months ago, but behind the screen of appearances there is more going on than the pious Synod had outwardly taken account of, for in the same month Gregory wrote to Rudolf of Swabia in person to assure him that though the Henricians had tried to engage him in their interest..quo me ad votum suum suis partibus

valeant inclinare..

1. He is resolved to hold the Way of Justitia..per median Justitiae viam..
2. To distinguish the true Justitia from the false..veram a falsa Justitiam.
3. Such sentiments will be better expressed by his Legates.
Legati mei melius quam hac litterae viva voce testificabuntur et docebunt.(205)

While such a communication from a Judge to a litigant might be deemed tolerably innocuous, it is a very different matter with the next epistle which leaves no excuse for mistaking the direction toward which these tiresome repetitions of the word Justitia are pointing. Rudolf with his partizans both clerical and lay are deliberately exhorted to stand fast for the truth of Religion and their own liberty..pro tuenda veritate ecclesiastica pro defendenda vestrae nobilitatis libertate..since "Blessed are they that are persecuted for the sake of Justitia for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven"..omnium qui propter Justitiam persecutionem patiuntur regnum esse coelorum....Any further information would be obtained from his letters and legates unless seized by the way..nisi forte capti sint. (206)

Justitia cannot forgive Canossa and has become a Rudolfian. Obviously the Schwabener in in process of being built in as a plank in her platform as a substitute for a barren Impartiality. Also we may note that the perils of the road have become an obsession. The fate of the late Gerald of Ostia has permanently excited our nervous imagination.

92. Which is not Illuminated by Gregory's own Contributions

In October the Pontiff wrote to his Legates to say that he had heard that they were not

carrying out the terms of their commission..vos aliter velle incedere quam a nobis praeceptum est...(207)

1. He does not believe this..quibus tamen non credimus
2. But they must be cautious ..quapropter diligentissimus circumspectione cavendum est vobis
3. To obviate suspicion..ut utramque suspensionem possitis extinguere.
4. Lay-invested prelates are none of their business..nullum praesumatis exercere iudicium
5. They are to report immediately if Henry comes to an agreement...si rex adqueverit de statuendo colloquio et pace firmanda in regno..(summum studium sit) annunciam

In other words just as rhetorically Hildebrand strives to reconcile contradictories so in the present politics the attempt is being made to make the best of both Kings simultaneously, just as morally he endeavours to associate the love of an arbitrating Justitia with a distinct and growing preference for the idea that 'Religion and Liberty' are only safe with the Rudolfians.

It is time also that the general public in Germany were reassured as to his own position and that of his legates. Strange rumours have been going ~~about~~ about which do not redound to the credit of the impeccable Gregorius Arbiter.

1. He Gregory has actually been accused of frivolity
usus sim seculari levitate
2. Whereas no one had suffered more than himself
nullus vestrum...maiores me et patitur angustias
et suffert injurias.
3. Almost all the laity are on Henry's side..causam Heinrici
..laudant ac defendunt.
4. And accuse the Pope of harshness and disloyalty..
duritiae ac impietatis circa eum
5. So far he has resited this pressure..quibus..omnibus
sic restitimus hactenus
6. And has maintained neutrality ...in neutrum adhuc partem
7. Except/ in so far as Justitia and Equity demanded..nisi
secundum Justitiam et Aequitatem.
8. If his legates have misbehaved he is sorry..dolemus
9. But they must have been the victims either of force or
fraud..tum violenter coacti..tum dolo decepti.

(208)

This naive State Paper is scarcely in the tone of an autocrat unless indeed it can be compared to the apologetic rescripts of certain early Chinese Emperors who were given to making plaintive explanations to their people of their tragic conscientiousness. Evidently for the moment an ebb-tide prevails in the Hildebrandine spirit, and like the King of Babylon he stetit enim..in bivio in capite duarum viarum divinationem quaerens commiscens sagittas

(209)

93. But the Omen of the Arrows
Points out the Way

On January 27th 1060 a sudden
decision by judgment of battle
crystallized the policy of the

Popedom and gave shape to Justitia, for on that Day Henry was defeated at Flarchheim upon Unstrut and Hohenburg was avenged. Immediately the Rudolfians determined to compel the Papacy to take sides as this victory had obviously been divino judicio, and the pontifical irresolution was chiefly responsible for the prolongation of the war. Their remonstrances fell on receptive hearing for Gregory must now bestir himself or be left utterly behind.

He was helped in this matter by the attitude of Henry whom defeat has not this time brought to the mood of qualling but rather to an access of defiance. All this time he has been building up his power in the regions which owned his sway, freely investing Bishops of his own political colour in vacancies, or as pretenders to Rudolfian Sees. Despite military reverse his diplomacy has been gaining ground even to the extent of dividing the Baronial Ring against itself. The weapon of repentance would be no use now, nor with threequarters of Germany at his back is he minded to truckle any more to the treacherous Italian. Besides it was high time a crisis was precipitated for Germany was undergoing an experience of misery analogous to that recorded as having endured in England "all the nineteen winters that Stephen was King", and the general impression could be exploited to the utmost that the folly of the Popedom had brought this thing to

pass. The same headlong spirit bent on forcing a decision which had borne him through snow and ice to Canossa now informed his actions, and on the heels of the news of battle came instructions to the Henrician envoys bound Romeward for the Lenten Synod that they should now assume a high carriage and no longer appeal but threaten. Thus from both sides came a pressure upon Gregory to cut short his divinations and pronounce Justitia once and for all. The archgambler with the destinies of Central Europe was bidden peremptorily to declare his backing.

94. The Lenten Synod of Rome 1080 brings In the beginning of the Period of Hesitancy to an End March the Synod assembled with a great pomp of prelates drawn chiefly from Italy and Gaul, and its mood was ominous of definite pronouncements.

1. Cleansweeping decrees against Lay Investiture by all and sundry were promulgated, supported by the whole artillery of anathema.
2. The Canonical Election of Bishops was commanded for all cases
3. A great list of Excommunications reminiscent of the awe-inspiring proscription-lists posted at the Pillars of S. Mark by the Venetian Ten was read out, including Tedald of Milan and Guibert of Ravenna.
4. Threats were issued against Robert Guiscard and the Normans lest they encroach further upon Benevento, Spoleto and Fermo.

Then came the turn of the German Question in connection with which only Rudolf's emissaries were allowed to speak. They complained of Henry:-

1. That he had seized the Kingdom after deposition..(which meant either the abortive deposition in the Bull of February 1076 which Germany had ignored, or the baronial deposition which accompanied the election of Rudolf, which the majority in Germany denied in toto.)
2. That he had violently ejected Bishops and Abbots and replaced them with nominees of his own. (An inevitable proceeding if Henry was to make headway against an antiking, though of course entirely contrary to the Capitulations of Canossa)
3. That he had constantly frustrated the settlement of the strife by conference. (The vexed question of the safe-conduct in which Rudolf was in no position to sit in judgment.)
4. That his was the War-guilt..(As unsatisfactory as any other sweeping attempts to fix the blame for long-maturing cataclysms.)

This indictment was assented to as a true bill, and there remained but to put in motion the necessary corrective for such hideous enormity. Henry is manifestly contrary to all Justitia and desperately wicked, as he had been ever since Canossa, only now it happens to be apparently convenient to deem the cup of his iniquities intolerably full. The pious Rudolf is surely the acceptable David raised up to the confusion and supplanting of the House of Saul.

95. The Second Excommunication and Deposition of Henry IV On March 7th 1080 Gregory VII made known his will, and testified finally against the impious Henry IV and all his works. After invoking SS. Peter and Paul as witnesses that he had not sought this Papacy, and had suffered much on behalf of the Church, he proceeds to justify his own policy during the last four years.
1. Though he had absolved Henry at Canossa he had not restored him to the Kingdom...non tamen in regno a quo eum in Romana Synodo deposueram Instauravi.
 2. He had striven to bring about Justitia or Peace between Henry and the rebels...Justitiam facerem vel pacem componerem.
 3. Rudolf had been elected without Papal advice...sine meo consilio..elegerunt sibi Rodulfum ducem in regem.
 4. But had promised to obey me in all things...sese paratum mihi omnibus modis oboedire
 5. Henry had asked for help against Rudolf...ut illum contra predictum Rodulfum adjuvarem
 6. But Gregory had put him off until Justitia was consulted ut scirem cui Justitia magis faveret.
 7. Both Kings had asked him to discern Justitia in their favour...ut ei Justitiam facerem
 8. A Congress had been arranged for...in partibus ultramontanis fieri colloquium
 9. To establish either Peace aut pax or the trend of Justitia aut cui amplius Justitia faveret.
 10. Because the enemies of Justitia would thwart the project he had fenced it with Anathema...excommunicavi et anathemate alligavi.
 11. The regardless Henry...non timens periculum inoboedientiae .. incurred this ban by obstruction...colloquium impediendo
 12. So he and his supporters are bound with the chain of anathema...anathematis vinculis alligo
 13. And Henry is deprived of the Kingdoms of Germany and Italy ..omnem potestatem et dignitatem illi regiam tollo.
 14. No Christians shall obey him...sicut regi oboediat interdico
 15. All fealty is dissolved...a juramenti promissione absolvo
 16. Rudolf is granted the Kingdom to which he had been elected by the Germans...quem Teutonici elegerunt
 17. And all who obey him shall receive absolution from their sins and the blessing of the Council...vestramque benedictionem....
 18. Finally the Council must impress the world with their power to bind and loose on earth as they do in Heaven...ligare et solvere..tollere et concedere..according to the merits of men.
 19. For if they can judge spiritual things..spiritualia..how much more de saecularibus.
 20. Let Kings and princes tremble to disobey ~~the~~ ^{your} Church..et timeant parvi pendere jussionem ecclesiae vestrae..and let Henry be the awful example of your power..vestra potestate cadet..that he may repent unto salvation in the Day of the Lord..ut spiritus sit salvus in Die Domini.

96. Form and Substance of the Document 1. We begin as usual with invoking witnesses of the sort that are conveniently beyond the reach of cross-examination in favour of an assertion already sufficiently laboured that the Popedom was not of our seeking. This may have been true enough but the repetition suggests that the Hildebrandine mind has discovered therein a screen against being held responsible for the results.
2. There follows a summary of recent negotiations in which the promises of Rudolf are given prominence but only the requests of Henry. The promises had evidently carried weight but the requests had been repelled.
3. Apprehension of possible interference with the projected Conference by guilty consciences has led us to mobilize the dread power of Ligandi et Solvendi into the net of which Henry has blundered as usual.
4. This of course finishes Henry for all time, and as his doom-scale sinks in the Olympian hand so necessarily does that of Rudolf rise to the glory of Justitia.
5. Rudolfianism is hereafter to be equated with Christianity, and Christianity identified with the Synod of Rome, since their theological equipment establishes their competence as politicians.
6. Terrorism is after all a means of Grace.

Stripped of its hagiological and pietistic garnishings now worn somewhat threadbare by mechanical repetition, this apparently comprehensive summing-up of the case and delivery of sentence purports to obliterate Canossa. The clinging spectre of the disastrous concession of 1077 must hereby and herein be surely laid at last, as must also be the accusations of weakness and vacillation which have recently been pursuing the representative of rocklike Peter. The spirit of Rome has turned to bay and this shall be once more the Day of Zama. Out of weakness will be made strength, and behold it is Anathema Maranatha for Destiny must follow in its train.

And yet while Peter and Paul may be unsusceptible of cross-examination their representative has thus committed to paper a tissue of assertions which react strangely to the ploughshare of analysis.

1. Gregory claims and exerts the right to excommunicate and depose (note the order this time) Henry IV for hindering the meeting of the decisive Congress. No evidence is adduced as to the nature or precise occasion of this criminous behaviour. It cannot refer to anything anterior to the Synod of 1079 for then the Henrician promises had been lavish and apparently firm, no accusations as to the obstruction of legates had then been forthcoming, Gregory neither at that time nor subsequently has made the slightest move to travel to the North, nor has any date or place been fixed for the Assembly on the road to which a Legation could be subjected to interference. All that has happened in the last twelve months resolves itself into (a) A marked tendency on the part of Gregory to comfort the King's enemies by private despatches, and (b) Henry's defeat in North Germany.

2. The Pope claims authority to sanction the election of a German King already chosen by the Magnate-ring. This is the precise reverse of the old Imperial sanction to the election of a Pope already chosen by the Cardinal-ring. Inconveniently precipitate as his Legates may have been the only thing to be done was to make a virtue out of concurrence, and persuade ourselves and the world that the choice is providential and that the thing is from the Lord. Distance, ignorance, and the necessity of saving one's face at all costs combine to invest the pious Rudolf with imputed Justitia.

3. A new rhetorical style of considerable significance informs this post-Canossan fulmination. The Bull of February 1076 had been Petrocentric. But the Pope in the interval has felt what it was like to be trapped at Canossa into single-handed action and therefore solitary responsibility at any rate upon the 'earth-plane'. It is therefore necessary on this occasion to supplement Peter and Paul and the Thotokos with a Synodocentric screen. This new Osiris judging the quick and the dead by the power Ligandi et Solvendi bethinks him of the value to himself of the "Forty-two Assessors". We are going to fasten this nail with a sure hand as a Master of Assemblies, having singularly failed to impress the world in our character as unique Arbiter-general. Whether he really fancied that the Rudolfian League and the German 'faithful' would react profoundly to the information that in obeying the Upstart they would earn the precious blessing of a parcel of Italian prelates it is impossible to discern. But it is interesting to observe that Gregory should be even intermittently prepared to employ the alleged opinion of a well-packed Council as cover to his will. This mood has evidently come uppermost after three years of perplexity in which the naked responsibility of his Gregorian character has done little but exhibit him writhing uncertainly in the limelight. Now using the Council as a figurehead or stalking-horse Hildebrand is himself again.

We therefore urge the members of Synod to assert their authority to bind and loose, their supremacy over principalities and Kings, their quality as representing the almighty Ecclesia, as though the days of the phantom-Senate of the Caesars had come back again. Pushed to its logical conclusion there is here an unwitting precedent for the Conciliar Movement and dangerous grist for the mill of a Marsiglio of Padua.

4. As usual ambiguity enshrouds the most important phrases such as "pro meritis". Henry IV in 1076 had put his finger on this danger-spot when he roundly denied that he could be deposed except for heresy. (P. 110. Art. 6) But the scope of criminality is rapidly enlarging until Merit and Demerit will ultimately become synonymous with the promotion or thwarting of every conceivable whim of the Bishop of Rome. Despots are liable to over-simplify their outlook till they cry treason at a moment's notice, and this new Bellerophon has mounted Pegasus by now and is far above the pettifogging distinctions drawn by common folk between the greater culpability and the less, so that failure to provide an escort for a Pope who refuses to travel anyway may quite well be deemed equivalent to straying from the Faith.

5. Before Canossa there had been but one King and therefore it was possible when expediency dictated to twist its interpretation into that of having been an ultimatum all the time however absolute its terms when Gregory thought that Germany would endorse the deposition without demur. But now we have chosen another King and therefore the casting down of Henry is this time into the abyss. Only so can the wound of Canossa be healed. From March 7th. 1080 Gregory VII considers himself irremediably at war with the 'dangerous young man' and shows in every line of his Decree that it is the product of an accumulated hostility already determined.

It was not given to him to question whether by this declaration he was not playing into the hands of the said dangerous youth as effectively as was Napoleon III in 1870 when he blindly furthered the designs of Prussia.

Nor was it revealed to him then or at any time that the policy of Excommunication wielded again and again by an excitable deus ex machina may not necessarily be a sign of strength at all but is open to the charge of being a symptom of intellectual, moral and political bankruptcy, a confession of having been out-manoeuvred, an exhibition of childish and disproportionate violence, the ecclesiastical equivalent to supporting a poor case with assault-and-battery. The monkish type is peculiarly prone to yield to the morbid fascination of the sensational and all-shattering ban, a neurotic infantility closely allied with the other tendency so familiar in the history of sacerdotalism to exaggerate at a moment's notice the most microscopic provocation into a 'devilish attack upon religion'. But the vision of Canossa with its dreary figure of a King made lower than Lazarus at the gate of Dives before the Pontiff was a fatal stimulation to this obsession for thunder-bolts. If the Bull of February had produced this effect, if this new Elijah had called down the fire once and it had so obviously come, who was to doubt that the Popedom had under its hand the monopoly of a force as constantly usable and irresistibly potent in the political sphere as was the Greek-fire of the Byzantines in the sphere of naval warfare?

6. In view of the widespread misery which must be the result of prolonging and intensifying the civil broils by turning it into that most ferocious of all inhumanities a 'Holy War' it is not inapt to comment upon the pompous frivolity of these proceedings in high places. Already are the words of the Vicar of Christ adrip with blood and tears not only in 11th century Germany and Italy but hereafter in such abominations as the ghastly campaigns of 1209-1229 in Provence. Timeant parvi pendere jussionem ecclesiae vestrae was a smooth phrase under which could shelter an earthly Hell more odious than the vilest imaginings of crazed apocalyptists.

7. As a corollary to the appeal to the motive of fear, and as an accompaniment to the use of anathema for purposes not precisely theological we find the motive of self-interest. Behold that promise of absolutionem omnium peccatorum which very shortly will be the master-bribe for recruiting Crusaders. Temporal and exceedingly temporary politics and Eternal Salvation are

deliberately fused together, and the Treasury of Merit is opened as a fighting-fund for the candidature of Rudolf the Schwabener. Already the Dragon's teeth are planted, and in the lurid blaze of this malignant futility of 1080 the new Jason reveals how far the crop has grown. But unlike that hero, not this time would Gregory be able to snatch the Golden Fleece of Supremacy from the grove of the War-god.

97. The Counter-blast of Brixen But the ghost of Canossa was not thus to be exorcised even by bell book and candle. This time it is Gregory who has overreached himself and stirred up new aggregations of trouble without dissipating the old. That revulsion of public feeling which so often has proved the bugbear of hasty utopians and dehumanized theory-mongers must needs set in almost before the thunder of anathema had died away. The Henricians exploited to the utmost the advantage gained by the cunning King in thus baiting the old Pontiff to fury. In 1076 Henry had definitely done something at the Diet of Worms and received the due reward of his deeds, but now Gregory can be represented as the aggressor against one who had done nothing. Not even his own Duchy could endure the Schwabener, and the legitimists and bourgeoisie as well as a powerful party in the Church only gathered more solidly in support of the hereditary prince as the muddled and venomous policy of the Lateran singled him out the more obviously for annihilation. Bishops meet at Mainz to deliberate upon a change in the Popedom, while Huzmann of Speier and Dietrich of Verdun publish far and wide in Lombardy and the Empire their forcible denunciations of the person and performances of Hildebrand-Gregory.

On June 25th an Episcopal Council at Brixen decreed the deposition of the Holy Father from the Petrine See.

The reasons annexed to this action are a virtual repetition of the Worms Decree except that to the charge of irregular election is added a more specific accusation of violence in obtaining it.. Lateranense palatium militia comparata hostiliter occupavit.. which sounds as though the reverend Fathers had confused Alexander II (Par.39.p.51.) with Gregory VII. The Pope has flouted the Decree of Nicholas II as to Imperial confirmation..negavit se regem uspiam scire et se posse asseruit sentenciam praedecessorum vacuam judicare..He is not the elect of God..a Deo..electum..but a corrupt usurper..sed a se ipso vi, fraude, pecunia impudentissime objectum..who has wrecked the peace of Christendom..qui ecclesiasticum subvertit ordinem, qui christiani imperii perturbavit regimen..(and so on with a tissue of violently-worded accusations about details of administration including necromancy and even Berengar of Tours.(Par.34.p.46.) Altogether an abusive document though refreshingly free from the intricate pietistic mannerisms which clog the interminable dialectic of Gregory.(211)

The Henrician Party does not shine in correspondence, and it may be that Gregory's impression of himself as a master of his pen at long range may have cooperated with his dearly-bought experience of Canossan instability in close interview to damp his eagerness to travel to the Northern Congress more effectively than even his nervousness about highwaymen.

The Council of Brixen did not expend all its energy in abuse but

proceeded to increase the confusion of the times by electing the excommunicate but otherwise irreproachable ex-chancellor Guibert of Ravenna as Antipope. The originally reasonable but now hopelessly impracticable and morbid craze for overhead unity has resulted in the emergence of two Kings and two Popes trampling like gladiators the reeking arena of the distracted Empire.

98. Confusion and the Death of the Military Messiah Having thus stirred up an undreamt-of hornets nest with his meddling pen Gregory must needs recall the usefulness of the dubious Robert Guiscard whom so recently he has threatened with the last penalties. At Ceprano the Norman consented to become Defensor of the See, but refused to accede to the request to engage in a murderous persecution of the Lombard schismatics. This is to his credit for the altar of Justitia is red enough already. The Kings of England and Denmark very sensibly ignored appeals to meddle in Italian affairs, and the pious Matilda was for the nonce crippled by rebellion among her vassals. The only hope for the vindication of Justitia lay in some bloody field in the North, and on October 15th the trial by battle took place, but with the dismal and staggering result that though the accursed Henry was again defeated..doubtless divino judicio, Rudolf the new Military Messiah who was to rule the nations with a rod of iron, the champion of Justitia, the favoured of Peter and Paul, whose service was to be the Way of Salvation was unexpectedly slain, and his partizans (fresh from absolution because of him of omnium peccatorum) weltered in a fresh dispute as to his successor.

From the transfiguring altitudes of the now obsolete Lenten Synod we have begun the descent into the Valley, but as yet we know it not, and our courage is high when we write to Altmann of Passau on the situation arising from this peculiar dispensation of Providence. Indeed our tone is a shade more shrill and the claims more exalted. Perhaps it is too shrill, or peradventure since the now defunct Rudolf was after all not of our choice, the seemingly ill tidings may after all be a blessing in disguise since from it may come that longed-for Tabula Rasa whereon as at Sinai the Decalogue of Justitia may at last be written.

99. A Letter to Altmann of Passau 1. On Rudolf's death the Faithful had urged the Pope to readmit to favour a Henry who was now prepared to make large concessions..plura facere nobis paratum..in gratiam nobis recipiamus...

2. Since Italy is on his side..cui ferme omnes Italici favent
3. And Germany would not defend the See if Henry went to Italy si ille in Italiam..contra sanctam ecclesiam venerit ex vobis frustra sperandum fore auxilium
4. But this is not to be thought of since non adeo grave videtur
5. We must have a new King..personam eligere
6. And that he may be idoneus, delay is preferable to the risk of being saddled with unworthiness..aliqua mora..quam nimium festinando in regem aliquis ordinetur indignus.

7. The Church will have none of the unserviceable and disobedient..non modo sancta ecclesia non favebit sed etiam contradicet
8. But intends to exact an oath in the following terms from the candidate..ab illo requiret
- (A) He must swear to be faithful to Saint Peter and His Vicar Pope Gregory..ejusque vicario pape Gregorio qui nunc in carne vivit
 - (B) He must faithfully obey whatever commandment the Pope shall lay upon him..Quodcunque mihi ipse Papa praeceperit
 - (C) He must agree with the Pope as to the ordering of the Church..de ordinatione vero ecclesiarum
 - (D) As to the affairs of the Constantinian and Karling Donations..quae Constantinus Imperator vel Carolus sancto Petro dederunt
 - (E) And as to all sorts and conditions of Legacies quae apostolicae sedi..sunt oblata.
 - (F) That he stand not in danger of Sacrilege and Damnation..periculum sacrilegii et perditinem
 - (G) Whenever he and the Pope met, the candidate must with his own hands..per manus meas..become a Knight of Saint Peter and the Pope..Miles Sancti Petri et illius officiar. (212)

We observe in the first place that Henry's propaganda and its effects are evidently advancing with alarming rapidity. So also is the success with which the young diplomatist of Canossa is once more staging the impression that it is Gregory who is the obstacle to peace. In this he is helped by the uncomfortable fact that such an accusation is very largely true. One can only suggest senile decay as the physical explanation of this astounding effusion.

- a. There is manifest a blind fixation of ideas as though the mental organism is tired out. The notion of having a new King at all costs has become grooved till it looks very like an obsession contra mundum. The young man of Canossa may be paratus to do anything we wish, but we are not now equal to the strain of handling him.
- b. Delay is still the watchword, since every decision made since Canossa has only landed us deeper in the mire of perplexity, and in procrastination lies the one hope of finding a puppet that will answer to the pull of the strings.
- c. When the Conditor sees fit to raise up a man after the Gregorian heart, the paragon is to be saddled and bridled with a mixed harness of extraordinary pattern.
 - 1. He is to be a mere subservient ffunkey devoid entirely of that youthful independence which is so trying for the elderly. Quodcunque ipse Papa praeceperit..it is impossible to frame words which go further than that.
 The absolute is so much easier to deal with than the relativity of distinctions.

2. He is to focus his personal fidelity on Gregory himself, and not merely in principle on the Papedom. There is senile ~~vehemence~~ in that qui nunc in carne vivit as though some Esau had been overheard saying "Venient dies luctus patris". The office and the individual are still inextricably associated as becomes the self-made adventurer whose personality must be kept in the forefront of the function.
3. The intrusion of sections D and E with their astonishing resurrection at this precise juncture of the ghosts of the 'Donations' which have not been in question (save intermittently with the Normans) and their fussy details about legacies and such concerns of the family-solicitor is incredibly fatuous when we consider all that has been shaking the world since 1073 but explicable if we realize that such matters had been the preoccupation of the young Hildebrand when he set himself to make financial ends meet for Bruno of Toul. (p.45) That is more than thirty years ago but there comes a time when the immediate past is blurred to the advantage of long ago. Unless some such excuse can be found one is left to exclaim at the "seculari levitate" (p.139) of such provisos.
4. Where has this remarkable new Order of Knighthood come from? Have we not had enough trouble with Titles of doubtful import (Par.14.p.20) that another must be invented of still more precarious interpretation? Does the phrase "per manus" really imply the ceremony of homage as between liege-lord and vassal pointing to the assumption by Gregory of the paramount feudal authority, thus at last achieving in one person and place the union of both apices of the pyramidal hierarchies of Church and State? If so then indeed we can go no further for we have become an Olympian.

The Papal self-consciousness is swelling under our very eyes on the providential vacuum caused by the death of Rudolf.

100. The Lenten Synod of 1081 and In February 1081 Gregory re-a Letter to Hermann of Metz renewed the Excommunication apparently as a gesture of defiance and resolve rather than that it should be imagined that the Henricians could be worse blasted than at present, or that anathema can grow stale..except where Normans are concerned. In March came a long letter to Hermann of Metz which is a mere re-hash of the letter of August 1076 (p.107) parading the conventionalized effigies of Gregory I, Gelasius, Zacharias, Ambrose and Symmachus without the slightest advance in profundity of doctrine or approximation to historical accuracy. Once again we are treated to the ineffable "quantū magis saecularia" and furthermore are informed that it is because the exergreen merits of Peter..perennem merit-orum dotem..have been transmitted by apostolic succession (through John XII?..we may ask..through the simoniac Gregory VI?) Therefore those whom the Church summons..Quapropter quos sancta ecclesia (sua sponte ...advocat..

should humbly obey not for transitoria gloria but pro multorum salute. (213)

An interesting point is re-stated in connection with the idea that Kingship is rooted in Pride..super pares dominari affect-averunt..which is scarcely in keeping with other interpretations employed to conciliate Kings of whom he approved, such as the late Rudolf to whom he had written in terms of the simile of duobus oculis..ita his duobus dignitatibus. (214) Or the mighty William of England to whom in 1080 he had written that both powers are of God..ut apostolica et regia dignitate per diversa regertur officia (215). But German affairs were permeated with the odour of Henry IV that monster of Superbia, and it increased the vertical distance between the superior Church and inferior State to arrange for it to be believed that Kings are devil-begotten, and made it a matter of satisfaction for the Popedom to be able to look back upon the affair of Canossa as akin to the august drama of the Temptation in the Wilderness.

101. At Last Henry has done with Wordy Controversy and Marches upon Rome

While the imagination of Gregory has soared to the zenith of fantasy his

actual situation is undergoing a declension which accelerates apace. What Henry had been compelled to refuse to the importunity of the Lombards before Canossa can now be ~~re~~deemed not only expedient but possible. Behind him was a powerful anti-Gregorian sentiment largely generated by the Pope's growing addiction to the employment of absolute sanctions based on general warrants which banned omnes personas..seu alicujus homines. This bred a just resentment in the minds of many who might prefer Henry as King for other and more immediate (and be it added more important) reasons than were connected with squabbles about safe-conducts and points of political theology.

Thus Henry was emboldened to emulate his mighty father and to operate upon the Roman ulcer with the sword. But the unlucky German was not destined either in 1081 or 1082 to set foot in the City despite the absence of the now pious Duke Robert on conveniently urgent business overseas, and the failure was but little compensated for by the opportunity afforded for ravaging Matilda's lands. Also a new antiking arose in Saxony though Herman of Salm was to prove of little importance. Once more as at Canossa the Pope has buried the unarmoured portions of his personality and public character within a shell of stone, and though in the third year that shell is broken he finds a final protection in the Mole of Hadrian from which to glower in inaccessible defiance on the 'dangerous young man' The Priest and the Lord-Paramount in his soul are at last welded together and neither blandishment, terror nor reason have any say in the counsels of his mind. His power has shrunk but in shrinking it has compressed him into an incandescent unity of intransigence. Henry the pariah might bark about the gate in the absence of the Norman Cerberus, but there could be no resiling now from the status quo ante Canossa.

102. Where he Achieves the Imperial Crown

A third attempt in the spring of 1083 rewarded

that amazing tenacity of self-will which is the outstanding feature of the King's character. The Romans were wearied by the prolonged necessity of unaided defence, and disgusted at the now crazy obstnacy of the Pontiff to the extent at last of opening the gates. A triangular tension of intrigue, bribery and negotiation began between the King, the Roman nobility and the immovable pantocrat in Castel Sant'Angelo. All proposals for a Council broke down, and on Palm Sunday 1084 the Anti-pope Guibert was consecrated by a Lateran Synod of German and Italian Bishops as Clement III. On the 31st March he placed the Imperial Crown on the head of Henry IV.

For the moment it seemed that the times of 1046 had come back again, that scene which the young chaplain Hildebrand had witnessed of the casting down by Imperial Germany of Gregory VI and the setting up of another in his place on the Chair of the Church. But thirty-seven years had passed, and with them had come in a whole generation which knew not Henry III but had known Hildebrand, had seen Canossa, had been bled to despair by multilateral rebellions and the savage fury of rival crowns, had learned the essential weaknesses of Germany and its King, and the resistless might of the Norman vavassours.

The ceremony at S. Peter's in 1084 was not and could not be a reproduction of the former event, but rather a parody, a hasty and ill-founded masquerade, for above their heads loomed the impregnable bulk of Castel Sant'Angelo, and over the horizon came Robert Guiscard.

102. The Coming of Robert the Crafty
and the Sack of Rome

Meanwhile this truant
Defensor of the
beleaguered See had been

involved in Byzantine politics, and it was not until Alexius strove to discourage this interference by intriguing with Henry against Apulia and the Pope that the fierce Duke awoke to the duties of his pious office and came westward at speed gathering a motley array of ruffians on the road.

All hope for Henry of making good the full programme of 1046 disappeared. He could not carry off his Gregory, by no means could he be said to have restored the cooperative union of Church and State, he could not remain in the treacherous and divided city with the Norman approaching every hour, nor could he retire without undignified haste in view of the peril to his communications. A would-be Napoleon had come to his Moscow, but the Czar had remained obdurate and remote and now the tables were turned. So the Emperor abandoned the City before the wrath to come having been beaten by the now crystallized obstinacy of a Gregory who had learned his lesson at Canossa.

But the liberation of the Pope was marked by a fitting climax to that insane regardlessness as to the means employed which had stained red the Hildebrandine pontificate these ten homicidal years.

The ferocious swarm of holy warriors doubtless absolved omnium peccatorum for this crusade under the aegis of Justitia fell with Christian zeal upon the wretched Roman people who had of course been guilty of the sin of idolatry in opening the gates

to the excommunicated Germans and therefore deserved to be used so that timeant parvi pendere jussionem ecclesiae vestrae. (Not that such phrases were here employed but were in existence for use).

The City of Rome was delivered over to a sack as hideous and bestial as that which took place under Guiscard's son in 1099 when the banner of the Salvator Mundi was planted upon the ramparts of Jerusalem. Scant comfort was there for the wretched populace in the knowledge that Gregory was strenuously appealing for the safety of 'religious buildings' after the manner of Leo I with the Vandals. A welter of slaughter, outrage, pillage, burning and enslavement did not endear to such hearts as still beat and had not been transfixed on the pikes the abstract theories of technical supremacy for which the megalomaniac in Sant'Angelo was willing to lay down every life but his own. Institutional ambitions, ecclesiastical pedantries and acres of parchment scrawled with the word Justitia lost colour and credit with the man in the street when because of them the actual street became an Acedama of blood and fire.

When the great Belisarius quelled the Nika riots the logic and necessity of such drastic purging was comprehensible to every survivor and Justinian could remain to erect the marvellous Hagia Sophia in peace. But Gregory dare not continue in a city which believed him responsible for a senseless calamity fraught with every abomination which could serve to convince the general public that Hildebrand was a demoniac hating righteousness and loving iniquity.

Unfair judgment it might be when reviewed out of hearing of tortured screams, but the Romans could only judge by experience and on the spot the results of the mad policy begun so long ago (Par. II. p. 14) of keeping human bloodhounds to guard the Vicar of Christ. That had started when the popedom was even more frightened of the Lombards than Gregory had been when he fled to the triple enceinte of Canossa, ~~and~~ had wheedled the Franks to come into Italy, and for their benefit had invented the pseudo-antique Holy Roman Empire that was to defend the See. Hildebrand's continuous intrigues with the Normans as a substitute for this constituted authority had culminated in this inexcusable savagery. It was the last calamity in the tale of Gregorian declension since the fatal day of Canossa. Untimely vacillation and a preposterous wrangling over safe-conducts had filled the North with tension and civil strife. Now an equally ill-timed fixity of resolve coupled with a fearful example of how the Praetorians of this new Domitian-cum-Elagabalus could treat the populus Romanus had wrought ruin in the South to everything except the precious 'religious buildings'. His ideals might be high and his intentions holy according to his lights, but not even his ferocious namesake in the Nibelungenlied who hewed down Etzel's queen at the feet of her husband had produced effects in the plane of action which were more akin to the bloody deeds of earthly men. Justitia's image as carved by the swords of his pious supporters might well appear to the miserable Romans as a horrible Hecate known only by the baying of her hounds.

103. Flight of Gregory and It being impossible to remain in a his Death at Salerno city of ruin and outrage whose curses

upon the name of Hildebrand-Gregory went up to heaven with the smoke of her burning the Pope departed in haste with the Normans from his blasted capital. He travelled by the ancient steep of Monte Cassino at that moment housing one of the heralds of a new age in the shape of Constantine the African a pioneer of that 'Arabian Infiltration' which was to be a determining factor in fashioning later mediaeval thought. At last he came to Salerno in the Bay of Naples whose Archbishop Alphanus was also a herald of new things since he is perhaps the first translator of medical works from the Greek (d.1085) thus serving humanity in a fashion far transcending in value the arid transcendental fancies and arbitrary metaphysical technicalities whose hallmark had been Canossa. Such a man might say with his Master that he had not come to destroy men's lives but to save them.

Here in exile, broken in power but not in fixity of outlook the Pope betook himself once more to the weapon of his pen and began again the wearisome discharge of futile anathemas. Legates and letters poured forth to Germany and France appealing for help from the long-suffering and now regardless 'faithful' in the shape of those characteristically Hildebrandine instruments of Justitia financial subsidies and the inevitable army. But Germany fell away wholesale and soon the indefatigable Matilda was his only reliable support, defeating as she did in 1084 a Lombard army raised by Henry to help his Antipope Clement who all this time is precariously maintaining a phantom Court in a graveyard City.

Robert the Norman is once more immersed in that tangle of Byzantine politics which had been growing steadily worse and therefore more advantageous for ruffian adventurers ever since the ghastly disaster of Manzikert in 1071.

We ourselves have aged with incredible rapidity since 1077 disjoined our diplomacy, and though we have tried wildly to externalize and dissociate Canossa from our impeccable self by furious complaints as to the failure of others to provide safe-conducts rather than admit to ourselves that perhaps on that occasion we had not provided an adequate safe-conduct for the Way of Justitia, yet the internal strain of that superficially victorious conflict added to the enforced confinement for so long in the vile climate of Roman summers, the angry anxieties of three sieges, the soul-shattering horrors of the lurid climax, and the apparently utter collapse of everything for which we had scraped, wheedled, bribed, fought, journeyed, intrigued, raged and thundered these many years have combined to break that sleek frame which once upon a time been that of his prosperous and worldly-wise Eminence the General-manager. (p.49)

On May 18th 1085 the Pontiff announced to his fellow-exiles that his end was at hand.

Deathbed scenes and sayings are sometimes revealing even when tinctured with the stagecraft of an effective decease in the odour of official sanctity. To his faithful followers Gregory reviewed the course of his eventful life, and affirmed with Hildebrandine complacency the conviction which throughout had sustained him of the impeccability of his intentions.

Asked to indicate a successor he decided upon the old Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino who was wellborn, conciliatory, and

above all persona grata with the pious because usefully-homicidal Normans. As Victor III this old man was to be a failure and die anon, but the choice was characteristically Hildebrandine as ~~was~~ he was the very type of an amiable mask for some commanding intelligence behind the throne. Only in this case while we have reverted to the habits of long ago we have forgotten the immediate fact that a Hildebrand will not be there.

When asked concerning the wholesale excommunications with which he had loaded so many who would survive him it was as though the vision of his fatal relenting at Canossa had flooded his mind, for he flashed out his refusal of absolution to Henry and Clement and their odious train. (After all these malefactors had sinned against Justitia with a high hand. It could not be said of them "non enim sciunt quid faciunt" considering the far wider, longer and more sensational publicity which he had given to his gospel of Justitia than had been given to the Gospel of the Salvator Mundi who had spoken thus at the last moment of his enemies.

Twice had he been deceived into giving credit at Hersfeld and Canossa to the other condition of forgiveness.. "si confiteamur peccata nostra" and he was not prepared nor had he now time to do it "sed usque septuagies septies". Besides now the Prodigal Son of 1073 (p.93) has returned to the harlots and swine-husks of Superbia, and he and his party and his precious antipope can remain on the brink of Hell.)

As for all others they should be freely blessed who held the saving faith that he Gregory was indeed the lieutenant of SS Peter and Paul. This of course in the first instance is a counterblast to Clement but it is also the revelation of a spirit as self-conscious and concentrated as that of the author of Al-Qoran. The Petrine devotion which had "nourished him from infancy" (Par.69.p.103) had evidently served to thwart him from achieving the genuine Pauline "evacuavi quae erant parvuli". And now he is old and the ruling passion for himself as externalized from humilitarian motives and habits into a phantasmagory of empty aliases becomes apparent. He is back again in the nursery not merely of himself behind the carpenter's shop in old Soana but of the Popedom and of his race. In thinking thus enormously of the Double Patronage of Rome is he thinking of Leo I with his ghostly pair of Defensors against Attila the Hun, or can it be that in articulo mortis there has stirred in his Italo-Roman spirit some far disguised reminiscence of that dim battle under the Porcian height where the Great Twin Brethren led the onset against the foes of Rome.

On the 25th May 1085 this amazing composite character gave up its tortuous and tormented ghost in circumstances ~~from~~ which to a mind like his might well suggest something of the mood of the Tishbite with his "Ego remansi propheta Domini solus".

104. "I have loved Justitia" His oft-quoted last words "I have loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity, therefore I die in exile" bear the stamp of unconscious genius since no other epitaph could so perfectly have expressed the essence of Hildebrand-Gregory.

1. It was a sweeping overhead generalization and fore-shortened simplification of an exceedingly complex

character and career, and is therefore entirely in keeping with his absurd impression that for example the heaving and heterogeneous turmoil of German politics could be and ought to be rolled flat in an instant by the emission of a few pious platitudes from Rome.

2. It was the last and most sensational of the 'Hildebrandine Non-sequiturs' (Par. 71, p. 107, (6)) since while the premises might be subjectively true the objective conclusion drawn from them was entirely irrelevant. He died in exile because the brutal iniquity of his Defensors had made it impossible for him to live in Rome any longer.

It is even more glaringly fallacious than the ridiculous spiritualia et secularia (Par. 71, p. 107) for the simple reason that while the one remains vaguely in the air, the other is susceptible of precise material judgment. But it is pure Hildebrandine Popery since it traverses a wide gap both in reason and fact in order to present to the complacent satisfaction of the speaker and the admiration of the world a seemingly coherent and comprehensive formula, a dangerous alike from its purblind sincerity, false sentimentality and inadequate logic. Gregory's career like his epistolary and documentary style festoons itself around phrases high and lifted up like pillars of lath whereon no house could rest.

Now on the edge of Eternity he is still the phrasemonger and though he doubtless meant what he said there was no real meaning in what he did say.

3. By some remarkable instinct the man who had claimed to handle and transfer the crowns of Kings and had so often described them as mere functionaries under himself chose as his valedictory sentence a quotation from the 'King's Psalm' (Ps. XLV/7)

There is enough in the flamboyant rhetoric of that composition to enflame the vanity even of a legitimate prince of ancient lineage, let alone the repressed imagination of one who had begun life as a penniless shaveling. To pore over its first eight verses till they intoxicate the fancy is to find oneself seriously tempted to spiritual pride by the time a King has stood before one's gate for three days in the snow. Unfortunately as with Hildebrand's career the dying Pontiff could not finish the verse according to the Scriptures for the supply of the oil of gladness had been most unaccountably cut off ever since he had awakened to the fact that Canossa was a sinister fraud.

4. It was the last Screen behind which he beat a retreat into the Unknown. The Popes of his choosing, the mail of the Normans, the devotion of Matilda, the endless Legations, the walls of Canossa, of Rome, of the Leonine City, of Castel Sant' Angelo are among the things that were. There remains only the panoply riveted securely round our inmost soul of self-pitying irreproachability. The one type of extreme Superbia which he had overlooked because he had

grown morbidly addicted since Canossa to thinking of iniquity in terms of the Character of Henry IV, the one spiritual carapace the Salvator Mundi Himself could not penetrate, the one element most conspicuously absent from the souls of the real Peter of Galilee and Paul of Tarsus, had engulfed him, so that on the very edge of Eternity he could shelter himself histrionically from any attack of God or Man, pose as the martyr, and depart hence as a well-graced actor leaves the stage, and to the cheering sound of his own applause.

5. In common with the rest of his crystallized phrases it is impossible to determine the content of the leading words because in fact the leading ideas which they purport to encase have two or more meanings which have alternated in prominence at different times in his career.

It was at Canossa that we saw him trying to work the Justitia of politics and the Justitia of Religion ~~in~~ in double harness, and finding the reins torn from his grip. The Ideal Justitia in the clouds might be one and indivisible but to follow her the lover must himself be a unity, and it belonged to the cunning of Henry IV that in 1077 he divined where lay the hidden joint in the armour and smote it with a bow not by any means drawn at a venture. It is from that moment that we find Gregory's policy beginning to founder, despite his constant attempts to deny it by reiterating the doctrine that the Justitia of spiritualia equips one to administer the Justitia of secularia. Ideals made Hildebrand-Gregory but 11th century facts broke him. Like the ship of his only-too-nominal patron S. Paul he lighted upon a place where two seas met and while the Priestly forepart remained immovable the political section was broken by the violence of the partizans. Thus it came to pass that Canossa was like another Judgment of Paris producing discord within and without, and Justitia became a Golden Helen bringing misery in her wake.

105. "And Hated Iniquity" As often is the case it is easier to form an estimate of the man from noticing the things he sought to remove, than from listening to his assertions as to what he desires to establish. The life-path of Hildebrand was neither the sunbeam track of a Saint nor altogether the serpentine spoor of a Sathanas. As with other key-personalities of 'transition-periods' the balance between imagination and behaviour is maintained in a kind of electrified uncertainty in which originality, opportunism, physical condition inherent disposition, acquired habit and spiritual temperature are all intermittent and intermingled. Their mind is in a constant process of a chess-game in which the pieces of the Past and the pieces of the Future are simultaneously cooperative and antagonistic.

1. In the matter of the absolute government of the Church he took up the work of Felix III, Gelasius I, John II, Gregory I Nicholas I and Leo IX, touched it with his own genius for compassing dramatic publicity and endeavoured therein to give

the world a personification of the Cluniac ideal in his own career. He fought against the survivals of non-Roman usages, the functional mental and moral independence of Bishops, and above all against lay patronage which grew to be an arch-iniquity in his estimation because of his gathering venom against the dangerous young man of Canossa.

2. All his ecclesiastical life he fought against the liability to physical violence of the Popedom, as had Gregory III, Zacharias, Leo III and Leo IV. Every known wile was employed to engage the interest and services of janissaries, and especially after the ignominious fright at Canossa he would descend to any inconsistency to get any horde of ironclad savages to keep off the fury of Henry IV. If he had only fought against his own tendency to mix up defence with aggression he might have been more successful. As it was he "died in exile" because he had failed to control the monster he had brought into being.

3. He had worked against the Imperial and lay patronage of the Popedom itself which was an incubus which had only been evaded by accident or stealth, as by Benedict III, Stephen X, Nicholas II and Gregory himself.

4. He had fought against Simony and Clerical Marriage with a vehemence which increased with resistance and was embittered by the conduct of Henry IV. He had fought against these hydra-heads of Iniquity as a Hercules who found them grow again, and when he tried to burn the roots of them with the fire of anathema his first torch was cunningly extinguished at Canossa and his second never got beyond a sputter of vain words.

106. "Therefore I die in Exile" The very tragedy of his apparent failure possessed the infectious quality of all other outstanding events of his career. It was easy to forget the circumstances of his departure from Rome, and the barbarous faction-fighting in Europe about words and names and to invest his memory with the halo of creative martyrdom. No one more easily than he could become the hero who had not quailed in mortal fight nor let the sword sleep in his hand till he should build Jerusalem! He had the faculty for far surpassing any achievement by staging tableaux of what he desired to achieve. Even scenes he did not intend such as Canossa inevitably framed themselves as sensational pageants and cartoons the outward appearance of which served as specious but none the less effective posters. He had 'showman's luck' even in his adversities. His long and strange career as ecclesiastical stage-manager, his hidden manipulation of policies and elections, his tumultuary transformation into the successor of Peter, the storms of his pontificate, his friendship with Matilda, his melodramatic collision with Henry IV, the rapid decline of his fortunes, the lurid wrecking of Rome, his death in exile. everything increased that romance of his person which gave permanence to the memory of the causes with which he had been associated.

He could not count himself to have attained but he left the whole stock-in-trade of papal precedents and projects charged with emotional contagion, making more complete attainment possible for others after him.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART II

GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

CHAPTER V

A Posthumous Victory

PAR. 107. Henry once more Comes to Canossa.....108. Urban
waxes as Henry wanes..... 109. Ignominy and Death of Henry IV
110. The Counterfoil to the Papacy.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSA

PART II

GREGORY VII AND HENRY IV

CHAPTER V

A Posthumous Victory

107. Henry once more
Comes to Canossa

The twenty-one years that intervene between the death of Gregory and that of the man who personified all the 'iniquity' of which an individual could be guilty in the Gregorian system witnessed an ever intensifying misery of brutal and largely senseless strife. Through the flamelit gloom of it figures old and new march and counter-march...the unhappy but ever indomitable Henry and his treacherous sons and still more detestable new wife Praxedis, and Matilda now matrimonially allied to the ducal House of Bavaria, and the noisy Urban and the venomous Pascal.....

In 1091 the situation of Matilda who had lost her capital and lands north of the Po was so doubtful that anxious discussion arose as to the possibility of continuing the war for her precious idol the Hildebrandine Papacy. But the fanatical hermit John of Canossa rekindled her ardour and her hopes. Henry once more in the mood of Hohenburg committed himself to a campaign in the Appenines and made headlong for the hated fortress of Canossa to wipe out the haunting memory of 1077 in blood and fire. But there before that accursed triple barrier of stone he suffered as great a humiliation as a soldier as on the former occasion he had ~~suffered~~ undergone as King. For a surprise attack by the garrison under cover of a morning mist dashed the Imperial army to confusion and rout. A standard was taken and hung up in the very chapel where he had wept and prayed, and baffled and disheartened the ever unlucky German abandoned the campaign. A Nibelung would have said that the Shadow of the Norns was upon him...in still more ancient days men would have whispered that in his madness he had defied an Omen.

108. Urban waxes
as Henry wanes

A Lombard League against the Emperor quickly followed, as did the seduction from allegiance of his son Conrad by the acrid Matilda and the Papalists, and a Russian marriage which was the worst of all. As though some spiritual plague had been generated in the long orgy of rapine and massacre which had arisen in answer to the interesting problem "Aut Justitia aut Concordia" the atmosphere of high politics became incredibly vile. Better a clean battle cum 14 milibus armatis than the hag-ridden Black Mass of intrigue compounded for the destruction of the unhappy Henry out of the greed of ~~the~~ Bavarian Guelfs, the rancid piety of the unlovely Matilda, the morbid malignity of cunning and slanderous priests, the obscene imagination of a neurotic Empress, and the infamous duplicity of a worthless son. If these were the

hierodules of Justitia then indeed that goddess must be more hateful than some foul fetish of the Congo. On the 1st of March 1095 Urban who has hitherto occupied much of his time in managing the usurpation by Conrad of the Italian Crown, and in playing a weird hide-and-seeK with the Antipope Clement in the filthy skeleton of what had once been Rome, presided at the huge Synod of Piacenza where after the routine decrees against simony and concubinage had been promulgated, the clergy and laity were entertained to a disgusting performance by the Empress Praxedis who brazenly poured into their sanctified ears a stream of accusations against her husband of a nature to outdo the strongest meat of Juvenal, the Satyricon and Aretino. Eagerly did the souls of the holy men drink of this sewer since every word served to strengthen the fame and force of the late Gregory VII and depress the now waning prestige of the hapless King-Emperor. Canossa had been sensational, the Lenten Synod of 1080 had been impressive, surely this Piacenza exposure and condemnation would be catastrophic.

At the same time a new departure became visible in the policy of a Papacy now recognizedly constituted in leadership, and equipped with publicity as never before. An Embassy from Byzantium was received and its appeal for help against the Paynim listened to and acted upon. Here was a chance of furthering the great dream of uniting East and West under the See of Rome, and of directing the attention of Christendom, too long torn with internecine conflict, to the enemy without. An excommunicated and utterly execrable Emperor could not be the Defensor of Christianity against the Unbeliever so it remained for the Pope to raise the standard of a Holy War. The Empire had not given self-consciousness to Europe and the opportunity had come for a supra-national religious feeling to take the place of that supra-national political feeling which the Imperial experiment had failed to evoke.

In November Urban presided at the enormous Council of Clermont where Simony, Concubinage, Lay Investiture, the new project of the Truce of God, the adulterous Philip I of France, and the fast growing craze for the military liberation of the Holy Sepulchre were all faithfully dealt with.

An intense excitement was spreading in a Europe which was weary of the barren civil wars, avid for conquest, plunder, and the forgiveness of accumulated arrears of sin, full of robber-knights who dreamed of Eastern principalities, of townsmen who were only too eager to see the backs of local tyrants, of merchants who yearned for the opening up of the Eastern end of the Mediterranean, of unemployed soldiers who knew no work but war and ~~war~~ were incompetent even at that as the miserable strategy and contemptible tactics of the Crusades were to demonstrate ad nauseam. Everywhere a romantic enthusiasm compounded of ignorance self-interest and superstition enflamed by the rhetoric of fanatical frocklings discovered an entirely appropriate focus and personification in the Popedom.

We suppose it was inevitable but we need not feel any more disposed to applaud than did the cultured Byzantines when they discovered what the Crusading armies were really like. At any rate this new movement which had been one of the dreams

vile travesty of the Pauline "Quaecumque sunt vera, pudica, justa sancta" whose quality could justify Western Europe in claiming to know anything about Christianity at all. If anything could save the soul of the five-times excommunicated Henry IV it must be his genuine affection without any Hersfeld hypocrisy for the kindly servant of God who had guilelessly spoken up for him at the gate of Canossa. But of course that was a spiritual finesse which would hardly appeal to Pascal II.

Once again the 'pilgrim of the Appenines' trudges barefoot through the snow to Aachen to show his willingness to do penance. Once again the stout citizens of Aachen and Liege rally round their King. Once again there are to be found magnates like Duke Henry of Lotharingia to defy recreant knaves and place sword and life at the service of the Lord's Anointed. Once more the upstart who had thought to carry all before him is confronted with the fact that he must fight for the rewards of iniquity.

But this time the curtain falls before an epitome of his previous career can be reenacted upon the weary stage.

On Sunday August 7th the twenty-eighth anniversary of his beating of Rudolf at Melrichstadt (Par. 9lp. 137) Henry IV passed away, forgiving his enemies, sending sword and ring to his apostate son and praying that he might be gathered to his fathers in the Cathedral Church of Speier, that place whence he had set out upon that unparalleled journey of sheer adventure nine-and-twenty years before.

Peace to his stormbattered spirit, for he had not known peace or the things belonging thereto these forty years.

It was not for five years that he could be buried, for even the mouldering flesh was pursued by the lingering hate of a triumphant Popedom.

The 'dangerous young man' of Canossa had dree'd his weird.

110. The Counterfoil to the Papacy The tragedy of Henry IV was the fact that throughout his long career he was his own worst enemy, since with the exception of the inexcusable behaviour of his sons the major afflictions of his life had poured in upon him through the breaches in his own integrity. His long reign full of unwise and provocative words and deeds had supplied an incredibly convenient scaling-ladder of opportunities for the advancement of the Papal as against the Imperial Idea. His very virtues and amiable qualities and the stubborn resilience of his pride only served to keep his reign so long alive that the ecclesiastical rival's position was matured by the time of his death.

Certain insects secure paralysed but living victims which only die after the cannibal grubs have grown. Both Gregory and Urban had battered upon the weaknesses of his moral organism, and to the profit of the Church had redounded the agonized duration of his survival. Even the cunning turning of the tables at Canossa had by its prolongation of his kingship only furthered this remarkable process. In himself he was an opportunist who abounded in dexterous subterfuges to extricate his cause from traps into which it need never have fallen, and his imagination was not informed by any farranging spiritual ambition or

constructive theory of stewardship, while his serpentine wiles were spasmodic and not the symptoms of a continuous Macchiavellian coil.

He never seems to have been able to rise above a personal attitude to the institution he personified. He endured amazing hardships in the Raid of Canossa but it was to save his crown for himself, not necessarily because of an incandescent conviction that therein lay the true fortune of the State. When Odysseus and Diomed raided Troy for the Palladium the act had a conscious relationship to the prosperity of the Argives as a whole, but the wrenching of absolution in 1077 was rather a classic and superb example of the vigour of the self-regarding instinct.

His son Hary V was destined to disabuse the Papacy of much of its complacency and to reach a distinct level of bargaining-equality by 1122, and thereafter the great struggle with the Hohenstaufen would administer severe not to say salutary setbacks to the pride of Rome. But a definite trend which was not to be gainsaid had been given to the great predatory organism by the fact that the formative period of the Hildebrandine Ideal had coincided with one who at practically every point traversed its policy and gave it exercise and definition by his resistance, and though it never reached the full-orbed sovereignty in both secular and sacred spheres envisaged in his most exalted ~~moments~~ moods by him who was if not its original author at any rate its creative editor, translator and publisher, the Mediaeval Papacy owed a vast deal of the recognition and success ultimately and for a time achieved to the coincidence that it was Henry IV and none other who reigned in the second half of the eleventh century.

END OF PART TWO

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANOSSACONCLUSION

We have endeavoured in the course of one hundred and ten paragraphs to evoke and set in some fashion of order such facts, theories and observations as seemed relevant both in general and particular to the question of the meaning of the fortuitous, ambiguous and indecisive scene at Canossa, which was yet not so fortuitous but that it could claim on the one hand a long pedigree of logical sequences, and on the other a certain inevitability arising from the peculiar temperament of Henry IV, not so ambiguous as that the main purpose could not be defined, and the remarkable antithesis perceived between its appearance and reality, and not so indecisive as to prevent the tracing of at least indirect results in the stream of subsequent events, and of subtle changes discernible in the mental and moral constitution of the chief dramatis personae.

In the first chapter of Part One it was sufficiently suggested that the individual personalities of the men involved would be the ultimate concern of this Thesis, and the main field in which would be sought the interpretation of the event. But it was also indicated that as each individual was in his character and conduct profoundly interpenetrated by antecedent and immediate conditions, and represented the convergence of many institutional historical traditional and functional factors some attention must be paid to the nature and preceding development of these main constituents, as they emerge from the background of the portrait and influence the pattern of the composition.

We saw a geographical area having special features passing through a process of political reconstitution after a flood of barbarism and observed how the Idea of recapturing the lost unity emerged in one place and the politico-military Means for doing so came into being in another. In that wide separation by mere distance lies one of the chief sources of trouble militating against the success of the Imperio-Papal experiment, and Canossa was just one example of what was possible in conditions where every administrative, theoretic or practical difficulty between Church and State was hampered and thwarted by having three or four hundred milestones hanged about its neck.

Indeed this insistence on the influence of Geography upon history in general and Canossa in particular is one of the cardinal points in our interpretation of this event and the controversy of which it was a focal element.

To justify this doctrine of its immense importance we need only adduce out of a multitude of examples the following Canossan facts which Geography helped to produce:-

1. The prime difficulty for Rome of dominating a royalty whose roots were indigenous to the North. This applied to Frankish as

well as to the succeeding German Kingship despite Gregory's frequent attempts to make out that Pope Zacharias was the author and finisher of Karlings.

2. The spirit of Saxon independence representing an ill-absorbed ingredient of the artificial Empire. These extreme northerners rebelled against the attempt to clamp them down with castles, and brought Henry to the helplessness of Tribur and hence to the desperate resolve of his famous journey.

3. The conditions of the north-central European Plain where a politico-military cohesion of sorts arose in time to revive the moribund Imperial experiment with a German accent, and make Henry a Teutonic chieftain plagued with Italian responsibilities.

4. The special concentration and developement of Roman or rather Romanoid sentiment emerging at last in the imperious autonomy and systematic advance of the Popedom, gave Ecclesiasticism a Latin accent, and made Gregory an Italian overruler with German commitments.

5. The meteorological and military uncertainties of the Alpine barrier allowed the crossing of passes at unexpected moments and the grievous disturbance of complacent minds.

6. The self-consciousness of the inhabitants of the Lombard Plain which could frighten a hitherto domineering Pope into taking to the hills, thus forcing determinedly penitent Kings to adopt cunning and patient devices.

7. The strategical defencelessness of Central and Southern Italy habituated Popes to complicated intrigues for military defence, and admirers like Matilda to offer 'triple enceintes' as the holiest of services to the triple crown.

We found in the second chapter that the Papacy revived a string of antique titles of uncertain scope as a homegrown substitute for the anciently transplanted dignities of Byzantium and used these as golden chains for their hopeful Cerberus. There also was discovered an increasing grasp of institutional religion creating the impression that to be out of favour with the Pope was equivalent to separation from God. Henry at Canossa sought to recover recognition for his possession of that German crown which was the indispensable preliminary to the obtaining of the Papal invention of the Imperial diadem. He did so by conforming to the now generally accepted idea that the Pontiff had a mystic grip upon the Christian status of the individual man.

We observed also how those precedents of Imperial setting up and casting down of popes began, which inspired the First Council of Worms and thus brought Henry at last to the snow-swept Gate.

In the third chapter there was noticed the reaction of this high Imperialism upon the constitution of the German Church consolidating it as an integral element with the political structure. The growing papal sentiment for ecclesiastical autonomy collided with this principle and its connotations and the long and increasingly acrimonious struggle began of which Canossa is an incident. The Justitia of Leo IX is restrained by German weight and the Popedom sets its house in order 'pour mieux sauter' by fashioning a Constitution for itself.

In the fourth chapter Henry IV is seen beginning that strange way of transgression which was rooted in a misdirected childhood, and was to alternate with such bewildering violence between extremes of pride and penitence till the extremes met and were constituted in unhappy partnership at Canossa. The Justitia of the late Leo IX undergoes a dynamic reincarnation in Hildebrand who at a crucial moment in the affairs of the North becomes Gregory VII. From that moment the atmosphere becomes more and more electrically charged with personality, and *praeparata est enim ab heri Topheth, a Rege praeparata, profunda et dilata.*

At the beginning of the Second Part an attempt was made to show the nature of certain outstanding questions as to Simony, the Deposition of Kings, and Lay Investiture as viewed both before and after Canossa by contemporary minds. Little satisfaction was to be gained from such expression of opinion from the point of view of the significance of Canossa itself for the simple reason that whatever conclusion might have been or was come to by individual opinion as to the rights and wrongs nothing whatever was settled in January 1077. The only service they can render is to indicate to some extent the sort of thing which was in Gregory's mind as the contents of his demand for "obedience", a characteristically Hildebrandine General Warrant with which Henry complied without the faintest intention of fulfilling anything whatever in connection therewith. There might have been a hundred terms and articles graven in letters of brass. With the exception of the surrender of the German Crown Henry was ready to say anything on that occasion and said it, so as far as the advancement or particularization of Church doctrine, administration, or position is concerned Canossa was completely barren. It gave a misleading advertisement of the power of anathema but otherwise for practical ecclesiasticism was void of effect. The analysis of the Significance however requires that this negative fact should be emphasized to dissociate from it any notion that in fact it met or solved any of the resounding problems of the Hildebrandine Justitia.

Passing over these matters as being those of opinion canalized in opposing streams, colouring the controversy, but not in any way determined by anything that happened at Matilda's Castle, we perceived in the second chapter the building of the roads that did meet in 1077 and watched Henry reacting to success in such a manner that he 'deposed' the Pope from a distance, and earned what in the circumstances was the blighting curse of the Bull of February, which brought on Tribur and its humiliation of the King before his own people. To this end everything has converged since such a temperament as his had become entangled in the welter of cross-tensions. Originally cunning and regardless he had grown up in an atmosphere of which these things were characteristic, an atmosphere which by compensation was addicted to crude formalism and to accepting the symbol for the thing signified that it might get away with its own desires underneath. Canossa would be only another example of that artificiality of virtue and reality of desire which afflicted the 11th century both North and South and had only been gilded, sanctified and promoted by the magnification of Popish religiosity.

In the third chapter we gave an account of Canossa itself and in the fourth and fifth chapters tried to demonstrate

1. Its political consequences in the rehabilitation of Henry with part of his kingdom, and the erection of a counter-king supported by the remainder.
2. What we take to be its chief significance namely in the effect which the encounter had upon Gregory in the inward part, leading to the fixation of his personal dislike upon this Jacob who had robbed him of what he had grown to consider his papal birthright for a mess of penitence..with all which that hardening process entailed upon his future behaviour and policy.
3. How that while up to Gregory's death the true inward fact of Canossa..namely that it was a Henrician victory.. prevailed to damage the Pope both within and without.. after his death the outward seeming which was that of a King prostrate before a Pontiff was gradually made to come true, and Henry died in as great inward humiliation as he had appeared outwardly to have at Canossa.
4. That all the time it is chiefly an affair of the personalities concerned, more profoundly an event in their lives than a potent happening in the life of the century, or of the Papacy or of the Empire.

The following comments may serve to bring this study of Canossa to a conclusion.

1. Canossa would not have happened at all or been very different if it had not been for the following conditions, the absence of any one of which would have been fatal to its occurrence as it did....

- A. The acceptance of Anathema as a substantive political asset by his enemies.
- B. Matilda's friendship for Gregory which she shared with scarcely anyone else in North Italy.
- C. The failure of an escort to arrive which delayed the Pope.
- D. The German estimate of Henry's character which had induced them to set a time-limit to their ultimatum.
- E. The fearful winter which made Henry's escapade entirely unexpected.
- F. The fact that an accessible but impregnable castle was available.
- G. The hatred of the Lombards and the consequent necessity for Gregory to leave undefended Mantua.
- H. The failure on all hands to estimate the stubbornness of Henry's adhesion to the vestiges of royalty, and the length of the round-about way he was prepared to take.
- I. The physical strength of the King which triumphed over the worst obstacles in the worst conditions.

All this points in the direction of the informality and therefore likelihood of technical impermanence of the event.

2. Henry IV was never more truly himself than when in process of staging this tableau vivant and looking like anything ~~but~~ but the lord of kingdoms. There was fierce hidden ambition there, and the skill to adapt means to ends without scruple as to the nature of the means, and without full disclosure of the quality of the ends. There is subtlety in the immediate tactics, and imagination in the whole strategy, the restraining of purpose to the attainment of a limited objective with unlimited possibilities, and the selection as that objective of his enemy's weakest point, instead of the disastrous running of his head blindly against a stone wall as he had done at the Council of Worms. There is courage of spirit, endurance of body and patience of mind as well as a strange mournful dignity of fallen-angel pride which would endure any outward degradation to save for himself and his dynasty the regality with which he had identified his self-respect. There is histrionic talent as though he had soaked his mind in the libretto of the Hersfeld Letter till the very words came to life in his actions, and a cynical wit in exposing to the world the spirit of Gregory as being more like that of the hard Elder Brother than of the Father who came running to meet the Prodigal Son while he was still a great way off. If Henry had only applied these talents continuously and together to the work of government how formidable a potentate he could have been.

3. In the same way Gregory on this occasion behaves in a manner which reveals himself as he is up to date. He who when screened by distance can think to hold up the affairs of an Empire to suit his convenience of travel, and promise comprehensive and final decisions when he shall arrive, is nervous and requires screening ramparts when out of that distance a lone forlorn figure emerges and lays hold of the skirt of his garment by the way. He proves amenable to male and female persuasion, and to the pressure of public opinion and the appeal of charity. He is apt to hector when he thinks himself safe, liable on discovery that he is not so secure to cast former arrangements into the meltingpot without notification to partners. He is prone on occasion to give an almost impulsive credit to the outward signs of contrition. He is not enough of a Dictator to make the Papal machine entirely arbitrary, nor is he sufficiently unified a priestly character to avoid the temptation to travel literally as well as figuratively beyond his function. An entire Dictator would have denied absolutely that Henry should be at Canossa, a complete priest would not himself have been there at all.

4. Apart from what we conclude to have been the real significance of Canossa as the cause of negative political complications and positive psychological changes one cannot fail to note its mythogenetic value. A King prostrate before Holy Church to the glory of Justitia and by the might of the Ban.. what needed anyone from Oldenburg to Otranto of further witness? Facts could not darken its blazing symbolism nor prevent its heraldry being accepted in an age learning to think heraldically and to decorate shield and ship, booth and bastion with speaking signs. Just as the false of Christmas Day 800 is acclaimed and remembered when

the failure of the Franks is forgotten, so does Canossa remain the picture of an idea acting as a signpost to those who would understand something of the aims of the Papacy over against the Kingdoms of this world and the glory of them. It furnished a kind of mystery-play complete with allegorical personages.

And yet even then it is not entirely fantastic. There is truth even in the illusion.

Occurring as it does at the point of intersection of a downward curve of Imperial prestige and an upward curve of Papal pretension it emphasizes for one thing how precarious was that Empire which was thus at the mercy of personality, so ill-supplied with constitutional machinery, and so politically backward as to allow affairs to be dealt with in this haphazard fashion. Henry might not be at the moment the "State" but a voice crying in the wilderness for the recovery of his Status, but obviously that political Status had but a thin foundation which depended at any time upon such slippery negotiations and opportunist manoeuvres to divide a host of enemies.

Again it demonstrated how far the prestige of the Papacy had affected and infected the public mind even in the North. Not everyone in the Empire believed in the reality in time and eternity of Ligandi et Solvandi but vast numbers were only too ready to accept it as a first-class excuse for rebellion, and on the wave of that hypocritical but none the less practically effective piety the Popedom might float to mighty things. The more this habit of thought prevailed the more desperate could become the situation of the head of a feudal hierarchy dependent upon formal oaths if this third party interference could dissolve these oaths in an instant.

Thus the picture it presented had an element of actuality as far at least as the ultimate possibilities were concerned. It was a premature prospectus of an enterprise which an Innocent III would have occasion to fancy was coming to fruition, and a Boniface VIII would shout about till the cold clutch of the French King choked the words in his throat.

We can marvel that it did not become the nucleus of some quaint fable, a folk-tale floating down the stream of time, of how once a bad King crossed icy mountains to a faery castle amid the snow where he asked the great Magician who lived there to give him back his soul.

THE END

- (1) Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum, Sect. IV. Constitutio 9
 Conventus Augustana, 952. A. D. (2) Mansi, Concilia. Vol. XIX. p. 228
 (3) M. G. H. Leg. Sect. IV. Const. 24. Concilium Romanum (998-9) 51.
 (4) Id. id. Const. 38. (5) Id. id. 40. (6) Id. id. 48. (7) Id. 51
 (8) Leo IX. Epistolae 17. (9) Nicholas II. Epistola 71.
 (10) Id. Ep. 36 (11) Gregory VII. Registrum III/10a. (12) Prae-
 loquiorum. III/4. Migne, Patrologia Latina. Vol. 136. (13) Id. id. III/9
 (14) Id. id. IV/2 (15) De Informatione Episcoporum and Epistola I
 (16) Anselm. Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium, 66. M. G. H. Scriptores
 Vol. VII. (17) Vita Conradi p. 1245. (18) Anselm l. e. 58.
 (19) Peter Damiani Opuscula XXIII/1. Migne. P. L. vol. 145
 (20) Id. V/9. (21) Id. ~~XXXXXX~~ LVII/3. (22) Ep. VII/3. p. 441.
 (23) Id. p. 440. (24) Op. LVII/2. (25) Sermo LXIX. Migne. P. L. vol. 144
 (26) Mansi, Concilia XVIII/A. p. 225. (27) Continuator Reginonis
 M. G. H. Script. Vol. I. 627. (28) M. G. H. Leg. Sect. IV. Const. 12.
 (29) Vita S. Adalberti. XXI. Migne. P. L. vol. 137. (30) M. G. H. Leg.
 Sect. IV. Const. 26. (31) M. G. H. Libelli de Lite. Vol. I. pp. 12-14
 De Ordinando Pontifici. (32) Id. id. I/11. (33) Peter Damiani
 Liber Gratissimus. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ XXVII. Lib. de Lite. vol. I
 p. 56. (34) Id. id. XXXVIII. id. p. 71. (35) Adversus Simoniacos
 Lib. de Lite. I. p. 206/III. p. 7. (36) Reg. IV/3. (37) Leo IX Vita

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

All references are made in full in the first instance and then shortened upon repetition. What begin as "Gregory VII. Registrum" and "Monumenta Germaniae Historica" pass with frequent quotation to "Reg." and "M. G. H." A few variants occur as "Op" and "Opusc" for "Opuscula", and "Lambert" is referred to either by the Year or the Column or both.

- (50) Ep. 179. (51) Pet. Damian. Opusc. XXII/4. (52) Ep. V/10.
 (53) Ep. I/20. (54) Anselm, Gest. Episc. Leod. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ M. G. H. Script.
 Vol. VII. 1041. (55) Migne. P. L. vol. 135. John XIII. Epistolae. III.
 (56) Migne. P. L. vol. 137. Gregory V. Ep. XVIII. (57) Migne. P. L. vol.
 142. Clement II. Ep. VI. (58) Arnulf, Gesta Archiepiscoporum
 Mediolanensium. M. G. H. Script. III/21. (59) Rudolf Glaber. Historia
 II/6. (60) Id. V/5. (61) Adv. Simoniac. Lib. de Lite. III. 7. p. 206
 (62) Id. id. III. 5. p. 204. (63) Id. id. II. 35. p. 183. (64) Id. 36. p. 185
 (65) Id. 43. p. 192. (66) Id. 35. p. 184. (67) Adv. Simoniac. III. 32.
 Lib. de Lite. I. p. 239. (68) Id. 30. p. 136. (69) Liber Gratiss. VI.
 M. G. H. Lib. de Lite. I. p. 23. (70) Id. XXIV. p. 52. (71) Migne. P. L.
 vol. 44. Peter Damian. Ep. I/13. (72) Opusc. XXII. Preface.
 (73) Id. Ch. 4. (74) Adv. Simoniac. III/32. M. G. H. Lib. de Lite. I. p. 239
 (75) Lambert 'Annales'. Migne. P. L. vol. 146. Ann. 1063. (76) Anselm
 Historia Dedicacionis Ecclesiae S. Remigii. XVI. Migne. P. L. vol. 142.
 (77) Lambert. l. c. Ann. 1070. (78) Migne. P. L. vol. 46. Siegfried of
 Mainz. Ep. II. (79) Lambert. l. c. Ann. 1074. (80) Gregory VII.
 Registrum. I/35 and 36. (81) Id. I/21. (82) Id. I/69. (83) II/28
 (84) Id. II/50. (85) Id. III/10. (86) Id. V/11. (87) Gregory VII
 Epistolae Collectae. 26. (88) Lambert. l. c. 1066. (89) Adv. Simoniac.
 I/5. (90) Id. III/10. (91) Id. III/6. (92) Id. id. (93) Arnulf
 Gesta Archiepisc. Mediolanen. III/21. (94) Id. III/25. (95) Id. IV/3
 (96) Id. IV/7. (97) Gregory VII. Registrum. III/10. ~~XXXXXX~~
 (98) Id. IV/3. (99) Id. IV/22. (100) Id. V/18. (101) Id. VI/5b.

- (102) Registrum VII/14a.p.398. (103) Id.p.400. (104) Wenrich of Trier.1081. Epistola VIII. M.G.H.Libelli de Lite.Vol.I. (105) Wido of Ferrara.De Scismate Hildebrandi.M.G.H.Libelli de Lite.Vol.I/564-6 (106) Id.id./565. (107) Manegold of Lautenbach.Ad Geberhardum.M.G.H.Lib.de Lite.vol.I.50 (1085) (108) Id.id.56. (109) Id.id 57. (110) Deusdedit.Libellus Contra Invasores et Simoniacos(M.G.H.Libelli de Lite.II.)I/11. (111) Id.id.I/13. (112) Id.id.I/14. (113) Id.id.I/15. (114) Bernald. De Damnatione Schismaticorum.Ep.III.p.50. (115) Id.Id.p.52. (116) Geberhardi Salisburgensis Archiepiscopi Epistola ad Herrimanum Mettensem Episcopum.5. (M.G.H.Libelli de Lite.Vol.I.) (117) Id.id.31. (118) Id.id.32. (119) Id.id. (120) Wenrich of Trier.Ep.I/4.(M.G.H.Lib.de Lite.I) (121) Id.id. (122) Id.id./5. (123) Id.id./6. (124) Peter Crassus.Defensio Heinrici Regis.4.(M.G.H.Lib.de Lite.I) (125) Dicta Cujusdam de Discordia Papae et Regis.p.456.(M.G.H. Lib.de Lite.I.) (126) Id.id.p.458. (127) Id.id. (128) Wido of Osnaburg,Liber de Controversia Hildebrandi et Heinrici.p.470. (M.G.H.Lib.de Lite.I.) (129) Bernard of Constance.Liber Canonum contra Heinricum Quartum.xxxvii.(M.G.H.Lib.de Lite.I) (130) Bernald.Apologeticae Rationes.Libellus V.pp.95-99.(M.G.H. Lib.de Lite.II.) (131) De Unitate Ecclesiae Conservanda.I/2. (M.G.H.Lib.de Lite.II.) (132) Id.I/8. (133) Id.I/9. (134) Id.I/3. (135) Id.II/15. (136) Id.II/7. (137) Gregory VII. Registrum. I/9. (138) See.Vulgate.Lucae XV/18-19. (139) Greg.VII. Registrum.I/29a. (140) Migne.P.L.vol.146.Lambert (Ann.1073) col.1141. (141) Id.Id.col.1142. (142) Id.id.Col.1132 (143) Greg.VII.Registrum.I/39 (144) Lambert.l.c.col.1164. (145) Greg.VII. Registrum.II/31. (146) Id. id.I/85. (147) Id.id.II/30. (148) Lambert.l.c.col.1168. (149) Greg.VII Registrum.III/7. (150) Lambert.l.c.col.1200. (151) Greg.VII. Registrum.III/10. (152) Lambert.col.1210. (153) See Bernald M.G.H.Script.V.p.432 / Berthold Annales.Migne.vol.146.col.368./ Bruno.Migne.vol.146.col.528. (154) Lambert.col.1210 (155) Lambert.col.1211.and Bruno.l.c.col.528. (156) M.G.H. Legum.Sect.IV.Constitutiones I/58. (157) Id.id.I/60 (158) Id.id.I/61. (159) Lambert.col.1212. (160) Greg.VII. Registrum.III/10a. (161) Gregory VII. Epistolae Collectae 13-14. (Ed.Jaffe.pp.543ff.) (162) Greg.VII.Registrum.IV/2. (163) See also Bruno.l.c.col.536ff. (164) Greg.VII.Registrum.IV/3 (165) M.G.H.Sect.IV. Constitutiones.I/62. (166) Lambert.col.1219 (167) Greg.VII.Registrum.III/12. (168) Migne.vol.146.Berthold Annales.col.369. (169) Registrum.IV/2. (170) Bruno.col.550. (Migne.vol.146) (171) See Strauss p.15 ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXX~~ De Rudolfo Suevico Positiones Historicae.(Magdeburg.1728) and Goldschmidt.Die Tage von Tribur und Kanossa.p.15. (172) M.G.H.Legum.IV/63. (173) Lambert.col.1215. (174) Id.col.1218 (175) Id.col.1228. (176) Id.col.1229. (177) Id.col.1231. (178) Giesebrecht exaggerates the humiliation."Als Heinrich vor Kanossa in Busserhemde vergeblich um Einlass flehte,erblasste der Glanz des Deutschen Kaiserthums und ein neuer Glanz bildete sich um das Haupt des romischen Bischofs" The first part of this assertion is more applicable to Tribur,and the second took some considerable disentanglement from facts and partizan feeling before emerging as the pure essence of Glanz. (179) Berthold.col. 377. (180) Lambert.col.1234. (181) Id.1237 (182) Id.id.

(183) Id.col.1238. (184) Act.Apost.XVIII/14-15. When quotations from the Scriptures are freely employed as ammunition, one is entitled to derive from the same source material for criticism of the times. (185) Both Stephens (Hildebrand and his times) and John Addington Symonds (Sketches and Studies) describe the site of Canossa from personal observation. (186) Jan.31st.1871 At the risk of being termed fanciful and far-fetched, the suggestion is made of the value of comparison and contrast between two apparently far-sundered events which are both so strikingly romantic of surrender and of snow.

(187) Lambert.col.1239. (188) The Peter who first cum Gentibus edebat and then segregabat timens eos qui ex circumcissione erant. (189) Lambert. Ann.1077. (190) Registrum IV/12a. (191) "Justitia et Pax osculatae sunt". (192) Lambert.col.1241 (193) Id.col.1242. (194) Id.col.1243. (195) Esdras VIII/22 (196) Lambert.cols.1245-6. (197) Registrum.VII/14a. (198) Id.IV/24 (199) Id.IV/23. (200) Id.V/14a. (201) Id.V/15 (202) Id.VI/1 (203) Id.VI/17a. (204) Greg.VII.Epistolae Collectae.25. (205) Id.id.26. (206) Id.id.27. (207) Id.id.31. (208) Id.id.VII/3. (209) Ezech.XXI/21. (210) Gregory VII. Epistolae Collectae.VII/14a."Acta Concilii Romani". (211) M.G.H.Legum.IV.Constitutiones.I/76. (212) Registrum VIII/26. (213) Id.id.21. (214) Id.I/19. (215) Registrum VII/25 See also to Henry IV.Reg.II/30. To Sweyn of Denmark.1075. Reg. II/51. To Harold of Denmark.1077.Reg.V/10. To Olaf of Norway.1078. Reg.VI/13....To justify the comment that Per Me principes imperant et potentes decernunt Justitiam.

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