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THE POPES AT THE HEIGHT OF THEIR TEMPORAL INFLUENCE. 1216 - 1254

HONORIUS III

A.D. 1216-1227

CHAPTER I

HONORIUS III. FREDERICK II.

The Pontificate of Honorius III is a kind of oasis of repose, between the more eventful rule of Innocent III and that of Gregory IX. Honorius was a Roman of the noble house of Savelli, Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul. The Papacy having attained its consummate height under Innocent III, might appear resting upon its arms, and gathering up its might for its last internecine conflict, under Gregory IX and Innocent IV with the most powerful, the ablest, and when driven to desperation, most reckless antagonist, who had as yet come into collision with the spiritual supremacy. During nearly eleven years the combatants seem girding themselves for the contest. At first mutual respect or common interests maintain even more than the outward appearance of amity; then arise jealousy, estrangement, doubtful peace, but not declared war. On one side neither the power nor the ambition of the Emperor Frederick II are mature: his more modest views of aggrandisement gradually expand; his own character is developing itself into that of premature enlightenment and lingering superstition; of chivalrous adventure and courtly elegance, of stern cruelty and generous liberality, of restless and all-stirring, all-embracing activity, which keeps Germany, Italy, even the East, in one uninterrupted war with his implacable enemies the Popes, and with the Lombard Republics, while he is constantly betraying his natural disposition to bask away an easy and luxurious life on the shores of his beloved Sicily. All this is yet in its dawn, in its yet unfulfilled promise, in its menace. Frederick has won the Empire; he has united, though he had agreed to make over Sicily to his son, the Imperial crown to that of Sicily. Even if rumours are already abroad of his dangerous freedom of opinion, this may pass for youthful levity, he is still the spiritual subject of the Pope.

Honorius III stands between Innocent III and Gregory IX, not as a Pontiff of superior wisdom and more true Christian dignity, adopting a gentler and more conciliating policy from the sense of its more perfect compatibility with his office of Vicar of Christ, but rather from natural gentleness of character bordering on timidity. He has neither energy of mind to take the loftier line, nor to resist the high church-men,

who are urging him towards it; his was a temporising policy, which could only avert for a time the inevitable conflict.

And yet a Pope who could assume as his maxim to act with gentleness rather than by compulsion, by influence rather than anathema, nevertheless, to make no surrender of the overweening pretensions of his function; must have had a mind of force and vigour of its own, not unworthy of admiration: a moderate Pope is so rare in these times, that he may demand some homage for his moderation. His age and infirmities may have tended to this less enterprising or turbulent administration. Honorius accepted the tradition of all the rights and duties asserted by, and generally ascribed to the successor of St. Peter, as part of his high office. The Holy War was now become so established an article in the Christian creed, that no Pope, however beyond his age, could have ventured even to be remiss in urging this solemn obligation on all true Christians. No cardinal not in heart a Crusader would have been raised to the Papal See. The assurance of the final triumph of the Christian arms became a point of honour, more than that, an essential part of Christian piety; to deny it was an impeachment on the valour of true Christians, a want of sufficient reliance on God himself. Christ could not, however he might try the patience of the Christian, eventually abandon to the infidel his holy sepulchre. All admonitions of disaster and defeat were but the just chastisements of the sins of the crusaders; the triumph, however postponed, was certain, as certain as that Christ was the Son of God, Mohammed a false prophet.

Honorius was as earnest, as zealous in the good cause, as had been his more inflexible predecessor; this was the primary inject of his ten years' Pontificate; this, which however it had to encounter the coldness, the torpor, the worn-out sympathies of Christendom, clashed with no jealous or hostile feeling. However severe the rebuke, it was rebuke of which Christendom acknowledged the justice; all men honoured the Pope for his zeal in sounding the trumpet with the fiercest energy, even though they did not answer to call. The more the enthusiasm of Christendom cooled down into indifference, the more ardent and pressing the exhortation of the Popes. The first act of Honorius was a circular address to Christendom, full of reproof, expostulation, entreaty to contribute either ill person or in money to the new campaign. The only King who obeyed the summons was Andrew of Hungary. Some German princes and prelates met the Hungarian at Spalatro, the Dukes of Austria and Meran, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg, Zeitz, Munster, and Utrecht. But notwithstanding the interdict of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Andrew returned in the next year, though not without some fame for valour and conduct, on the plea of enfeebled health, and of important affairs of Hungary. His trophies were reliques, the heads of St. Stephen and St. Margaret, the hands of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, a slip of the rod of Aaron, one of the water-pots of the Marriage of Cana. The expedition from the Holy Land against Damietta, the flight of Sultan Kameel from that city, its occupation by the Christians, raised the most exulting hopes. The proposal of the Sultan to yield up Jerusalem was rejected with scorn. But the fatal reverses, which showed the danger of accepting a Legate (the Cardinal Pelagius) as a general, too soon threw men's minds back into their former prostration. But even before this discomfiture, King Frederick II had centred on himself the thoughts and hopes of all who were still Crusaders in their hearts, as the one

monarch in Christendom who could restore the fallen fortunes of the Cross in the East. In his first access of youthful pride, as having at eighteen years of age won, by his own gallant daring, the Transalpine throne of his ancestors; and in his grateful devotion to the Pope, who, in hatred to Otho, had maintained his cause, Frederick II had taken the Cross. Nor for some years does there appear any reason to mistrust, if not his religious, at least his adventurous and ambitious ardour. But till the death of his rival Otho, he could command no powerful force which would follow him to the Holy Land, nor could he leave his yet unsettled realm. The princes and churchmen, his partisans, were to be rewarded and so confirmed in their loyalty; the doubtful and wavering to be won; the refractory or resistant to be reduced to allegiance.

The death of Otho, in the castle of Wurtzburg, near Goslar, had been a signal example of the power of religious awe. The battle of Bouvines and the desertion of his friends had broken his proud spirit; his health failed, violent remedies brought him to the brink of the grave. Hell yawned before the outcast from the Church; nothing less than a public expiation of his sins could soothe his shuddering conscience. No bishop would approach the excommunicated, the fallen Sovereign; the Prior of Halberstadt, on his solemn oath upon the reliques of St. Simon and St. Jude brought for that purpose from Brunswick, that if he lived he would give full satisfaction to the Church, obtained him absolution and the last Sacrament. The next day, the last of his life, in the presence of the Empress and his family, the nobles, and the Abbot of Hildesheim, he knelt almost naked on a carpet, made the fullest confession of his sins; he showed a cross, which he had received at Rome, as a pledge that he would embark on a Crusade: “the devil had still thwarted his holy vow”. The cross was restored to him. He then crouched down, exposed his naked shoulders, and entreated all present to inflict the merited chastisement All bands were armed with rods; the very scullions assisted in the pious work of flagellation, or at least of humiliation. In the pauses of the Miserere the Emperor’s voice was heard: “Strike harder, spare not the hardened sinner”. So died the rival of Philip of Swabia, the foe of Innocent III, in the forty-third year of his age.

With the death of Otho rose new schemes of aggrandisement before the eyes of Frederick II; he must secure the Imperial crown for himself; for his son Henry the succession to the German kingdom. The Imperial crown must be obtained from the hands of the Pope; the election of his son at least be ratified by that power. A friendly correspondence began with Honorius III. The price set on the coronation of Frederick as Emperor was his undertaking a Crusade to the Holy Land. At the High Diet at Fulda, Frederick himself (so he writes to the Pope) had already summoned the princes of Germany to his great design; at the Diet proclaimed to be held at Magdeburg, he urged the Pope to excommunicate all who should not appear in arms on the next St. John’s day. His chief counsellor seemed to be Herman of Salza, the Master of the Teutonic Order, as deeply devoted to the service of the Holy Land, as the Templars and Knights of St. John. On that Order he heaped privileges and possessions. But already in Rome, no doubt among the old austere anti-German party, were dark suspicions, solemn admonitions, secret warnings to the mild Pope, that no son of the house of Swabia could be otherwise than an enemy to the Church: the Imperial Crown and the kingdom of Naples could not be in the possession of one Sovereign without endangering the

independence of the Papacy. Frederick repelled those accusations of hostility to the Church with passionate vehemence. “I well know that those who dare to rise up against the Church of Rome have drunk of the cup of Babylon; and hope that during my whole life I shall never be justly charged with ingratitude to my Holy Mother. I design not, against my own declaration, to obtain the election of my son Henry to the throne of Germany in order to unite the two kingdoms of Germany and Sicily; but that in my absence (no doubt he implies in the Holy Land), the two realms may be more firmly governed; and that in case of my death, my son may be more certain of inheriting the throne of his fathers. That son remains under subjection to the Roman See, which, having protected me, so ought to protect him in his undoubted rights”. He then condescends to exculpate himself from all the special charges brought against him by Rome.

The correspondence continued on both sides in terms of amicable courtesy. Each had his object, of which he never lost sight. The Pope would even hazard the aggrandisement of the house of Swabia if he could send forth an overpowering armament to the East. Frederick, secure of the aggrandisement of his house, was fully prepared to head the Crusade. Honorius consented that, in case of the death of Henry the son of Frederick without heir or brother, Frederick should hold both the Empire and the kingdom of Naples during his lifetime. Frederick desired to retain unconditionally the investiture of both kingdoms; but on this point the Pope showed so much reluctance that Frederick broke off the treaty by letter, reserving it for a personal interview with the Pope. “For who could be more obedient to the Church than he who was nursed at her breast and had rested in her lap? Who more loyal? Who would be so mindful of benefits already received, or so prepared to acknowledge his obligations according to the will and pleasure of his benefactors?” Such were the smooth nor yet deceptive words of Frederick. Frederick had already consented, even proposed, that the Pope should place all the German Princes who refused to take up the Cross under the interdict of the Church, and thus, as the Pope reminds him, had still more inextricably bound himself, who had already vowed to take up that Cross. Frederick urged Honorius to write individually to all the princes among whom there was no ardour for the Crusade, to threaten them with the ban if at least they did not maintain the truce of God; he promised, protesting that he acted without deceit or subtlety, to send forward his forces, and follow himself as speedily as he might. The Pope expressed his profound satisfaction at finding his beloved son so devoted to God and to the Church. He urged him to delay no longer the holy design; ‘‘Youth, power, fame, your vow, the example of your ancestors, summon you to fulfil your glorious enterprise. That which your illustrious grandfather Frederick I undertook with all his puissance, it is your mission to bring to a glorious end. Three times have I consented to delay; I will even prolong the term to the 1st of May. Whose offer is this? — Not mine; but that of Christ! Whose advantage? — That of all his disciples! Whose honour? — That of all Christians! Are you not invited by unspeakable rewards? summoned by miracles? admonished by examples?’’

But, in the meantime, Frederick, without waiting the assent of the Pope, had carried his great design, the election of his son Henry to the crown of Germany. His

unbounded popularity, his power now that his rival Otho was dead, the fortunate falling in of some great fiefs (especially the vast possessions of Berthold of Zahringen, which enabled him to reward some, to win others of the nobler houses), his affability, his liberality, his justice, gave him command over the suffrages of the temporal princes. By a great measure or wisdom and justice, the charter of the liberties of the German Church, on which some looked with jealousy as investing him with dangerous power, he gained the support of the high ecclesiastics. The King surrendered the unkingly right or usage of seizing to his own use the personalities of bishops on their decease. These effects, if not bequeathed by will, went to the bishop's successor. The King consented to renounce the right of coining money and levying tolls within the territory of the bishops without their consent; and to punish all forgeries of their coin. The vassals and serfs of the prelates were to be received in no imperial city or fief of the Empire to their damage. The advocates, under pretence of protection, were not to injure the estates of the Church: no one was to occupy by force an ecclesiastical fief. He who did not submit within six weeks to the authority of the Church fell under the ban of the Empire, and could neither act as judge, plaintiff, nor witness in any court. The Bishops, on their side, promised to prosecute and to punish all who opposed the will of the King. The King further stipulated that no one might erect castles or fortresses in the lands of a spiritual prince. No officer of the King had jurisdiction, could coin money, or levy tolls in the episcopal cities, except eight days before and eight days after a diet to be held in such city. Only when the King was actually within the city was the jurisdiction of the prince suspended, and only so long as he should remain.

The election of Henry to the throne of Germany without the consent of the Pope struck Rome with dismay. Frederick made haste to allay, if possible, the jealous apprehension. He declared that it was the spontaneous act of the Princes of the Empire during his absence, without his instigation. They had seen, from a quarrel which had broken out between the Archbishop of Mentz and the Landgrave of Thuringia, the absolute necessity of a King to maintain in Frederick's absence the peace of the Empire. He had even delayed his own consent. The act of election would be laid before the Pope with the seals of all who had been concerned in the affair. He declared that this election was by no means designed to perpetuate the union of the kingdom of Naples with the Empire. "Even if the Church had no right over the kingdom of Apulia and Sicily, I would freely grant that kingdom to the Pope rather than attach it to the Empire, should I die without lawful heirs". He significantly adds, that it is constantly suggested to him that the love professed to him by the Church is not sincere and will not be lasting, but he had constantly refused to entertain such ungrounded and dishonourable suspicions.

The Abbot of Fulda had, in the meantime, been despatched to Rome to demand the coronation of Frederick as Emperor. This embassy had been usually the office of one of the great prelates of Germany, but the mild Honorius took no offence, or disguised it. At the end of August Frederick descended the Alps into the plain of Lombardy. Eight years before, a boy of eighteen, he had crossed those Alps, almost alone, on his desperate adventure of wresting the crown of his fathers from the brow of Otho. He came back, in the prime of life, one of the mightiest kings who had ever occupied that throne; stronger in the attachment of all orders, perhaps, than any former

Swabian king; having secured, it might seem, in his house, at least the Empire, if not the Empire with all its rights in Italy; and with the kingdom of Sicily, instead of a hostile power at the command of the Popes, his own, if not in possession, in attachment. During these eight yours Italy had been one great feud of city with city, of the cities within themselves. Milan, released from fears of the Emperor, had now begun a quarrel with the Church. The Podesta expelled the Archbishop. Parma and many other cities had followed this example; the bishops were driven out, their palaces destroyed, their property plundered: the great ability of the Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX, had restored something like order, but the fire was still smouldering in its ashes.

Frederick passed on without involving himself in these implacable quarrels; it was time to assert the Imperial rights when invested in the Imperial crown. He had crossed the Brenner, and moving by Verona and Mantua, so avoided Milan. The absence of the Arch bishop from Milan was a full excuse for his postponing his coronation with the iron crown of Lombardy. He granted rights and privileges to Venice, Genoa, Pisa; overawed or conciliated some cities. On the thirtieth of September he was in Verona, on the fourth of October in Bologna. His Chancellor, Conrad of Metz, had arranged the terms oil which he was to receive the Imperial crown. Frederick advanced with a great army of churchmen in his retinue—the Archbishops of Mayence, of Ravenna, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Bishops of Metz, Nassau, Trent, Brixen, Augsburg, Duke Louis of Bavaria, and Henry Count Palatine. Ambassadors appeared from almost all the cities of Italy: from Apulia, from the Counts of Celano, St. Severino, and Aquila; deputies from the city of Naples. The people of Rome were quiet and well pleased. The only untoward incident which disturbed the peace was a quarrel about a dog between the Ambassador of Florence and Pisa, which led to a bloody war. On the twenty-second of November Frederick and his Queen were crowned in St. Peter's amid universal acclamations. Frederick disputed not the covenanted price to be paid for the Imperial crown. He received the Cross once more from the hand of Cardinal Ugolino. He swore that part of his forces should set forth for the Holy Land in the March of the following year, himself in August. He released his vassals from their fealty in all the territories of the Countess Matilda, and made over the appointment of all the podestàs to the Pope; some who refused to submit were placed by the Chancellor Conrad under the ban of the Empire. He put the Pope in possession of the whole region from Radicofani to Ceperano, with the March of Ancona and the Duchy of Spoleto.

His liberality was not limited to these grants. Two laws concerning the immunities of ecclesiastics and the Suppression of heretics might satisfy the severest churchman. The first absolutely annulled all laws or usages of cities, communities, or ruling powers which might be or were employed against the liberties of the churches or of spiritual persons, or against the laws of the Church and of the Empire. Outlawry and heavy fines were enacted not only against those who enforced, but who counselled or aided in the enforcement of such usages: the offenders forfeited, if contumacious for a whole year, all their goods. No tax or burthen could be set upon ecclesiastics, churches, or spiritual foundations. Whoever arraigned a spiritual person before a civil tribunal forfeited his right to implead; the tribunal which admitted such arraignment lost its jurisdiction; the

judge who refused justice three times to a spiritual person in any matter forfeited his judicial authority.

The law against heretics vied in sternness with that of Innocent HL, confirmed by Otho IV. All Cathari, Paterines, Leonists, Speronists, Arnoldists, and dissidents of all other descriptions, were incapable of holding places of honour, and under barn. Their goods were confiscated, and not restored to their children; “for outrages against the Lord of Heaven were more heinous than against a temporal lord”. Whoever, suspected of heresy, did not clear himself after a year’s trial was to be treated as a heretic. Every magistrate or entering upon office must himself take an oath of orthodoxy, and swear to punish all whom the Church might denounce as heretics. If any temporal lord did not rid his lands of heretics, the true believers might take the business into their own hands, and seize the goods of the delinquent, provided that the rights of an innocent loid were not thereby impeached. All who concealed, aided, protected heretics were under ban and interdict; if they did not make satisfaction within two years, under outlawry; they could hold no office, nor inherit, nor enter any plea, nor bear testimony.

Three other laws, based on the eternal principles of morality, accompanied these acts of ecclesiastical legislation, or of temporal legislation in the spirit of the Church. One prohibited the plundering of wrecks, excepting the ships of pirates and infidels. Another protected pilgrims; they were to be received with kindness; if they died, their property was to be restored to their rightful heirs. The third protected the persons and labours of the cultivators of the soil.

The Pope and the Emperor, notwithstanding some trifling differences, parted in perfect amity. “Never”, writes Honorius, “did Pope love Emperor as he loved his son Frederick”. Each had obtained some great, objects; the Pope the peaceable surrender of the Mathildine territories, and the solemn oath that Frederick would speedily set forth on the Crusade. The Emperor retired in peace and joy to the beloved land of his youth. The perilous question of his right to the kingdom of Sicily had been intentionally or happily avoided; he had been recognised by the Pope as Emperor and King of Sicily. There were still brooding causes of mutual suspicion and dissatisfaction. Frederick pursued with vigour his determination of repressing the turbulent nobles of Apulia; the castles of the partisans of Otho were seized; they fled, and, he bitterly complained, were received with more than hospitality in the Papal dominions. He spared not the inimical bishops; they were driven from their sees; some imprisoned. The Pope loudly protested against this audacious violation of the immunities of Churchmen. Frederick refused them entrance into the kingdom; he had rather forfeit his crow than the inalienable right of the sovereign, of which he had been defrauded by Innocent III, of visiting treason on all his subjects.

Then in the next year (A.D. 1221) came the fatal news from the East—the capture, the disasters which followed the Capture of Damietta. The Pope and the Emperor expressed their common grief; the Pope was bowed with dismay and sorrow; the tidings pierced as a sword to the heart of Frederick. Frederick had sent forty triremes, under the Bishop of Catania and the Count of Malta; they had arrived too late. But this dire reverse showed that nothing less than an overwhelming force could restore the Christian cause in the East; and in those days of colder religious zeal, even the Emperor and King

of Sicily could not at once summon such overwhelming force. Frederick was fully occupied in the Sicilian dominions. During his minority, and during his absence, the powerful Germans, Normans, Italians, even Churchmen, had usurped fiefs, castles, cities; he had to resume by force rights unlawfully obtained, to dispossess men whose only title had been open or secret leanings to the Emperor Otho; to punish arbitrary oppression of the people; to destroy strong castles built without licence; to settle ancient feuds and suppress private wars: it needed all his power, his popularity, his firmness, to avert insurrection during these vigorous but necessary measures. Two great assizes laid at Capua and Messina showed the confusion in the affairs of both kingdoms. But such nobles he could expect no ready obedience to assemble around his banner for an expedition to the Holy Land. Instead of a great fleet, suddenly raised, as by the wand of an enchanter (this the Pope seemed to expect), and a powerful army, in April in the year 1222 the Pope and the Emperor met at Veroli to deliberate on the Crusade. They agreed to proclaim a great assembly at Verona in the November of that year, at which the Pope and the Emperor were to be present. All princes, prelates, knights, and vassals were to be summoned to unite in one irresistible effort for the relief of the East. The assembly at Verona did not take place; the illness of the Pope, the occupations of the Emperor, were alleged as excuses for the further delay. A second time the Pope and the Emperor met at Kerentino; with them King John of Jerusalem, the Patriarch, the Grand Master of the Knights Templars. Frederick explained the difficulties which had impeded his movements, first in Germany, now in Sicily. To the opposition of his turbulent barons was now added the danger of an insurrection of the Saracens in Sicily. Frederick himself was engaged in a short but obstinate war. Even the King of Jerusalem deprecated the despatch of an insufficient force. Two full years were to be employed, by deliberate agreement, in awakening the dormant zeal of Christendom; but Frederick, now a widower, bound himself, it might seem, in the inextricable fetters of his own personal interest and ambition, by engaging to marry Iolante, the beautiful daughter of King John.

Two years passed away; King John of Jerusalem travelled over Western Christendom, to England, France, Germany, to represent in all lands the state of extreme peril and distress to which his kingdom was reduced. Everywhere he met with the most courteous and royal reception; but the days of Peter the Hermit and St Bernard were gone by. France, England, Germany, Spain, were involved in their own affairs; a few took the Cross, and offered sums of money to no great amount; and this was all which was done by the royal preacher of the Crusade. Tuscany and Lombardy were almost as indifferent to the expostulations of Cardinal Ugolino, who had for some years received full power from the Emperor to awaken, if possible, the sluggish ardour of those provinces. King John and the Patriarch, after visiting Apulia, reported to the Pope the absolute impossibility of raising any powerful armament by the time appointed in the treaty of Ferentino.

Honorius was compelled to submit; at San Germane was framed a new agreement, by two Cardinals commissioned by the Pope, which deferred for July, two years longer (till August, 1227) the final departure of the Crusade. Frederick permitted himself to be bound by stringent articles. In that month of that year he would proceed on the Crusade,

and maintain one thousand knights at his own cost for two years: for each knight who was deficient he was to pay the penalty of fifty marks, to be at the disposal of the King, the Patriarch, and the Master of the Knights Templars, for the benefit of the Holy Land. He was to have a fleet of 150 ships to transport 2000 knights, without cost, to Palestine. If so many knights were not ready to embark, the money saved was to be devoted to those pious interests. He was to place in the hands of the same persons 100,000 ounces of gold, at four several periods, to be forfeited for the same uses, if in two years he did not embark on the Crusade. His successors were bound to fulfil these covenants in case of his death. If he failed to perform any one of these covenants; if at the appointed time he did not embark for the Holy Land; if he did not maintain the stipulated number of knights; if he did not pay the stipulated sums of money; he fell at once under the interdict of the Church: if he left unfulfilled any other point, the Church, by his own free admission, had the power to pronounce the interdict.

Personal ambition, as well as religions zeal, or the policy of keeping on good terms with the spiritual power, might seem to mingle with the aspirations of the Emperor Frederick for the Holy Land; to his great Empire he would add the dominions of the East. In the November of the same year, after the signature of the treaty in San Germane, he celebrated his marriage with Iolante, daughter of the King of Jerusalem. No sooner had he done this, than he assumed to himself the title of King of Jerusalem: he caused a new great seal to be made, in which he styled himself Emperor, King of Jerusalem and Sicily. John of Jerusalem was King, he asserted, only by right of his wife; on her death, the crown descended to her daughter; as the husband of Iolante he was the lawful sovereign. King John, by temperament a wrathful man, burst into a paroxysm of fury; high words ensued; he called the Emperor the son of a butcher; he accused him of neglecting his daughter, of diverting those embraces due to his bride to one of her attendants. He retired in anger to Bologna. Frederick had other causes for suspecting the enmity of his father-in-law. He was the brother of Walter of Brienne; and rumours had prevailed that he intended to claim the inheritance of his brother's wife, the daughter of the Norman Tancred. But John filled Italy with dark stories of the dissoluteness of the gallant Frederick: that he abstained altogether from the bed of Iolante is refuted by the fact that two years after she bore him a son, which Frederick acknowledged as his own. They appeared even during that year, at least with all outward signs of perfect harmony.

Nor was this the only event which crossed the designs of Frederick, if he ever seriously determined to fulfil his vow (where is the evidence, but that of his bitter enemies, that he had not so determined?). Throughout all his dominions, instead of that profound peace and established order which might enable him, at the head of the united knighthood of the Empire and of Italy, to break with irresistible forces upon the East; in Germany the assassination of the wise and good Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne, to whom Frederick had entrusted the tutelage of his son Henry, and the administration of the Empire, threatened the peace of the realm. In Lombardy, Guelf and Ghibelline warred, intrigued; princes against princes, Bonifazio of Montferrat and the house of Este against the Salinguerra, and that cruel race of which Eccelin di Romano was the head, Venice and Genoa, Genoa and Pisa, Genoa and Milan, Asti and Alexandria, Ravenna

and Ferrara, Mantua and Cremona, even Rome and Viterbo, were now involved in fierce hostility, or pausing to take advantage each of the other; and each city had usually a friendly faction within the walls of its rival. Frederick, who held the lofty Swabian notion as to the prerogative of the Emperor, had determined with a high hand to assert the Imperial rights. He hoped, with his Ghibelline allies, to become again the Sovereign of the north of Italy. He was prepared to march at the head of his Southern forces; a Diet had been summoned at Verona. Milan again set herself at the head of a new Lombard League. In Milan the internal strife between the nobles and the people, between the Archbishop and the Podestà, had been allayed by the prudent intervention the Pope, to whom the peace of Milan was of infinite importance, that the republic might put forth her whole strength as head of the Lombard League. Milan was joined by Bologna, Piacenza, Verona, Brescia, Faenza, Mantua, Vercelli, Lodi, Bergamo, Turin, Alessandria, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso. The mediation of Honorius averted the threatening hostilities. Yet the Imperialists accuse Honorius as the secret favourer of the League.

With Honorius himself a rupture seemed to be imminent. The Emperor, even before the treaty of San Germano, had done the Pope the service of maintaining him against his hostile subjects, compelling the Capitanata and the Maremma to return to their allegiance, coercing the populace of Rome, who in one of their usual outbursts, had driven the Pontiff from the city. The deep murmurs of a coming storm might be heard by the sagacious ear. Frederick, in his determination to reduce his Apulian kingdom to subjection, had still treated the ecclesiastical fiefs as he did the civil; he retained the temporalities in his possession during vacancies, so that five of the largest bishoprics, Capua, Aversa, Brundusium, Salerno, and Cosensa, were without bishops. Honorius, soon alter the treaty of Germano, wrote to inform the Emperor that for the good of his soul and the souls of his subjects, he had appointed five learned and worthy Prelates to these sees, natives of the kingdom of Naples, and who could not, therefore, but be acceptable to the King. Frederick, indignant at this compulsory nomination, without, as was usual, even courteous consultation of the Sovereign, refused to receive the Bishops, and even repelled the Legates of the Pope from his court. He summoned, it might seem in reprisal, the inhabitants of Spoleto to his banner, to accompany him in his expedition to Lombardy. The Spoletines averred that, by the late treaty, which the Emperor was thus wantonly violating, they owed allegiance only to the Pope.

The correspondence betrayed the bitterness and rising wrath on both sides. Even Honorius seemed about to resume the haughty tone of his predecessors. “If our writing hath filled you with astonishment, how much more wore we amazed by yours! You boast that you have been more obedient to us than any of the Kings of your race. Indeed, no great boast! But if you will compare yourself with those godly and generous Sovereigns, who have in word and deed protected the Church, you will not claim superiority; you will strive to approach more nearly to those great examples. You charge the Church with treachery, that while she pretended to be your guardian, she let loose your enemies on Apulia, and raised Otho to the throne of your fathers: you venture on these accusations, who have so repeatedly declared that to the Church you owe your preservation, your life. Providence must have urged you to these rash charges

that the care and prudence of the Church may be more manifest to all men". To the Church, he insinuates, Frederick mainly owes the crown of Germany, which he has no right to call hereditary in his family. ''In all our negotiations with you we have respected your dignity more than our own". Whatever irregularity there might be in the appointment of the bishops, it was not for the King's arbitrary will to decide; and Frederick had been guilty of far more flagrant encroachments on the rights of bishops and of the lower clergy. Honorius exculpates himself from having received the rebellious subjects of the King in the territories of the See. "You accuse us of laying heavy burdens on you, which we touch not ourselves with the tip of our finger. You forget your voluntary taking up the Cross, our prolongation of the period, our free gifts of the tithes of all ecclesiastical property; our own contributions in money, the activity of our brethren in preaching the Holy Vow. In fine, the hand of the Lord not weakened in its power to humble the haughty: be not dazzled by your prosperity, so as to throw off the lowliness which you professed in times of trouble. It is the law of true nobility not to be elated by success, as not to be cast down by adversity".

Honorius no doubt felt his strength; the Pope at the head of the Guelfic interest in Lombardy had been formidable to the designs of Frederick. The Emperor, indeed, had assumed a tone of command, which the forces which he could array would hardly maintain. At Borgo St. Domnino he had placed all the contumacious cities under the ban of the Empire; the Papal Legate, the Bishop of Hildesheim, had pronounced the interdict of the Church, as though their turbulent proceedings impeded the Crusade. Both parties submitted to the mediation of Honorius; Frederick condescended to receive the intrusive bishops, whom he had repelled: he declared himself ready to accept the terms most consistent with the honour of God, of the Church, of the Empire, and of the Holy Land. The Pope, whose whole soul was absorbed in the promotion of his one object, the Crusade, pronounced his award, in which he treated the Emperor and his rebellious subjects as hostile powers contending on equal terms. Each party was to suspend hostilities, to restore the prisoners taken, to forswear their animosities. The King annulled the act of the Imperial ban, and all penalties incurred under it; the Lombards stipulated to maintain at their own cost four hundred knights for the service of the Holy Land during two years, and rigidly to enforce all laws against heretics. This haughty arbitration, almost acknowledging the absolute independence of the republics, was the last act of Honorius III; he died in the month of March, a few months before the term agreed on in the treaty of San Germano was to expire, and the Emperor, under pain of excommunication, to embark for the Holy Land. The Apostolic tiara devolved on the Cardinal Ugolino, of the noble house of Conti, which had given to the Holy See Innocent III. The more lofty churchmen felt some disappointment that the Papacy was declined by Cardinal Conrad, the Count of Urach, the declared enemy of Frederick. They mistrusted only the feebleness of age ill the Cardinal Ugolino. A Pope eighty years old, might seem no fitting antagonist for a Prince like Frederick, as yet hardly in the full maturity of his years. In all other respects the Cardinal Ugolino, in learning, in ability, in activity, in the assertion of the loftiest hierarchical principles, stood high above the whole conclave. Frederick himself, on a former occasion, had borne testimony to the distinguished character of the Cardinal Ugolino. "He is a man of

spotless of blameless morals, renowned for piety, erudition, and eloquence. He shines among the rest like a brilliant star". The emperor's political astrology had not calculated the baleful influence of that disastrous planet on his fortunes, his fame, and his peace.

CHAPTER II.

Honorius III and England

The relations of Honorius III to the Empire and the Emperor Frederick II were no doubt of the most profound importance to Christendom; yet those to England must find their place in an English history. We revert to the commencement of his Papacy. The first care, indeed, of Pope Honorius was for the vassal kingdom of England. The death of King John, three months after that of Innocent III, totally changed the position of the Pontiff. On his accession Honorius had embraced with the utmost ardour the policy of Innocent. King John, the vassal of the Papacy, must be supported against his rebellious barons, and against the invasion of Louis of France, by all the terrors of the Papal power. Louis and all his army, the Barons and all their partisans, were under the most rigorous form of excommunication. But on John's death, the Pope is no longer the haughty and unscrupulous ally and protector of an odious, feeble, and irreligious tyrant; of one whose lusts had wounded the high chivalrous honour of many of the noblest families; whose perfidy, backed by the absolving power of the Pope, had broken the most solemn engagements, and revoked the great Charter to which he had submitted at Runnymede; who was ravaging the whole realm with wild foreign hordes, Brabanters, Poitevins, freebooters of all countries, and had driven the nobles of England into an unnatural alliance with Louis of France, and a transference of the throne to a foreign conqueror. The Pope was no longer the steadfast enemy of the liberties of the realm, lie assumed the lofty ground of guardian, as liege lord, of the young heir to the throne (Henry HI. was but nine years old), the protector of a blameless orphan whom a rebellious baronage and an alien usurper were endeavouring to despoil of his ancestral crown. Honorius throughout speaks of the young Henry as the vassal of the Church of Rome; of himself as the suzerain of England. English loyalty and English independence hardly needed the Papal fulminations to induce them to abandon the cause into which they had plunged in their despair, the cause of a foreign prince, whose accession to the throne of England would have reduced the realm to a province of France. Already their fidelity to Louis had been shaken by rumours, or more than rumours, that the ambitious and unscrupulous Louis intended, so soon as he had obtain the crown, to rid himself by banishment and by disinheritance of his dangerous partisans; to expel the barons from the realm. The desertion of the nobles, the decisive battle of Lincoln, seated Henry III on the throne of the Plantagenets. The Pope had only to reward with his praises, immunities, grants, and privileges the few nobles and prelates faithful to the cause of

John and of his son, W. Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel, Savary de Mauleon, Hubert de Burgh the Justiciary, the Chancellor R. de Marisco, who became Bishop of Durham. He had tardily, sometimes ungraciously, to relieve from the terrible penalties of excommunication the partisans of Louis; to persuade or to force the King of France to withdraw all support from the cause of his son, who still continued either in open hostility or in secret aggression on the continental dominions of Henry III; and to maintain his lofty position as Liege Lord and Protector of the King and of the realm of England.

The Legate Gualo, the Cardinal of St. Marcellus, had conducted this signal revolution with consummate address and moderation. From the coronation of Henry III at Gloucester by his hands, the Cardinal took the lead in fall public affairs: he was virtual if not acknowledged Protector of the infant King. Before the battle of Lincoln the Legate harangued the royal army, lavished his absolutions, his promises of eternal reward; under the blessing of God, bestowed by him, the army advanced to victory. In the settlement of the kingdom, in the reconciliation of the nobles, he was mild if lofty, judicious if dictatorial. England might have owed deep debt of gratitude to the Pope and to the Legate, Gualo's fame had not been tarnished by his inordinate rapacity. To the nobles he was liberal of his free absolution; the clergy must pay the penalty of their rebellion, and pay that penalty in forfeiture, or the redemption of forfeiture by enormous fines to the Pope and to his Legate. Inquisitors were sent through the whole realm to investigate the conduct of the clergy. The lower ecclesiastics, even canons, under the slightest suspicion of the rebellion, were dispossessed of their benefices to make room for foreign priests; the only way to elude degradation was by purchasing the favour of the Legate at a vast price. The Bishop of Lincoln for his restoration to his see paid 1000 marks to the Pope, 100 to the Legate.

Throughout the long reign of Henry III England was held by successive Popes as a province of the Papal territory. The Legate, like a praetor or proconsul of old, held or affected to hold an undefined supremacy; during the Barons' wars the Pope with a kind of feudal as well as ecclesiastical authority condemned the rebels, not only against their Lord, but against the vassal of the Holy See. England was the great tributary province, in which Papal avarice levied the most enormous sums, and drained the wealth of the country by direct or indirect taxation. There were four distinct sources of Papal revenue from the realm of England.

I. The ancient payment of Peter's Pence; this subsidy to the Pope as the ecclesiastical sovereign acknowledged in Saxon times, and admitted by the Conqueror, was regularly assessed in the different dioceses, and transmitted to Rome. Dignitaries of the Church were usually the treasurers who paid it over to Italian bankers in London, the intermediate agents with Rome.

II. The 1000 marks — 700 for England, 300 for Ireland — the sign and acknowledgment of feudal vassalage, stipulated by King John, when he took the oath of submission, and made over the kingdom as a fief. Powerful Popes are constantly heard imperiously, necessitous Popes more humbly, almost with supplication, demanding the payment of this tribute and its arrears (for it seems to have been irregularly levied) ; but

during the whole reign of Henry III and later, no question seems to have been raised of the Pope's right.

III. The benefices held by foreigners, chiefly Italians, and payments to foreign churches out of the property of the English church; the invasion of the English sees by foreign prelates, with its inevitable consequences (or rather antecedents, for John began the practice of purchasing the support of Rome by enriching her Italian clergy), in crowding the English benefices with strangers, and burdening them with persons who never came near them. Those abuses as yet only raised deep and suppressed murmurs, ere long to break out into fierce and obstinate resistance. Pandulph, the Papal Legate, became Bishop of Norwich. Pope Honorius writes to Pandulph not merely authorising but urging, him to provide a benefice or benefices in his diocese of Norwich for his own (the Bishop's) brother, that brother (a curious plurality) being Archdeacon of Thessalonica. These foreigners were of course more and more odious to the whole realm : to the laity as draining away their wealth without discharging any duties; still more to the clergy as usurping their benefices; though ignorant of the language, affecting superiority in attainments; as well as from their uncongenial manners, and, if they are not belied, unchecked vices. They were blood-suckers, drawing out the life, or drones fattening on the spoil of the land. All existing documents show that the jealousy and animosity of the English did not exaggerate the evil. At length, just at the close of his Pontificate, even Pope Honorius, by his Legate Otho, made the bold and open demand that two prebends in every cathedral and conventual church (one from the portion of the Bishop or Abbot, one from that of the Chapter), or the sustentation of one monk, should be assigned in perpetuity to the Church of Rome. On this the nobles interfered in the King's name, inhibiting such alienation. When the subject was brought before a synod at Westminster by the Archbishop, the proposal was received with derisive laughter at the avarice of the see of Rome. Even the King was prompted to this prudent resolution: "When the rest of Christendom shall have consented to this measure, we will consult with our prelates whether it be right to follow their example". The Council of Bourges, where the Legate Otho urged the same general demand, had eluded it with the same contemptuous disregard. It was even more menacingly suggested that such general oppression from Rome might lead to a general withdrawal of allegiance from Rome

Five years after, the people of England seemed determined to take the affair into their own hands. Terrible letters were distributed by unseen means, and by unknown persons, addressed to the bishops and chapters, to the abbots and friars, denouncing the insolence and avarice of these Romans; positively inhibiting any payments to them from the revenues of their churches; threatening those who paid to burn palaces and barns over their heads, and to wreak the same vengeance on them which would inevitably fall on the Italians. Cencius, the Pope's collector of Peter's Pence, a Canon of St. Paul's, was suddenly carried off by armed men, with their faces hid under visors: he returned with his bags well rifled, after five weeks' imprisonment. John of Ferentino, Archdeacon of Norwich, escaped the same fate, and concealed himself in London. Other aggressive measures followed. The barns of the Italian clergy were attacked; the corn sold or distributed to the poor. It might seem almost a simultaneous rising; though

the active assailants were few, the feelings of the whole people were with them. At one place (Wingham) the sheriff was obliged, as it appeared, to raise an armed force to keep the peace; the officers were shown letters-patent (forged as was said) in the King's name, authorising the acts of the spoiler: they looked on, not caring to examine the letters too closely, in quiet unconcern at the spoliation. The Pope (Gregory IX) issued an angry Bull, which not only accused the Bishops of conniving at these enormities, and of making this ungrateful return for the good offices which he had shown to the King; he bitterly complained of the ill usage of his Nuncios and officers. One had been cut to pieces, another left half dead; the Pope's Bulls had been trampled underfoot. The Pope demanded instant, ample, merciless punishment of the malefactors, restoration of the damaged property. Robert Twenge, a bold Yorkshire knight, who under a feigned name had been the ringleader, appeared before the King, owned himself to have been the William Wither who had headed the insurgents: he had done all this in righteous vengeance against the Romans, who by a sentence of the Pope, fraudulently obtained, had deprived him of the right of patronage to a benefice. He had rather be unjustly excommunicated than despoiled of his right. He was recommended to go to Rome with testimonials from the King for absolution, and this was all. The abuse, however, will appear yet rampant, when we return to the history of the English Church,

IV. The taxation of the clergy (a twentieth, fifteenth, or tenth) as a subsidy for the Holy Land; but a subsidy grudgingly paid, and not devoted with too rigid exclusiveness to its holy purpose. Some portion of this was at times thrown, as it were, as a boon to the King (in general under a vow to undertake a Crusade), but applied by him without rebuke or remonstrance to other purposes. This tax was on the whole property of the Church, of the secular clergy and of the monasteries favour was sometimes (not always) shown to the Cistercians, the Praemostratensians, the Monks of Sempringham—almost always to the Templars and Knights of St. John. Other emoluments arose out of the Crusades; compositions for vows not fulfilled; besides what arose out of bequests, the property of intestate clergy, and other sources. The Popes seem to have had boundless notions of the wealth and weakness of England. England paid, murmured, but laid up deep stores of alienation and aversion from the Roman See.

Gregory IX

A.D. 1227-1241

The Empire and the Papacy were now to meet in their last mortal and implacable strife: the two first acts of this tremendous drama, separated by an interval of many years, were to be developed during the Pontificate of a prelate who ascended the throne of St. Peter at the age of eighty. Nor was this strife for any specific point in dispute like the right of investiture, but avowedly for supremacy on one side, which hardly deigned to call itself independence; for independence, on the other, which remotely at least aspired after supremacy. Caesar would bear no superior, the successor of St. Peter no equal. The contest could not have begun under men more strongly contrasted, or more determinedly opponent in character than Gregory IX and Frederick II. Gregory retained the ambition, the vigour, almost the activity of youth, with the stubborn obstinacy, and something of the irritable petulance of old age. He was still master of all his powerful faculties; his knowledge of affairs, of mankind, of the peculiar interests of almost all the nations in Christendom, acquired by long employment in the most important negotiations both by Innocent III and by Honorius III; eloquence which his own ago compared to that of Tully; profound erudition in that learning which, in the mediaeval churchman, commanded the highest admiration. No one was his superior in the science of the canon law; the Decretals to which he afterwards gave a more full and authoritative form, were at his command, and they were to him as much the law of God as the Gospels themselves or the primary principles of morality. The jealous reverence and attachment of a great lawyer to his science strengthened the lofty pretensions of the churchman.

Frederick II with many of the noblest qualities which could captivate the admiration of his own age, in some respects might appear misplaced, and by many centuries prematurely born. Frederick having crowded into his youth adventures, perils, successes, almost unparalleled in history, was now only expanding into the prime of manhood. A parentless orphan he had struggled upward into the actual reigning monarch of his hereditary Sicily; he was even then rising above the yoke of the turbulent magnates of his realm, and the depressing tutelage of the Papal See. He had crossed the Alps a boyish adventurer, and won, so much through his own valour and daring that he might well ascribe to himself his conquest, the kingdom of Germany, the imperial crown; he was in undisputed possession of the Empire, with all its rights in Northern Italy; King of Apulia, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was beginning to be at once the Magnificent Sovereign, the knight, the poet, the lawgiver, the patron of arts, letters, and science; the Magnificent Sovereign now holding his court in one of the old barbaric and feudal cities of Germany among the proud and turbulent princes of the Empire, more often on the sunny shores of Naples or Palermo, in southern and almost Oriental

luxury; the gallant Knight and troubadour Poet not forbidding himself those amorous indulgences which were the reward of chivalrous valour, and of the gay science; the Lawgiver, whose far-seeing wisdom seemed to anticipate some of those views of equal justice, of the advantages of commerce, of the cultivation of the arts of peace, beyond all the toleration of adverse religions, which even in a more dutiful son of the Church would doubtless have seemed godless indifference. Frederick must appear before us in the course of our history in the full development of all these shades of character; but, besides all this, Frederick's views of the temporal sovereignty were as imperious and autocratic as those of the haughtiest churchman of the spiritual supremacy. The ban of the Empire ought to be at least equally awful with that of the Church; disloyalty to the Emperor was as heinous a sin as infidelity to the head of Christendom; the independence of the Lombard republics was as a greet and punishable political heresy. Even in Rome itself, as head of the Roman Empire, Frederick aspired to a supremacy which was not less unlimited because vague and undefined, and irreconcilable with that of the Supreme Pontiff. If ever Emperor might be tempted by the vision of a vast hereditary monarchy to be perpetuated in his house, the princely house of Hohenstaufen, it was Frederick. He had heirs of his greatness; his eldest son was King of the Romans; from his loins might yet spring an inexhaustible race of princes: the failure of his imperial line was his last tear. The character of the man seemed formed to achieve and to maintain this vast design; he was at once terrible and popular, courteous, generous, placable to his foes; yet there was a depth of cruelty in the heart of Frederick towards revolted subjects, which made him look on the atrocities of his allies, Eccelin da Romano, and the Salinguerras, but as legitimate means to quell insolent and stubborn rebellion.

The loftier churchmen, if for a moment they had misgivings on account of his age, hailed the election of Cardinal Ugolino with the utmost satisfaction. The surpassing magnificence of his coronation attested the unanimous applause of the clergy, and even of the people of Rome. Gregory had in secret murmured against the gentler and more yielding policy of Honorius III. Of such weakness he could not accuse himself. The old man at once threw down the gauntlet; on the day of his accession he issued an energetic proclamation to all the sovereigns of Christendom announcing his election to the pontificate, and summoning them to enter on a new Crusade. That addressed to Frederick was more direct, vehement, and imperative, and closed not without some significant hints that he would not long brook the delay with which the Emperor had beguiled his predecessor. The King's disobedience might involve him in difficulties from which the Pope himself, even if he should so will, could hardly extricate him

Frederick, in the height of their subsequent contest, reproached the Pope as having been while in the lower orders of the Church, his familiar friend, but that no sooner had he reached the summit of his ambition than he threw off all gratitude, and became his determined enemy. Yet his congratulations on the accession of Gregory were expressed in the most courtly tone. The Bishop of Reggio, and Herman of Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic order, were his ambassadors to Rome. Gregory, on his side, with impartial severity, compelled the Lombards to fulfil and ratify the treaty which had been agreed to through the mediation of Honorius. Frederick had already transmitted to

Rome the documents which were requisite for the full execution of the stipulations on his part, the general amnesty, the revocation of the Imperial ban, the release of the prisoners, the assent of King Henry. The Lombards were not so ready or so open in their proceedings. Gregory was constrained to send a strong summons to the Lombards declaring that he would no longer be tampered with by their idle and frivolous excuses. "If in this important affair ye despise, mock, or elude our commands and those of God, nothing remains for us but to invoke heaven and earth against your insolence". The treaty arrived in Rome the day after this summons had been despatched, wanting the seal of the Marquis of Montferrat, and of many of the cities; but Gregory would not be baffled; the Archbishop of Milan received orders to menace the cities with ecclesiastical censures, and the treaty came back with all the necessary ratifications. In this Gregory I pursued the politic as well as the just course. The Emperor must not have this plausible excuse to elude his embarkation on the Crusade at the appointed day in August. The Lombards themselves were imperatively urged to furnish their proper contingent for the Holy War. Gregory IX knew Lombardy well, it had been the scene of his own preaching of the Cross; and the sagacious fears of the Church (the stipulations in the treaty of Honorius betrayed this sagacity and these fears) could not but discern that however these proud republics might be heartily Guelfic, cordially on the side of the Church, they were only so from their common jealousy of the Empire. But there was that tacit understanding, or at least unacknowledged sympathy, between civil and religious liberty, which must be watched with vigilant mistrust. It was manifest that the respect for their bishops in all these republics depended entirely on the political conduct of the prelates, not on the sanctity of their office. There was a remissness or reluctance in the suppression of heresy, and in the punishment of heretics, which required constant urgency and rebuke on the part of the Pope: "Ye make a great noise," writes Gregory, "about fines imposed, and sentences of exile against heretics; but ye quietly give them back their fines, and admit them again into your cities. In the meantime ye regard not the immunities of the clergy, neither their exemption from taxation nor their personal freedom; ye even permit enactments injurious to their defence of their liberties, enactments foolish and culpable, even to their banishment by the laity. Take heed, lest a more fearful interdict than that with which you have been punished (the ban of the Empire) fall upon yon, the interdict of the Church.

But the Pope was not content with general exhortations to the Emperor to embark on the Crusade: he assumed the privilege of his holy office and of his venerable age to admonish the young and brilliant Frederick on his life, and on the duties of his imperial dignity. The address was sent from Anagni, to which the Pope had retired from the heats of Rome, by the famous Gualo, one of the austere Order of Friar Preachers instituted by St. Dominic. The letter dwelt in the highest terms on the wonderful mental endowments of Frederick, his reason quickened with the liveliest intelligence, and winged by the brightest imagination. The Pope entreats him not to degrade the qualities which he possesses in common with the angels, nor to sacrifice them to the lower appetites, which he has in common with the beasts and the plants of the earth. The love of sensual things debases the intellect, the pampering of the delicate body corrupts the affections. "If knowledge and love, those twin lights, are extinguished; if those eagles which

should soar in triumph stoop and entangle themselves with earthly pleasures, how canst thou show to thy followers the way of salvation? Far be it from thee to hold up this fatal example of thraldom to the sensual life. Your justice should be the pillar of fire, your mercy the cooling cloud to lead God's chosen people into the land of promise". He proceeds to a strange mystic interpretation of the five great ensigns of the imperial power; the inward meaning of all these mysterious symbols, the cross, the lance, the triple crown, the sceptre, and the golden apple: this he would engrave indelibly with an iron pen on the adamantine tablets of the king's heart.

It were great injustice to the character of Gregory to attribute this high-toned, however extravagantly mystic, remonstrance to the unworthy motives of ambition or animosity. The severe old man might, not without grounds, take offence at the luxury, the splendour, the sensuality of Frederick's Sicilian court, the freedom at least, if not licence, of Frederick's life. It was the zeal, perhaps of a monk, but yet the honest and religious zeal. Frederick's predilection for his native kingdom, for the bright cities reflected in the blue Mediterranean, over the dark barbaric towns of Germany, of itself characterises the man. The summer skies, the more polished manners, the more elegant luxuries, the knowledge, the arts, the poetry, gaiety, the beauty, the romance of the South, were throughout his life more congenial to his mind than the heavier and more chilly climate, the feudal barbarism, the ruder pomp, the coarser habits of his German liegemen. Among the profane sayings attributed to Frederick (who was neither guarded nor discreet in his more mirthful conversation, and as his strife with the Church grew fiercer would not become more reverential), sayings caught up, and no doubt sharpened by his enemies, was that memorable one — that God would never have chosen the barren land of Judaea for his own people if he had seen his beautiful and fertile Sicily. And no doubt that delicious climate and lovely land, so highly appreciated by the gay sovereign, was not without influence on the state, and even the manners of his court, to which, other circumstances contributed to give a peculiar and romantic character. It resembled probably (though its full splendour was of a later period) Granada in its glory, more than any other in Europe, though more rich and picturesque from the variety of races, of manners, usages, even dresses, which prevailed within it. Here it was that Southern and Oriental luxury began to impart its mysteries to Christian Europe. The court was open to the mingled population which at that time filled the cities Southern Italy. If anything of Grecian elegance, art, or luxury survived in the West, it was in the towns of Naples and Sicily. There the Norman chivalry, without having lost their bold and enterprising bearing, had yielded in some degree to the melting influence of the land, had acquired Southern passions, Southern habits. The ruder and more ferocious German soldiery, as many as were spared by the climate, gradually softened, at least in their outward demeanour. The Jews were numerous, enlightened, wealthy. The Mohammedan inhabitants of Sicily were neither the least polished, nor the least welcome at the court of Frederick: they were subsiding into loyal subjects of the liberal Christian King; and Frederick was accused by his enemies, and even then believed by the Asiatic and Egyptian Mussulmen, to have approximated more closely to their manners, even to their creed, than became a Christian Emperor. He spoke their tongue, admired and cultivated their science, caused their philosophy to be translated into the

Latin language. In his court their Oriental manners yielded to the less secluded habits of the West. It was one of the grave charges, at a later period, that Saracen women were seen at the court of Palermo, who by their licentiousness corrupted the morals of his Christian subjects. Frederick admitted the truth of the charge, but asserted the pure demeanour and chastity of these Mohammedan ladies: nevertheless, to avoid all future scandal, he consented to dismiss them. This at a time when abhorrence of the Mohammedan was among the first articles of a Christian's creed; when it would have been impious to suppose a Mohammedan man capable of any virtue except of valour, a Mohammedan female of any virtue at all! The impression made by this inclination for the society of miscreant ladies, its inseparable connexion with Mohammedan habits, transpires in the Guelfic character of Frederick by Villani. The Florentine does ample justice to his noble and kingly qualities, to the universality of his genius and knowledge, "but he was dissolute and abandoned to every kind of luxury. After the manner of the Saracens he had many concubines, and was attended by Mamelukes; he gave himself up to sensual enjoyments, and led an epicurean life, taking no thought of the world to come, and this was the principal reason of his enmity to Holy Church and to the Hierarchy, as well as his avarice in usurping the possessions and infringing on the jurisdiction of the clergy."

It was in this Southern kingdom that the first rude notes of Italian poetry were heard in the soft Sicilian dialect. Frederick himself, and his Chancellor Peter de Vinea, were promising pupils in the gay science. Among the treasures of the earliest Italian song are several compositions of the monarch and of his poetic rival. One sonnet indeed of Peter de Vinea is perhaps equal to anything of the kind before the time when Petrarch set the common thoughts of all these amorous Platonists in the perfect crystals of his inimitable language. Of these lays most which survive are amatory, but it is not unlikely that as the kindred troubadours of Provence, the poets did not abstain from satiric touches on the clergy. How far Frederick himself indulged in more than poetic licence, the invectives of his enemies cannot be accepted as authority. It was during his first widowhood that he indulged the height of his passion for the beautiful Bianca Lancia; this mistress bore him two sons, his best beloved Enzio, during so many years of his more splendid career the pride, the delight of his heart, unrivalled for his beauty, the valiant warrior, the consummate general, the cause, by his imprisonment, of the bitterest grief, which in the father's decline bowed down his broken spirit. Enzio was born at the close of the year in which Frederick wedded Iolante of Jerusalem. The fact that Iolante died in childbed giving birth to his son Conrad, is at least evidence that he had not altogether estranged her from his affections. In public she had all the state and splendour of his queen; nor is it known that during her lifetime her peace was embittered by any more cherished rivals.

Still if this brilliant and poetic state of society (even if at this time it was only expanding to its fullness of luxury and splendour) must appear dubious at least to the less severe Christian moralist, how must it have appeared to those who had learned their notions of morals from the rule of St. Benedict rather than the Gospel; the admirers of Francis and of Dominic; men in whom human affections were alike proscribed with sensual enjoyments, and in whose religious language, to themselves at least, pleasure

bore the same meaning as sin; men, who had prayed, and fasted, and scourged out of themselves every lingering sympathy of our common nature? How, above all, to one in whom, in Gregory IX, age had utterly frozen up a heart, already hardened by the austerest discipline of monkhood? It is impossible to conceive a contrast more strong or more irreconcilable than the octogenarian Gregory, in his cloister palace, in his conclave of stern ascetics, with all but severe imprisonment within conventual walls, completely monastic in manners, habits, views, in corporate spirit, in celibacy, in rigid seclusion from the rest of mankind, in the conscientious determination to enslave, if possible, all Christendom to its inviolable unity of faith, and to the least possible latitude of discipline; and the gay, and yet youthful Frederick, with his mingled assemblage of knights and ladies, of Christians, Jews and Mohammedans, of poets and men of science, met, as it were, to enjoy and minister to enjoyment; to cultivate the pure intellect: where, if not the restraints of religion, at least the awful authority of churchmen, was examined with freedom, sometimes ridiculed with sportive wit.

A few months were to put to the test obedience of Frederick to the See of Rome. By the treaty of San Germano, the August of the present year had been fixed for his embarkation for the Holy Land. Gregory, it is clear, mistrusted his sincerity; with what justice it is hard to decide. However Frederick might be wanting in fervent religious zeal, he was not in the chivalrous love of enterprise; however he might not abhor the Mohammedans with the true Christian cordiality of his day, he would not decline to meet them in arms as brave and generous foes; however the recovery of the Saviour's tomb might not influence him with the fierce enthusiasm which had kindled the hearers of Peter the Hermit or St. Bernard, or perhaps that which sent forth his grandsire Barbarossa: yet an Oriental kingdom which he claimed in the right of his wife, a conquest which would have commanded the grateful admiration of Christendom, was a prize which his ambition would hardly disdain, or rather at which it would grasp with bold eagerness. Frederick was personally brave; but neither was his finer, though active and close-knit frame, suited to hew his way through hosts of unbelievers; he aspired not, and could not hope, to rival the ferocious personal prowess of our Richard Coeur de Lion, or to leave his name as the terror of Arabian mothers. Nor would his faith behold Paradise as the assured close of a battle-field with the Infidels, the remission of sins as the sure reward of a massacre of the believers in Islam. Frederick was not averse to obtain by negotiation (and surely, with the warnings of all former Crusades, especially that of his grandsire Barbarossa, not unwisely), and by taking advantage of the feuds between the Saracen princes, those conquests which some would deem it impious to strive after but by open war. Frederick had already received an embassy from Sultan Malek-al-Kameel of Egypt (of this the Pope could hardly be ignorant). Between the Egyptian and Damascene descendants of the great Saladin there was implacable hostility. Kameel had now recovered Damietta; he had made a treaty with the discomfited Crusaders. He hated his rival of Damascus even more bitterly than he did the Christians. His offers to Frederick were the surrender of the kingdom of Jerusalem, on condition of close alliance against the Sultan of Damascus. Frederick had despatched to the East an ambassador of no less rank than the Archbishop of Palermo. The Prelate bore magnificent and acceptable presents, horses, arms, it was said the Emperors own

palfrey. In the January of the following year the Archbishop had returned to Palermo, with presents, according to the Eastern authority, of twice the value of his own; many rare treasures from India, Arabia, Syria, and Irak. Among these, to the admiration of the Occidentals, was a large elephant. To the Pope, the negotiations themselves were unanswerable signs of Frederick's favour to the Infidels, and his perfidy to the cause of the Christians.

Yet Frederick seemed earnestly determined to fulfil his vow. Though the treaty with the Lombard cities was hardly concluded, he had made vast preparations. He had levied a large tax from the whole kingdom of Sicily for the maintenance of his forces; a noble fleet rode in the harbour of Brundisium; Frederick himself with his Empress Iolante, passed over from Sicily and took up his abode in Otranto.

Pilgrims in the meantime had been assembling from various quarters. In Germany, at a great Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the presence of King Henry, many of the Princes and Prelates had taken the Cross. Some of these, especially the Duke of Austria, alleged excuses from their vow. But the Landgrave of Thuringia, the husband of Elizabeth of Hungary, afterwards sainted for her virtues, tore himself from his beloved wife in the devotion to what both esteemed the higher duty. The Bishops of Augsburg, Bamberg, and Ratisbon accompanied the Landgrave to Italy. France seemed for once to be cold in the Holy cause (Louis IX was in his infancy), but in England there had been a wide-spread popular movement. On the vigil of John the Baptist's day it was rumoured abroad, that the Saviour himself had appeared in the heavens, bleeding, pierced with the nails and lance, on a cross which shone like fire. It was to encourage forty thousand pilgrims, who were said already to have taken the Cross. This was seen more than once in different places, in order to confute the incredulous gainsayers. But of those forty thousand who were enrolled, probably no large proportion reached Southern Italy.

The Emperor, hardly released from the affairs of Northern Italy, was expected to have provisions and ships ready for the transport of all this vast undisciplined rout, of which no one could calculate the numbers. Delays took place, which the impatient Pope, ignorant no doubt of the difficulties of maintaining and embarking a great armament, ascribed at once to the remissness or the perfidy of Frederick. The heats came on with more than usual violence, they were such, it is said, as might have melted solid metal. A fever broke out fatal, as ever, to the Germans. The Landgrave of Thuringia, the Bishops of Augsburg and of Angers were among its victims; the pilgrims perished by thousands. The death of the Landgrave was attributed not only to the wanton delay, but even to poison administered by the orders of Frederick, who, in his insatiate rapacity, coveted the large possessions of the Prince. About the appointed day Frederick himself embarked; the fleet set sail; it lost sight of the shore; but three days after the Imperial ship was seen returning hastily to the haven of Otranto; Frederick, alleging severe illness, returned to the baths of Pozzuoli, to restore his strength. The greater part of the fleet either dispersed or, following the Emperor's example, returned to land.

Gregory heard at Anagni (the year of Gregory's accession had not yet expired) the return of Frederick, the dissolution of the armament. On St. Michael's Day, surrounded by his Cardinals and Prelates, he delivered a lofty discourse, on the text, "It must needs

be that offences come, but woe unto him through whom they come". He pronounced the excommunication, which Frederick had incurred by his breach of the agreement at San Germano. Nothing was waiting to the terror. All the bells joined their most dissonant peals; the clergy, each with his torch, stood around the altar. Gregory implored the eternal malediction of God against the Emperor. The clergy dashed down their torches: there was utter darkness. The churchmen saw in this sentence the beginning of the holy strife, of the triumph of St. Michael over the subtle and scaly dragon. The sentence was followed by an address to the Apulian bishops, the subjects of Frederick. "The little bark of St. Peter, launched on the boundless ocean, though tossed by the billows, is submerged but never lost, for the Lord is reposing within her: he is awakened at length by the cries of his disciples; he commands the sea and the winds and there is a great calm. From four quarters the tempests are now assailing our bark; the armies of the Infidels are striving with all their might that the land, hallowed by the blood of Christ, may become the prey of their impiety; the rage of tyrants, asserting their temporal claims, proscribes justice and tramples underfoot the liberties of the Church, the folly of heretics seeks to rend the seamless garment of Christ, and to destroy the Sacraments of the faith; false brethren and wicked sons, by their treacherous perversity, disturb the bowels and tear open the sides of their mother. The Church of Christ, afflicted by so many troubles, while she thinks that she is nursing up her children, is fostering in her bosom fire and serpents and basilisks, which would destroy everything by their breath, their bite, and their burning. To combat these monsters, to triumph over hostile armies, to appease these restless tempests, the Holy Apostolic See reckoned in these latter times on a nursling whom she had brought up with the tenderest care. The Church had taken up the Emperor Frederick, as it were, from his mother's womb, fed him at her breasts, borne him on her shoulders; she had often rescued him from those who sought his life; instructed him, educated him with care and pain to manhood; invested him with the royal dignity; and to crown all these blessings, bestowed on him the title of Emperor, hoping to find in him a protecting support, a staff for her old age. No sooner was he King in Germany than, of his own accord, unexhorted, unknown to the Apostolic See, he took the Cross and made a vow to depart for the Holy Land; he even demanded that himself and all other Crusaders should be excommunicated if they did not set forth at the appointed time. At his coronation as Emperor we ourselves, then holding an inferior office under the most Holy Honorius, gave him the Cross, and received the renewal of his vows. Three times at Verdi, at Ferentino, at San Germano, he alleged delays; the Church in her indulgence accepted his excuses. At San Germano he made a covenant, which he swore by his soul to accomplish; if not, he incurred by his own consent the most awful excommunication. How has he fulfilled that covenant? When many thousands of pilgrims, depending on his solemn promises, were assembled in the port of Brundusiunm, he detained the armament so long, under the burning summer heats, in that region of death, in that pestilent atmosphere, that a great part of the pilgrims perished, the noble Landgrave of Thuringia, the Bishops of Augsburg and Angers. At length, when the ships began to return from the Holy Land, the pilgrims embarked on board of them, on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, expecting the Emperor to join their fleet. But he, breaking all his promises, bursting every bond, trampling underfoot the

fear of God, despising all reverence for Christ Jesus, scorning the censures of the Church, deserting the Christian army, abandoning the Holy Land to the Unbelievers, to his own disgrace and that of all Christendom, withdrew to the luxuries and wonted delights of his kingdom, seeking to palliate his offence by frivolous excuses of simulated sickness.

"Behold, and see if ever sorrow was like unto the sorrow" of the Apostolic Pontiff. The Pope describes in pathetic terms the state of the Holy Land; attributes to the base intrigues of Frederick with the Unbelievers, the fatal issue of the treaty of Damietta; "but for him, Jerusalem might have been recovered in exchange for that city. That we may not be esteemed as dumb dogs, who dare not bark, or fear to take vengeance on him, the Emperor Frederick, who has caused such ruin to the people of God, we proclaim the said Emperor excommunicate; we command you to publish this our excommunication throughout the realm; and to declare, that in case of his contumacy, we shall proceed to still more awful censures. We trust, however, that he will see his own shame; and return to the mercy of his mother the Church, having given ample satisfaction for all his guilt."

Gregory IX had been on the throne of Saint Peter not eight months before he uttered the fulminating decree; in which some truth is so confounded and kneaded up with falsehood and exaggeration; and there is so much of reckless wrath, such want of calm, statesman-like dignity, such deliberate, almost artful determination to make the worst of everything. The passionate old man might seem desperately to abandon all hopes of future success in the Holy Land; and to take vindictive comfort in heaping all the blame on Frederick.

Gregory returned to Rome; Frederick had already sent ambassadors solemnly to assert that his illness was real and unfeigned, the Bishops of Bari and Reggio, and Reginald of Spoleto. By one account, the Pope refused to admit them to his presence: at all events he repelled them with the utmost scorn, and so persisted in branding the Emperor in the face of Christendom as a hypocrite and a liar.

Twice again, on St, Martin's Day and on Christmas Day, the Pope, amid all the assembled hierarchy, renewed and confirmed the excommunication. Frederick treated the excommunication itself with utter contempt; either through love or fear the clergy of the kingdom of Naples performed as usual all the sacred Offices. At Capua he held a Diet of all the Barons of Apulia; he assessed a tax on both the kingdoms for an expedition to the Holy Land, appointed for the ensuing May. He summoned an assemblage of all his Italian subjects to meet at Ravenna, to take counsel for this common Crusade. From Capua came forth his defiant appeal to Christendom. In this appeal Frederick replied to the unmeasured language of the Pope in language not less unmeasured. He addressed all the Sovereigns of Christendom; he urged them to a league of all temporal Kings to oppose this oppressive league of the Pope and the Hierarchy. He declared that he had been prevented from accomplishing his vow, not, as the Pope falsely averred, by frivolous excuses, but by serious illness; he appealed to the faithful witness in Heaven for his veracity; he declared his fixed determination, immediately that God should restore him to health, to proceed on that holy expedition. "The end of all is at hand; the Christian charity which should rule and maintain all

things is dried up in its fountain not in its streams, not in its branches, but in its stem. Has not the unjust interdict of the Pope reduced the Count of Toulouse and many other princes to servitude? Did not Innocent III (this he especially addressed to King Henry of England) urge the noble Barons of England to insurrection against John, as the enemy of the Church? But no sooner had the humiliated King subjected his realm, like a dastard, to the See of Rome, than, having sucked the fat of the land, he abandoned those Barons to shame, ruin, and death. Such is the way of Rome, under words as smooth as oil and honey lies hid the rapacious blood-sucker: the Church of Rome, as though she were the true Church, calls herself my mother and my nurse, while all her acts have been those of a stepmother. The whole world pays tribute to the avarice of the Romans. Her legates travel about through all lands, with full powers of ban and interdict and excommunication, not to sow the seed of the word of God, but to extort money, to reap what they have not sown. They spare not the holy churches nor the sanctuary of the poor, nor the rights of the prelates. The primitive Church, founded on poverty and simplicity, brought forth numberless Saints: she rested on no foundation, but that which had been laid by our Lord Jesus Christ. The Romans are now rolling in wealth; what wonder that the walls of the Church are undermined to the base, and threaten utter ruin?". The Emperor concluded with the solemn admonition to all temporal Sovereigns to make common cause against the common adversary: "Your house is in danger when that of your neighbour is on fire". But in all this strife of counter proclamations, the advantage was with the Pope. Almost every pulpit in Christendom might propagate to the end of the earth the Papal fulminations: every wandering friar might repeat them in the ears of men. The Emperor's vindication, the Imperial ban against the Pope, might be transmitted to Imperial officers, to municipal magistrates, even to friendly prelates or monks: they might be read in diets or burgher meetings, be affixed on town-hails or market places, but among a people who could not read; who would tremble to hear them.

Yet the Emperor had allies, more dangerous to the Pope than the remote Sovereigns of Christendom. Gregory, on his return from Anagni, had been received in Rome with the acclamations of the clergy, and part at least of the people.

But in Rome there had always been a strong Imperialist party, a party hostile to the ruling Pontiff. Gregory had already demolished the palaces and castle towers of some of the Roman nobles, which obstructed his view, and no doubt threatened his security in the Lateran; he had met with no open resistance, but such things were not done in Rome without more dangerous secret murmurs. Frederick, by timely succours during a famine in the last winter, had won the hearts of many of the populace, he had made himself friends, especially among the powerful Frangipani, by acts of prodigal generosity. He had purchased the lands of the heads of that family, and granted them back without fine as Imperial fiefs. The Frangipanis became the sworn liegemen of the Emperor's family. Roffrid of Benevento, a famous professor of Jurisprudence in Bologna, appeared in Rome and read in public, with the consent of the Senate and people of Eome, the vindication of the Emperor.

On Thursday in the Holy Week the Pope proceeded to his more tremendous censures on the impenitent Frederick. "His crimes had now accumulated in fearful

measure. To the triple offence, which he had committed in the breach of the treaty of San Germano, that he had neither passed the sea to the Holy Land, nor armed and despatched the stipulated number of knights at his own cost, nor furnished the sums of money according to his obligation, were added other offences. He had prevented the Archbishop of Tarento from entering his See; he had seized all the estates held by the Knights Templars and Knights of St. John within his realm; he had broken the treaty entered into and guaranteed by the See of Rome with the Count of Celano and Reginald of Acerra; he had deprived the Count Roger, though he had taken the Cross, of his followers and of his lands, and thrown his son into prison, and had refused to release him at the representation of the Holy See. All these were in Frederick's estimation, his rebellious subjects, visited with just and lawful penalties. This aggravated crimes—for crimes they were assumed to be on the irrefragable grounds of Papal accusation—called for aggravated censures. The Pope declared every place in which Frederick might be, under interdict; all divine offices were at once to cease; all who dared to celebrate such offices were deprived of their functions and of their benefices. If he himself should dare to force his way into the ceremonies of the Church he was threatened with something worse. If he did not desist from the oppression of the churches and of ecclesiastical persons, if he did not cease from trampling underfoot the ecclesiastical liberties, and from treating the excommunication with contempt, all his subjects were at once absolved from their allegiance. He was menaced with the loss of his fief, the kingdom of Naples, which he held from, and for which he had done homage to the See of Rome. The holy ceremonies passed away undisturbed; but on the Wednesday in Easter week, while the Pope was celebrating the mass, there was suddenly heard a fierce cry, a howl as Gregory describes it; and the whole populace rose in insurrection. The storm was for a time allayed; but after some weeks Gregory found it necessary to leave Rome. He retired first to Rieti, afterwards, to Perugia.

Frederick, in the meantime, although under excommunication, celebrated his Easter with great pomp and rejoicing at Baroli. Tidings had arrived of high importance from the Holy Land. Gregory had received, and had promulgated throughout Christendom, the most doleful accounts of the state of the Christians in Palestine. A letter addressed to the Pope by Gerold the Patriarch, Peter Archbishop of Caesarea (the Pope's Legate), the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Grand Masters of the Templars and of St. John, announced, that no sooner had the news of the Emperor's abandonment of the Crusade arrived in Syria, than the pilgrims, to the number of forty thousand, re-embarked for the West. Only eight hundred remained, who were retained with difficulty, and were only kept up to the high pitch of enthusiasm by the promise of the Duke of Limbourg, then at the head of the army, to break the existing treaties, and march at once upon Jerusalem. On the other hand, a letter from Thomas Count of Acerra, the Lieutenant of Frederick in the Holy Land, who now held the city of Ptolemais, announced the death of the Sultan Moadhin of Damascus. Moadhin was the most formidable enemy of the Christians he had been at the head of a powerful army; his implacable hatred of the Christians had brought all the more warlike Saracens under his banner: he had destroyed many of the strongholds, which, if in the power of

the Crusaders, might be of military importance: he had subjected Jerusalem itself to further ravage.

All the acts of Frederick now showed his determination to embark before the spring was passed for the Holy Land. He would convince the world, the Pope himself, of his sincerity. Already had he despatched considerable reinforcements to the Count of Acerra; the taxes for the armament were levied with rigour; the army which was to accompany him was drawn together from all quarters. The death of the Empress Iolante in childbirth did not delay these warlike proceedings. To Baroli (April 1228) he summoned all the magnates of the kingdom, to hear his final instructions, to witness his last will and testament, in case he should not return alive from his expedition. No building could contain the vast assemblage; a tribune was raised in the open air, from which the Imperial mandates were read aloud. He exhorted all the barons and prelates with their liegemen to live at peace among themselves, as in the happy days of William II. Reginald Duke of Spoleto was appointed Bailiff of the realm; his elder son Henry was declared heir both of the Empire and of the kingdom of Sicily; if he died without heirs, then Conrad; afterwards any surviving son of Frederick by a lawful wife. This, his last will, could only be annulled by a later authentic testament. The Duke of Spoleto, the Grand Justiciary Henry de Morro, and others of the nobles, swore to the execution of this solemn act.

The more determined Frederick appeared to fulfil his vow, the more resolute became the Pope in his hostility. He had interdicted the payment of all taxes to the excommunicated sovereign by all the prelates, monasteries and ecclesiastics of his realm. Pilgrims who passed the Alps to join the army were plundered by the Lombards; at the instigation (so, no doubt, it was falsely rumoured, but the falsehood is significant) of the Pope himself. The border of the Neapolitan kingdom was violated by the Pope's subjects of Rieti; the powerful Lords of Polito in the Capitanata renounced their allegiance to the King. Frederick went down to Brindusium; his fleet, only of twenty galleys, rode off the island of St. Andrew. Messengers from the Pope arrived peremptorily inhibiting his embarkation on the Crusade till he should have given satisfaction to the Church, and been released from her ban. Frederick paid no attention to the mandate; he sailed to Otranto; as he left that harbour, he sent the Archbishop of Bari and Count Henry of Malta to the Pope, to demand the abrogation of the interdict: they were rejected with scorn by Gregory.

Frederick set sail with his small armament of twenty galleys, which contained at most six hundred knights, more, the Pope tauntingly declared, like a pirate than a great sovereign. He could not await, perhaps he had no inclination to place himself at the head of a great Crusade, assembled from all quarters of the world, and so involve himself in a long war which he could not abandon without disgrace. He could not safely withdraw the main part of his forces, and expose his kingdom of Naples to the undisguised hostility of the Pope, with malcontents of all classes, especially the clergy, whom he had been forced to keep with a strong hand. He was still in secret intelligence with the Sultan of Egypt, still hoped to acquire by peaceful negotiations what his predecessors had not been able to secure by war. Frederick, after a prosperous voyage, landed at Cyprus; there, by acts of violence and treachery (the only account of these

transactions is from hostile writers) he wrested the tutelage of the young King from John of Ibelin, whom he invited to a banquet, treated with honour as his own near kinsman, and then compelled to submit to his terms. But as the young King was cousin to his Empress Iolante, his interference, which was solicited by some of the leading men in the island, may have rested on some asserted right as nearest of kin. From Cyprus he sailed to Ptolemais (Acre; he was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy. The remnant of the pilgrims who had not returned to Europe welcomed their tardy deliverer as about to lead them to conquest; the clergy and the people came forth in long processions; the Knights of the Temple and St John knelt before the Emperor and kissed his knee; but (inauspicious omen!) the clergy refused the kiss of peace, and declined all intercourse with one under the ban of the Church. At the head of a great force Frederick might have found it difficult to awe into concord the conflicting factions which divided the Christians in the Holy Land; they seemed to suspend their mutual animosities in their common jealousy of Frederick. The old estrangement of the clergy quickened rapidly into open hostility. The active hatred of the Pope had instantly pursued the Emperor, even faster than his own fleet to the Holy Land. Two Franciscan friars had been despatched in a fast sailing bark, to proclaim to the Eastern Christians that he was still under excommunication; that all were to avoid him as a profane person. The Patriarch, the two Grand Masters of the Orders, were to take measures that the Crusade was not desecrated by being under the banner of an excommunicated man, lest the affairs of the Christians should be imperilled. The Master of the Teutonic Order was to take the command of the German and Lombard pilgrims; Richard the Marshal and Otho Peliard of the troops of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus; in his own camp the Emperor was to be without power, nothing was to be done in his name

The Knights Templars and Knights of the Hospital hardly required to be stimulated by the Papal censures to the hatred of Frederick. These associations, from bands of gallant knights vowed to protect the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and to perform other Christian services, had rapidly grown into powerful Orders, with vast possessions in every Christian kingdom; and, themselves not strong enough to maintain the kingdom of Jerusalem, were jealous of all others. As yet they were stern bigots, and had not incurred those suspicions which darkened around them at a later period in their history. Frederick had placed them under severe control, with all the other too zealous partisans of the Church, in his realm of Naples and Sicily. This was one of the acts which appears throughout among the charges of tyrannical maladministration in the Apulian kingdom. These religions Orders claimed the same exemptions, the same immunities, with other ecclesiastics: the mere fact that they were submitted to the severe and impartial taxation of Frederick would to them be an intolerable grievance. Their unruly murmurs, if not resistance, would no doubt provoke the haughty sovereign; his haughtiness would rouse theirs to still more inflexible opposition. Perhaps Frederick's favour to the Teutonic Order might further exasperate their jealousy. They had already filled the ears of the Pope with their clamours against Thomas of Acerra, the Lieutenant of Frederick. Gregory had proclaimed to Christendom, to France where the Templars were in great power, that the worthy vicegerent of Frederick, that minister of Mahomet who scrupled not to employ his impious Saracens of Nocera against Christians and

Churchmen in his Apulian kingdom, had openly taken part with the unbelievers against these true soldiers of the Cross. The Saracens, when the suspension of arms was at an end, had attacked a post of the Knights Templars, and had carried off a rich booty. The Templars had pursued the marauders, and rescued part of the spoil; when Thomas of Acerra appeared at the head of his troops, and, instead of siding with the Christians, had compelled them to restore the booty to the Infidels. Such was their version of this affair, eagerly accredited by the Pope. It is more probable that the Lieutenant of the Emperor acted as General of the Christian forces; and that this whole proceeding was in violation of his orders, as it clearly was on both sides, of the existing treaty. The Knights Templars and Hospitallers held themselves as entirely independent powers; fought or refused to fight according to their own will and judgement; formed no part of one great Christian army: were amenable, in their own estimation, to no superior military rule. If they had refused obedience to the Lieutenant of the Emperor or the King of Jerusalem, they were not likely to receive commands from one under excommunication. Frederick himself soon experienced their utter contumacy. He commanded them to evacuate a castle called the Castle of the Pilgrims, which he wished to garrison with his own troops. The Templars closed the gates in his face, and insultingly told him to go his way, or he might find himself in a place from whence he would not be able to make his way.

Frederick, however, with the main army of the pilgrims was in high popularity; they refused not to march under his standard; he appeared to approve of their determination to break off the treaty, and to advance at once upon Jerusalem. Frederick, to avoid this perpetual collision with his enemies, pitched his camp at Recordana, some distance without the gates of Ptolemais. He then determined to take possession of Joppa (Jaffa), and to build a strong fortress in that city. He summoned all the Christian forces to join him in this expedition. The Templars peremptorily refused, if the war was to be carried on, and the orders issued to the camp, in the name of the excommunicated Emperor. Frederick commenced his march without them; but mistrusting the small number of his forces, was obliged to submit that all orders should be issued in the name of God and of Christianity. Frederick's occupation of Joppa, the port nearest to Jerusalem, was not only to obtain possession of a city in which he should be more completely master than in Ptolemais, and to strengthen the Christian cause by the erection of a strong citadel; but as the jealous vigilance of his enemies discerned, to bring himself into closer neighbourhood with the Sultan of Egypt. Kameel, the Babylonian Sultan, as he was galled from the Egyptian Babylon (Cairo), was encamped in great force near Gaza. The old amity, and more than the amity, something like a close league between the Sultan of Egypt and the Emperor Frederick, now appeared almost in its full maturity. Already, soon after the loss of Damietta and its recovery from the discomfited Christians, Sultan Kameel had sent his embassy to Frederick, avowedly because he was acknowledged to be the greatest of the Christian powers, and in Sicily ruled over Mohammedan subjects with mildness, if not with favour. The interchange of presents had been such as became two such splendid sovereigns. The secret of their negotiations, carried on by the mission of the Archbishop of Palermo to Cairo, of

Fakreddin the favourite of Sultan Kameel to Sicily, could be no secret to the watchful emissaries of the Pope.

There had boon mortal feud between Malek Kameel of Egypt and Malek Moadhin of Damascus. Malek Moadhin had called in the formidable aid of Gelal-eddin, the Sultan of Kharismia, who had made great conquests in Georgia, the Greater Armenia, and Northern Syria. Sultan Kameel laid not scrupled to seek the aid of the Christian against Moadhin; no doubt to Frederick the lure was the peaceful establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem, in close alliance with the Egyptian Sultan. On the death of Moadhin the Damascene, Sultan Kameel had marched at once into Syria, occupied Jerusalem, and the whole southern district; he threatened to seize the whole dominions of Moadhin. But a third brother, Malek Ashraf, Prince of Khelath, Edessa, and Haran on the Euphrates, took up the cause of David, the young son of Moadhin. The Christians, reinforced by Frederick's first armament under Thomas of Acerra, upon this had taken a more threatening attitude; had begun to rebuild Sidon, to man other fortresses, and to make hostile incursions. Sultan Kameel affected great dread of their power: he addressed a letter to his brother Ashraf, expressing his fears lest, to the disgrace of the Mohammedan name, the Christians should wrest Jerusalem, the great conquest of Saladin, from the hands of the true believers. Ashraf was deceived, or chose to be deceived; he abandoned the cause of the young Sultan of Damascus; he agreed to share in his spoils; Sultan Kameel was to remain in Palestine master of Jerusalem, to oppose the Christians; while Ashraf undertook the siege of Damascus. Such was the state of affairs when Frederick suddenly landed at Ptolemais. Sultan Kameel repented that he had invited him; he had sought an ally, he feared a master. The name of the Great Christian Emperor spread terror among the whole Mohammedan population. Had Frederick, even though he had brought so inconsiderable a force, at once been recognised as the head of the Crusade; had he been joined cordially by the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital, his name had still been imposing he might have dictated his own terms. The dissensions of the Christians were fatal dissensions which could be disguised from the sagacious Mohammedans.

Almost the first act of King Frederick on his arrival in Palestine was an embassy, of Balian Prince of Tyre and Thomas of Acerra his Lieutenant, to the camp of his old ally Sultan Kameel; they were received with great pomp; the army drawn up in array. The embassy returned to Ptolemais with a huge elephant and other costly presents. The negotiations began at the camp of Recordana; they were continued at Joppa. The demands of Frederick were no less than the absolute surrender of Jerusalem and all the adjacent districts; the restoration of his kingdom to its full extent. The Sultan, as much in awe of the zealots of Mohammedanism as Frederick of the zealots of Christianity, alleged almost insuperable difficulties. The Emir Fak-reddin, the old friend of Frederick, and another named Shems Eddin were constantly in the Christian camp. They not merely treated with the accomplished Emperor, who spoke Arabic fluently, on the subjects of their mission, but discussed all the most profound questions of science and philosophy. Sultan Kameel affected the character of a patron of learning; Frederick addressed to him a number of those philosophic enigmas which exercise and delight the ingenious Oriental mind. Their intercourse was compared to that of the Queen of Sheba

and Solomon. There were other Eastern amusements not so becoming the Christian Emperor. Christian ladies met the Mohammedan delegates at feasts, it was said with no advantage to their virtue. Among the Sultan's presents was a bevy of dancing girls, whose graceful feats the Emperor beheld with too great interest, and was not, it was said, insensible to their beauty. The Emperor wore the Saracen dress; he became, in the estimation of the stern Church, a Saracen.

The treaty dragged slowly on. Sultan Kameel could not be ignorant of the hostility against Frederick in the Christian camp: if he had been ignorant, the knowledge would have been forced upon him. The Emperor, by no means superior even to the superstition of the land, had determined to undertake a pilgrimage almost alone, and in a woollen robe, to bathe in the Jordan. The Templars wrote a letter to betray his design to the Sultan, that he might avail himself of this opportunity of seizing and making Frederick prisoner, or even of putting him to death. The Sultan sent the letter to the Emperor. From all these causes, the tone of the Sultan naturally rose, that of Frederick was lowered, by the treason of which he was obliged to dissemble his knowledge, as he could not revenge it. Eastern interpreters are wont to translate all demands made of their sovereigns into humble petitions. The Arabian historian has thus, perhaps, selecting a few sentences out of a long address, toned down the Words of Frederick to Sultan Kameel to abject supplication. "I am thy friend. Thou art not ignorant that I am the greatest of the Kings of the West. It is thou that hast invited me to this land; the Kings and the Pope are well informed of my journey. If I return having obtained nothing, I shall forfeit all consideration with them. And after all, Jerusalem, it not the birthplace of the Christian religion? and have you not destroyed it? It is in the lowest state of ruin; out of your goodness surrender it to me as it is, that I may be able to lift up my head among the kings of Christendom. I renounce at once all advantages which I may obtain from it". To Fakreddin, in more intimate converse, he acknowledged, according to another Eastern account, "My object in coming hither was not to deliver the Holy City, but to maintain my estimation among the Franks". He had before made large demands of commercial privileges, the exemption of tribute for his merchants in the ports of Alexandria and Rosetta. The terms actually obtained, at their lowest amount, belie this humiliating petition. The whole negotiation was a profound secret to all but Frederick and the immediate adherents to whom he condescended to communicate it.

At length Frederick summoned four Syrian Barons; he explained to them that the state of his affairs, the utter exhaustion of his finances, made it impossible for him to remain in the Holy Land. There were still stronger secret reasons for hastening the conclusion of the treaty. A fast-sailing vessel had been despatched to Joppa, which announced that the Papal army had broken into Apulia, and were laying waste the whole land, and threatened to wrest from Frederick his beloved kingdom of Sicily. The Sultan of Babylon, he told the Barons, had offered to surrender Jerusalem, and other advantageous conditions. He demanded their advice. The Barons replied that under such circumstances it might be well to accept the terms; but they insisted on the right of fortifying the walls of Jerusalem. The Emperor then summoned the Grand Master of the Temple and the Hospital and the English Bishops of Winchester and Exeter; he made the same statement to them. They answered that no such treaty could be made without

the assent of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his double capacity as head of the Syrian Church and Legate of the Pope. Frederick superciliously replied that he could dispense with the assent of the Patriarch. Gerold, before his adversary, became his most implacable foe.

One week after the first interview the treaty was signed; there is much discrepancy in the articles between the Mohammedan and Christian accounts; the Mohammedans restrict, the Christians enlarge the concessions. The terms transmitted by the Patriarch to the Pope, translated from the Arabic into the French, were these:

I. The entire surrender of Jerusalem to the Emperor and his Prefects.

II. Except the site of the Temple, occupied by the Mosque of Omar, which remained absolutely in the power of the Saracens: they held the keys of the gates.

III. The Saracens were to have free access as pilgrims to perform their devotions at Bethlehem.

IV. Devout Christians were only permitted to enter and pray within the precincts of the Temple on certain conditions.

V. All wrong committed by one Saracen upon another in Jerusalem was to be judged before a Mussulman tribunal.

VI. The Emperor was to give no succour to any Frank or Saracen, who should be engaged in war against the Saracens, or suffer any violation of the truce.

VII. The Emperor was to recall all who were engaged in any invasion of the territory of the Sultan of Egypt, and prohibit to the utmost of his power every violation of such territory.

VIII. In case of such violation of the treaty, the Emperor was to espouse and defend the cause of the Sultan of Egypt.

IX. Tripoli, Antioch, Karak, and their dependencies were not included in this treaty.

The German pilgrims rejoiced without disguise at this easy accomplishment of their vows; they were eager to set out to offer their devotions in the Holy Sepulchre. Frederick himself determined to accomplish his own pilgrimage, and to assume in his capital the crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Attended by the faithful Master of the Teutonic Knights, Herman of Salza, and accompanied by Shems Eddin, the Saracen Kadi of Naplous, he arrived on the eve of Sunday, the 19th of March, in Jerusalem: he took up his lodging in the neighbourhood of the Temple, now a Mohammedan mosque, under the guardianship of the Kadi; there were fears lest he should be attacked by some Mohammedan fanatic. But the Emperor had not arrived in Jerusalem before the Archbishop of Caesarea appeared with instructions from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to declare him under excommunication, and to place the city of Jerusalem under the ban. Even the Sepulchre of the Lord was under interdict; the prayers of the pilgrims even in that holiest place were forbidden, or declared unholy. No Christian rite could be celebrated before the Christian Emperor, and that disgrace was inflicted in the face of all the Mohammedans!

Immediately on his arrival the Emperor visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The church was silent: not a priest appeared: during his stay no mass was celebrated within the city or in the suburbs. An English Dominican, named Walter, performed one

solitary service on the morning of the Sunday. Frederick proceeded again in great pomp and in all his imperial apparel to the Church of the Sepulchre. No prelate, no priest of the Church of Jerusalem was there who ventured to utter a blessing. The Archbishops of Palermo and of Capua were present, but seem to have taken no part in the ceremony. The imperial crown was placed on the high altar; Frederick took it up and with his own hands placed it on his head. The Master of the Teutonic Order delivered an address in the name of the Emperor, which was read in German, in French, in Latin, and in Italian. It ran in this strain: "It is well known that at Aix-la-Chapelle I took the Cross of my own free will. Hitherto insuperable difficulties have impeded the fulfilment of my vow. I acquit the Pope for his hard judgement of me and for my excommunication: in no other way could he escape the blasphemy and evil report of men. I exculpate him further for his writing against me to Palestine in so hostile a spirit, for men had rumoured that I had levied my army not against the Holy Land, but to invade the Papal States. Had the Pope known my real design, he would have written not against me, but in my favour: did he know how many are acting here to the prejudice of Christianity, he would not pay so much respect to their complaints and representations. I would willingly do all which shall expose those real enemies and false friends of Christ who delight in discord, and so put them to shame by the restoration of peace and unity. I will not now think of the high estate which is my lot on earth, but humble myself before God to whom I owe my elevation, and before him who is his Vicar upon earth". The Emperor returned through the streets wearing the crown of Jerusalem. The same day he visited the site of the Temple, whereon stood the Mosque of Omar.

The zealous Mohammedans were in bitter displeasure with Frederick, as having obtained from their easy Sultan the possession of the Holy City; yet their religious pride watched all his actions, and construed every word act into a contempt of the Christian faith, and his respect, if not more than respect, for Islam. The Emir Shems Eddin, so writes the Arabic historian, had issued rigid orders that nothing should be done which could offend the Emperor. The house where the Emperor slept was just below the minaret from which the Muezzin was wont to proclaim the hour of prayer. But in Jerusalem the Muezzin did more. He read certain verses of the Koran; on that night the text, "How is it possible that God had for his son Jesus the son of Mary?" The Kadi took alarm; he silenced altogether the officious Muezzin. The Emperor listened in vain for that sound which in the silent night is so solemn and impressive. II inquired the reason of this silence, which had continued for two days. The Kadi gave the real cause, the fear of offending the Christian Emperor. "You are wrong", said Frederick, "to neglect on my account our duty, your law, and your religion. By God, if you should visit me in my realm, you will find no such respectful deference". The Emperor had declared that one of the chief objects of his visit to the Holy Land was to behold the Mohammedans at prayer. He stood in wondering admiration before the Mosque of Omar; he surveyed the pulpit from which the Imaun delivered his sermons. A Christian priest had found his way into the precincts with the book of the Gospels in his hand: the Emperor resented this as an insult to the religious worship of the Mohammedans, and threatened to punish it as a signal breach of the treaty. The Arabic historian puts into his mouth these words: "Here we are all the servants of the Sultan; it is he that has restored to us our Churches".

So writes the graver historian. There is a description of Frederick's demeanour in the Temple by an eye-witness, one of the ministering attendants, in which the same ill-suppressed aversion to the uncircumcised is mingled with the desire to claim an imperial proselyte. "The Emperor was red-haired and bald, with weak sight; as a slave he would not have sold for more than 200 drachms".

Frederick's language showed (so averred some Mohammedans) that he did not believe the Christian religion; he did not scruple to jest upon it. He read without anger, and demanded the explanation of the inscription in letters of gold, "Saladin, in a certain year, purified the Holy City from the presence of those who worship many Gods". The windows of the Holy Chapel were closely barred to keep out the defilements of the birds. "You may shut out the birds," said Frederick, "how will ye keep out the swine?" At noon, at the hour of prayer, when all the faithful fall on their knees in adoration, the Mohammedans in attendance on Frederick did the same; among the rest the aged preceptor of Frederick, a Sicilian Mussulman who had instructed him in dialectics. Frederick, in this at least not going beyond the bounds of wise tolerance, betrayed neither surprise nor dissatisfaction.

After but two days the Emperor retired from the interdicted city; if he took no steps to restore the walls, some part of the blame must attach to his religious foes, who pursued him even into the Holy City with such inexorable hostility.

Both the Emperor and the Sultan bad wounded the pride and offended the religious prejudices of the more zealous among their people. To some the peaceful settlement of the war between Christian and Mussulman was of itself an abomination, a degenerate infringement of the good old usage, which arrayed them against each other as irreclaimable enemies: the valiant Christians were deprived of the privilege of obtaining remission of their sins by the pillage and massacre of the Islamites: the Islamites of winning Paradise by the slaughter of Christians. The Sultan of Egypt, so rude was the shock throughout the world of Islam, was obliged to send ambassadors to the Caliph of Bagdad and to the Princes on the Euphrates to explain his conduct. The surrender of Jerusalem was the great cause of affliction and shame. The Sultan in vain alleged that it was but the unwalled and defenceless city that he yielded up; there were bitter lamentations among all the Moslems, who were forced to depart from their homes ; sad verses were written and sung in the streets. The Imauns of the Mosque of Omar went in melancholy procession to the Sultan to remonstrate. They attempted to overawe him by proclaiming an unusual hour of prayer. Kameel treated them with great indignity, and sent them back stripped of their silver lamps and other ornaments of the Mosque. In Damascus was the most loud and bitter lamentation. The Sultan of Damascus was besieged in his capital by Malek el Ashraf. The territory, now basely yielded to the Christians, was part oi his kingdom; he was the rightful Lord of Jerusalem. There an Imaun of great sanctity, the historian Ibn Dschusi himself, was summoned to preach to the people on this dire calamity. The honour of Islam was concerned; he mounted the pulpit: "So then the way to the Holy City is about to be closed to faithful pilgrims : you who love communion with God in that hallowed place can no longer prostrate yourself, or water the ground with your tears. Great God! if our eyes were fountains, could we shed tears enough? If our hearts were cloven, could we

be afflicted enough?" The whole assembly burst into a wild wail of sorrow and indignation.

Frederick announced this treaty in Western Christendom in the most magnificent terms. His letter to the King of England bears date on the day of his entrance into Jerusalem. He ascribes his triumph to a miracle wrought by the Lord of Hosts, who seemed no longer to delight in the multitude of armed men. In the face of two great armies, that of the Sultan of Egypt and of Sultan Ashraf encamped near Gaza, and that of the Sultan (David) of Damascus at Naplous, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, the district of Sharon, and Sidon, had been freely ceded to him; the Mohammedans were only by sufferance to enter the Holy City. The Sultan had bound himself to surrender all prisoners, whom he ought to have released by the treaty of Damietta, and all who had been taken since. The seal of this letter bore a likeness of the Emperor, with a scroll: over his head "the Emperor of the Romans", on the right shoulder "the King of Jerusalem," on the left "the King of Sicily."

Far different was the reception of the treaty by the Pope, and by all who sided with, or might be expected to side with, the Pope. It was but a new manifestation of the perfidy, the contumacy, the ingratitude to the Church, the indifference of the Emperor to religion, if not of his apostasy. A letter arrived, and was actively promulgated through Western Christendom, from Gerold, Patriarch of Jerusalem, describing in the blackest colours every act of the Emperor. In the treaty the dignity, the interests of religion and of the Church, the dignity and interests of the Patriarch, had been, it might seem studiously neglected; even in the territory conceded by the Sultan some of the lands belonging to the Knights Templars were comprehended, none of those claimed by the Patriarch. Gerold overlooked his own obstinate hostility to Frederick, while he dwelt so bitterly on that of Frederick to himself. The Letter began with Frederick's occupation of Joppa; his avowed partiality to the interests of the Mohammedans, his neglect, or worse, of the Christians. At least five hundred Christians had fallen since his arrival, not ten Saracens. All excesses, all breaches of the truce were visited severely on the Christians, connived at or disregarded in the Mohammedans. A Saracen who had been plundered was sent back in splendid apparel to the Sultan. All the Emperor's suspicious intercourse with the Saracens, his Mohammedan luxuries, his presents of splendid arms to be used by Infidels against the Believers, were recounted; the secrecy of the treaty and its acceptance, with the signature of the Sultan as its sole guarantee. The Master of the Teutonic Order had insidiously invited him (the Patriarch) to accompany the Emperor to Jerusalem. He had demanded first to see the treaty. There he found that the Sultan of Damascus, the true Lord of Jerusalem, was no party to the covenant; "there were no provisions in favour of himself or of the Church; how could he venture his holy person within the power of the treacherous Sultan and his unbelieving host?" The letter closed with a strong complaint that the Emperor had left the city without rebuilding the walls. But the Patriarch admitted that Frederick had consulted the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Master of the Hospitallers, the Praeceptor of the Temple, to advise and aid him in this work: their reply had been cold and dilatory; and Frederick departed from the city.

Even before the arrival of Gerold's letters, the Pope, in a letter to the Archbishop of Milan and his suffragans, all liegemen of the Emperor, had denounced the treaty as a monstrous reconciliation of Christ and Belial; as the establishment of the worship of Mohammed in the Temple of God; and thus "the antagonist of the Cross, the enemy of the faith, the foe of all chastity, the condemned to hell, is lifted up for adoration, by a perverse judgement, to the intolerable contumely of the Saviour, the inexpiable disgrace of the Christian name, the contempt of all the martyrs who have laid down their lives to purify the Holy Land from the worldly pollutions of the Saracens."

Albert of Austria was the most powerful enemy who might be tempted to revolt against Frederick in his German dominions, the greatest and most dangerous vassal of the Empire. Him the Pope addressed at greater length, and with a more distinct enumerations of four flagitious enormities with which he especially charged the Emperor. First, he had shamelessly presented the sword and other arms which he had received from the altar of St. Peter, blessed by the Pope himself, for the defence of the faith, and the chastisement of the wicked, to the Sultan of Babylon, the enemy of the faith, the adversary of Christ Jesus, the worshipper of Mohammed the son of Perdition; he had promised not to bear arms against the Sultan, against whom as Emperor he was bound to wage implacable war. The second was a more execrable and more stupendous offence. In the Temple of God, where Christ made his offering, where he had sat on his cathedral throne in the midst of the doctors, the Emperor had cast Christ forth, and placed Mohammed, that son of Perdition; he had commanded the law of God to keep silence, and permitted the free preaching of the Koran: to the Infidels he had left the keys of the Sanctuary, so that no Christian might enter without their sufferance. Thirdly, he had excluded the Eastern Christians of Antioch, Tripoli, and other strong places, from the benefit of the treaty, and so betrayed the Christian cause in the East to the enemy. Lastly, he had so bound himself by this wicked league, that if the Christian army should attempt to revenge the insult done to the Redeemer, to cleanse the Temple and the City of God from the defilements of the Pagans, the Emperor had pledged himself to take part with the foe. Albert of Austria was exhorted to disclaim all allegiance to one guilty of such capital treason against the majesty of God, to hold himself ready at the summons of the Church to take up arms against the Emperor.

The last acts of Frederick in Palestine are dwelt upon both by the Patriarch and the Pope; they are known almost entirely by these unfriendly representations. Frederick returned from Joppa to Ptolemais in no placable mood with his implacable enemies leagued against him in civil war. The Patriarch had attempted to raise an independent force at his own command; if the pilgrims should retire from the Holy Land he would need a body-guard for his holy person. He proposed, out of some large sums of money left for the benefit of the sacred cause by Philip-Augustus of France, to enrol a band of knights, a new Order, for this end. Frederick declared that no one should levy or command soldiers within his realm without his will and consent. With the inhabitants of Ptolemais Frederick had obtained, either by his affable demeanour or by his treaty, great popularity. He summoned a full assembly of all Christian people on the broad sands without the city. There he arose and arraigned the Patriarch and the Master of the Templars as having obstinately thwarted all his designs for the advancement of the

Christian Cause, and having pursued him with their blind and obstinate hostility. He summoned all the pilgrims, having now fulfilled their vows, to depart from the Holy Land, and commanded his Lieutenant, Thomas de Acerra, to compel obedience to these orders. He was deaf to all remonstrance; on his return to the city he seized all the gates, manned them with his crossbow-men, and while he permitted all the Knights Templars to leave the city, he would admit none. He took possession of the churches, and occupied them with his archers. The Patriarch assembled all his adherents and all the Templars still within the city, and again thundered out his excommunication. Frederick kept him almost as a prisoner in his palace; his partisans were exposed to every insult and attack, even those who were carrying provisions to the palace. Two bold Franciscans, who on Palm Sunday denounced Frederick in the Church, were dragged from the pulpit, and scourged through the streets. But these violences availed not against the obstinate endurance of the Churchmen. After some vain attempts at reconciliation, the Patriarch placed the city of Ptolemais under interdict. These are not all the charges against Frederick; it was made a crime that he destroyed some of his ships, probably unserviceable: his arms and engines of war he is said to have sent to the Sultan of Egypt.

On the day of St. Peter and St. Paul the Emperor set sail for Europe; his presence was imperiously required. In every part of his dominions the Pope, with the ambitious activity of a temporal sovereign, and with all the tremendous arms wielded by the spiritual power, was waging a war either in open day, or in secret intrigues with his unruly and disaffected vassals. The ostensible cause of the war was the aggression of Frederick's vicegerent in Apulia, Reginald Duke of Spoleto. Frederick had left Reginald to subdue the revolt of the powerful family of Polito. These rebels had taken refuge in the Papal territory; they were pursued by Reginald. But once beyond the Papal frontier the Duke of Spoleto extended his ravages, it might seem reviving certain claims of his own on the kingdom of Spoleto. Frederick afterwards disclaimed these acts of his lieutenant, and declared that he had punished him for the infringement of his orders. But the occasion was too welcome not to be seized by the Pope. He levied at once large forces, placed them under the command of Frederick's most deadly enemies, his father-in-law, John de Brienne, the ejected King of Jerusalem, and the Cardinal John Colonna, with the King's revolted subjects, the Counts of Celano and of Aquila; the martial Legate Pelagius, who had commanded the army of Damietta, directed the whole force. A report of Frederick's death in Palestine (a fraud of which he complains with the bitterest indignation) was industriously disseminated. John do Brienne even ventured to assert that there was no Emperor but himself. The Papal armies at first met with great success; many cities from fear, from disaffection to Frederick, from despair of relief, opened their gates. The soldiers of the Church committed devastations almost unprecedented even in these rude wars. But Gregory was not content with this limited war; he strove to arm all Christendom against the contumacious Emperor who defied the Church. From the remotest parts, from Wiles, Ireland, England, large contributions were demanded, and in many cases extorted, for this holy war. Just at this juncture England contributed in a peculiar manner, even beyond her customary tribute, to the Papal treasury: the whole of such revenue was devoted to this end.

A dispute was pending in the Court of Rome concerning the See of Canterbury. On the death of Archbishop Stephen, the monks of Canterbury elected Walter of Hevesham to the primacy. The king refused his assent, and the objections urged were sufficiently strange, whether well-founded or but fictitious, against a man chosen as the successor of Becket. The father of Walter, it was said, had been hanged for robbery, and Walter himself, during the interdict, had embraced the party opposed to King John. The suffragan bishops (they always resented their exclusion from the election) accused Walter of having debauched a nun, by whom he had several children. Appeal was made to Rome; the Pope delayed his sentence for further inquiry. The ambassadors of the King, the Bishops of Chester and Rochester, John of Newton in vain laboured to obtain the Papal decision. One only argument would weigh with the Pope and the Cardinals. At length they engaged to pay for this tardy justice the tenth of all moveable property in the realm of England and Ireland in order to aid the Pope in his war against the Emperor. Even then the alleged immoralities were put out of sight; the elected Primate of England was examined by three Cardinals on certain minute points of theology, and condemned as unworthy of so august a see "which ought to be filled by a man noble, wise, and modest". Richard, Chancellor of Lincoln, was proposed in the name of the King and the suffragan bishops, and received his appointment by a Papal Bull. In France, besides the exertions of the Legate, the Archbishops of Sens and of Lyons were commanded by the Pope himself to publish the grave offences of Frederick against the Holy See, and to preach the Crusade against him. In Germany, Albert of Austria had been urged to revolt; in the North and in Denmark the Legate, the Cardinal Otho, preached and promulgated the same Crusade. He laid Liege under an interdict, and King Henry raised an army to besiege the Cardinal in Strasburg. The Pope praised, as inspired by the Holy Ghost, the chivalrous determination of the Prince of Portugal, to take up arms in defence of the Church of Christ. The Lombards, on the other hand, were sternly rebuked for their tardiness in sending aid against the common enemy, the Pope gave them a significant hint that the deserters of the cause of the Church might be deserted in their turn in their hour of need.

The rapid return of the Emperor disconcerted all these hostile measures. With two well-armed barks he landed at Astore, near Brundusium; many of the brave German pilgrims followed after and rapidly grew to a formidable force. His first act was to send ambassadors to the Pope, the Archbishop of Bari, the Bishop of Reggio and Herman de Salza, the master of the Teutonic order. The overtures were rejected with scorn. An excommunication even mere strong and offensive had been issued by the Pope, at Perugia. The first clause denounced all the heretics with names odious to all zealous believers. After the Cathari, the Publicans, the Poor Men of Lyons, the Arnoldists, and under the same terrific anathema as no less an enemy of the Church, followed the Emperor Frederick; his contumacious disregard of the excommunication pronounced by the Cardinal of Albano was thus placed on the same footing with the wildest opinions and those most hostile to the Church. After the recital of his offences, the release of all his subjects from their allegiance, came the condemnation of his adherents, Reginald of Spoleto and his brother Bertoldo. With the other enemies of the Church were mingled up the Count do Foix, and the Viscount of Beziers; the only important names which

now represented the odious heresy of Southern France. Some lesser offenders were included under the comprehensive ban. These were all, if not leagued together under the same proscription, alike denounced as enemies of Cod and of the Church. The conquering army of the Pope was on all sides arrested, repelled, defeated; the rebellious barons and cities returned to their allegiance; Frederick marched to the relief of Capua; the strength of the Papal force broke up in confusion. Frederick moved to Naples where he was received in triumph. In Capua he had organised the Saracens whom he had removed from Sicily, where they had been a wild mountain people, untameably and utterly lawless, to Nocera: there he had settled them, foreseeing probably their future use as inhabitants of walled cities and cultivators of the soil. This was a force terrible to the rebellious churchmen who had espoused the Papal cause. From San Germano Frederick sent forth his counter appeal to the Sovereigns of Europe, representing the violence, the injustice, the implacable resentment of the Pope. The appeal could not but have some effect.

Christendom, even among the most devout adherents of the Papal supremacy, refused to lend itself to the fiery passions of the aged Pontiff. The Pope was yet too awful to be openly condemned, but the general reluctance to embrace his cause was the strongest condemnation. Men throughout the Christian world could not but doubt by which party the real interests of the Eastern Christians had been most betrayed and injured. The fierce enthusiasm which would not receive advantages unless won from the unbeliever at the point of the sword had died away: men looked to the effect of the treaty, they compared it with the results of all the Crusades since that of Godfrey of Bouillon. Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, were in the power of the Christians: devout pilgrims might perform unmolested their pious vows; multitudes of Christians had taken up their abode in seeming security in the city of Sion. But if, thus trammelled, opposed, pursued by the remorseless excommunication into the Holy Sepulchre itself, Frederick by the awe of his imperial name, by his personal greatness, had obtained such a treaty; what terms might he not have dictated, if supported by the Pope, the Patriarch, and Knights Templars. Treaties with the Mohammedan powers were nothing new; they had been lately made by Philip Augustus, and by the fierce Richard Coeur de Lion. The Christians had never disdained the policy of taking advantage of the feuds among the Mohammedan sovereigns and allying themselves with the Sultan of Egypt or the Sultan of Damascus. Even the Pope himself had not disdained all peaceful intercourse with the Unbelievers. Frederick positively asserted that he had surprised and had in his possession letters addressed by the Pope to Sultan Kameel, urging him to break off his negotiations with the Emperor. Gregory afterwards denied the truth of this charge; but it was publicly averred, and proof offered, in the face of Christendom. Frederick had appealed to witnesses of all his acts, and they, at all events the English bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Master of the Hospitallers, the Master of the Teutonic Order, had given no countenance to the envious and rancorous charges of the Patriarch.

There was a deeper cause of dissatisfaction throughout that Hierarchy, to which the Pope had always looked for the most zealous and self-sacrificing aid. The clergy felt the strongest repugnance to the levy of a tenth demanded by the Pope throughout Christendom to maintain wars, if not unjust, unnecessary, against the Emperor. No

doubt the lavish and partial favour with which he treated the Preaching and Begging Friars had already awakened jealousy. Gregory had sagaciously discerned the strength which their influence in the lowest depths of society would gain for the Papal cause. He had solemnly canonised Francis of Assisi (4, October, 1228)—one of his most confidential counsellors was the Dominican Gualo. So active had the Friars been in stirring up revolt in the kingdom of Naples, that the first act of Reginald of Spoleto had been their expulsion from the realm.

Christendom had eagerly rushed into a Crusade against the unbelievers; it had not ventured to disapprove a Crusade against the heretics of Languedoc; but a Crusade (for under that name Gregory IX levied this war) against the Emperor, and that Emperor the restorer of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was encountered with sullen repugnance or frank opposition. It was observed as a strange sight that when Frederick's troops advanced against those of the Pope, they still wore the red crosses which they had worn in Palestine. The banner of the Cross, under which Mohammedans fought for Frederick, met the banner with the keys of St Peter.

The disapprobation of silent disobedience, at best of sluggish and tardy sympathy if not of rude disavowal and condemnation, could not escape the all-watchful ear of Rome. Gregory had no resource but in his own dauntless and unbroken mind, and in the conviction of his power. The German Princes had refused to dethrone King Henry: some of the greatest influence, Leopold Duke of Austria, the Duke of Moravia, the Archbishops of Salzburg and of Aquileia, the Bishop of Ratisbon, were in Italy endeavouring to mediate a peace. The Lombards did not move; even if the Guelfs had been so disposed, they were everywhere controlled by a Ghibelline opposition. One incident alone was of a more encouraging character. Gregory was still at Perugia an exile from rebellious Rome. But a terrific flood had desolated the city. The religious fears of the populace beheld the avenging hand of God for their disobedience to their spiritual father; the Pope returned to Rome in triumph.

Peace was necessary to both parties, negotiations were speedily begun. The Pope was suddenly seized with a sacred horror of the shedding human blood. A treaty was framed at San Germano which maintained unabashed the majesty of the Pope. In truth, by the absolution of the Emperor with but a general declaration of submission to the Church, without satisfaction for the special crime for which he had undergone excommunication, the Pope, virtually at least, recognised the injustice of his own censures. Of the affairs of the Holy Land, of the conduct of the Emperor, of the treaty with the Sultan, denounced as impious, there was a profound and cautious silence. In other respects the terms might seem humiliating to the Emperor; he granted a complete amnesty to all his rebellious subjects, the Archbishop of Tarentum and all the bishops and churchmen who had fled the realm; even the reinstatement of the insurgent Counts of Celano and Aversa in their lands and domains in Germany, in Italy, in Sicily; he consented to restore all the places he occupied in the Papal dominions, and all the estates which he had seized belonging to churches, monasteries, the Templars, the Knights of the Hospital, and generally of all who had adhered to the Church. He renounced the right of judging the ecclesiastics of his realm by the civil tribunals, excepting in matters concerning royal fiefs; he gave up the right of levying taxes on

ecclesiastical property, as well that of the clergy as of monasteries. It is said, but it appears not in the treaty, that he promised to defray the enormous charges of the war, variously stated at 120,000 crowns and 120,000 ounces of gold; but in those times promises to pay such debts by no means ensured their payment. Frederick never fulfilled this covenant. If to obtain absolution from the Papal censures Frederick willingly yielded to these terms, it shows either that his firm mind was not proof against the awe of the spiritual power which enthralled the rest of Europe, or that he had the wisdom to see that the time was not come to struggle with success against such tyranny. He might indeed hope that, ere long, to the stern old man who now wielded the keys of St. Peter with the vigour of Hildebrand or Innocent III, might succeed some feebler or milder Pontiff. Already was Gregory approaching to or more than ninety years old. He was himself in the strength and prime of manhood, nor could he expect that this same aged Pontiff would rally again for a contest, more long, more obstinate, and though not terminated in his lifetime, more fatal to the Emperor and to the House of Hohenstaufen. Frederick had been released from the ban of excommunication at Ceperano (28, August, 1230) by the Cardinal John of St. Sabina; he visited Anagni. They met, Frederick with dignified submission, the Pope with the calm majesty of age and position, held a conference of many hours, appeared together at a splendid banquet, and interchanged the kiss of peace; the antagonists whose mortal quarrel threatened a long convulsion throughout Christendom proclaimed to the world their mutual amity.

Nearly nine years elapsed before these two antagonists, the Pope Gregory IX and the Emperor Frederick II, resumed their immitigable warfare; years of dubious peace, of open amity yet secret mistrust, in which each called upon the other for aid against his enemies; the Pope on Frederick against the unruly Romans, Frederick on the Pope against the rebellious Lombards and his rebellious son; but where each suspected a secret understanding with those enemies. It is remarkable that both Frederick and the Pope betook themselves in this interval of suspended war to legislation. Frederick to the promulgation of a new jurisprudence for his kingdom of Naples and Sicily; Gregory of a complete and authoritative code of the Decretals which formed the statute law by which the Papacy and the sacerdotal order ruled the world, and administered the internal government of the Church. During the commencement of this period Frederick lost the administration of affairs in Germany, though he still exercised an imperial control, to his son Henry. The rebellion of Henry alone seemed to compel him to cross the Alps and resume the sway. His legislation aspired to regulate the Empire; but in Germany from the limits imposed on his power, it was not a complete and perfect code, it was a succession of remedial laws. His earliest and most characteristic work of legislation was content to advance the peace, prosperity, and happiness of his own Southern realm.

The constitution of his beloved kingdom was thus the first care of Frederick. As a legislator he commands almost immingled admiration; and the aim and temper of his legislation whether emanating from himself, or adopted from the counsel of others, may justly influence the general estimate of a character so variously represented by the passions of his own age, passions which have continued to inflame, and even yet have not died away from the heart of man. The object of Frederick's jurisprudence was the mitigation, as far as possible the suppression, of feudal violence and oppression; the

assertion of equal rights, equal justice, equal burthens; the toleration of different religions; the promotion of commerce by wise, almost premature regulations; the advancement of intellectual culture among his subjects by the establishment of universities liberally endowed, and by the encouragement of all the useful and refined arts. It is difficult to suppose a wise, equitable and humane legislator, a blind, a ruthless tyrant; or to reconcile the careful and sagacious provision for the rights and well-being of all ranks of his subjects with the reckless violation of those rights, and with heavy and systematic oppression; more especially if that jurisprudence is original and beyond his age. The legislator may himself be in some respects below the lofty aim of his laws; Frederick may have been driven to harsh measures to bring into order the rebellious magnates of the realm, whom his absence in Asia, the invasion and the intrigues of the Papal party, cast loose from their allegiance; the abrogation of their tyrannical privileges may have left a deep and brooding discontent, ready to break out into revolt and constantly enforcing still more rigorous enactments. The severe guardian of the morals of his subjects may have claimed to himself in some respects a royal, an Asiatic indulgence; he may have been compelled by inevitable wars to lay onerous burthens on the people, he may have been compelled to restrict or suspend the rights of particular subjects, or classes of subjects, by such determined hostility as that of the clergy to himself and to all his house; but on the whole the laws and institutions of the kingdom, of Naples are an unexceptionable and imperishable testimony at least to his lofty designs for the good of mankind; which history cannot decline, or rather receives with greater respect and trust than can be claimed by any contemporary view of the acts or of the character of Frederick II. It is in this light only as illustrating the life of the great antagonist of the Church that they belong to Christian history, beyond their special bearing on religious questions, and the rights and condition of the clergy.

The groundwork of Frederick's legislation was the stern supremacy of the law; the submission of all, even the nobles, who exercised the feudal privilege of separate jurisdiction to a certain extent of the clergy, to the king's sole and exclusive justice. This was the great revolution through which every feudal kingdom must inevitably pass sooner or later. The crown must become the supreme fountain of justice and law. The first, and most difficult, but necessary step was the uniformity of that law. There was the most extraordinary variety of laws and usages throughout the realm, Roman, Greek, Gothic, Lombard, Norman, Imperial-German institutes; old municipal and recent seignorial rights. The Jews had their special privileges, the Saracens their own customs and forms of procedure. The majestic law had to overawe to one system of obedience, with due maintenance of their proper rights, the nobles, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants, even the Jews and the Mohammedans. Frederick wisely determined not to aspire so much to be the founder of an absolutely new jurisprudence, as to select, confirm, and harmonise the old institutions.

The religious ordinances of the Sicilian constitution demand our first examination. Frederick maintained the immunities of the worshippers of other religions, of the Jews and the Arabians, with such impartial equity, as to incur for this and other causes the name of Jew and Saracen. But the most faithful son of the Church could not condemn the heretic with more authoritative severity, or visit his offence with more remorseless

punishment. Heresy was described as a crime against the offender himself, against his neighbour, and against God, a more heinous crime even than high treason. The obstinate heretic was condemned to be burned, his whole property confiscated, his children were incapable of holding office or of bearing testimony. If such child should merit mercy by the denunciation of another heretic, or of a concealer of heretics, the Emperor might restore him to his rank. Schismatics were declared outlaws, incapable of inheriting, liable to forfeiture of their goods. No one might petition in favour of a heretic: yet the repentant heretic might receive pardon; his punishment, after due investigation of the case by the ecclesiastical power, was to be adjudged by the secular authority. But these laws were directed against a particular class of men, dangerous it was thought no less to the civil than to the religious power; actual rebels against the Church, rebels likewise against the Emperor, who was still the conservator of pure orthodoxy, and betraying at least rebellious inclinations, if not designs hostile towards all power. They were neither enacted nor put in force against the Greek Christians who were still in considerable numbers in the kingdom of Sicily, had their own priests, and celebrated undisturbed their own rites. They were those heretics which swarmed under various denominations, Cathari or Paterins, from rebellious and republican Lombardy, the hated and suspected source of all these opinions. In all the states of the Pope, in Rome itself, not merely were there hidden descendants of the Arnoldists, but all the wild sects which defied the most cruel persecutions in the North of Italy, spread their doctrines even within the shadow of the towers of St. Peter. Naples and Aversa were full of them, and derived them from rebellious Lombardy; and Frederick, whose notions of the imperial power were as absolute as Gregory's of the Papal, not only would not incur by their protection such suspicions, as would have inevitably risen, of harbouring or favouring heretics, he scrupled not to assist in the extermination of these insolent insurrectionists against lawful authority.

The Constitution of Frederick endeavoured to reduce the clergy into obedient and loyal subjects at once by the vigorous assertion of the supreme and impartial law, and by securing and extending their acknowledged immunities. The clergy were amenable to the general law of the realm as concerned fiefs, could be impleaded in the ordinary courts concerning occupancy of land, inheritances, and debts: they had jurisdiction over their own body, with the right of inflicting canonical punishments: but besides this they were amenable to the secular laws, especially for treason, or all crimes relating to the person of the King. They were not exempt from general taxation; they were bound to discharge all feudal obligations for their fiefs. On the other hand, the crown abandoned its claim to the revenues of vacant bishoprics and benefices; three unexceptionable persons belonging to the Church were appointed receivers on behalf of the successor. On the election of bishops the law of Innocent III was recognised; the chapter communicated the vacancy to the Crown, and proceeded to elect a fit successor; that successor could not be inaugurated without the consent of the King, consecrated without that of the Pope. Tithes were secured to the Church from all lands, oven from the royal domains: the Crown only enforced the expenditure of the appointed third on the sacred edifices, the churches and chapels. All special courts of the higher ecclesiastics as of the barons were abrogated; the crown would be the sole fountain of justice: but the holders

of the great spiritual fiefs sat with the great Barons under the presidency of the high Chancellor. Excepting in case of marriage, no separate Jurisdiction of the clergy was recognised over the laity Appeals to Rome were allowed, but only on matters purely ecclesiastical; and these during wars with the Pope were absolutely forbidden. The great magnates of the realm received likewise substantial benefits in lieu of the privileges wrested from them, which were perilous to the public peace. All their separate jurisdictions of noble or prelate were abolished; the King's justiciary was alone and supreme. But their fiefs were made hereditary, and in the female line and to collaterals in the third degree.

The cities were emancipated from all the jurisdictions of nobles or of ecclesiastics; but the municipal authorities were not absolutely left to their free election. The Sicilian King dreaded the fatal example of the Lombard Republics: all the superior governors were nominated by the Crown; the cities only retained in their own hands the inferior appointments, for the regulation of their markets and havens. The law overlooked not the interest of the free peasants, who constituted the chief cultivators of the soil; or that of the serfs attached to the soil. Absolute slavery was by no means common in Sicily; the serfs could acquire and hold property. The free peasants were numerous; the measures of Frederick tended to raise the serfs to the same condition. He absolutely emancipated all those on the royal domain. The establishment of his courts enabled all classes to obtain justice at an easy and cheap rate against their lords; the extraordinary aids to be demanded by the lord were limited by law, that of the lay feudal superior, to aids on the marriage of a daughter or sister, the arming the son when summoned to the service of the King, and his ransom in captivity; that of the higher ecclesiastics and monasteries, to the summons to the King's service, and receiving the King at free quarters; journeys to Church Councils summoned by the Pope, and Consecrations. Frederick was so desirous to promote the cultivation of the soil, that he exempted new sett lers in Sicily from taxes for ten years; only the Jews, who took refuge from Africa, were obliged to pay such taxes, and compelled to become cultivators of the land.

But of all institutions, the most advanced was the system of representative government, for the first time regularly framed by the laws of the realm. Besides the ancient Parliaments, at which the magnates of the realm, the great ecclesiastical and secular vassals of the Crown assembled when summoned by the King's writs, two annual sessions took place, on the 1st of March and the 1st of August, of a Parliament constituted from the different orders realm. All the Barons and Prelates appeared in person; each of the larger cities sent four representatives, each smaller city two, each town or other place one; to these were joined all the great and lesser Bailiffs of the Crown. The summons to the Barons and Prelates was directly from the King, that of the cities and towns from the judge of the province. They were to choose men of probity, good repute, and impartiality. A Commissioner from the Crown opened the Parliament, and conducted its proceedings, which lasted from eight to ten days. Every clerk or layman might arraign the conduct of any public officer, or offer his advice for the good of his town or district. The determinations which the royal Commissioner, with the advice of the most distinguished spiritual and temporal persons, approved, were

delivered signed and sealed by him directly to the King, excepting in unimportant matters, which might be regulated by an order from the Justiciary of the Province.

The criminal law of Frederick's constitution was, with some remarkable exceptions, mild beyond precedent; and also administered with a solemnity, impartiality, and regularity, elsewhere unknown. The Chief Justiciary of the realm, with four other judges, formed the great Court of Criminal Law; and the Crown asserted itself to be the exclusive administrator of criminal justice. Besides its implacable abhorrence of heresy, it was severe and inexorable against all disturbers of the peace of the realm, and those who endangered the public security. Private war and the execution of the law by private hands, was rigidly forbidden. Justice must be sought only in the King's courts. The punishment for every infringement of this statute was decapitation and forfeiture of goods. Arms were not to be borne except by the King's officers, employed in the court or on the royal affairs, or by knights, knights' sons, and burghers, riding abroad from their own homes. Whoever drew his sword on another paid double the fine imposed for bearing it; whoever wounded another lost his hand; whoever killed a man if a knight, was beheaded, if of lower rank, hanged. If the homicide could not be found, the district paid a heavy fine, yet in proportion to the *wehrgeld* of the slain man; but Christians paid twice as much as Jews or Saracens, as, no doubt, bound more especially to know and maintain the law. The laws for the preservation of female chastity were singular and severe. Even rape upon a common prostitute was punished by beheading, if the charge was brought within a certain time: whoever did not aid a woman suffering violence was heavily fined. But in these cases a false accusation was visited with the same punishment. Mothers who betrayed their daughters to whoredom had their noses cut off; men who connived at the adultery of their wives were scourged. A man caught in adultery might be slain by the husband; if not instantly slain, he paid a heavy fine. The trials by battle and ordeal were abolished as vain and superstitious: the former allowed only in cases of murder, poisoning, or high treason, where there was strong suspicion but not full proof. It was designed to work on the terror of the criminal; but if the accuser was worsted, he was condemned in case of high treason to the utmost penalty; in other cases to proportionate punishment. Torture was only used in cases of heavy suspicion against persons of notoriously evil repute.

These are but instances of the spirt in which Frederick framed his legislation, which aimed rather to advance, enrich, enlighten his subjects than to repress their free development by busy and perpetual interference. His regulations concerning commerce were almost prophetically wise; he laid down the great maxim that commercial exchange benefited both parties; he permitted the export of corn as the best means of fostering its cultivation. He entered into liberal treaties with Venice, with Asia, Genoa, and the Greek Empire, and even with some of the Saracen powers in Africa. By common consent, both parties condemned the plundering of wrecks, and pledged themselves to mutual aid and friendly reception into their harbours. The King himself was a great merchant; the royal vessels traded to Syria, Egypt, and other parts of the East. He had even factors who traded to India. He encouraged internal commerce by the establishment of great fairs and markets; manufactures of various kinds began to prosper.

But that which, if the constitution of Frederick had continued to flourish, if the institutions had worked out in peace their natural consequences, if the house of Hohenstaufen had maintained their powder, splendour and tendencies to social and intellectual advancement—if they had not been dispossessed by the dynasty of Charles of Anjou, and the whole land thrown back by many centuries—might have enabled the Southern kingdom to take tile lead, and anticipate the splendid period of Italian learning, philosophy, and art, was the Universities; the establishments for education; the encouragements for all learned and refined studies, imagined by this accomplished King. Even the revival of Greek letters might not have awaited the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks two centuries later. Greek was the spoken language of the people in many parts of the kingdom; the laws of Frederick were translated into Greek for popular use; the epitaph of the Archbishop of Messina in the year 1175 was Greek. There were Greek priests and Greek congregations in many parts of Apulia and Sicily; the privileges conferred by the Emperor Henry VI on Messina had enacted that one of the three magistrates should be a Greek. Hebrew, and still more Arabic, were well known, not merely by Jews and Arabians but by learned scholars. Frederick himself spoke German, Italian, Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew. He declared his own passionate love for learned and philosophical studies. Nothing after the knowledge of affairs, of laws and of arms, became a monarch so well; to this he devoted all his leisure hours; these were the liberal pursuits which adorned and dignified human life. In Syria, and in his intercourse with the Eastern monarchs, he had obtained great collections of books; he caused translations to be made from the Arabic, and out of Greek into Latin, of some of the philosophic works of Aristotle and the Almagest of Ptolemy.

The University of Naples was his great foundation; Salerno remained the famous school of medicine; but the University in the capital was encouraged by liberal endowments, and by regulations with regard to the relations of the scholars and the citizens; the price of lodgings was fixed by royal order; sums of money were to be advanced to youths at low interest, and could not be exacted during the years of study. The King held out to the more promising students honourable employments in his service. Philosophical studies appeared most suited to the genius of Frederick; natural history and the useful sciences he cultivated with success; but he had likewise great taste for the fine arts, especially for architecture, both ornamental and military. He restored the walls of many of the greatest cities; built bridges and other useful works. He had large menageries, supplied from the East and from Africa. He sometimes vouchsafed to send some of the more curious animals about for the instruction and amusement of his subjects. The Ravennese were delighted with the appearance of some royal animals. He was passionately fond of field sports, of the chase with the hound and the hawk; his own book on falconry is not merely instructive on that sport, but is a scientific treatise on the nature and habits of those birds, and of many other animals. The first efforts of Italian sculpture and painting rose under his auspices; the beautiful Italian language began to form itself in his court: it has been said above that the earliest strains of Italian to take the lead, and anticipate the splendid period of Italian learning, philosophy, and art, was the Universities; the establishments for education; the encouragements for all learned and refined studies, imagined by this accomplished

King. Even the revival of Greek letters might not have awaited the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks two centuries later.

His own age beheld with admiring amazement the magnificence of Frederick's court, the unexampled progress in wealth, luxury, and knowledge. The realm was at peace, notwithstanding some disturbance by those proud barons, whose interest it was to maintain the old feudal and seignorial rights; the reluctance of the clergy to recede from the complete dominion over the popular mind; and the taxation, which weighted, especially as Frederick became more involved in the Lombard war, on all classes. The world had seen no court so splendid, no system of laws so majestically equitable; a new order of things appealed to be arising; an epoch to be commencing in human civilisation. But this admiration was not universal: there was a deep and silent jealousy, an intuitive dread in the Church, and in all the faithful partisans of the Church of remote, if not immediate danger; of a latent design, at least a latent tendency in the temporal kingdom to set itself apart, and to sever itself from the one great religious Empire, which had now been building itself up for centuries. There was, if not an avowed independence, a threatening disposition to independence. The legislation, if it did not directly clash, yet seemed to clash, with the higher law of the Church; if it did not make the clergy wholly subordinate, it degraded them in some respect to the rank of subjects; if it did not abrogate, it limited what were called the rights and privileges, but which were in fact the separate rule and dominion of the clergy; at all events, it assumed a supremacy, set itself above, admitted only what it chose of the great Canon Law of the Church; it was self-originating, self-asserting, it had not condescended to consult those in whom for centuries all political as well as spiritual wisdom had been concentred: it was a legislation neither emanating from, nor consented to by the Church. If every nation were thus to frame its own constitution, without regard to the great unity maintained by the Church, the vast Christian confederacy would break up, Kings might assume the power of forbidding the recurrence to Rome as the religious capital of the world; independent kingdoms might aspire to found independent churches. This new knowledge too was not less dangerous because its ultimate danger was not clearly seen; at all events, it was not knowledge introduced, sanctioned, taught by the sole great instructress, the Church. Theology, the one Science, was threatened by a rival, and whence did that rival profess to draw her wisdom? from the Heathen, the Jew, the Unbeliever; from the Pagan Greek, the Hebrew, the Arabic. That which might be in itself harmless, edifying, improving, when taught by the Church, would but inflame the rebellious pride of the human intellect. What meant this ostentatious toleration of other religions, if not total indifference to Christ and God; if not a secret inclination to apostasy? What was all this splendour, but Epicurean or Eastern luxury? What this poetry, but effeminate amatory songs? Was this the life of a Christian King, of a Christian nobility, of a Christian people? It was an absolute renunciation of the severe discipline of the Church, of that austere asceticism, which however the clergy and religious men alone could practise its angelic, its divine perfection, was the remote virtue after which all, even Kings (so many of whom had exchanged their worldly robes for the cowl and for sackcloth) ought to aspire, as to the ultimate culminating height of true Christianity. It was Mohammedan not merely in its secret indulgences, its many

concubines, in which the Emperor was said to allow himself Mohammedan licence; some of his chosen companions, his trusted counsellors, at least his instructors in science and philosophy were Mohammedans; ladies of that race and religion appeared, as has been said, at his court (in them virtue was a thing incredible to a sound churchman). The Saracens whom he had transplanted to Nocera were among his most faithful troops, followed him in his campaigns; it was even reported, that after his marriage with Isabella of England, he dismissed her English ladies, and made her over to the care of Moorish eunuchs.

Such to the world was the fame, such to the Church the evil fame of Frederick's Sicilian court; exaggerated no doubt as to its splendour, luxury, licence, and learning, as well by the wonder of the world, as by the abhorrence of the Church. Yet, after all, out of his long life (long if considered not by years but by events, by the civil acts, the wars, the negotiation, the journeyings, the vicissitudes, crowded into it by Frederick's own busy and active ambition and by the whirling current of affairs) the time during which he sunned himself in this gorgeous voluptuousness must have been comparatively short, intermittent, broken. At eighteen years of age Frederick left Sicily to win the Imperial crown; he had then eight years of the cold German climate and the rude German manners during the establishment of his Sovereignty over the haughty German Princes and Prelates. Then eight years in the South, but during the first four the rebellious Apulian and Sicilian nobles were to be brought under control, the Saracens to be reduced to obedience, and transported to Apulia: throughout the later four, was strife with the Lombard cities, strife about the Crusade, and preparation for the voyage. Then came his Eastern campaign, his reconciliation with the Church. Four years followed of legislation; and perhaps the nearest approach to indolent and luxurious peace. Then succeeded the revolt of his son. Four years more to coerce rebellious Germany, to attempt in vain to coerce rebellious Lombardy: all this was to close, with his life, in the uninterrupted immitigable feud with Gregory IX, and Innocent IV.

The Pope Gregory IX (it is impossible to decide how far influenced by the desire of overawing this tendency of temporal legislation to assert its own independence) determined to array the higher and eternal law of the Church in a more august and authoritative form. The great code of the Papal Decretals constituted this law; it had now long recognize and admitted to the honours of equal authority the bold inventions of the book called by the name of Isidore; but during the Pontificate of Innocent III there had been five distinct compilations, conflicting in some points, and giving rise to intricate and insoluble questions. Gregory in his old age aspired to be the Justinian of the Church. He entrusted the compilation of a complete and regular code to Raimond da Pennaforte, a noble Spaniard, related to royal house of Arragon, of the Dominican Order, and now the most distinguished jurist in the University of Bologna. Raimond da Pennaforte was to be to the Canon what Imerius of Bologna had been to the revived Roman Law. It is somewhat singular that Raimond had been the most famous antagonist of the Arabian school of learning, the most admired champion of Christianity, in his native Spain.

The first part of these Decretals comprehended the whole, in a form somewhat abbreviated; abbreviations which, as some complained, endangered the rights of the

Church on important points; but were defended by the admirers of Raimond of Pennaforte, who declared that he could not err, for an angel from Heaven had constantly watched over his holy work. The second contained the Decretals of Gregory IX himself. The whole was promulgated as the great statute law of Christendom, superior in its authority to all secular laws as the interests of the soul were to those of the body, as the Church was of greater dignity than the State; as the Pope higher than any one temporal sovereign, or all the sovereigns of the world. Though especially the law of the clergy, it was the law binding likewise on the laity as Christians, as religious men, both as demanding their rigid observance of all the rights, immunities, independent jurisdictions of the clergy, and concerning their own conduct as spiritual subjects of the Church. All temporal jurisprudence was bound to frame its decrees with due deference to the superior ecclesiastical jurisprudence; to respect the borders of that inviolable domain; not only not to interfere with those matters over which the Church claimed exclusive cognisance, but to be prepared to enforce by temporal means those decrees which the Church, in her tenderness for human life, in her clemency, or in her want of power, was unwilling or unable herself to carry into execution. Beyond that sacred circle temporal legislation might claim the full allegiance of its temporal subjects; but the Church alone could, touch the holy person, punish the delinquencies, control the demeanour of the sacerdotal order; could regulate the power of the superior over the inferior clergy, and choose those who were to be enrolled in the order. The Church alone could administer the property of the Church; that property it was altogether beyond the province of the civil power to tax; even as to feudal obligations, the Church would hardly consent to allow any decisions but her own: though compelled to submit to the assent of the crown in elections to benefices which were temporal fiefs, yet that assent was, on the other hand, counter-balanced by her undoubted power to consecrate or to refuse consecration. The Book of Gregory's Decretals was ordered to be the authorised text in all courts and in all schools of law; it was to be, as it were, more and more deeply impressed into the minds of men. Even in its form it closely resembled the Roman law yet unabrogated in many parts of Europe; but of course it comprehended alike those who lived under the different national laws, which had adopted more or less of the old Latin jurisprudence; it was the more universal statute-book of the more wide-ruling, all-embracing Rome.

Renewal of hostilities between Gregory IX and Frederick II

During the nine years of peace between the Empire and the Papacy, Pope Gregory IX at times poured forth his flowery eloquence in the praise, almost the adulation, of the Emperor; the Emperor proclaimed himself the most loyal subject of the Church. The two potentates concurred only with hearty zeal in the persecution of those rebels against the civil and ecclesiastical power, the heretics. At Rome multitudes of meaner religious criminals were burned; many priests and of the lower orders of clergy degraded and sent to Monte Casino and other rigid monasteries as prisoners for life. The Pope issued an act of excommunication rising in wrath and terror above former acts.

Persons suspected of heresy were under excommunication, if within a year they did not prove themselves guiltless they were to be treated as heretics. Heretics were at once infamous; if judges, their acts were at once null; if advocates, they could not plead; if notaries, the instruments which they had drawn were invalid. All priests were to be publicly stripped of their holy dress and degraded. No gifts or oblations were to be received from them; the clerk who bestowed Christian burial on a heretic was to disentomb him with his own hands, and cast him forth from the cemetery, which became an accursed place unfit for burial. No lay person was to dispute in public or in private concerning the Catholic faith: no descendant of a heretic to the second generation could be admitted to holy orders. Annibaldi, the senator of Rome and the Roman people, passed a decree enacting condign punishment on all heretics. The Emperor not content with suppressing these insurgents in his hereditary dominions, had given orders that throughout Lombardy, their chief seat, they should be sought out, delivered to the Inquisitors, and there punished by the secular arm. One of his own most useful allies, Eccelin da Romano, was in danger. Eccelin's two sons, Eccelin and Alberic, offered to denounce their father to the Inquisition. There was, what it is difficult to describe but as profound hypocrisy, or worse, on the part of the Pope: he declared his unwillingness to proceed to just vengeance against the father of such pious sons, who by his guilt would forfeit, as in a case of capital treason, all their inheritance; the sons were to persuade Eccelin to abandon all connexion with heresy or with heretics: if he refused, they wore to regard their own salvation, and to denounce their father before the Papal tribunal. It is strange enough that the suspected heretic, suspected perhaps not unjustly, took the vows, and died in the garb of a monk; the pious son became that Eccelin da Romano whose cruelty seems to have defied the exaggeration of party hatred.

But in all other respects the Pope and the Emperor were equally mistrustful of each other; peace was disguised war. Each had an ally in the midst of the other's territory whom he could not avow, yet would not abandon. Even in these perverse times the conduct of the Romans to the Pope is almost inexplicable. No sooner had the Pope, either harassed or threatened by their unruly proceedings, withdrawn in wrath, or under the pretext of enjoying the purer and cooler air, to Rieti, Anagni, or some other neighbouring city, than Rome began to regret his absence, to make overtures of submission; and still received him back with more rapturous demonstrations of joy. In a few months they began to be weary of their quiet: his splendid buildings for the defence and ornament of the city lost their imposing power, or became threatening to their liberties; he was either compelled or thought it prudent to retire. Viterbo had become to the Romans what Tusculum had been in a former century; the Romans loved their own liberty, but their hate of Viterbo was stronger than their love; the fear that the Pope might take part with Viterbo brought them to his feet; that he did not aid them in the subjugation of Viterbo rekindled their hostility to, him. More than once the Pope called on the Emperor to assist him to put down his insurgent subjects: Frederick promised, eluded his promise; his troops were wanted to suppress rebellions not feigned, but rather of some danger, at Messina and Syracuse. He had secret partisans everywhere: when Rome was Papal, Viterbo was Imperialist; when Viterbo was for the Pope, Rome was

for the Emperor. If Frederick was insincere in Ids maintenance of the Pope against his domestic enemies, Gregory was no less insincere in pretending to renounce all alliance, all sympathy with the Lombards. But this connexion of the Pope with the Lombard League required infinite management and dexterity; the Lombard cities swarmed with heretics and so far were not the most becoming allies of the Pope. Yet this alliance might seem an affair, not of policy only, but of safety. Gregory could not disguise to himself that so popular, so powerful a sovereign had never environed the Papal territories on every side. If Frederick (and Frederick's character might seem daring enough for so impious an act) should despise the sacred awe which guarded the person of the Pope, and scorn his excommunications, he was in an instant at the gates of Rome. He had planted his two colonies of Saracens near the Apulian frontier; they at least would have no scruple in executing his most irreverent orders. The Pope was at his mercy, and friendless, as far as any strong or immediate check on the ambition or revenge of the Emperor. The Pope in supporting the Lombard republics, assumed the lofty position of the sacred defender of liberty, the asserter of Italian independence, when Italy seemed in danger of lying prostrate under one stem and despotic monarchy, which would extend from the German Ocean to the further shore of Sicily. At first his endeavours were wisely and becomingly devoted to the maintenance of peace—a peace which, so long as the Emperor refrained from asserting his full imperial rights, so long as the Guelfs ruled undisturbed in those cities in which their interests predominated, the republics were content to observe; the lofty station of the mediator of such peace became his sacred function, and gave him great weight with both parties. But nearly at the same time an insurrection of the Popes Roman subjects, more daring and aggressive than usual, compelled him to seek the succour of Frederick, and Frederick was threatened with a rebellion which the high-minded and religious Pope could not but condemn, though against his fearful adversary.

For the third or fourth time, May 1234, the Pope had been compelled to retire to Rieti. Under the senatorship of Luca di Sabelli the senate and people of Rome had advanced new pretensions, which tended to revolutionise the whole Papal dominions. They had demolished part of the Lateran Palace, razed some of the palaces of the cardinals, proclaimed their open defiance of the Pope's governor, the Cardinal Rainier. They had sent justiciaries into Tuscany and the Sabine country to receive oaths of allegiance to themselves, and to exact tribute. The Pope wrote pressing letters addressed to all the princes and bishops of Christendom, imploring succour in men and money; there was but one near enough at hand to aid, had all been willing. The Pope could not but call on him whose title as Emperor was protector of the Church, who as King was first vassal of the papal see. Frederick did not disobey the summons: with his young son Conrad he visited the Pope at Rieti. The Cardinal Rainier had thrown himself with the Pope's forces into Viterbo; the army of Frederick sat down before Respampano, a strong castle which the Romans occupied m the neighbourhood as an annoyance, and as a means, it might be, of surprising and taking Viterbo. But Respampano made resistance; Frederick himself retired, alleging important affairs, to his own dominions. The Papalists burst into a cry of reproach at his treacherous abandonment of the Pope. Yet it was entirely by the aid of some of his German troops that the Papal army inflicted

a humiliating defeat on the Romans, who were compelled to submit to the terms of peace dictated by the Pope, and enforced by the Emperor, who was again with the Pope at Rieti. Angelo Malebranca, “by the grace of God the illustrious senator of the gentle city” (such were the high-sounding phrases), by the decree and authority of the sacred senate, by the command and instant acclamation of the famous people, assembled in the Capitol at the sound of the bell and of the trumpet, swore to the peace proposed by the three cardinals, between the Holy Roman Church, their Father the Supreme Pontiff, and the Senate and people of Rome. He swore to give satisfaction for the demolition of the Lateran palace and those of the cardinals, the invasion of the Papal territories, the exaction of oaths, the occupation of the domains of the Church. He swore that no clerks or ecclesiastical persons belonging to the families of the Pope or cardinals should be summoned before the civil tribunals (thus even in Rome there was a strong opposition to those immunities of the clergy from temporal jurisdiction for temporal offences). This did not apply to laics who belonged to such households. He swore to protect all pilgrims, laymen as well as ecclesiastics, who visited the shrines of the Apostles. The peace was re-established likewise with the Emperor and his vassals — with Anagni, Segni, Velletri, Viterbo, and other cities of the Papal territories. But even during this compulsory approximation to the Emperor, the Pope, to remove all suspicion that he might be won to desert their cause, wrote to the Lombards to reassure them. However, he might call upon them not to impede the descent of the Imperial troops from the Alps, those troops were not directed against their liberties, but came to maintain the liberties of the Church.

But if the rebels against the Pope were thus his immediate subjects the Romans, the rebel against Frederick was his own son. Henry had been left to rule Germany as king of the Romans; the causes and indeed the objects of his rebellion are obscure. Henry appears to have been a man of feeble character. The only impulse to which the rebel son could appeal was the pride of Germany, which would no longer condescend to be governed from Italy, and to be a province of the kingdom of Apulia. Unlike some of his predecessors, Pope Gregory took at once the high Christian tone : he would seek no advantage from the unnatural insurrection of a son against his father. All the malicious insinuations against Gregory are put to silence by the fact that, during their fiercest war of accusation and recrimination, Frederick never charged the Pope with the odious crime of encouraging his son’s disobedience. Frederick passed the Alps with letters from the Pope, calling on all the Christian prelates of Germany to assort the authority of the King and of the parent. Henry had held a council of princes at Boppart to raise the standard of revolt, and had entered into treasonable league with Milan and the Lombard cities. The rebellion was as weak as wanton and guilty; Frederick entered Germany with the scantiest attendance; the affrighted son, abandoned by all his partisans, met him at Worms, and made the humblest submission. Frederick renewed his pardon; but probably some new detected intrigues, or the refusal to surrender his castles, or meditated flight, induced the Emperor to send his son as a prisoner to the kingdom of Naples. There he remained in such obscurity that his death might have been unnoticed but for a passionate lamentation which Frederick himself sent forth, in which he adopted the language of King David on the loss of his ungrateful but beloved Absalom.

Worms had beheld the sad scene of the ignominious arrest and imprisonment of the King of the Germans: that event was followed by the splendid nuptials of the Emperor with Isabella of England.

But though the Pope was guiltless, we believe he was guiltless, the Lombards were deep in this conspiracy against the power and the peace of Frederick. They, if they had not from the first instigated, had inflamed the ambition of Henry; they had offered, if he would cross the Alps, to invest him at Monza with the iron crown of Italy. Frederick's long-suppressed impatience of Lombard freedom had now a justifiable cause tor vengeance. The Ghibelline cities — Cremona, Parma, Pisa, and others; the Ghibelline Princes Eccelin and Alberic, the two sons of the suspected heretic Ecceli II (who had now descended from his throne, and taken the habit of a monk, though it was rumoured that his devotion was that of an austere Paterin rather than that of an orthodox recluse) summoned the Emperor to relieve him from the oppressions of the Guelfic league, and to wreak Ids just revenge on those aggressive rebels. Frederick's declaration of war was drawn with singular subtlety. His chief object, he declared, was the suppression of heresy. The wide prevalence of heresy the Pope could not deny; to espouse the Lombard cause was to espouse that at least of imputed heresy; it was to oppose the Emperor in the exercise of his highest imperial function, the promotion of the unity of the Church. The Emperor could not leave his own dominions in this state of spiritual and civil revolt to wage war in foreign lands: so soon as he had subdued the heretic he was prepared to arm against the Infidel. Lombardy reduced to obedience, there would be no obstacle to the reconquest of the Holy Land. Yet though thus embarrassed, the Pope, in his own defence, could not but interpose his mediation; he commanded both parties to submit to his supreme arbitration. Frederick yielded, but resolutely limited the time; if the arbitration was not made before Christmas, he was prepared for war. To the most urgent remonstrances for longer time he turned a deaf and contemptuous ear: he peremptorily challenged the Legate whom the Pope had appointed, the Cardinal Bishop of Praeneste, and refused to accept as arbiter his declared enemy. Frederick had already begun the campaign: Verona had opened her gates; he had stormed Vicenza, and laid half the city in ashes. He was recalled beyond the Alps by the sudden insurrection of the Duke of Austria. Gregory so far yielded, that in place of the obnoxious Cardinal of Praeneste, he named as his Legates the Cardinals of Ostia and of San Sabina. He commended them with high praise to the Patriarchs of Aquileia and of Grade, to the Archbishops of Genoa and Ravenna, whom, with the suffragans and all the people of Northern Italy, he exhorted to join in obtaining the blessings of peace. But already he began to murmur his complaints of those grievances which afterwards darkened to such impious crimes. The Frangipanis were again breaking out into turbulence in Rome: it was suspected and urged that they were in the pay of Frederick. Taxes had been levied on the clergy in the kingdom of Naples; they had been summoned before civil tribunals; the old materials of certain churches had been profanely converted by the Saracens of Nocera to the repair of their mosques. The answer of Frederick was lofty and galling. He denied the truth of the Pope's charges; appealed to the conscience of the Pope. Gregory demanded by what right he presumed to intrude into that awful sanctuary. Kings and princes were humbly to repose

themselves on the lap of priests; Christian Emperors were bound to submit themselves not only to the supreme Pontiff, but even to other bishops. The Apostolic See was the judge of the whole world; God had reserved to himself the sole judgement of the manifest and hidden acts of the Pope. Let the Emperor dread the fate of Uzzah, who laid his profane hands on the ark of God. He urged Frederick to follow the example of the great Constantine, who thought it absolutely wicked that, where the Head of the Christian religion had been determined by the King of Heaven, an earthly Emperor should the smallest power, and had therefore surrendered the Apostolic government, and chosen for himself a new residence in Greece.

Frederick returned from Germany victorious over the rebellious Duke of Austria; his son Conrad had been chosen King of the Romans. He crossed the Alps with three thousand German men-at-arms, besides the forces of the Ghibelline cities: he was joined by ten thousand Saracens from the South. His own ambassadors, Henry the Master of the Teutonic Order and his Chancellor Peter de Vinea, by whom he had summoned the Pope to his aid against the enraged Lombards, had returned from Rome without accomplishing their mission. At the head of his army he would not grant audience to the Roman legates, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and the Cardinal of St. Sabina, who peremptorily enjoined him to submit to the arbitration of the Pope. The great battle of Corte Nuova (Nov 27, 1237) might seem to avenge the defeat of his ancestor Frederick Barbarossa at Leghano. The Lombard army was discomfited with enormous loss; the Carroccio of Milan, defended till nightfall, was stripped of its banners, and abandoned to the conqueror. Frederick entered Cremona, the palaces of which city would hardly contain the captives, in a splendid ovation. The Podesta of Milan, Tiepolo, son of the Doge of Venice, was bound on the captive Carroccio; which was borne, as in the pomp of an Eastern potentate, on an elephant, followed by a wooden tower, with trumpeters and the Imperial standard. The pride of Frederick at this victory was at its height; he supposed that it would prostrate at once the madness of the rebels; he called upon the world to rejoice at the restoration of the Roman Empire to all its rights. The Carroccio was sent to Rome as a gift to the people of the gentle city; it was deposited in the Capitol, a significant menace to the Pope. But where every city was a fortress, inexpugnable by the arts of war then known, a battle in the open field did not decide the fate of a league which included so many of the noblest cities of Italy. Frederick had passed the winter at Cremona; the terror of his arms had enforced at least outward submission from many of the leaguers. Almost all Piedmont, Alexandria, Turin, Susa, and the other cities raised the Ghibelline banner. Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Bologna, remained alone in arms; even they made overtures for submission. Their offers were in some respects sufficiently humiliating; to acknowledge themselves rebels, to surrender all their gold and silver, to place their banners at the feet of the Emperor, to furnish one thousand men for the Crusades; but they demanded in return a general amnesty and admission to the favour of the Emperor, the maintenance of the liberties of the citizens and of the cities. Frederick haughtily demanded absolute and unconditional surrender. They feared, they might well fear, Frederick's severity against rebels. With mistimed and impolitic rigour he had treated the captive Podesta of Milan as a rebel. Tiepolo was sent to Naples, and there publicly executed. The Republics declared that it was better to

die by the sword than by the halter, by famine, or by fire. Frederick, in the summer of the next year, undertook the siege of Brescia; at the end of two months, foiled by the valour of the citizens and the skill of their chief engineer, a Spaniard, Kalamandrino, he was obliged to burn his besieging machines, and retire humiliated to Padua. But without aid the Lombard liberties must fall: the Emperor was master of Italy from the Alps to the straits of Messina; the knell of Italian independence was rung; the Pope a vassal at the mercy of Frederick.

The dauntless old man rose in courage with the danger. Temporal allies were not absolutely wanting. Venice dreading her own safety, and enraged at the execution of her noble son, Tiepolo, sent proposals for alliance to the Pope. The treaty was framed; Venice agreed to furnish 25 galleys, 300 knights, 2000 foot-soldiers, 500 archers; she was to obtain, as the price of this aid, Bari and Salpi in Apulia, and all that she could conquer in Sicily.

The Pope wrote to the confederate cities of Lombardy and Romagna, taking them formally under the protection of the Holy See. Genoa, under the same fears as Venice, and jealous of Imperialist Pisa, was prepared with her fleets to join the cause. During these nine years of peace, even if the former transgressions of Frederick were absolutely annulled by the treaty and Absolution of San Germano, collisions between two parties both grasping and aggressive, and with rights the boundaries of which could not be precisely defined had been inevitable : pretexts could be found, made, or exaggerated into crimes against the spiritual power, which would give some justification to that power to put forth, at such a crisis, its own peculiar weapons; and to recur to its only arms, the excommunication, the interdict, the absolution of subjects from their allegiance. Over this power Gregory had full command, in its employment no scruple.

On Palm Sunday, and on Thursday in Holy week, with all the civil and ecclesiastical state which he could assemble around him, Gregory pronounced excommunication against the Emperor; he gave over his body to Satan for the good of his soul, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, laid under interdict every place in which he might be, degraded all ecclesiastics who should perform the services of the Church before him, or maintain any intercourse with him; and commanded the promulgation of this sentence with the utmost solemnity and publicity throughout Christendom. These were the main articles of the impeachment published some months before:

I. That in violation of his oath, he had stirred up insurrection in Rome against the Pope and the Cardinals;

II. That he had arrested the Cardinal of Praeneste while on the business of the Church among the Albigenses;

III. That in the kingdom of Sicily he had kept benefices vacant to the ruin of men’s souls; unjustly seized the goods of churches and monasteries, levied taxes on the clergy, imprisoned, banished, and even punished them with death;

IV. That he had not restored their lands or goods to the Templars and Knights of St John;

V. That he had ill-treated, plundered, and expelled from his realm all the partisans of the Church;

VI. That he had hindered the rebuilding of the church of Sora, favoured the Saracens, and settled them among Christians;

VII. That he had seized and prevented the nephew of the King of Tunis from proceeding to Rome for baptism, and imprisoned Peter, Ambassador of the King of England;

VIII. That he had taken possession of Massa, Ferrara, and especially Sardinia, being part of the patrimony of St. Peter;

IX. That he had thrown obstacles in the way of the recovery of the Holy Land and the restoration of the Latin Empire in Constantinople, and in the affairs of the Lombards rejected the interposition of the Pope.

Frederick was at Padua, of which his most useful ally, Eccelin da Romano, had become Lord by all his characteristic treachery and barbarity. There were great rejoicings and festivities on that Palm Sunday; races and tournaments in honour of the Emperor. But some few Guelfs were heard to murmur bitterly among themselves. “This will be a day of woe to Frederick; this day the Holy Father is uttering his ban against him, and delivering him over to the devil!”. On the arrival of the intelligence from Rome, Frederick for a time restrained his wrath. Peter de Vinea, the great Justiciary of the realm of Naples, pronounced in the presence of Frederik, who wore his crown, a long exculpatory sermon to the vast assembly, on a text out of Ovid—“Punishment when merited is to be borne with patience, but when it is undeserved, with sorrow” Je declared, “that since the days of Charlemagne no Emperor had been more just, gentle, and magnanimous, or had given so little cause for the hostility of the Church”. The Emperor himself rose and averred, that if the excommunication had been spoken on just grounds, and in a lawful manner, he would have given instant satisfaction. He could only lament that the Pope had inflicted so severe a censure, without grounds and with such precipitate haste; even before the excommunication he had refuted with the same quiet arguments all these accusations. His first reply had been in the same calm and dignified tone. The Pope had commissioned the Bishops of Wurtzburg, Worms, Vercelli, and Parma to admonish the Emperor previous to the excommunication. In their presence, and in that of the Archbishops of Palermo and Messina, the Bishops of Cremona, Lodi, Novara, and Mantua, many abbots, and some Dominican and Franciscan friars, he had made to all their charges a full and satisfactory answer, and delivered his justification to the Bishops:

I. He had encouraged no insurrection in Rome; he had assisted the Pope with men and money; he had no concern in the new feuds.

II. He had never even dreamed of arresting the Cardinal of Praeneste, though he might have found just cause, since the Cardinal, acting for the Pope, had inflamed the Lombards to disobedience and rebellion.

III. He could give no answer to the vague and unspecified charges as to the oppression of the clergy in the realm of Naples; and as to particular churches he entered into long and elaborate explanations.

IV. He had restored all the lands to which the Templars and Knights of St John had just claim; all but those which they had unlawfully received from his enemies during his minority; they had been guilty of aiding his enemies during the invasion of

the kingdom, and some had incurred forfeiture: their lands, in certain cases, were assessable; where this not so, they would soon acquire the whole realm, and that exempt from all taxation.

V. No one was condemned as a partisan of the Pope; some had abandoned their estates from fear of being prosecuted for their crimes.

VI. No church had been desecrated or destroyed in Lucora; that of Sora was an accident, arising out of the disobedience of the city; he would rebuild that, and all which had fallen from age. The Saracens, who lived scattered over the whole realm, he had settled in one place, for the security of the Christians, and to protect rather than endanger the faith.

VII. Abdelasis had fled from the court of the King of Tunis; he was not a prisoner, but living a free and pleasant life, furnished with horses, clothes, and money by the Emperor. He had never (he appealed to the Archbishops of Palermo and Messina) expressed any desire for baptism. Had he done so, no one would have rejoiced more than the Emperor. Peter was no Ambassador of the King of England.

VIII. The pretensions of the Pope to Massa and Ferrara were groundless, still more to Sardinia, his son Enzio had married Adelasia, the heiress of that island; he was the rightful King.

IX. The King prevents no one from preaching the Crusade; he only interferes with those who, under pretence of preaching a Crusade, preach rebellion against the Sovereign, or, like John of Vicenza, usurp civil power. As to the affairs of Lombardy, the Pope had but interposed delays, to the frustration of his military plans. He would willingly submit to just terms; but after the unmeasured demands of the Lombards, and such manifest hostility on the part of the Pope, it would be dangerous and degrading to submit to the unconditional arbitration of the Pope.

The indignation of Frederick might seem to burst out with greater fury from this short, stern suppression. He determined boldly, resolutely to measure his strength, the strength of the Emperor, the King of Sicily, so far the conqueror (notwithstanding the failure before Brescia) of the Lombard republics, against the strength of the Popedom. The Pope had declared war on causes vague, false or insignificant; the true cause of the war, Frederick's growing power and his successes in Lombardy, the Pope could not avow; Frederick would appeal to Christendom, to the world, on the justice of his cause and the unwarranted enmity of the Pope. He addressed strong and bitter remonstrances to the Cardinals, to the Roman people, to all the Sovereigns of Christendom. To the Cardinals he had already written, though his letter had not reached Rome before the promulgation of the excommunication, admonishing them to moderate the hasty resentment of the Pope. He endeavoured to separate the cause of the Pope from that of the Church; but vengeance against Gregory and the family of Gregory could not satisfy the insulted dignity of the Empire; if the authority of the Holy See, and the weight of their venerable college, thus burst all restraint, he must use all measures of defence; injury must be repelled with injury. Some of the Cardinals had endeavoured to arrest the precipitate wrath of Gregory; he treated their timid prudence with scorn. To the Romans the Emperor expressed his indignant wonder that Rome being the head of the Empire, the people, without reverence for his majesty, ungrateful for all his munificence, had

heard tamely the blasphemies of the Roman Pontiff against the Sovereign of Rome; that of the whole tribe of Romulus there was not one bold patrician, of so many thousand Roman Citizens not one, who uttered a word of remonstrance, a word of sympathy with their insulted Lord. He called on them to rise and to revenge the blasphemy upon the blasphemer, and not to allow him to glory in his presumption, as if they consented to his audacity. As he was bound to assert the honour of Rome, so were they to defend the dignity of the Roman Emperor.

Before all the temporal Sovereigns of the world, the Emperor entered into a long vindication of all his acts towards the Church and the Pope; he appealed to their justice against the unjust and tyrannous hierarchy. "Cast your eyes around! lift up your ears, O sons of men, that ye may hear! behold the universal scandal of the world, the dissensions of nations, lament the utter extinction of justice! Wickedness has gone out from the Elders of Babylon, who hitherto appeared to rule the people, whilst judgement is turned into bitterness, the fruits of justice into wormwood. Sit in judgement, ye Princes, ye People take cognisance of our cause, let judgement go forth from the face of the Lord and your eyes behold equity. Papal excommunication had dwelt entirely on occurrences subsequent to the peace of San Germano". The Emperor went back to the commencement of the Pope's hostility: he dwelt on his ingratitude, his causeless enmity. "He, who we hoped thought only of things above, contemplated only heavenly things, dwelt only in heaven, was suddenly found to be but a man; even worse, by his acts of inhumanity is not only a stranger to truth, but without one feeling of humanity." He charged the Pope with the basest duplicity; he had professed the firmest friendship for the Emperor, while by his letters and his Legates he was acting the most hostile part. This charge rested on his own letters, and the testimony of his factious accomplices. The Pope had called on the Emperor to defy, and wage war against, the Romans on his behalf, and at the same time sent secret letters to Rome that this war was waged without his knowledge or command, in order to excite the hatred of the Romans against the Emperor. Rome, chiefly by his power, had been restored to the obedience of the Pope; what return had the Pope made?—befriending the Lombard rebels in every manner against their rightful Lord! No sooner had he raised a powerful army of Germans to subdue these rebels, than the Pope inhibited their march, alleging the general truce proclaimed for the Crusade. The Legate, the Cardinal of Praeneste, whose holy life the Pope so commended, had encouraged the revolt of Piacenza. Because he could find no just cause for his excommunication, the Pope had secretly sent letters and Legates through the Empire, through the world, to seduce his subjects from their allegiance. He had promised the ambassadors of Frederick, the Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishops of Florence and Reggio, the Justiciary Thaddeus of Suessa, and the Archbishop of Messina, that he would send a Legate to the Emperor to urge the Lombards to obedience; but in the meantime he sent a Legate to Lombardy to encourage and inflame their resistance. Notwithstanding his answer to all the charges against him, which had made the Bishops of the Papal party blush by their completeness; notwithstanding this unanswerable refutation, the Pope bad proceeded on Palm Sunday, and on Thursday in the Holy Week, to excommunicate him on these charges; this at the instigation of a few Lombard Cardinals, most of the better Cardinals, if report speaks true, remonstrating

against the act. “Be it that we had offended the Pope by some public and singular insult, how violent and inordinate these proceedings, as though, if he had not vomited forth the wrath that boiled within him, he must have burst! We grieve from our reverence for our Mother the Church! Could we accept the Pope, thus our avowed enemy, no equitable judge, to arbitrate in our dispute with Milan; Milan, favoured by the Pope, though by the testimony of all religious men, swarming with heretics? We hold Pope Gregory to be an unworthy Vicar of Christ, an unworthy successor of St. Peter; not in disrespect to his office, but of his person, who sits in his court like a merchant weighing out dispensations for gold, himself signing, writing the bulls, perhaps counting the money. He has but one real cause of enmity against me, that I refused to marry to his niece my natural son Enzio, now king of Sardinia. But ye, O Kings and Princes of the earth, lament not only for us, but for the whole Church; for her head is sick; her prince is like a roaring lion; in the midst of her sits a frantic prophet, a man of falsehood, a polluted priest!”

He concludes by calling all the princes of the world to his aid; not that his own forces are insufficient to repel such injuries, but that the World may know that when one temporal prince is thus attacked the honour of all is concerned.

Another Imperial address seems designed for a lower class, that class whose depths were stirred to hatred of the Emperor by the Preachers and the Franciscans. Its strong figurative language, its scriptural allusions, its invective against that rapacity of the Roman See which was working up a sullen discontent even among the clergy, is addressed to all Christendom. Some passages must illustrate this strange controversy. “The Chief Priests and the Pharisees have met in Council against their Lord, against the Roman Emperor. What shall we do, say they, for this man is triumphing over all his enemies? If we let him alone, he will subdue the glory of the Lombards; and, like another Caesar, he will not delay to take away our place and destroy our nation. He will hire out the vineyard of the Lord to other labourers and condemn us without trial, and bring us to ruin. Let us not await the fulfilment of these words of our Lord, but strike him quickly, say they, with our tongues; let our arrows be no more concealed, but go forth; so go forth as to strike, so strike as to wound; so be he wounded as to fall before us, so fall as never to rise again; and then will he see what profit he has in his dreams. Thus speak the Pharisees who sit in the seat of Moses. This father of fathers, who is called the servant of servants, shutting out all justice, is become a deaf adder; refuses to hear the vindication of the King of the Romans; hurls malediction into the world as a stone is hurled from a sling; and sternly, and heedless of all consequences, exclaims, What I have written, I have written.”

In better keeping Frederick alludes to the words of our Lord to his disciples after his resurrection, “That Master of Masters said not: Take arms and shield, the arrow, and the sword but: Peace be with you.”

On the avarice of the Pope he is inexhaustible. “But thou having nothing, but possessing all things, art ever seeking what thou mayest devour and swallow up; the whole world cannot glut the rapacity of thy maw, for the whole world suffice thy thee not. The Apostle Peter, by the Beautiful Gate, said to the lame man, ‘I have neither silver nor gold’, but thou, if thy heap of money, which thou adorest, begins to dwindle,

immediately beginnest to limp with the lame man, seeking anxiously what is of this world ... Let our Mother Church then bewail that the shepherd of the flock is become a ravening wolf, eating the fatlings of the flock; neither binding up the broken, nor bringing the wanderer home to the fold; but a lover of schism, the head and author of offence, the father of deceit; against the rights and honour of the Roman King he protects heretics, the enemies of God and of all the faithful in Christ; having cast aside all fear of God, all respect of man. But that he may better conceal the malice of his heart, he cherishes and protects these enemies of the Cross and of the faith, under a certain semblance of piety, saying that he only aids the Lombards lest the Emperor should slay them, and should judge more rigorously than his justice requires. But this fox-like craft will not deceive the skilful hunter. ... O grief! rarely dost thou expend the vast treasures of the Church on the poor! But, as Anagni bears witness, thou hast commanded a wonderful mansion, as it were the Palace of the Sun, to be built, forgetful of Peter, who long had nothing but his net and of Jerusalem, which lies the servant of dogs, tributary to the Saracens; 'All power is from God', writes the Apostle; 'whoso resists the power resists the authority of God'. Either receive, then, into the bosom of the Church her elder son, "who without guile incessantly demands pardon; otherwise, the strong lion, who feigns sleep, with his terrible roar will draw all the fat bulls from the ends of the earth, will plant justice, take the rule over the Church, plucking up and destroying the horns of the proud".

The Pope, in his long and elaborate reply, exceeded even the violence of this fierce Philippic. It is thus that the Father of the Faithful commences his manifesto against the Emperor in the words of the Apocalypse: "Out of the sea is a beast arisen, whose name is all over written 'Blasphemy'; he has the feet of a bear, the jaws of a ravening lion, the mottled limbs of the panther. He opens his mouth to blaspheme the name of God; and shoots his poisoned arrows against the tabernacle of the Lord, and the saints that dwell therein ... Already has he laid his secret ambush against the Church; he openly sets up the battering engines of the Ishmaelites; builds schools for the perdition of souls, lifts himself up against Christ the Redeemer of man, endeavouring to efface the tablets of his testament with the pen of heretical wickedness. Cease to wonder that he has drawn against us the dagger of calumny, for he has risen up to extirpate from the earth the name of the Lord. Rather, to repel his lies by the simple truth, to refute his sophisms by the arguments of holiness, we exorcise the head, the body, the extremities of this beast, who is no other than the Emperor Frederick"

Then follows a full account of the whole of Frederick's former contest with Gregory, in which the Emperor is treated throughout as an unmeasured liar. "This shameless artisan of falsehood lies when he says, that I was of old his friend". The history of the preparation for the Crusade, and the Crusade is related with the blackest calumny. To Frederick is attributed the death of the Crusaders at Brundusium, and the poisoning of the Landgrave of Thuringia insinuated as the general belief. The suppression of heresy in Lombardy could not be entrusted to one himself tainted by heresy. The insurrections in Lombardy are attributed to the Emperor's want of clemency; the oppressions of the Church are become the most wanton and barbarous cruelties; "the dwellings of Christians are pulled down to build the walls of Babylon;

churches are destroyed that edifices may be built where divine honours are offered to Mohammed." The kingdom of Sicily, so declares the Pope, is reduced to the utmost distress. By his unexampled cruelties, barons, knights, and others have been degraded to the state and condition of slaves; already the greater part of the inhabitants have nothing to lie upon but hard straw, nothing to cover their nakedness but the coarsest clothes; nothing to appease their hunger but a little millet bread. The charge of dilapidation of the Papal revenues, of venal avarice, the Pope repels with indignation: "I, who by God's grace have greatly increased the patrimony of the Church. He falsely asserts that 1 was enraged at his refusing his consent to the marriage of my niece with his natural son. He lies more impudently when he says that I have in return pledged my faith to the Lombards against the Empire".

Throughout the whole document there is so much of the wild exaggeration of passion, and at the same time so much art in the dressing out of facts; such an absence of the grave majesty of religion and the calm simplicity of truth, as to be surprising even when the provocations of Frederick's addresses are taken into consideration. But the heaviest charge was reserved for the close. "In truth this pestilent King maintains to use his own words, that the world has been deceived by three impostors; Jesus Christ, Moses, and Mahomet: the two of these died in honour, the third was hanged on a tree. Even more, he has asserted distinctly and loudly that those are fools who aver that God, the Omnipotent Creator of the world, was born of a Virgin"

Such was the blasphemy of which the Pope arraigned the Emperor before Christendom. Popular rumour had scattered abroad through the jealousy of the active priesthood, and still more through the wandering Friars, many other sayings of Frederick equally revolting to the feelings of the age; not merely that which contrasted the fertility of his beloved Sicily with the Holy Land, but sayings which were especially scornful as to the presence of Christ in the sacrament. When he saw the host carried to a sick person, he is accused of saying, How long will this mummery last? When a Saracen prince was present at the mass, he asked what was in the monstrance: The people fable that it is, our God. Passing once through a corn-field, he said, 'How many Gods might be made out of this com?' If the princes of the world would stand by him he would easily make for all mankind a better faith and better rule of life."

Frederick was not unconscious of the perilous workings of these direct and indirect accusations upon the popular mind. He hastened to repel them; and to turn the language of the Apocalypse against his accuser. He thus addressed the bishops of Christendom. After declaring that God had created two great lights for the guidance of mankind, the Priesthood and the Empire: — "He, in name only Pope, has called us the beast that arose out of the sea, whose name was Blasphemy, spotted as the panther. We again aver that he is the beast of whom it is written, 'And there went out another horse that was red, and power was given to him that sat thereon to take away peace from the earth, that the living should slay each other. For from the time of his accession this Father, not of mercies but of discord, not of consolation but of desolation, has plunged the whole world in bitterness. If we rightly interpret the words, he is the great anti-Christ, who has deceived the whole world, the anti-Christ of whom he declares Us the forerunner. He is a second Balaam hired by money to curse us; the prince of the princes

of darkness who have abused the prophecies. He is the angel who issued from the abyss having the vials full of wormwood to waste earth and heaven". The Emperor disclaims in the most emphatic terms the speech about the three impostors; rehearses his creed, especially concerning the Incarnation, in the orthodox words; expressed the most reverential respect for Moses: "As to Mahomet, we have always maintained that his body is suspended in the air, possessed by devils, his soul tormented in hell, because his works were works of darkness, and contrary to the laws of the Most High/". The address closed with an appeal to the sounder wisdom of the Prelates, and significant threats of the terrors of his vengeance.

The effect of this war of proclamations, addressed, only with a separate superscription, to every King in Christendom, circulated in every kingdom, was to fill the hearts of the faithful with terror, amazement, and perplexity. Those who had espoused neither the party of the Emperor nor of the Pope fluctuated in painful doubt. The avarice of the Roman See had alienated to a great extent the devotion of mankind, otherwise the letter of the Pope would have exasperated the world to madness; they would have risen in one wide insurrection against the declared adversary of the Church, as the enemy of Christ. "But alas!" so writes a contemporary historian, "many sons of the Church separated themselves from their father the Pope, and joined the Emperor, well knowing the inexorable hatred between the Pope and the Emperor, and that from that hatred sprung these fierce, indecent and untrustworthy invectives. The Pope, some said, pretends that from his love to Frederick he had contributed to elevate him to the Empire, and reproaches him with ingratitude. But it is notorious that this was entirely out of hatred to Otho, whom the Pope persecuted to death for asserting the interests of the Empire, as Frederick now asserts them. Frederick fought the battle of the Church in Palestine, which is under greater obligation to him than he to the Church. The whole Western Church, especially the monasteries, are every day ground by the extortions of the Romans; they have never suffered any injustice from the Emperor. The people subjoined, 'What means this? A short time ago the Pope accused the Emperor of being more attached to Mohammedanism than to Christianity, now he is accused of calling Mohammed an impostor. He speaks in his letters in the most Catholic terms. He attacks the person of the Pope, not the Papal authority. We do not believe that he has ever avowed heretical or profane opinions; at all events he has never let loose upon us usurers and plunderers of our revenues."

This was written in an English monastery. In England as most heavily oppressed, there was the strongest discontent. The feeble Henry III, though brother-in-law of the Emperor, trembled before the faintest whisper of Papal authority. But the nobles, even the Churchmen, began to betray their Teutonic independence. Robert Twenge, the Yorkshire knight, the ringleader of the insurrection against the Italian intruders into the English benefices, ventured to Rome, not to throw himself at the Pope's feet and to entreat his pardon, but with a bold respectful letter from the Earls of Chester, Winchester, and other nobles, remonstrating against the invasion of their rights of patronage. Gregory was compelled to condescend to a more moderate tone; he renounced all intention of usurpation on the rights of the barons. Robert Twenge received the acknowledgment of his right to present to the church of Linton. All the

Prelates of the realm, assembled at London, disdainfully rejected the claim made for procurations for the Papal Legate Otho, whom two years before they had allowed to sit as Dictator of the Church in the council of London. "The greedy avarice of Rome", they said, “has exhausted the English church; it will not give it even breathing time; we can submit to no further exactions. What advantage have we from the visitation of this Legate? Let him that sent him here uninvited by the native clergy, maintain him as long as he remains here”. The Legate, finding the Prelates obstinate, extorted a large sum for his procurations from the monasteries.

The Emperor highly resented the publication of the sentence of excommunication in the realm of the brother of his Empress Isabella. He sent a haughty message, expostulating with the King for permitting this insult upon his honour; he demanded the dismissal of the Legate, no less the enemy of the kingdom of England than his own; the Legate who was exacting money from the whole realm to glut the avarice of the Pope, and to maintain the Papal arms against the Emperor. Henry III sent a feeble request to Rome, imploring the Pope to act with greater mildness to Frederick; the Pope treated the message with sovereign contempt. Nor did the Legate behave with less insolent disdain to the King. Henry advised him to quit the kingdom; “You invited me here, find me a safe-conduct back”. In the meantime he proceeded again to levy his own procurations, to sell (so low was the Pope reduced), by Gregory's own orders, dispensations to those who had taken on them vows to proceed to the Holy Land. At length, at a council held at Reading, he demanded a fifth of all the revenues of the English clergy, in the name of the Pope to assist him in his holy war against the Emperor. Edmund Rich the Primate yielded to the demand, and was followed by others of the bishops. But Edmund, worn out with age and disgust, abandoned his see, withdrew into France, and in the same monastery of Pontigny, imitated the austerities and prayers, as he could not imitate the terrors, of his great predecessor Becket. The lower clergy were more impatient of the Papal demands. A crafty agent of the Pope, Pietro Rosso (Peter the Red), travelled about all the monasteries extorting money; he falsely declared that all the bishops, and many of the higher abbots, had eagerly paid their contributions. But he exacted from them, as if from the Pope himself, a promise to keep his assessment secret for a year. The abbots appealed to the King, who treated them with utter disdain. He offered one of his castles to the Legate and Peter the Red, to imprison two of the appellants, the Abbots of St. Edmundsbury and of Beaulieu. At Northampton the Legate and Peter again assembled the bishops, and demanded the fifth from all the possessions of the Church. The bishops declared that they must consult their archdeacons. The clergy refused altogether this new levy; they would not contribute to a fund raised to shed Christian blood. The rectors of Berkshire were more bold; their answer has a singular tone of fearless English freedom; "they would not submit to contribute to funds raised against the Emperor as if he were a heretic; though excommunicated he had not been condemned by the judgment of the Church; even if he does occupy the patrimony of the Church, the Church does not employ the secular arm against heretics. The Church of Rome has its own patrimony, it has no right to tax the churches of other nations. The Pope has the general care over all churches, but no property in their estates. The Lord said to Peter, ‘What you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven’; not ‘What you exact on earth shall be exacted in

heaven'. The revenues of the Church were assigned to peculiar uses, for the relief of the poor, not for maintenance of war, especially among Christians. Popes, even when they were exiles and the Church of England was at its wealthiest, had made no such demands". Yet partly by sowing discord among his adversaries, partly by flattery, partly by menace, the Legate continued, to the great indignation of the Emperor, to levy large sums for the Papal Crusade in the dominions of his brother-in-law.

In France Pope Gregory attempted to play a loftier game by an appeal to the ambition of the royal house; he would raise up a new French Pepin or Charlemagne to the rescue of the endangered Papacy. He sent ambassadors to the court of St. Louis with this message: — "After mature deliberation with our brethren the Cardinals we have deposed from the imperial throne the reigning Emperor Frederick; we have chosen in his place Robert, brother of the King of France. Delay not to accept this dignity, for the attainment of which we offer all our treasures, and all our aid". The Pope could hardly expect the severe rebuke in which the pious King of France couched his refusal of this tempting offer. "Whence this pride and audacity of the Pope, which thus presumes to disinherit and depose a King who has no superior, nor even an equal, among Christians; a King neither convicted by others, nor by his own confession, of the crimes laid to his charge? Even if those crimes were proved, no power could depose him but a general council. On his transgressions the judgment of his enemies is of no weight, and his deadliest enemy is the Pope. To us he has not only thus far appeared guiltless, he has been a good neighbour; we see no cause for suspicion either of his worldly loyalty, or his Catholic faith. This we know, that he has fought valiantly for our Lord Jesus Christ both by sea and land. So much religion we have not found in the Pope, who endeavoured to confound and wickedly supplant him in his absence, while he was engaged in the cause of God". The nobles of France did more, they sent ambassadors to Frederick to inform him of the Pope's proceedings, and to demand account of his faith. Frederick was moved by this noble conduct. He solemnly protested his orthodox belief. "May Jesus Christ grant that I never depart from the faith of my magnanimous ancestors, to follow the ways of perdition. The Lord judge between me and the man who has thus defamed me before the world". He lifted his hands to heaven, and said in a passion of tears: "The God of vengeance recompense him as he deserves. If", he added, "you are prepared to war against me, I will defend myself to the utmost of my power". "God forbid", said the ambassadors, "that we should wage war on any Christian without just cause. To be the brother of the King of France is sufficient honor for the noble Robert".

In Germany the attempt of the Pope to dethrone the Emperor awoke even stronger indignation. Two princes to whom Gregory made secret overtures refused the perilous honor. An appeal to the Prelates of the Empire was met even by the most respectful with earnest exhortations to peace. In one address they declared the universal opinion that the whole quarrel arose out of the unjustifiable support given by the Pope to the Milanese rebels; and they appealed to the continued residence of the Papal Legate, Gregory of Monte Longo, in Milan as manifesting the Pope's undeniable concern in that obstinate revolt. Popular German poetry denounced the Pope as the favoured of the Lombard heretics, who had made him drunk with their gold. Gregory himself bitterly complains

“that the German princes and prelates still adhered to Frederick, the oppressor, the worse than assassin, who imprisons them, places them under the ban of the Empire, even puts them to death. Nevertheless they despise the Papal anathema, and maintain his cause”. Gregory was not fortunate or not wise in the choice of his partisans. One of those partisans, Rainer of St. Quentin, presumed to summon the German prelates to answer at Paris for their disloyal conduct to the Pope. The Pope had invested Albert von Beham Archdeacon of Passau, a violent and dissolute man, with full power; he used it to threaten bishops and even archbishops, he dared to utter sentences of excommunication against them. He alarmed the Duke of Bavaria into the expression of a rash desire that they had another Emperor. It was on Otho of Bavaria that Albert strove to work with all the terrors of delegated papal power. There was a dispute between the Archbishop of Mayence and Otho concerning the convent of Laurisheim. Albert as Papal Legate summoned the Primate to appear at Heidelberg. The archbishop not appearing was declared contumacious; an interdict was laid on Mayence. In another quarrel of Otho with the Bishop of Freisingen, the imperialis judges awarded a heavy fine against Otho. Von Beham, irritated by songs in the streets, “The Pope is going down, the Emperor going up”, rescinded the decree on the Pope's authority, and commanded the institution of a new suit. Von Beham ordered the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop of Passau to excommunicate Frederick of Austria for his adherence to the Emperor; summoned a council at Landshut (A.D.1240); placed Siegfried Bishop of Ratisbon, the Chancellor of the Empire, under the ban; threatened to summon the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop to arraign them under processes of treason; "He would pluck their mitres from their heads". The Bishop of Passau, in his resentment, threatened to arm his men in a Crusade against Albert von Beham. Albert did not confine himself to Bavaria, he threatened the Bishops of Augsburg, Wurtzburg, Eichstadt, with the same haughty insolence. The consequence of all this contempt thus thrown on the greatest prelates was, that the imperialists everywhere gained courage. The Emperor, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Marquis of Meissen, Frederick of Austria, treated the excommunication as a vulgar ghost, an old wives’ tale. But the great prelates did not disguise their wrath, their dislike and contempt for Von Beham was extended to his master. “Let this Roman priest”, said Conrad Bishop of Freisingen, “feed his own Italians; we who are set by God as dogs to watch our own folds, will keep off all wolves in sheep's clothing”. Eberhard Archbishop of Salzburg not only applied the same ignominious term to the Pope, but struck boldly at the whole edifice of the Papal power; we seem to hear a premature Luther. He describes the wars, the slaughters, the seditions, caused by these Roman Flamens, for their own ambitious and rapacious ends. “Hildebrand, one hundred and seventy years ago, under the semblance of religion, laid the foundations of Antichrist. He who is the servant of servants would be the Lord of Lords ... This accursed man, whom men are wont to call Antichrist, on whose contumelious forehead is written, ‘I am God, I cannot err’, sits in the temple of God and pretends to universal dominion”. Frederick himself addressed a new proclamation to the princes of Germany. Its object was to separate the interests of the Church from those of the Pope; those of the Bishop of Rome from Gregory. “Since his ancestors the Caesars had lavished wealth and dignity on the Popes, they had become the Emperor's most

implacable enemies. Because I will not recognize his sole unlimited power and honor him more than God, he, Antichrist himself, brands me, the truest friend of the Church, as a heretic. Who can wish more than I that the Christian community should resume its majesty, simplicity, and peace? but this cannot be, until the fundamental evil, the ambition, the pride, and prodigality of the Bishop of Rome, be rooted up. I am no enemy of the priesthood; I honor the priest, the humblest priest, as a father, if he will keep aloof from secular affairs. The Pope cries out that I would root out Christianity with force and by the sword. Folly! as if the kingdom of God could be rooted out by force and by the sword; it is by evil lusts, by avarice and rapacity, that it is weakened, polluted, corrupted. Against these evils it is my mission of God to contend with the sword. I will give back to the sheep their shepherd, to the people their bishop, to the world its spiritual father. I will tear the mask from the face of this wolfish tyrant, and force him to lay aside worldly affairs and earthly pomp, and tread in the holy footsteps of Christ".

On the other hand, the Pope had now a force working in every realm of Christendom, on every class of mankind, down to the very lowest, with almost irresistible power. The hierarchical religion of the age, the Papal religion, with all its congenial imaginativeness, its burning and unquestioning faith, its superstitions, was kept up in all its intensity by the preachers and the mendicant friars. Never did great man so hastily commit himself to so unwise a determination as Innocent III, that no new Orders should be admitted into that Church which has maintained its power by the constant succession of new Orders. Never was his greatness shown more than by his quick perception and total repudiation of that error. Gregory IX might indeed have more extensive experience of the use of these new allies: on them he lavished his utmost favour; he had canonized both St. Dominic and St. Francis with extraordinary pomp; he intrusted the most important affairs to their disciples. The Dominicans, and still more the Franciscans, showed at once the wisdom of the Pope's conduct and their own gratitude by the most steadfast attachment to the Papal cause. They were the real dangerous enemies of Frederick in all lands. They were in kings' courts; the courtiers looked on them with jealousy, but were obliged to give them place; they were in the humblest and most retired villages. No danger could appal, no labours fatigue their incessant activity. The first act of Frederick was to expel, imprison, or take measures of precaution against those of the clergy who were avowed or suspected partisans of the Pope. The friars had the perilous distinction of being cast forth in a body from the realm, and forbidden under the severest penalties to violate its borders. In every Guelfic city they openly, in every Ghibelline city, if they dared not openly, they secretly preached the crusade against the Emperor. Milan, chiefly through their preaching, redeemed herself from the charge of connivance at the progress of heresy, by a tremendous holocaust of victims, burned without mercy. The career of John of Vicenza had terminated before the last strife; but John of Vicenza was the type of the friar preachers in their height of influence; that power cannot be understood without some such example; and though there might be but one John of Vicenza, there were hundreds working, if with less authority, conspiring to the same end, and swaying with their conjoint force the popular mind.

Assuredly, of those extraordinary men who from time to time have appeared in Italy, and by their passionate religious eloquence seized and for time bound down the fervent Italian mind, not the least extraordinary was Brother John (Fra Giovanni), of a noble house in Vicenza. He became a friar preacher: he appeared in Bologna. Before long, not only did the populace crowd in countless multitudes to his pulpit; the authorities, with their gonfalons and crosses, stood around him in mute and submissive homage. In a short time he preached down every feud in the city, in the district, in the county of Bologna. The women threw aside their ribbons, their flowers; their modest heads were shrouded in a veil. It was believed that he wrought daily miracles. Under his care the body of St. Dominic was translated to its final resting-place with the utmost pomp. It was said, but said by unfriendly voices, that he boasted of personal conversation with Christ Jesus, with the Virgin Mary, and with the angels. The friar preachers gained above twenty thousand marks of silver from the prodigal munificence of his admirers. He ruled Bologna with despotic sway; released criminals; the Podestà stood awed before him; the envious Franciscans alone (their envy proves his power) denied his miracles, and made profane and buffoonish verses against the eloquent Dominican.

But the limits of Bologna and her territory were too narrow for the holy ambition, for the wonderful powers of the great preacher. He made a progress through Lombardy. Lombardy was then distracted by fierce wars — city against city; in every city faction against faction. Wherever John appeared was peace. Padua advanced with her carroccio to Monselice to escort him into the city. Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Brescia, heard his magic words, and reconciled their feuds. On the shores of the Adige, (August 28, 1238) about three miles from Verona, assembled the whole of Lombardy, to proclaim and to swear to a solemn act of peace. Verona, Mantua, Brescia, Padua, Vicenza, came with their carroccios; from Treviso, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, thronged numberless votaries of peace. The Bishops of Verona, Brescia, Mantua, Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Treviso, Vicenza, Padua, gave the sanction of their sacred presence. The Podestás of Bologna, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Brescia, Ferrara, appeared, and other lords of note, the patriarch of Aquileia, the Marquis of Este. It was asserted that 400,000 persons stood around. John of Vicenza ascended a stage sixty feet high; it was said that his sermon on the valedictory words of the Lord, “My peace I leave with you”, was distinctly heard, wafted or echoed by preternatural powers to every ear. (Even the Franciscans were carried away by the enthusiasm; they preached upon his miracles; they averred that he had in one day raised ten dead bodies to life). The terms of a general peace were read, and assented to by one universal and prolonged acclamation. Among these was the marriage of Rinaldo, son of the Marquis of Este, with Adelaide daughter of Alberic, brother of Eccelin di Romano. This was the gauge of universal amity; these two great houses would set the example of holy peace. Men rushed into each other's arms; the kiss of peace was interchanged by the deadliest enemies, amid acclamations which seemed as if they would never cease.

But the waters of the Po rise not with more sudden and overwhelming force, ebb not with greater rapidity, than the religious passions of the Italians, especially the passion for peace and concord. John of Vicenza split on the rock fatal always to the

powerful spiritual demagogues, even the noblest demagogues, of Italy. He became a politician. He retired to his native Vicenza; entered into the Council, aspired to be Lord and Count; all bowed before him. He proceeded to examine and reform the statutes of the city. He passed to Verona, demanded and obtained sovereign power; introduced the Count Boniface, received hostages for mutual peace from the conflicting parties; he took possession of some of the neighbouring castles; waged fierce war with heretics; burned sixty males and females of some of the noble families; published laws. Vicenza became jealous of Verona; Padua leagued with Vicenza to throw off the yoke. The Preacher, at the head of an armed force, appeared at the gates, demanded the unconditional surrender of the walls, towers, strongholds of the city. He was repelled, discomfited, by the troops of Padua and Vicenza, taken, and cast into prison.

He was released by the intercession of Pope Gregory IX. The peace of Lombardy was then accordant to the Papal policy, because it was embarrassing to Frederick II. He returned to Verona; but the spell of his power was broken. He retired to Bologna, to obscurity. Bologna even mocked his former miracles. Florence refused to receive him: "Their city was populous enough; they had no room for the dead which he would raise".

Christendom awaited in intense anxiety the issue of this war—a war which, according to the declaration of the Emperor, would not respect the sacred person of the Pope, and would enforce, if Frederick were victorious, the absolute, unlimited supremacy of the temporal power. This war was now proclaimed and inevitable. The Pope must depend on his own armies and on those of his Italian allies. The tenths and the fifths of England and of France might swell the Papal treasury, and enable him to pay his mercenary troops; but there was no sovereign, no army of Papal partisans beyond the Alps which would descend to his rescue. The Lombards might indeed defend their own cities against the Emperor, and his son King Enzio, who was declared imperial vicar in the north of Italy, (May 25, 1239) was at the head of the Germans and Saracens of the Imperial army, and had begun to display his great military skill and activity. The strength of the maritime powers, who had entered into the league, was in their fleets; though at a later period Venetian forces appeared before Ferrara. The execution of Tiepolo the podestà of Milan, taken at the battle of Corte Nuova, had inflamed the resentment of that republic: they seemed determined to avenge the insult and wrong to that powerful and honoured family. But the Pope, though not only his own personal dignity, but even the stability of the Roman See was on the hazard, with the calm dauntlessness which implied his full reliance on his cause as the cause of God, confronted the appalling crisis. Some bishops sent to Rome by Frederick were repelled with scorn. The Pope, as the summer heats came on, feared not to leave fickle Rome: he retired, as usual, to his splendid palace at Anagni. During the rest of that year successes and failures seemed nearly balanced. Treviso threw off the Imperial yoke; even Ravenna, supported by a Venetian fleet, rebelled. The Emperor sat down before Bologna, obtained some great advantages humiliating to the Bolognese, but, as usual, failed in his attempt to capture the town. These successes before September. Bologna were balanced by failure, if not defeat, before Milan. Bologna was not so far discomfited but that she could make an attack on Modena. In November the Pope returned to Rome: he was received with the utmost honour, with popular rejoicings. He

renewed in the most impressive form the excommunication of the Emperor and all his sons, distinguishing with peculiar rigour the King Enzio.

The Emperor passed the winter in restoring peace in Ghibelline Pisa. The feud in Pisa was closely connected with the affairs of Sardinia. Pisa claimed the sovereignty of that island, which the all-grasping Papacy declared a fief of the Roman See. Ubaldo, of the noble Guelfic house of Visconti, had married Adelasia, the heiress of the native Judge or Potentate of Gallura and of Tura: he bought the Papal absolution from a sentence of excommunication and the recognition of his title by abandoning the right of Pisa, and acknowledging the Papal sovereignty. Pisa heard this act of treason with the utmost indignation. The Gherardesci, the rival Ghibelline house, rose against the Visconti. Ubaldo died; and Frederick (this was among the causes of Gregory's deadly hatred) married the heiress Adelasia to his natural son, whom he proclaimed king of Sardinia. The Ghibellines of Pisa recognized his title.

With the early spring the Emperor, at the head of an imposing, it might seem irresistible force, advanced into the territories of the Church. Foligno threw open her gates to welcome him. Other cities from fear or affection, Viterbo from hatred of Rome, hailed his approach. Ostia, Civita Castellana, Corneto, Sutri, Montefiascone, Toscanella received the enemy of the Pope. The army of John of Colonna, which during the last year had moved into the March against King Enzio, was probably occupied at some distance: Rome might seem to lie open; the Pope was at the mercy of his foe. Could he depend on the fickle Romans, never without a strong Imperial faction? Gregory, like his predecessors, made his last bold, desperate, and successful appeal to the religion of the Romans. The hoary Pontiff set forth in solemn procession, encircled by all the cardinals, the whole long way from the Lateran to St. Peter's. The wood of the true cross, the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul were borne before him; all alike crowded to receive his benediction. The Guelfs were in a paroxysm of devotion, which spread even among the overawed and unresisting Ghibellines. In every church of the city was the solemn mass; in every pulpit of the city the friars of St. Dominic and St. Francis appealed to the people not to desert the Vicar of Christ, Christ himself in his Vicar; they preached the new Crusade, they distributed crosses to which were attached the same privileges of pardon, and so of eternal life, if the wearers should fall in the glorious conflict, awarded to those who fought or fell for the holy sepulchre of Christ.

To these new crusaders Frederick showed no compassion; whoever was taken with the cross was put to death without mercy, even if he escaped more cruel and ignominious indignities before his death.

The Emperor was awed, or was moved by respect for his venerable adversary: he was either not strong enough, or not bold enough to march at once on Rome, and so to fulfil his own menaces. He retired into Apulia; some overtures for reconciliation were made; Frederick endeavoured to detach the Pope from his allies, and to induce him to make a separate peace. But the Pope, perhaps emboldened by the return of some of his legates with vast sums of money from England and other foreign countries, resolutely refused to abandon the Lombard League. Up to this time he had affected to disavow his close alliance, still to hold the lofty tone of a mediator; now he nobly determined to be true to their cause. He bore the remonstrances, on this, perhaps on some other cause of

quarrel, of his ablest general, the Cardinal John Colonna. Colonna had agreed to a suspension of arms, which did not include the Lombards; this the Pope refused to ratify. Colonna declared that he would not break his plighted faith to the Emperor. “If thou obeyest not”, said the angry Pope, “I will no longer own thee for a cardinal”. “Nor I thee”, replied Colonna, “for Pope”. Colonna joined the Ghibelline cause, and carried over the greater part of his troops.

Ferrara in the meantime was forever lost to the Imperialist side. Salinguerra, the aged and faithful partisan of the Emperor, was compelled to capitulate to a strong force, chiefly of Venetians. They seized his person by an act of flagrant treachery: for five years Salinguerra languished in a Venetian prison.

The Emperor advanced again from the South, wasted the Roman territory, and laid siege to Benevento, which made an obstinate resistance. The Emperor was at St. Germano; but instead of advancing towards Rome, he formed the siege of Faenza.

The Pope meditated new means of defence. Imperial armies were not at his command; he determined to environ himself with all the majesty of a spiritual sovereign; he would confront the Emperor at the head of the hierarchy of Christendom; he issued a summons to all the prelates of Europe for a General Council to be held in the Lateran palace at Easter in the ensuing year; they were to consult on the important affairs of the Church.

The Emperor and the partisans of the Emperor had appealed to a general Council against the Pope; but a Council in Rome, presided over by the Pope, was not the tribunal to which they would submit. Frederick would not permit the Pope, now almost in his power, thus to array himself in all the imposing dignity of the acknowledged Vicar of Christ. He wrote a circular letter to the Kings and Princes of Europe, declaring that he could not recognize nor suffer a Council to assemble, summoned by his archenemy, to which those only were cited who were his declared foes, either in actual revolt, or who, like the English prelates, had lavished their wealth to enable the Pope to carry on the war. “The Council was convened not for peace but for war”. Nor had the summons been confined to hostile ecclesiastics. His temporal enemies, the Counts of Provence and St. Bonifazio, the Marquis of Este, the Doge of Venice, Alberic di Romano, Paul Traversaria, the Milanese, were invited to join this unhallowed assembly. So soon as the Pope would abandon the heretical Milanese, reconciliation might at once take place; he was prepared to deliver his son Conrad as hostage for the conclusion of such peace. He called on the Cardinals to stand forth; they were bound by their duty to the Pope, but not to be the slaves of his passion. He appealed to their pride, for the Pope, not content with their counsel, had summoned prelates from all, even the remotest parts of the world, to sit in judgment on affairs of which they knew nothing. To the Prelates of Europe he issued a more singular warning. All coasts, harbours, and ways were beset by his fleet, which covered the seas: From him who Spared not his own son, ye may fear the worst. If ye reach Rome, what perils await you! Intolerable heat, foul water, unwholesome food, a dense atmosphere, flies, scorpions, serpents, and men filthy, revolting, lost to shame, frantic. The whole city is mined beneath, the hollows are full of venomous snakes, which the summer heat quickens to life. And what would the Pope of you? Use you as cloaks for his iniquities, the organ-pipes on which he may play

at will. He seeks but his own advantage, and for that would undermine the freedom of the higher clergy; of all these perils, perils to your revenues, your liberties, your bodies, and your souls, the Emperor, in true kindness, would give you this earnest warning". Many no doubt were deterred by these remonstrances and admonitions. Yet zeal or fear gathered together at Genoa a great concourse of ecclesiastics. The Legate, Cardinal Otho, brought many English prelates; the Cardinal of Palestrina appeared at the head of some of the greatest dignitaries of France; the Cardinal Gregory, of Monte Longo, with some Lombard Bishops, hastened to Genoa, to urge the instant preparation of the fleet, which was to convey the foreign prelates to Rome. Frederick was seized with apprehension at the meeting of the Council. He tried to persuade the prelates to pass by land through the territories occupied by his forces; he offered them safe conduct. The answer was that they could have no faith in one under excommunication. They embarked on board the hostile galleys of Genoa. But Frederick had prepared a powerful fleet in Sicily and Apulia, under the command of his son Enzio. Pisa (May 3, 1241) joined him with all her galleys. The Genoese Admiral, who had the ill-omened name Ubbriaco the Drunkard, was too proud or too negligent to avoid the hostile armament. They met off the island of Meloria; the heavily laden Genoese vessels were worsted after a sharp contest; three galleys were sunk, twenty-two taken, with four thousand Genoese. Some of the prelates perished in the sunken galleys; among the prisoners were three Cardinals, the Archbishops of Rouen, Bordeaux, Audi, and Besançon; the Bishops of Carcassonne, Agde, Nimes, Tortona, Asti, Pavia, the Abbots of Clairvaux, Citeaux, and Clugny; and the delegates from the Lombard cities, Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Genoa. The vast wealth which the Cardinal Otho had heaped up in England was the prize of the conqueror. The Prelates, already half dead with sea-sickness and fright, no doubt with very narrow accommodation, crowded together in the heat and closeness of the holds of narrow vessels, exposed to the insults of the rude seamen and the lawless Ghibelline soldiery, had to finish their voyage to Naples, where they were treated with greater or less hardship, according as they had provoked the animosity of the Emperor. But all were kept in rigid custody. Letters from Louis of France, almost rising to menace, and afterwards an embassy, at the head of which was the Abbot of Clugny (who himself was released before), demanded and obtained at length the liberation of the French prelates; but the cardinals still languished in prison till the death of Gregory.

Faenza and Benevento had withstood the Imperial arms throughout the winter. Faenza had now fallen; the inhabitants had been treated with unwonted clemency by Frederick. Benevento too had fallen. The Papal malediction might seem to have hovered in vain over the head of Frederick; Heaven ratified not the decree of its Vicar on earth. On one side the victorious troops of Frederick, on the other those of John of Colonna, were wasting the Papal dominions; the toils were gathering around the lair of the imprisoned Pope. At that time arrived the terrible tidings of the progress made by the Mongols in Eastern Europe: already the appalling rumours of their conquests in Poland, Moravia, Hungary, had reached Italy. The Papal party were loud in their wonder that the Emperor did not at once break off his war against the Pope, and hasten to the relief of Christendom. So blind was their animosity that he was actually accused of secret dealings with the Mongols; the wicked Emperor had brought the desolating hordes of

Gengis-Khan upon Christian Europe. But Frederick would not abandon what now appeared a certain and immediate triumph.

Even this awful news seemed as unheard in the camp of the Emperor, and in the city where the unsubdued Pope, disdaining any offer of capitulation, defied the terrors of capture and of imprisonment; he was near one hundred years old, but his dauntless spirit dictated these words: “Permit not yourselves, ye faithful, to be cast down by the unfavourable appearances of the present moment; be neither depressed by calamity nor elated by prosperity. The bark of Peter is for a time tossed by tempests and dashed against breaker; but soon it emerges unexpectedly from the foaming billows, and sails in uninjured majesty over the glassy surface”. The Emperor was at Fano, at Narni, at Reate, at Tivoli; Palestrina submitted to John of Colonna. Even then the Pope named Matteo Rosso Senator of Rome in place of the traitor Colonna. Matteo Rosso made a sally from Rome, and threw a garrison into Lagosta. The fires of the marauders might be seen from the walls of Rome; the castle of Monteforte, built by Gregory from the contributions of the Crusaders and of his own kindred, as a stronghold in which the person of the Pope might be secure from danger, fell into the hands of the conqueror; but still no sign of surrender; still nothing but harsh defiance. The Pope was released by death from this degradation. His death has been attributed to vexation; but extreme age, with the hot and unwholesome air of Rome in August, might well break the stubborn frame of Gregory at that advanced time of life. Frederick, in a circular letter addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, informed them of the event. “The Pope Gregory IX is taken away from this world, and has escaped the vengeance of the Emperor, of whom he was the implacable enemy. He is dead, through whom peace was banished from the earth, and discord prospered. For his death, though so deeply injured and implacably persecuted, we feel compassion; that compassion had been more profound if he had lived to establish peace between the Empire and the Papacy. God, we trust, will raise up a Pope of more pacific temper; whom we are prepared to defend as a devout son, if he follow not the fatal crime and animosity of his predecessor. In these times we more earnestly desire peace, when the Catholic Church and the Empire are alike threatened by the invasion of the Tartars; against their pride it becomes us, the monarchs of Europe, to take up arms”. Frederick acted up to this great part of delivering Christendom from the yoke of these terrible savages. Immediately on the death of Gregory he detached King Enzio with four thousand knights, to aid the army of his son Conrad, King of the Romans. The Mongols were totally defeated near the Delphos, a stream which flows into the Danube; to the house of Hohenstaufen Europe and civilization and Christendom owed this great deliverance.

CELESTINE IV

5 October 1241 to 10 November 1241

Frederick suspended the progress of his victorious arms in the Roman territory that the Cardinals might proceed to the election of a new Pope. There were but six Cardinals in Rome; Frederick consented to their supplication that the two imprisoned Cardinals, James and Otho, giving hostages for their return to captivity, should join the conclave. There were fierce dissensions among these eight churchmen; five were for Godfrey of Milan, favoured by the Emperor, three for Romanus. One died, not without suspicion of poison; the Cardinal Otho returned to his captivity the Emperor, delighted with his honourable conduct, treated him with respectful lenity. In September, the choice to which the Cardinals were compelled by famine, sickness and violence, fell on Godfrey of Milan, a prelate of gentle character and profound learning; in October Celestine IV was dead. The few remaining cardinals left Rome and fled to Anagni.

INNOCENT IV

A.D. 1243-1254

For nearly two years the Papal throne was vacant. The King of England remonstrated with the Emperor, on whom all seemed disposed to throw the blame; the ambassadors returned to England, if not convinced of the injustice, abashed by the lofty tone of Frederick. The King of France sent a more singular menace. He signified his determination, by some right which he asserted to belong to the Church of France, through St. Denys, himself to proceed to the election of a Pope. Frederick became convinced of the necessity of such election; none but a Pope could repeal the excommunication of a Pope. In addresses, which rose above each other in vehemence, he reproached the cardinals for their dissensions. “Sons of Belial! animals without heads! sons of Ephraim who basely turned back in the day of battle! Not Jesus Christ the author of Peace, but Satan the Prince of the North, sits in the midst of their conclave, inflaming their discords, their mutual jealousies. The smallest creatures might read them a salutary lesson; birds fly not without a leader; bees live not without a King. They abandon the bark of the Church to the waves, without a pilot”. In the meantime (July, 1242) he used more effective arguments; he advanced on Rome, seized and ravaged the estates, even the churches, belonging to the Cardinals. At length they met at Anagni, and in an evil hour for Frederick the turbulent conclave closed its labours. The choice fell on a cardinal (June, 1243) once connected with the interests, and supposed to be attached to the person of Frederick, Sinibald Fiesco, of the Genoese house of Lavagna. He took the name of Innocent IV, an omen and a menace that he would tread in the footsteps of Innocent III. Frederick was congratulated on the accession of his declared partisan; he answered coldly, and in a prophetic spirit: “In the Cardinal I have lost my best friend; in the Pope I shall find my worst enemy. No Pope can be a Ghibelline”.

Yet Frederick received the tidings of the accession of Innocent IV with all outward appearance of joy. He was at Amalfi; he ordered Te Deum to be sung in all the churches; he despatched the highest persons of his realm, the Archbishop of Palermo, the Chancellor June 26. Peter de Vinea, Thaddeus of Suessa, and the Admiral Ansaldo, to bear his congratulations to the Pope. “An ancient friend of the noble sons of the Empire, you are raised into a Father, by whom the Empire may hope that her earnest prayers for peace and justice may be fulfilled”.

Innocent could not reject these pacific overtures; he sent as his ambassadors to Frederick at Amalfi, the Archbishop of Rouen, William formerly Bishop of Modena, and the Abbot of St. Facundus. They were to demand first the release of all the captive prelates and ecclesiastics; to inquire what satisfaction the Emperor was disposed to offer for the crimes, on account of which he lay under excommunication; if the Church (this

could scarcely be thought) had done him any wrong, she was prepared to redress such wrong; they were to propose a General Council of temporal and spiritual persons, Kings, Princes, and Prelates. All the adherents of the Church were to be included in the peace. Frederick demanded the withdrawal of the Papal Legate, Gregory di Monte Longo, from Lombardy; he demanded the release of Salinguerra, the Lord of Ferrara; he complained that honor was shown to the Archbishop of Mayence, who was under the ban of the Empire (he had been appointed Papal Legate in Germany); that the Pope took no steps to suppress heresy among the Lombards; that the Imperial ambassadors were not admitted to the presence of the Pope. It was answered by Innocent, that the Pope had full right to send his Legates into every part of Christendom; Salinguerra was the prisoner of the Venetians, not of the Pope; the Archbishop of Mayence was a prelate of the highest character, one whom the Pope delighted to honour; the war waged by the Emperor prevented the Church from extirpating the Lombard heretics; it was not the usage of Rome to admit persons under excommunication to the holy presence of the Pope.

Frederick might seem now at the summit of his power and glory: his fame was untarnished by any humiliating discomfiture; Italy unable to cope with his victorious armies; the Milanese had suffered a severe check in the territory of Pavia; King Enzio had displayed his great military talents with success; the Papal territories were either in his occupation, or with Rome itself were seemingly capable of no vigorous resistance; his hereditary dominions were attached to him by affection, the Empire by respect and awe. He might think that he had full right to demand, full power to enforce, in the first place, the repeal of his excommunication. But the star of the Hohenstaufen had reached its height; it began to decline, to darken; its fall was almost as rapid and precipitate as its rise had been slow and stately.

The first inauspicious sign was the defection of Viterbo. The Cardinal Rainier, at the head of the Guelfic party, drove Frederick's garrison into the citadel, destroyed the houses of the Ghibellines, and gathered all the troops which he could to defend the city. Frederick was so enraged at this revolt, that he declared, if he had one foot in Paradise, he would turn back to avenge himself on the treacherous Viterbans. He immediately, unwarned by perpetual failures, formed the siege. The defence was stubborn, obstinate, successful; his engines were burned, he was compelled to retire, stipulating only for the safe retreat of his garrison from the citadel. Notwithstanding the efforts of Cardinal Otho of Palestrina, who had guaranteed the treaty, the garrison was assailed, plundered, massacred. To the remonstrance of Frederick, the Pope, who was still under a kind of truce with the Emperor, coldly answered, that he ought not to be surprised if a city returned to its allegiance to its rightful Lord. The fatal example of the revolt of Viterbo spread in many quarters: the Marquises of Montferrat and Malespina, the cities of Vercelli and Alexandria deserted the Imperial party. Even Adelasia, the wife of King Enzio, sought to be reconciled with the Holy See. Innocent himself ventured to leave Anagni, and to enter Rome : the Imperialists were awed at his presence; his reception, as usual, especially with newly crowned Popes, was tumultuously joyful. The only sullen murmurs, which soon after almost broke out into open discontent, were among the wealthy, it was said mostly the Jews, who demanded the payment of 40,000 marks,

borrowed in his distress by Gregory IX. Innocent had authority enough to wrest from the Frangipanis half of the Colosseum, and parts of the adjacent palace, where they no doubt hoped to raise a strong fortress in the Imperial interest.

The Emperor again inclined to peace, at least to negotiations for peace. The Count of Toulouse, the Chancellor Peter de Vinea,

Thaddeus of Suessa, appeared in Rome with full powers to conclude, and even to swear and guarantee the fulfilment of a treaty. (March 31, 1244). The terms were hard and humiliating; the Emperor was to restore all the lands possessed by the Pope and the Pope's adherents at the time of the excommunication; the Emperor was to proclaim to all the sovereigns of Christendom that he had not scorned the Papal censure out of contempt for the Pope's predecessor, or the rights of the Church; but, by the advice of the prelates and nobles of Germany and Italy, treated it as not uttered, since it had not been formally served upon him; he owned his error on this point, and acknowledged the plenitude of the Papal authority in spiritual matters. For this offence he was to make such compensation in men or money as the Pope might require; offer such alms and observe such fasts as the Pope should appoint; and respect the excommunication until absolved by the Pope's command. He was to release all the captive Prelates, and compensate them for their losses. These losses and all other damages were to be left to the estimation of three Cardinals. Full amnesty was to be granted, the imperial ban revoked against all who had adhered to the Church since the excommunication. This was to be applied, as far as such offences, to all who were in a state of rebellion against the Emperor. The differences between the Emperor and his revolted subjects were to be settled by the Pope and the College of Cardinals within a limited time to be fixed by the Pope But there was a saving clause, which appeared to extend over the whole treaty, of the full undiminished rights of the Empire. The Emperor was to be released from the excommunication by a public decree of the Church. To these and the other articles the imperial ambassadors swore in the presence of the Emperor Baldwin of Constantinople, the Cardinals, the Senators, and people of Rome. The Emperor did not disclaim the terms proposed by his ambassadors; but in the treaty there were some fatal flaws, which parties each so mistrustful, and justly mistrustful of the other, could not but discern, and which rendered the fulfilment of the treaty almost impossible. Was the Emperor to abandon all his advantages, to release all his prisoners (one of the stipulations), surrender all the fortresses he held in the Papal dominions, grant amnesty to all rebels, fulfil in short all these hard conditions at once, and so leave himself at the mercy of the Pope: then and not till then, not till the Pope had exacted the scrupulous discharge of every article, was he to receive his tardy absolution? Nor was the affair of the Lombards clearly defined. Innocent (perhaps the Emperor knew this) had from the first declared that he would not abandon their cause. Was the Emperor to be humiliated before the Lombards as he had been before the Pope, first to make every concession, with the remote hope of regaining his imperial rights by the Papal arbitration? According to the Papal account, Frederick began to shrink back from the treaty to which he had sworn; the Pope was fully prepared on his part for the last extremity. He left Rome, where his motions had perhaps been watched; he advanced to Civita Castellana under the pretext of approaching the Emperor. The bickerings, however, still continued; the Emperor

complained that all the secret terms agreed on with the Pope were publicly sold for six pennies in the Lateran; the Pope demanded 400,000 marks as satisfaction for the imprisonment of the Prelates. The Lombard affairs were still in dispute. The Pope having seemingly made some slight concession, proceeded still further to Sutri. There at midnight he suddenly rose, stole out of the town in disguise, mounted a powerful horse, like the proud Sinibald the Genoese noble he pressed its reeking flanks, so as to escape a troop of 300 cavalry which the Emperor, to whom perhaps his design had been betrayed, sent to intercept him, out-rode all his followers, and reached Civita Vecchia, where the Genoese fleet of twenty-three well-armed galleys, winch had been long prepared for his flight (so little did Innocent calculate on a lasting treaty), was in the roads. He was in an instant on board one of the galleys. The next morning, before the anchor was weighed, arrived five cardinals, who had been outstripped by the more active Pope. Seven others made their way to the north of Italy. The Pope's galleys set sail, a terrible storm came on, which threatened to cast them on an island which belonged to Pisa. After seven days they entered the haven of Genoa. The Genoese had heard of the arrival of their illustrious fellow-citizen at Porto Venere. They received him with a grand procession of the nobles with the Podesta, the clergy with the Archbishop at their head. The bells clanged, music played, the priests chanted “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord”. The Pope’s followers replied, “Our soul is escaped, even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken, and we are delivered”.

The Emperor was furious at this intelligence; he too had his scriptural phrase — “The wicked flees when no man pursueth”. He complained bitterly of the negligent watch kept up by his armies and his fleets. He sent the Count of Toulouse to invite, to press the Pope to return, and to promise the fulfilment of all the conditions of the truce. Innocent replied that after such flagrant violations of faith, he would not expose himself or the Church to the imminent perils escaped with such difficulty. Frederick, in an address to Mantua, denounced the flight of the Pope as a faithless revolt to the insurgents against the Empire, as though he supposed that Innocent at Genoa, where he remained three months, would place himself at the head of his Lombard League.

But he was not safe in Genoa. The Emperor was in Pisa. Through the revolted cities of Asti and Alexandria, by secret ways Innocent crossed the Alps, and on the 2d of December arrived at Lyons.

The Pope at Lyons became an independent potentate. Lyons was not yet within the realm of France, though to a certain degree under her protection. It belonged in name to the Roman Empire; but it was almost a free city, owning no authority but that of the Archbishop. It was proud to become the residence of the Supreme Pontiff.

His reception in France was somewhat more cool than his hopes might have anticipated from the renowned piety of Queen Blanche and her son Saint Louis. The King with his mother visited the monastery of Citeaux; as they approached the church they were met by a long procession of five hundred monks from the convent of that saintly Order, entreating the King with tears and groans to aid the Holy Father of the Faithful against that son of Satan his persecutor, as his ancestor Louis VII had received Pope Alexander. The first emotion of the King was to kneel in the profoundest reverence. But his more deliberate reply was, that he was prepared to protect the Pope

against the Emperor so far as might seem fit to the nobles, his counsellors. The counsellors of Louis refused at once to grant permission that so dangerous and costly a guest should take up his resilience in Rheims. The King of Arragon repelled the advances of the Pope. We shall hereafter see the conduct of Henry and the Barons of England. Innocent remained at Lyons; though thus partially baffled, he lost no time in striking at his foe. He summoned all kings, princes, and prelates to a Council on St. John the Baptist's day (Dec. 27, 1244), upon the weighty affairs of Christendom; he cited Frederick to appear in person, or by his representatives, to hear the charges on which he might be arraigned, and to give the satisfaction which might be demanded. In the meantime meditating a still heavier penalty, and without awaiting the decree of the Council, he renewed the excommunication, and commanded it to be published again throughout Christendom. In France, Spain, and England many of the clergy obeyed, but a priest in Paris seems to have created a strong impression on men's wavering minds. "The Emperor and the Pope mutually condemn each other; that one then of the two who is guilty I excommunicate, that one who is guiltless I absolve". But even in Lyons the haughty demeanour, the immoderate pretensions, and the insatiable rapacity of Innocent IV almost endangered his safety; it is the greatest proof of the deep-rooted strength of the Papal power, that with a sullen discontent throughout Christendom, with a stern impatience of the intolerable burdens imposed on the Church as well as on the laity, with open menaces of revolt, it still proceeded and successfully proceeded to the most enormous act of authority, the deposition of the Emperor in what claimed to be a full Council of the Church.

In the short period, since the Pontificate of Innocent III, a great but silent change had taken place in the Papacy. Innocent III was a mighty feudal monarch at the head of a loyal spiritual aristocracy: the whole clergy rose, with their head, in power; they took pride in the exaltation of the Pope; the Pope not merely respected but elevated the dignity of the bishops and abbots; each in his sphere displayed his pomp, exercised his power, enjoyed his wealth, and willingly laid his unforced, unextorted benevolences at the foot of the Papal throne. But already the Pope had begun to be —Innocent IV aspired fully to become— an absolute monarch with an immense standing army, which enabled him to depress, to humiliate, to tax at his pleasure the higher feudatories of the spiritual realm; that standing army was the two new Orders, not more servilely attached to the Pope than encroaching on the privileges as well as on the duties of the clergy. The elevation of an Italian noble to the Papacy already gave signs of that growing nepotism which at last sunk the Head of Christendom in the Italian sovereign. Throughout the contest Pope Innocent blended with the inflexible haughtiness of the Churchman the inexorable passionate hatred of a Guelfic Burgher towards a rival Ghibelline, the hereditary foe of his house, that of the Sinibaldi of Genoa. There had been rumours at least that Gregory IX resented the scornful rejection of his niece as a fit bride for a natural son of the Emperor. It was now declared that Frederick had offered to wed his son Conrad to a niece of Sinibald Fiesco, the Pope Innocent IV. That scheme of Papal ambition was afterwards renewed. Among the English clergy the encroachments of the Pope, especially in two ways, the direct taxation and usurpation of benefices for strangers, had kindled such violent resentment, alike among the Barons and the Prelates,

as almost to threaten that the realm would altogether throw off the Papal yoke. It was tauntingly said that England was the Pope's farm. At this time the collector of the Papal revenues, Master Martin, was driven ignominiously, and in peril of his life, from the shores of the kingdom. Martin had taken up his residence in the house of the Templars in London. Fulk Fitzwarenne suddenly appeared before him, and, with a stern look, said:

"Arise — get thee forth! Depart at once from England!"

"In whose name speakest thou?"

"In the name of the Barons of England assembled at Luton and at Dunstable. If you are not gone in three days, you and yours will be cut in pieces".

Martin sought the King: "Is this done by your command, or by the insolence of your subjects?"

"It is not by my command; but my Barons will no longer endure your depredations and iniquities. They will rise in insurrection, and I have no power to save you from being torn in pieces".

The trembling priest implored a safe-conduct. "The devil take thee away to hell", said the indignant King, ashamed of his own impotence. One of the King's officers with difficulty conveyed Martin to the coast; but he left others behind to insist on the Papal demands. Yet so great was the terror, that many of the Italians, who had been forced (this was the second grievance) into the richest benefices of England, were glad to conceal themselves from the popular fury. The Pope, it is said, gnashed his teeth at the report from Martin of his insulting expulsion from England. Innocent, once beyond the Alps, had expected a welcome reception from all the great monarchs except his deadly foe. But to the King of England the Cardinal had made artful suggestions of the honor and benefit which his presence might confer on the realm. "What an immortal glory for your reign, if (unexampled honour!) the Father of Fathers should personally appear in England! He has often said that it would give him great pleasure to see the pleasant city of Westminster, and wealthy London". The King's Council, if not the King, returned the ungracious answer, "We have already suffered too much from the usuries and simonies of Rome; we do not want the Pope to pillage us". More than this, Innocent must listen in patience, with suppressed indignation, to the grievances against which the Nobles and whole realm of England solemnly protested by their proctors: the subsidies exacted beyond the Peter's-pence, granted by the generosity of England; the usurpation of benefices by Italians, of whom there was an infinite number; the insolence and rapacity of the Nuncio Martin.

The King of France, as has been seen, and the King of Arragon courteously declined this costly and dangerous visit of the fugitive Pope. The Pope, it was reported, was deeply offended at this stately and cautious reserve; on this occasion he betrayed the violence of his temper: "We must first crush or pacify the great dragon, and then we shall easily trample these small basilisks under foot". Such at least were the rumours spread abroad, and believed by all who were disposed to assert the dignity of the temporal power, or who groaned under the heavy burdens of the Church. Even Lyons had become, through the Pope's ill-timed favouritism, hardly a safe refuge. He had endeavoured to force some of his Italian followers into the Chapter of Lyons, the

Canons swore in the face of the Pope that if they appeared, neither the Archbishop nor the Canons themselves could prevent their being cast into the Rhone. Some indeed of the French prelates and abbots (their enemies accused them of seeking preferment and promotion by their adulatory homage) hastened to show their devout attachment to the Pope, their sympathy for his perils and sufferings, and their compassion for the destitution of which he loudly complained. The Prior of Clugny astonished even the Pope's followers by the amount of his gifts in money. Besides these he gave eighty palfreys splendidly caparisoned to the Pope, one to each of the twelve Cardinals. The Pope appointed the Abbot to the office, no doubt not thought unseemly, of his Master of the Horse: he received soon after the more appropriate reward, the Bishopric of Langres. The Cistercian Abbot would not be outdone by his rival of Clugny. The Archbishop of Rouen for the same purpose loaded his see with debts: he became Cardinal Bishop of Albano. The Abbot of St. Denys, who aspired to and attained the vacant Archbishopric, extorted many thousand livres from his see, which he presented to the Pope. But the King of France, the special patron of the church of St. Denys, forced the Abbot to regorge his exactions, and to beg them in other quarters. Yet with all these forced benevolences and lavish offerings it was bruited abroad that the Church of Rome had a capital debt, not including interest, of 150,000*l.*

The Council met at Lyons, in the convent of St. Just, on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. Around the Pope appeared his twelve Cardinals, two Patriarchs, the Latin of Constantinople, who claimed likewise to be Patriarch of Antioch, and declared that the heretical Greeks had reduced by their conquests his suffragans from thirty to three, and the Patriarch of Aquileia, who represented the church of Venice; the Emperor of Constantinople, the Count of Toulouse, Roger Bigod and other ambassadors of England who had their own object at the Council, the redress of their grievances from Papal exactions, and the canonization of Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury. Only one hundred and forty prelates represented the whole of Christendom, of whom but very few were Germans. The Council and the person of the Pope were under the protection of Philip of Savoy at the head of a strong body of men-at-arms, of Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital. Philip, brother of the Count of Savoy, was in his character a chief of Condottieri, in his profession an ecclesiastic; he enjoyed vast riches from spiritual benefices, was high in the confidence of the Pope. Aymeri Archbishop of Lyons, a pious and gentle prelate, beheld with deep sorrow the Pope as it were trampling upon him in his own diocese, despoiling his see, as he was laying intolerable burdens on the whole church of Christ. He resigned his see and retired into a convent. Philip of Savoy, yet but in deacon's orders, was advanced to the metropolitan dignity; he was at once Archbishop of Lyons, Bishop of Valence, Provost of Bruges, Dean of Vienne. Of these benefices he drained with remorseless rapacity all the rich revenues, and remained at the head of the Papal forces. And this was the act of a Pope who convulsed the world with his assertion of ecclesiastical immunities, of the sacrilegious intrusion of secular princes into the affairs of the Church. During four pontificates Philip of Savoy enjoyed the title, and spent the revenues of the Archbishopric of Lyons. At length Clement IV insisted on his ordination and on his consecration. Philip of Savoy threw off, under this compulsion, the dress (he had never even pretended to the

decencies) of a bishop, married first the heiress of Franche Comté, and afterwards a niece of Pope Innocent IV, and died Duke of Savoy. And the brother of Philip and of Amadeus Duke of Savoy, Boniface, was Primate of England.

This then was the Council which was to depose the Emperor, and award the Empire. Even before the opening of the Council the intrepid, learned, and eloquent jurisconsult Thaddeus of Suessa, the principal proctor of the Emperor, advanced and made great offers in the name of his master : to compel the Eastern Empire to enter into the unity of the Church : to raise a vast army and to take the field m person against the Tartars, the Charismians, and the Saracens, the foes which threatened the life of Christendom; at his own cost, and in his own person, to re-establish the kingdom of Jerusalem; to restore all her territories to the See of Rome; to give satisfaction for all injuries.

“Fine words and specious promises!” replied the Pope. “The axe is at the root of the tree, and he would avert it. If we were weak enough to believe this deceiver, who would guarantee his truth?” “The Kings of France and England”, answered Thaddeus. “And if he violated the treaty, as he assuredly would, we should have instead of one, the three greatest monarchs of Christendom for our enemies”.

At the next session the Pope in full attire mounted the pulpit; this was his text: “See, ye who pass this way, was ever sorrow like unto my sorrow”. He compared his five afflictions to the five wounds of the Lord: the desolations of the Mongols; the revolt of the Greek Church; the progress of heresy, especially that of the Paterins in Lombardy; the capture and destruction of Jerusalem and the devastation of the Holy Land by the Charismians; the persecutions of the Emperor. He wept himself; the tears of others interrupted his discourse. On this last head he enlarged with bitter eloquence; he accused the Emperor of heresy and sacrilege, of having built a great and strong city and peopled it with Saracens, of joining in their superstitious rites; of his close alliance with the Sultan of Egypt; of his voluptuous life, and shameless intercourse with Saracen courtesans; of his unnumbered perjuries, his violation of treaties : he produced a vast number of letters, sealed with the imperial seal, as irrefragable proofs of these perjuries.

Thaddeus of Suessa rose with calm dauntlessness. He too had letters with the Papal seal, damning proofs of the Pope's insincerity. The assembly professed to examine these conflicting documents; they came to the singular conclusion that all the Pope's letters, and all his offers of peace were conditional; those of the Emperor all absolute. But Thaddeus was not to be overawed; he alleged the clashing and contradictory letters of the Pope which justified his master in not observing his promises. On no point did the bold advocate hesitate to defend his sovereign; he ventured to make reprisals. “My lord and master is arraigned of heresy; for this no one can answer but himself; he must be present to declare his creed: who shall presume to read the secrets of his heart? But there is one strong argument that he is not guilty of heresy (he fixed his eyes on the prelates); he endures no usurer in his dominions”. The audience knew his meaning—that was the heresy with which the whole world charged the Court of Rome. The orator justified the treaties of the Emperor with the Saracens as entered into for the good of Christendom; he denied all criminal intercourse with Saracen women; he had permitted them in his presence as jongleurs and dancers, but on

account of the offence taken against them he had banished them forever from his court. Thaddeus ended by demanding delay, that the Emperor his master might appear in person before the Council. The Pope shrunk from this proposal: “I have hardly escaped his snares. If he comes hither I must withdraw. I have no desire for martyrdom or for captivity”. But the ambassadors of France and England insisted on the justice of the demand; Innocent was forced to consent to an adjournment of fourteen days. The Pontiff was relieved of his fears. Frederick had advanced as far as Turin. But the hostile character of the assembly would not allow of his appearance. "I see that the Pope has sworn my ruin; he would revenge himself for my victory over his relatives, the pirates of Genoa. It becomes not the Emperor to appear before an assembly constituted of such persons". On the next meeting this determination encouraged the foes of Frederick. New accusers arose to multiply charges against the absent sovereign: many voices broke out against the contumacious rebel against the Church. But Thaddeus, though almost alone, having stood unabashed before the Pope, was not to be silenced by this clamour of accusations. The Bishop of Catana was among the loudest; he charged Frederick with treason against the Church for his imprisonment of the Prelates, and with other heinous crimes. “I can no longer keep silence”, broke in Thaddeus, “thou son of a traitor, who was convicted and hanged by the justiciary of my Lord, thou art but following the example of thy father”. Thaddeus took up the desperate defence, before such an assembly, of the seizure of the Prelates. The Pope again mingled in the fray; but Thaddeus assumed a lofty tone.

“God delivered them into the hands of my master; God took away the strength of the rebels, and showed by this abandonment that their imprisonment was just”.

“If”, replied the Pope, “the Emperor had not mistrusted his own cause, he would not have declined the judgment of such holy and righteous men: he was condemned by his own guilty conscience”.

“What could my lord hope from a council in which presided his capital enemy, the Pope Gregory IX, or from judges who even in their prison breathed nothing but menace?”

“If one has broken out into violence, all should not have been treated with this indignity. Nothing remains but ignominiously to depose a man laden with such manifold offences”

Thaddeus felt that he was losing ground; at the third sitting he had heard that the daughter of the Duke of Austria, whom Frederick proposed to take as his fourth wife (the sister of the King of England had died in childbed), had haughtily refused the hand of an Emperor tainted with excommunication, and in danger of being deposed. The impatient Assembly would hardly hear again this perilous adversary; he entered therefore a solemn appeal: “I appeal from this Council, from which are absent so many great prelates and secular sovereigns, to a general and impartial Council. I appeal from this Pope, the declared enemy of my Lord, to a future, more gentle, more Christian Pope”. This appeal the Pope haughtily overruled: “it was fear of the treachery and the cruelty of the Emperor which had kept some prelates away: it was not for him to take advantage of the consequences of his own guilt”. The proceedings were interrupted by a

long and bitter remonstrance of England against the Papal exactions. The Pope adjourned this question as requiring grave and mature consideration.

With no further deliberation, without further investigation, with no vote, apparently with no participation of the Council, the Pope proceeded at great length, and rehearsing in the darkest terms all the crimes at any time charged against Frederick, to pronounce his solemn, irrefragable decree: “The sentence of God must precede our sentence : we declare Frederick excommunicated of God, and deposed from all the dignity of Empire, and from the kingdom of Naples. We add our own sentence to that of God : we excommunicate Frederick, and depose him from all the dignity of the Empire, and from the kingdom of Naples”. The Emperor’s subjects in both realms were declared absolved from all their oaths and allegiance. All who should aid or abet him were by the act itself involved in the same sentence of excommunication. The Princes of Germany were ordered to proceed at once to the election of a new Emperor. The kingdom of Naples was reserved to be disposed of, as might seem to them most fit, by the Pope and the Cardinals.

The Council at this sentence, at least the greater part, sat panic-stricken; the imperial ambassadors uttered loud groans, beat their heads and their breasts in sorrow. Thaddeus cried aloud, “Oh, day of wrath, of tribulation, and of agony! Now will the heretics rejoice, the Charismians prevail; the foul Mongols pursue their ravages. I have done my part”, said the Pope, “God must do the rest”. He began the hymn, “We glorify thee, O God!” His partisans lifted up their voices with him; the hymn ended, there was profound silence. Innocent and the prelates turned down their blazing torches to the ground till they smouldered and went out. “So be the glory and the fortune of the Emperor extinguished upon earth”.

Frederick received at Turin the report of his dethronement; he was seated in the midst of a splendid court. “The Pope has deprived me of my crown? Whence this presumption, this audacity? Bring hither my treasure chests”. He opened them. “Not one of my crowns but is here”. He took out one, placed it on his own head, and with a terrible voice, menacing gesture, and heart bursting with wrath, exclaimed, “I hold my crown of God alone; neither the Pope, the Council, nor the devil shall rend it from me! What! shall the pride of a man of low birth degrade the Emperor, who has no superior nor equal on earth? I am now released from all respect; no longer need I keep any measure with this man”.

Frederick addressed his justification to all the kings and princes of Christendom, to his own chief officers and justiciaries. He called on all temporal princes to make common cause against this common enemy of the temporal power. “What might not all Kings fear from the presumption of a Pope like Innocent IV?” He inveighed against the injustice of the Pope in all the proceedings of the Council. The Pope was accuser, witness, and judge. He denounced crimes as notorious which the Emperor utterly denied. “How long has the word of an Emperor been so despicable as not to be heard against that of a priest?” “Among the Pope’s few witnesses one had his father, son and nephew convicted of high treason. Of the others, some came from Spain to bear witness on the affairs of Italy. The utter falsehood of all the charges was proved by irrefragable documents. But were they all true, how will they justify the monstrous absurdity, that

the Emperor, in whom dwells the supreme majesty, can be adjudged guilty of high treason? that he who as the source of law is above all law, should be subject to law? To condemn him to temporal penalties who has but one superior in temporal things, God! We submit ourselves to spiritual penances, not only to the Pope, but to the humblest priest; but, alas! how unlike the clergy of our day to those of the primitive church, who led Apostolic lives, imitating the humility of the Lord! Then were they visited of angels, then shone around by miracles, then did they heal the sick and raise the dead, and subdue princes by their holiness not by arms! Now they are abandoned to this world, and to drunkenness; their religion is choked by their riches. It were a work of charity to relieve them from this noxious wealth; it is the interest of all princes to deprive them of these vain superfluities, to compel them to salutary poverty".

The former arguments were addressed to the pride of France; the latter to England, which had so long groaned under the rapacity of the clergy. But it was a fatal error not to dissever the cause of the Pope from that of the clergy. To all the Emperor declared his steadfast determination to resist with unyielding firmness: "Before this generation and the generations to come I will have the glory of resisting this tyranny; let others who shrink from my support have the disgrace as well as the galling burden of slavery". The humiliation of Pope Innocent might have been endured even by the most devout sons of the Church; his haughtiness and obstinacy had almost alienated the pious Louis; his rapacity forced the timid Henry of England to resistance. Perhaps the Papacy itself might have been assailed without a general outburst of indignation; but a war against the clergy, a war of sacrilegious spoliation, a war which avowed the necessity, the expediency of reducing them to Apostolic simplicity and Apostolic poverty, was in itself the heresy of heresies. To exasperate this indignation to the utmost, every instance of Frederick's severity, doubtless of his cruelty, to ecclesiastics, was spread abroad with restless activity. He is said to have burned them by a slow fire, drowned them in the sea, dragged them at the tails of horses. No doubt in Apulia and Sicily Frederick kept no terms with the rebellious priests and friars who were preaching the Crusade against him; urging upon his subjects that it was their right, their duty to withdraw their allegiance. But under all circumstances the violation of the hallowed person of a priest was sacrilege: while they denounced him as a Pharaoh, a Herod, a Nero, it was an outrage against law, against religion, against God, to do violence to a hair of their heads. And all these rumours, true or untrue, in their terrible simplicity, or in the gathered blackness of rumour, propagated by hostile tongues, confirmed the notion that Frederick contemplated a revolution, a new era, which by degrading the Clergy would destroy the Church.

The Pope kept not silence; he was not the man who would not profit to the utmost by this error. He replied to the Imperial manifesto: "When the sick man who has scorned milder remedies is subjected to the knife and the cautery, he complains of the cruelty of the physician; when the evil doer, who has despised all warning, is at length punished, he arraigns his judge. But the physician only looks to the welfare of the sick man, the judge regards the crime, not the person of the criminal. The Emperor doubts and denies that all things and all men are subject to the See of Rome. As if we who are to judge angels are not to give sentence on all earthly things. In the Old Testament

priests dethroned unworthy kings; how much more is the Vicar of Christ justified in proceeding against him who, expelled from the Church as a heretic, is already the portion of hell! Ignorant persons aver that Constantine first gave temporal power to the See of Rome; it was already bestowed by Christ himself, the true king and priest, as inalienable from its nature and absolutely unconditional. Christ founded not only a pontifical but a royal sovereignty, and committed to Peter the rule both of an earthly and a heavenly kingdom, as is indicated and visibly proved by the plurality of the keys. 'The power of the sword is in the Church and derived from the Church'; she gives it to the Emperor at his coronation, that he may use it lawfully and in her defence; she has the right to say, 'Put up thy sword into its sheath'. He strives to awaken the jealousy of other temporal kings, as if the relation of their kingdoms to the Pope were the same as those of the electoral kingdom of Germany and the kingdom of Naples. The latter is a Papal fief; the former inseparable from the Empire, which the Pope transferred as a fief from the East to the West. To the Pope belongs the coronation of the Emperor, who is thereby bound by the consent of ancient and modern times to allegiance and subjection".

War was declared, and neither the Emperor nor the Pope now attempted to disguise their mutual immitigable hatred. Everywhere the Pope called on the subjects of the Emperor to revolt from their deposed and excommunicated monarch. He assumed the power of dispensing with all treaties; he cancelled that of the city of Treviso with the Emperor as extorted by force; thus almost compelling a war of extermination; for treaties with a conqueror were thus to be cast aside, what opening remained for mercy? In a long and solemn address, he called on the bishops, barons, cities, people of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to throw off the yoke under which they had so long groaned of the tyrant Frederick. Two Cardinals, Rainier Capoccio and Stephen di Romanis, had full powers to raise troops, and to pursue any hostile measures against the King. The Crusade was publicly preached throughout Italy against the enemy of the Church. The Emperor on his side levied a third from the clergy to relieve them from the tyranny of the Pope. He issued inflexible orders that every clerk or religious person who, in obedience to the command of the Pope or his Legate, should cease to celebrate mass or any other religious function, should be expelled at once from his place and from his city, and despoiled of all his goods, whether his own or those of the Church. He promised his protection and many advantages to all who should adhere to his party; he declared that he would make no peace with the Pope till all those ecclesiastics who might be deposed for his cause should be put in full possession of their orders, their rank, and their benefices. The Mendicant Friars, as they would keep no terms of peace with Frederick, could expect no terms from him; they were seized and driven beyond the borders. The summons of the Pope to the barons of the realm of Sicily to revolt found some few hearers. A dark conspiracy was formed in which were engaged Pandolph of Fasanella, Frederick's vicar in Tuscany, Jacob Morra of the family of the great justiciary, Andrew of Ayala, the Counts San Severino, Theobald Francisco, and other Apulian barons. It was a conspiracy not only against the realm, but against the life of Frederick. On its detection Pandolph of Fasanella and De Morra, the leaders of the plot, fled to, and were received by, the Pope's Legate. The Cardinal Rainier, Theobald

and San Severino seized the castles of Capoccio and of Scala, and stood on their defence. The loyal subjects of Frederick instantly reduced Scala; Capoccio with the rebels fell soon after. Frederick arraigned the Pope before the world, he declared him guilty on the full and voluntary avowal of the rebels, as having given his direct sanction not only to the revolt, but to the murder of the Emperor. “This they had acknowledged in confession, this in public on the scaffold. They had received the cross from the hands of some Mendicant Friars, they were acting under the express authority of the See of Rome”. Frederick at first proposed to parade the chief criminals with the Papal bull upon their foreheads through all the realms of Christendom as an awful example and a solemn rebuke of the murderous Pope; he found it more prudent to proceed to immediate execution, an execution with all the horrible cruelty of the times; their eyes were struck out, their hands hewn off, their noses slit, they were then broken on the wheel. The Pope denied in strong terms the charge of meditated assassination; on the other hand, he declared to Christendom that three distinct attempts had been designed against his life, in all which Frederick was the acknowledged accomplice. On both sides probably these accusations were groundless. On one part, no doubt, fanatic Guelfs might think themselves called upon even by the bull of excommunication, which was an act of outlawry, to deliver the Church, the Pope, and the world from a monster of perfidy and iniquity such as Frederick was described in the manifestoes of the Pope. Fanatic Ghibellines might in like manner think that they were doing good service, and would meet ample even if secret reward, should they relieve the Emperor from his deadly foe. They might draw a strong distinction between the rebellious subject of the Empire, and the sacred head of Christendom.

The Pope pledged himself solemnly to all who would revolt from Frederick never to abandon them to his wrath, never on any terms to make peace with the perfidious tyrant; “no feigned penitence, no simulated humility shall so deceive us, as that, when he is cast down from the height of his imperial and royal dignity, he should be restored to his throne. His sentence is absolutely irrevocable! his reprobation is the voice of God by his Church; he is condemned and forever! His viper progeny are included under this eternal immitigable proscription. Whoever then loves justice should rejoice that vengeance is thus declared against the common enemy, and wash his hands in the blood of the transgressor”. So wrote the Vicar of Christ!

Frederick took measures to relieve himself from the odious imputation of heresy. The Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishop of Pavia, the Abbots of Monte Casino, Cava, and Casanova, the Friar Preachers Roland and Nicolas, men of high repute, appeared before the Pope at Lyons, (A.D. 1246) and declared themselves ready to attest on oath the orthodox belief of the Emperor. Innocent sternly answered, that they deserved punishment for holding conference with an excommunicated person, still severer penalty for treating him as Emperor. They rejoined in humility, “Receive us then as only representing a Christian”.

The Pope was compelled to appoint a commission of three cardinals. These not only avouched the report of the ambassadors, but averred the Emperor prepared to assert his orthodoxy in the presence of the Pope. Innocent extricated himself with address: he declared the whole proceeding, as unauthorized by himself, hasty, and presumptuous:

“If he shall appear unarmed and with but few attendants before us, we will hear him, if it be according to law, according to law”. Even the religious Louis of France could not move the rigid Pope. In his own crusading enthusiasm, as strong as that of his ancestors in the days of Urban, Louis urged the Pope to make peace with the Emperor, that the united forces of Christendom might make head in Europe and in Palestine against the unbelieving enemies of the Cross. He had a long and secret interview with the Pope in the monastery of Clugny. Innocent declared that he could have no dealings with the perfidious Frederick. Louis retired, disgusted at finding such merciless inflexibility in the Vicar of Christ. But not yet had the spell of the great magician begun to work. The conspiracy in the kingdom of Sicily was crushed; Frederick did not think it wise to invade the territories of Rome, where the Cardinal Rainier kept up an active partisan war. But even Viterbo yielded; the Guelfs were compelled to submit by the people clamouring for bread. Prince Theodore of Antioch entered Florence in triumph. The Milanese had suffered discomfiture; Venice had become more amicable. Innocent had not been wanting in attempts to raise up a rival sovereign in Germany to supplant the deposed Emperor. All the greater princes coldly, almost contemptuously, refused to become the instruments of the Papal vengeance: they resented the presumption of the Pope in dethroning an Emperor of Germany.

The Papal Legate, Philip Bishop of Ferrara, in less troubled times would hardly have wrought powerfully on the minds of Churchmen. He was born of poor parents in Pistoia, and raised himself by extraordinary vigour and versatility of mind. He was a dark, melancholy, utterly unscrupulous man, of stern and cruel temper; a great drinker; even during his orisons he had strong wine standing in cold water by his side. His gloomy temperament may have needed this excitement. But the strength of the Papal cause was Albert von Beham. Up to the accession of Innocent IV, if not to the Council of Lyons, the Archbishops of Salzburg, the Bishops of Freisingen and Ratisbon and Passau, had been the most loyal subjects of Frederick. They had counteracted all the schemes of Albert von Beham, driven him, amid the universal execration for his insolence in excommunicating the highest prelates, and rapacity in his measureless extortions, from Southern Germany. We have heard him bitterly lamenting his poverty. Otho of Bavaria, who when once he embraced the cause of the Hohenstaufen adhered to it with honourable fidelity, had convicted him of gross bribery, and hunted him out of his dominions. Albert now appeared again in all his former activity. He had been ordained priest by the Cardinal Albano; he was nominated Dean of Passau; but the insatiable Albert knew his own value, or rather the price at which the Pope and his cardinals calculated his services : he insisted on receiving back all his other preferments. The Pope and the Cardinals held it as a point of honour to maintain their useful emissary.

Already before the elevation of Innocent, at a meeting at Budweis, a league of Austria, Bohemia, and Bavaria, had proposed the nomination of a new Emperor. Eric King of Denmark had refused it for his son, in words of singular force and dignity. At Budweis Wenceslaus of Bohemia had fallen off to the interests of the Emperor : there were fears among the Papalists, fears speedily realized, of the Imperialism of Otho of Bavaria. A most audacious vision of Poppo, the Provost of Munster, had not succeeded

in appalling Otho into fidelity to the Pope. The Queen of Heaven and the Twelve Apostles sent down from Heaven ivory statues of themselves, which contained oracles confirming all the acts of Albert; writings were shown with the Apostolic seals, containing the celestial decree. Albert had threatened, that if the electors refused, the Pope would name a French or Lombard King or Patrician, without regard to the Germans.

The meeting at Budweis so far had failed; but a dangerous approximation had even then been made between Sifried of Mayence, hitherto loyal to Frederick, who had condemned and denounced the rapacious quaestorship of Albert von Beham, and Conrad of Cologne, a high Papalist. This approximation grew up into an Anti-Imperialist League, strengthened as it was, before long, by the courageous demeanour, the flight, the high position taken by Innocent at Lyons; still more by the unwise denunciations against the whole hierarchy by Frederick in his wrath. Now the three great rebellious temporal princes (Otho of Bavaria, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Austria) are the faithful subjects of Frederick; his loyal prelates, Salzburg, Freisingen, Ratisbon, are his mortal enemies. Not content with embracing the Papal cause, they endeavoured by the most stirring incitements to revenge for doubtful or mendaciously asserted wrongs, by the dread of excommunication, by brilliant promises, to stir up Otho of Bavaria to assume the Imperial crown. Otho replied, “When I was on the side of the Pope you called him Antichrist; you declared him the source of all evil and all guilt: by your counsels I turned to the Emperor, and now you brand him as the most enormous transgressor. What is just today is unjust tomorrow : in scorn of all principle and all truth, you blindly follow your selfish interests. I shall hold to my pledges and my oaths, and not allow myself to be blown about by every changing wind”. Otho of Bavaria persisted in his agreement to wed his daughter with Conrad, son of Frederick. Every argument was used to dissuade him from this connection. Three alternatives were laid before him :

I. To renounce the marriage of his daughter with Conrad, Frederick's son; if so, the Pope will provide a nobler bridegroom, and reconcile him fully with Henry, elected King of the Romans.

II. To let the marriage proceed if Conrad will renounce his father. Albert von Beham was busy in inciting the unnatural revolt of Conrad from his father.

III. The third possibility was the restoration of Frederick to the Pope's favour : he must await this; but in the meantime bear in mind that the victory of the Church is inevitable. The King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Austria, Brabant, and Saxony, the Margraves of Meissen and Brandenburg, repelled with the same contemptuous firmness the tempting offer of the Imperial crown. At last an Emperor was found in Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia. Henry of Thuringia was a man of courage and ability; but his earlier life did not designate him as the champion of Holy Church. He was the brother-in-law of the sainted Elizabeth of Hungary, now the object of the most passionate religious enthusiasm, sanctioned by the Pope himself. To her, in her desolate widowhood, Henry had shown little of the affection of a brother or the reverence of a worshipper; dark rumours charged him with having poisoned her son, his nephew, to obtain his inheritance. He had been at one time the Lieutenant of the Emperor in

Germany. Even Henry at first declined the perilous honor. He yielded at length as to a sacrifice: “I obey, but I shall not live a year”.

Innocent issued his mandate, his solemn adjuration to the prelates to elect, with one consent, Henry of Thuringia to the Imperial crown. He employed more powerful arguments: all the vast wealth which he still drew, more especially from England, was devoted to this great end. The sum is variously stated at 25,000 and 50,000 marks, which was spread through Germany by means of letters of exchange from Venice. The greater princes still stood aloof; the prelates espoused, from religious zeal, the Papal champion; among the lower princes and nobles the gold of England worked wonders. On Ascension Day (A.D. 1246) the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, Treves, and Bremen, the Bishops of Metz, Spires, and Strasburg, anointed Henry of Thuringia as King of Germany at Hochem, near Wurtzburg. His enemies called him in scorn the priest king. The sermons of the prelates and clergy, who preached the Crusade against the godless Frederick, and the money of the Pope, raised a powerful army; King Conrad was worsted in a great battle near Frankfort; two thousand of his own Swabian soldiers passed over to the enemy. But the cities, now rising to wealth and freedom, stood firm to Frederick: they defied, in some cases expelled, their bishops. Henry of Thuringia attempted to besiege first Reutlingen, then Ulm (A.D. 1247U; was totally defeated near that city, fled to his Castle of Wartburg, and died of grief and vexation working on a frame shattered by a fall from his horse.

Frederick was still in the ascendant, the cause of the Pope still without prevailing power. The indefatigable Innocent sought throughout Germany, throughout Europe: he even summoned from the remote and barbarous North Hakim King of Norway to assume the crown of Germany. At last William of Holland, a youth of twenty years of age, under happier auspices, listened to the tempting offers of the Pope; but even Aix-la-Chapelle refused, till after a siege of some length, to admit the Papal Emperor to receive the crown within her walls : he was crowned, however, by the Papal Legate, the Cardinal of St. Sabina.

From this time till Frederick lay dying, four years after, at Fiorentino, some dire fatality seemed to hang over the house of Hohenstaufen. Frederick had advanced to Turin; his design no one knew; all conjectured according to their wishes or their fears. It was rumoured in England that he was at the head of a powerful force, intending to dash down the Alps and seize the Pope at Lyons. The Papalists gave out that he had some dark designs, less violent but more treacherous, to circumvent the Pontiff. Innocent had demanded succour from Louis, who might, with his brothers and the nobles of France, no doubt have been moved by the personal danger of the Pope to take up arms in his cause. Frederick had succeeded, by the surrender of the strong castle of Rivoli to Thomas Duke of Savoy, in removing the obstructions raised by that prince to the passage of the Alps. The Duke of Savoy played a double game : he attacked the Cardinal Octavian who was despatched by the Pope with a strong chosen body of troops and 15,000 marks to aid the Milanese. The Cardinal reached Lombardy with hardly a man; his whole treasure fell into the hands of the Duke of Savoy. Others declared that Frederick was weary of the war, and had determined on the humblest submission. He himself may have had no fixed and settled object. He declared that he had resolved to

proceed to Lyons to bring his cause to issue in the face of the Pope, and before the eyes of all mankind. He was roused from his irresolution by the first of those disasters which went on darkening to his end (June, 1247). The Pope was not only Pope; he had powerful compatriots and kindred among the great Guelflc houses of Italy. This, not his spiritual powers alone, gave the first impulse to the downfall of Frederick. In Parma itself the Rossi, the Correggi, the Lupi, connected with the Genoese family of the Sinibaldi, maintained a secret correspondence with their party within the city. The exiles appeared before Parma with a strong force; the Imperialist Podesta, Henry Testa of Arezzo, sallied forth, was repulsed and slain; the Guelfs entered the city with the flying troops, became masters of the citadel : Gherardo Correggio was Lord of Parma.

This was the turning-point in the fortunes of Frederick; and Frederick, by the horrible barbarity of his revenge against the revolted Parmesans, might seem smitten with a judicial blindness, and to have laboured to extinguish the generous sympathies of mankind in his favour. His wrath against the ungrateful city, which he had endowed with many privileges, knew no bounds. He had made about one thousand prisoners: on one day he executed four, on the next two, before the walls, and declared that such should be the spectacle offered to the rebels every day during the siege. He was with difficulty persuaded to desist from this inhuman warfare. Parma became the centre of the war; on its capture depended all the terrors of the Imperial arms, on its relief the cause of the Guelfs. Around Frederick assembled King Enzio, Eccelin di Romano, Frederick of Antioch, Count Lancia, the Marquis Pallavicini, Thaddeus of Suessa, and Peter de Vinea. On the other hand, the Marquis Boniface threw himself with a squadron of knights into the city. The troops of Mantua, the Marquis of Este, Alberic di Romano, the martial Cardinal Gregory of Monte Longo at the head of the Milanese; the Count of Lavagna, the Pope's nephew, at the head of four hundred and thirty cross-bowmen of Genoa and three hundred of his own, hovered on all sides to aid the beleaguered city. Parma endured the storm, the famine: Frederick had almost encircled Parma by his works, and called the strong point of his fortifications by the haughty but ill-omened name of Vittoria. After many months' siege (Feb. 18, 1248), one fatal night the troops of Parma issued from the city, and surprised the strong line of forts, the Vittoria, which contained all the battering engines, stores, provisions, arms, tents, treasures, of the Imperial forces. So little alarm was at first caused, that Thaddeus of Suessa, who commanded in Vittoria, exclaimed, “What! have the mice left their holes?” In a few moments the whole fortress was in flames, it was a heap of ashes, the Imperial garrison slain or prisoners; two thousand were reckoned as killed, including the Marquis Lancia; three thousand prisoners. Among the inestimable booty in money, jewels, vessels of gold and silver, were the carroccio of Cremona, the Imperial fillet, the great seal, the sceptre and the crown. The crown of gold and jewels was found by a mean man, called in derision “Shortlegs”. He put the crown on his head, was raised on the shoulders of his comrades, and entered Parma, in mockery of the Emperor. Among the prisoners was the faithful and eloquent Thaddeus of Suessa. The hatred of his master's enemies was in proportion to his value to his master. Already both his hands were struck off; and in this state, faint with loss of blood, he was hewn in pieces. And yet could Frederick hardly complain of the cruelty of his foes — cruelties shown when the blood was still hot from

battle. Only three days before the loss of the Vittoria, Marcellino, Bishop of Arezzo, a dangerous and active partisan of the Pope, who had been taken prisoner, and confined for months in a dungeon, was brought forth to be hanged. His death was a strange wild confusion of the pious prelate and the intrepid Guelf. He was commanded to anathematize the Pope, he broke out into an anathema against the Emperor. He then bewail to chant the Te Deum, while the furious Saracen soldiers tied him to the tail of a horse, bound his hands, blindfolded his eyes, dragged him to the gibbet, where he hung an awful example to the rebels of Parma. He was hanged, says the indignant Legate of the Pope, “like a villain, a plebeian, a nightman, a parricide, a murderer, a slave-dealer, a midnight robber”.

This was but the first of those reverses, which not only obscured the fame, but wrung with bitterest anguish the heart of Frederick. Still his gallant son Enzio made head against all his father’s foes(May, 1249); in a skirmish before Bologna Enzio was wounded and taken prisoner. Implacable Bologna condemned him to perpetual punishment. All the entreaties to which his father humbled himself; all his own splendid promises that for his ransom he would gird the city with a ring of gold, neither melted nor dazzled the stubborn animosity of the Guelfs; a captive at the age of twenty-four, this youth, of beauty equal to his bravery — the poet, the musician, as well as the most valiant soldier and consummate captain — pined out twenty-three years of life, if not in a squalid dungeon, in miserable inactivity. Romance, by no means improbable, has darkened his fate. The passion of Lucia Biadagoli, the most beautiful and high-born maiden of Bologna, for the captive, her attempts to release him, were equally vain : once he had almost escaped, concealed in a cask; a lock of his bright hair betrayed the secret. Nor had Frederick yet exhausted the cup of affliction; the worst was to come; suspected, at least, if unproved treachery in another of his most tried and faithful servants. Thaddeus of Suessa had been severed from him by death, his son by imprisonment, Peter de Vinea was to be so, by the most galling stroke of all, either foul treason in De Vinea, or in himself blind, ungrateful injustice. Peter de Vinea had been raised by the wise choice of Frederick to the highest rank and influence. All the acts of Frederick were attributed to his chancellor. De Vinea, like his master, was a poet; he was one of the counsellors in his great scheme of legislation. Some rumours spread abroad that at the Council of Lyons, though Frederick had forbidden all his representatives from holding private intercourse with the Pope, De Vinea had many secret conferences with Innocent, and was accused of betraying his master's interests. Yet there was no seeming diminution in the trust placed in De Vinea. Still to the end the Emperor's letters concerning the disaster at Parma are by the same hand. Over the cause of his disgrace and death, even in his own day, there was deep doubt and obscurity. The popular rumour ran that Frederick was ill; the physician of De Vinea prescribed for him; the Emperor, having received some warning, addressed De Vinea: “My friend, in thee I have full trust; art thou sure that this is medicine, not poison?” De Vinea replied: “How often has my physician ministered healthful medicines! why are you now afraid?”. Frederick took the cup, sternly commanded the physician to drink half of it. The physician threw himself at the King’s feet, and as he fell overthrew the liquor. But what was left was administered to some criminals, who died in agony. The Emperor wrung

his hands and wept bitterly: “Whom can I now trust, betrayed by my own familiar friend? Never can I know security, never can I know joy more”. By one account Peter de Vinea was led ignominiously on an ass through Pisa, and thrown into prison, where he dashed his brains out against the wall. Dante's immortal verse has saved the fame of De Vinea : according to the poet, he was the victim of wicked and calumnious jealousy.

The next year (June, 1250) Frederick himself lay dying at Fiorentino. His spirit was broken by the defeat of Parma; a strange wayward irresolution came over him: now he would march fiercely to Lyons and dethrone the Pope; now he was ready to make the humblest submission ; now he seemed to break out into paroxysms of cruelty — prisoners were put to the torture, hung. Frederick, if at times rebellious against the religion, was not above the superstition of his times. He had faith in astrology: it had also been foretold that he should die in Firenze (Florence). In Fiorentino, a town not far from Lucera, he was seized with a mortal sickness. The hatred which pursued him to the grave, and far beyond the grave, described him as dying unreconciled to the Church, miserable, deserted, conscious of the desertion of all. The inexorable hatred pursued his family, and charged his son Manfred with hastening his death by smothering him with a pillow. By more credible accounts he died in Manfred's arms, having confessed and received absolution from the faithful Archbishop of Palermo. His body was carried to Palermo in great state, a magnificent tomb raised over his remains, an epitaph proclaiming his glory and his virtues was inscribed by his son Manfred. In his last will he directed that all her rights and honours should be restored to the Holy Church of Rome, his mother; under the condition that the Church should restore all the rights and honours of the Empire. In this provision the Church refused to see any concession, it was the still stubborn and perfidious act of a rebel. All his other pious legacies for the rebuilding and endowment of churches passed for nothing.

The world might suppose that with the death of Frederick the great cause of hostility had been removed; but he left to his whole race the inheritance of the implacable hatred of the Papal See; it was extinguished only in the blood of the last of the house of Hohenstaufen on the scaffold at Naples.

It might indeed seem as if, in this great conflict, each had done all in his power to justify the extreme suspicion, the immitigable aversion, of his adversary; to stir up the elements of strife, so that the whole world was arrayed one half against the other in defence of vital and absorbing principles of action. It was a war of ideas, as well as of men; and those ideas, on each side, maintained to the utmost imaginable height. That the justice of Frederick was a stern absolutism cannot be denied; that his notion of the Imperial power was not merely irreconcilable with the fierce and partisan liberties of the Italian republics, but with all true freedom; that he aspired to crush mankind into order and happiness with the iron hand of autocracy. Still no less than autocracy in those times could coerce the countless religious and temporal feudal tyrannies which oppressed and retarded civilization. The Sicilian legislation of Frederick shows that order and happiness were the ultimate aim of his rule: the assertion of the absolute supremacy of law; premature advance towards representative government; the regard to the welfare of all classes; the wise commercial regulations; the cultivation of letters, arts, natural philosophy, science; all these if despotically enforced, were enforced by a

wise and beneficent despotism. That Frederick was honoured, admired, loved by a great part of his subjects; that if by one party he was looked on with the bitterest abhorrence, to others he was no less the object of wonder and of profound attachment, appears from his whole history. In Sicily and Naples, though the nobles had been held down with an inflexible hand, though he was compelled to impose still heavier taxation, though his German house had contracted a large debt of unpopularity, though there might be more than one conspiracy instantly and sternly suppressed, yet there was in both countries a fond, almost romantic attachment, to his name and that of his descendants. The crown of Germany, which he won by his gallant enterprise, he secured by his affability, courtesy, chivalrous nobleness of character. In Germany, not all the influence of the Pope could for a long time raise up a formidable opposition; the feeble rebellion of his son, unlike most parricidal rebellions of old, was crushed on his appearance. For a long time many of the highest churchmen were on his side: and when all the churchmen arrayed themselves against him, all, even his most dangerous enemies among the temporal princes, rallied round his banner; the Empire was one; it was difficult to find an obscure insignificant prince, with all the hierarchy on his side, to hazard the assumption of the Imperial crown.

The religion of Frederick is a more curious problem. If it exercised no rigorous control over his luxurious life, there was in his day no indissoluble alliance between Christian morals and Christian religion. This holy influence was no less wanting to the religion of many other kings, who lived and died in the arms of the Church. Frederick, if he had not been Emperor and King of Sicily, and so formidable to the Papal power, might have dallied away his life in unrebuked voluptuousness. If he had not threatened the patrimony of St. Peter, he might have infringed on the pure precepts of St. Peter. Frederick was a persecutor of the worst kind—a persecutor without bigotry: but the heretics were not only misbelievers, they were Lombard rebels. How far he may have been goaded into general scepticism by the doubts forced upon him by the unchristian conduct of the great churchmen : how far, in his heart, he had sunk to the miserable mocking indifference betrayed by some of the sarcasms, current, as from his lips, and which, even if merely gay and careless words, jarred so harshly on the sensitive religion of his age, cannot be known. Frederick certainly made no open profession of unbelief; he repeatedly offered to assert and vindicate the orthodoxy of his creed before the Pope himself. He was not superior, it is manifest, to some of the superstitions of his time; he is accused of studying the influence of the stars, but it may have been astrology aspiring (under Arabic teaching) to astronomy, rather than astronomy grovelling down to astrology. That which most revolted his own age, his liberality towards the Mohammedans, his intercourse by negotiation, and in the Holy Land, with the Sultan and his viziers, and with his own enlightened Saracen subjects, as well as his terrible body-guard at Nocera, will find a fairer construction in modern times. How much Europe had then to learn from Arabian letters, arts and sciences; how much of her own wisdom to receive back through those channels, appeared during the present and the succeeding centuries. Frederick's, in my judgment, was neither scornful and godless infidelity, nor certainly a more advanced and enlightened Christianity, yearning after holiness and purity not then attainable. It was the shattered, dubious, at times trembling

faith, at times desperately reckless incredulity, of a man forever under the burden of an undeserved excommunication, of which he could not but discern the injustice, but could not quite shake off the terrors : of a man, whom a better age of Christianity might not have made religious; whom his own made irreligious. Perhaps the strongest argument in favour of Frederick, is the generous love which he inspired to many of the noblest minds of his time; not merely such bold and eloquent legists as Thaddeus of Suessa, whose pride and conscious power might conspire with his zeal for the Imperial cause, to make him confront so intrepidly, so eloquently, the Council at Lyons; it was the first bold encounter of the Roman lawyer with the host of Canon lawyers. Nor was it merely Peter de Vinea, whose melancholy fate revenged itself for its injustice, if he ever discovered its injustice, on the stricken and desolate heart of the King : but of men, like Herman of Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. Herman was, by all accounts, one of the most blameless, the noblest, the most experienced, most religious of men. If his Teutonic Order owed the foundation of its greatness, with lavish grants and immunities, to Frederick, it owed its no less valuable religious existence, its privileges, its support against the hostile clergy, to the Popes. Honorius and Gregory vied with the Emperor in heaping honours on De Salza and his Order. Yet throughout his first conflict, De Salza is the firm, unswerving friend of Frederick. He follows his excommunicated master to the Holy Land, adheres to his person in good report and evil report; death alone separates the friends. The Archbishop of Palermo (against whom is no breath of calumny) is no less, to the close of Frederick's life, his tried and inseparable friend; he never seems to have denied him, though excommunicate, the offices of religion; buried him, though yet unabsolved, in his cathedral; inscribed on his tomb an epitaph, which, if no favourable proof of the Archbishop's poetic powers, is the lasting tribute of his fervent, faithful admiration.

On the other hand, Innocent IV not only carried the Papal claims to the utmost, and asserted them with a kind of ostentatious intrepidity : "We are no mere man, we have the place of God upon earth!"; but there was a personal arrogance in his demeanour, and an implacability which revolted even the most awe-struck worshippers of the Papal power. Towards Frederick he showed, blended with the haughtiness of the Pope, the fierceness of a Guelfic partisan; he hated him with something of the personal hatred of a chief of the opposite faction in one of the Italian republics. Never was the rapacity of the Roman See so insatiate as under Innocent IV; the taxes levied in England alone, her most profitable spiritual estate, amounted to incredible sums. Never was aggression so open or so daring on the rights and exemptions of the clergy (during the greater part of the strife the support of the two new Orders enabled the Pope to trample on the clergy, and to compel them to submit to extortionate contributions towards his wars): never was the spiritual diameter so entirely merged in the temporal as among his Legates. They were no longer the austere and pious, if haughty churchmen. Cardinal Rainier commanded the Papal forces in the states of St. Peter with something of the ability and all the ferocity and mercilessness of a later Captain of Condottieri; Albert von Beham, the Archdeacon of Passau, had not merely been detected, as we have seen, in fraudulent malversation and shamefully expelled from Bavaria, but when he appeared again as Dean of Passau, his own despatches, which describe his negotiations with the

Duke of Bavaria, show a repulsive depth of arrogant iniquity. The incitement of Conrad to rebellion against his father seems to him but an ordinary proceeding. The Bishop of Ferrara, the Legate in Germany, was a drunkard, if not worse. Gregory of Monte Longo, during the whole period Papal representative in Lombardy, the conductor of all the negotiations with the republics, the republics which swarmed with heretics, was a man of notorious incontinence; Frederick himself had hardly more concubines than the Cardinal Legate.

Immediately on the death of Frederick, the Pope began to announce his intention of returning to Italy. Peter Capoccio was ordered to ascertain the state of feeling in the kingdom of Sicily. The Pope himself raised a song of triumph, addressed to all the prelates and all the nobles of the realm: “Earth and heaven were to break out into joy at this great deliverance”. But the greater number of both orders seem to have been insensible to the blessing; they were mourning over the grave of him whom the Pope described as the hammer of persecution. The aged Archbishop of Palermo and the Archbishop of Salerno openly espoused the cause of Conrad; the Archbishop of Bari, Frederick’s deadly enemy, seemed to stand alone in the Papal interest. Strangers, the Subdeacon Matthew, and a Dominican friar, were sent into Calabria and Sicily to stir up the clergy to a sense of their wrongs. In Germany Conrad was arraigned as a rebellious usurper for presuming to offer resistance to William of Holland. He was again solemnly excommunicated; a crusade was preached against him. The Pope even endeavoured to estrange the Swabians from their liege lord: Herod is dead; Archelaus aspires to reign in his stead”. In an attempt to murder Conrad at Ratisbon (Dec. 25, 1253) the Abbot Ulric is supposed to have been the chief actor; the Bishop of Ratisbon was awaiting without the walls the glad tidings of the accomplishment of the assassination. The Archbishop of Mayence, Christian, a prelate of great piety, broaches the unpalatable doctrine that, as far as spiritual enemies, the word of God is the only lawful sword; but as for drawing the sword of steel, he held it unbefitting his priestly character. He is deposed for these strange opinions. A youth, the Subdeacon Gerard, is placed on the Primate's throne of Germany.

Monarchs, however, seemed to vie in giving honour to the triumphant Pontiff on his proposed return to Rome. The Queen-mother Blanche of France (Louis IX, her son, was now prisoner in the East) offered to accompany him with a strong body of French troops. Henry of England expressed his earnest desire to prostrate himself at the feet of the Holy Father before he departed for the south. Alphonso of Castile entreated him to trust to the arms, fleets, and protection of Spain rather than of France. Before he bade farewell to the city of Lyons, whose pious hospitality he rewarded with high praise and some valuable privileges, he had an interview within the city with his own Emperor William of Holland. After that he descended the Rhone to Vienne, to Orange, and then proceeded to Marseilles. He arrived at Genoa; the city hailed her holy son with the utmost honours. The knights and nobles of the territory supported a silken canopy over his head to protect him from the sun. On Ascension Day he received the delegates from the cities of Lombardy. Ghibellinism held down its awe-struck and discomfited head. Rome alone was not as yet thought worthy, or sought not to be admitted to the favour of his presence, or he dared not trust, notwithstanding his close alliance with the

Frangipani (whom he had bought) that unruly city. He visited Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, Modena, everywhere there was tumultuous joy among the Guelfs. While he was at Milan Lodi made her submission: the Count of Savoy abandoned the party of the Hohenstaufen. On All-Saints' Day he was at Faenza; on the 5th of November he stayed his steps, and fixed his court at Perugia. For a year and a half he remained in that city; Rome was not honoured with the presence of her Pontiff till Rome compelled that presence.

Among the first resolutions of Innocent was the suppression of heresy, more especially in the Ghibelline cities, such as Cremona. A holocaust of these outcasts would be a fit offering of gratitude to heaven for the removal of the perfidious Frederick. It was his design to strike in this manner at the head of the Ghibelline interests in Lombardy. The sum of Eccelin di Romano's atrocities, atrocities which, even if blackened by Guelfic hatred, are the most frightful in these frightful times, must be still aggravated by the charge of hereditary heresy. It may well be doubted if such a monster could have religion enough to be a heretic; but Eccelin was dead to spiritual censures as to the reproaches of his own conscience.

But the affairs of the kingdom of Naples occupied the thoughts of Innocent. Though the firm hand of Manfred had maintained almost the whole realm in allegiance, the nominal rule was intrusted by King Conrad to his younger brother Henry. The denunciations, intrigues, and censures of the Pope had wrought on certain nobles and cities. A conspiracy broke out simultaneously in many places, at the head of which was the Count of Aquino; in Apulia the cities of Foggia, Andrea, and Barletta; in the Terra di Lavoro Capua and Naples were in open rebellion. Capua and Naples defied all the forces of Manfred. The Pope had already assumed a sovereign power, as if the forfeited realm had reverted to the Holy See. He had revoked all Frederick's decrees which were hostile to the Church: he had invested Henry Frangipani with Manfred's principality of Tarentum and the land of Otranto; he had bestowed on the Venetian Marco Ziani, the kinsman of the captain executed by Frederick, the principality of Lecce.

Conrad had already with some forces crossed the Alps (Oct. 1251); he had been received by the few faithful Ghibelline cities in Lombardy, Verona, Padua, Vicenza. But throughout Central Italy the Guelfic faction prevailed; the Papal forces were strong. He demanded of the Venetians, and as they were glad to get rid of Conrad from the north of Italy, he obtained ships to convey him to the south; he landed at Siponto, near Manfredonia. He was received by Manfred and by the principal nobility as their deliverer. Aquino, Suessa, San Germano fell before him, and Capua opened her gates (1253-1253); Naples was stormed, sacked, and treated with the utmost cruelty. Innocent beheld the son of Frederick, though under excommunication, in full and undisturbed possession of his hereditary kingdom. Innocent looked in vain for aid in Italy; his own forces, those of the Guelfs, had not obeyed the summons to relieve Naples. Eccelin di Romano and the Ghibellines occupied those of Lombardy; the Guelfs of Tuscany and Romagna, now superior to the Ghibellines, had broken out into factions among themselves; the fleets of Genoa were engaged against the infidels. Innocent looked abroad; the wealth of England had been his stay in former adversities. He had already sent an offer of the kingdom of Naples to the brother of King Henry, Richard of

Cornwall; but Richard, from timidity or prudence, shrunk from this remote enterprise. He alleged the power of Conrad; his own relationship with the house of Swabia : in his mistrust he went so far as to demand guarantees and hostages for the fulfilment of his contract on the part of the Pope. But his feeble brother, Henry of England, was not embarrassed by this prudence. He accepted the offer of the investiture for his second son Edmund; in his weak vanity he addressed Edmund in his court, and treated him as already the King of Sicily. The more prudent Nuncio of the Pope enjoined greater caution; but all that the King could abstract from his own exchequer, borrow of his brother Richard, extort from the Jews, exact by his justices on their circuit, was faithfully transmitted to Rome, and defrayed the cost of the Papal armament against Conrad. For this vain title, which the Pope resumed at his earliest convenience, Henry III endangered his own throne: these exactions precipitated the revolt of his Barons, which ended in the battle of Lewes.

But while Innocent IV was thus triumphing over the fall of his great enemy; while he was levying taxes on the tributary world; while he was bestowing the empire of Germany on William of Holland, assuming the kingdom of Naples as an appanage escheated to the See of Rome, and selling it to one foreign prince after another, he was himself submitting to the stern dictation of the people and the Senator of Rome. The Frangipanis could no longer repay with their vigorous support the honours bestowed upon their family by the grant of the principality of Tarentum. The popular party was in the ascendant; Brancaleone, a Bolognese of great fame as a lawyer, was summoned to assume the dignity of Senator of Rome. He refused for a time to place himself at the head of the unruly people; he consented only on the prudent condition that thirty hostages of the noblest families in Rome should be sent to Bologna. Nor would he condescend to accept the office but for the period of three years. He exacted a solemn oath of obedience from every citizen. At first the nobles as well as the people appear to have acquiesced in the stern, just rule of the Senator. No rank, no power could protect the high-born; no obscurity, nor the favour of the populace, the meaner criminal. His first act was to hang from the windows of their castles some citizens notorious and convicted as homicides; other rebels he suspended on gibbets. Among his first acts was to summon the Bishop of Rome to take up his residence in his diocese; it was not becoming that the Queen of cities should sit as a widow without her Pontiff. Innocent hesitated; a more imperious message summoned him to instant obedience; at the same time the Perugians received a significant menace; that if they persisted in entertaining the Pope, the Romans would treat them as they had already treated other cities in the neighbourhood, whom they had subdued by force of arms. Innocent trembled and complied; he entered Rome with a serene countenance but heavy heart. He was received with triumph by the Senator and the whole people. In the spring Innocent again withdrew from Rome to Assisi; the pretext was the consecration of the magnificent church of St. Francis. But the impatient people murmured at his delay; the Senator Brancaleone again sent messengers to expostulate in haughty humility with the Pope; “it became not the pastor to abandon his flock: he was the Bishop not of Lyons, of Perugia, of Anagni, but of Rome”. The people of Assisi, like those of Perugia, were warned by the fate of Ostia, Porto, Tusculum, Albano, Sabina, and of Tivoli, against which last the

Romans were in arms. Innocent was compelled to return; he passed by Narni, and again he was received with outward demonstrations of joy; but now secret murmurs and even violent reclamations were heard that the Pope owed the people of Rome great sums for the losses sustained by his long absence. Pilgrims and suitors had been few; they had let no lodgings; their shops had been without customers; their provisions unsold; their old usurious profits of lending money had failed. The Pope could only take refuge in the rigid justice of the Senator; Brancaleone allayed or awed the tumult to peace.

Yet at the same time Innocent was pursuing his schemes upon the kingdom of Naples without fear or scruple. Early in 1254 Conrad at first had made overtures of submission. He was strong enough to indulge the hereditary cruelty which he unhappily displayed in a far higher degree than the ability and splendour of his forefathers, and to foster ignoble jealousy against his bastard brother, Manfred, to whom he owed the preservation of his realm, but whose fame, extraordinary powers of body and mind, influence, popularity overshadowed the authority of the King. He gradually withdrew his confidence from Manfred, and despoiled him of his power and honours. With admirable prudence Manfred quietly let fall title after title, post after post, possession after possession; nothing remained to him but the principality of Tarentum, and that burdened with a heavy tax raised for the royal treasury. The King dismissed, under various pretexts, the kindred of Manfred, Galvaneo and Frederico Lancia, Bonifacio di Argoino, his maternal uncle. The noble exiles found refuge with the Empress Constantia, Manfred's sister, at Constantinople; Conrad, by his ambassadors, insisted on their expulsion from that court.

But the Pope, in his despair at this unexpected strength displayed by the House of Swabia, had recourse to new measures of hostility. Conrad, like his ally Eccelin, was attainted of heresy; both were summoned to appear before the presence of the Pope to answer these charges; and to surrender themselves unarmed, unprotected into the hands of their enemy. Conrad, whose policy it was rather to conciliate than irreconcilably to break with the Pope, condescended to make his appearance by his proctor in the Papal Court.

But death was on the house of Hohenstaufen. Henry, the younger son of Frederick, a youth of twelve years old, came from Sicily to visit his brother Conrad; he sickened and died, Dec. 1253. No death could take place in this doomed family, the object of such inextinguishable hate, without being darkened from a calamity into a crime. Conrad was accused of poisoning his brother, and by the Pope himself. Even the melancholy of Conrad at the loss of his brother, perhaps a presentiment of his own approaching end, was attributed to remorse. He hardly raised his head again; he wrote letters to the court of England, full of the most passionate grief. In another year Conrad himself was in his grave: he was seized with a violent fever, and died in a few days, May 21, 1254. Of his death the guilt, for guilt the Guelfs were determined to see, was laid on Manfred. Conradin, almost an infant, not three years old, was the one legitimate heir of Barbarossa and of Frederick II. The consummate sagacity of Manfred led him to declare that he would not accept the Regency of the realm which Conrad (perhaps in some late remorse, or in the desperate conviction enforced on his death-bed, that Manfred alone could protect his son) had thought of bequeathing to him. Manfred

awaited his time: he left to Berthold, Marquis of Homburg, the commander of the German auxiliaries of Conrad, the perilous post, knowing perhaps at once the incapacity of Berthold, and the odiousness of the Germans to the subjects of Sicily. Berthold, according to the will of Conrad, assumed the Regency, took possession of the royal treasures, and, in obedience to the dying instructions of Conrad, sent a humble message entreating peace and the parental protection of the Pope for the fatherless orphan. Innocent was said to have broken out into a paroxysm of joy on hearing the death of Conrad. But he assumed a lofty tone of compassion; enlarged upon his own merciful disposition; granted to Conradin the barren title of King of Jerusalem, and acknowledged his right to the Dukedom of Swabia. But the absolute dominion of the kingdom of Naples had devolved to the Roman See: when Conradin should be of age, the See of Rome might then, if he should appear not undeserving, condescend to take his claims into her gracious consideration.

Innocent had again, perhaps on account of the summer heats, escaped from Rome, and was holding his court at Anagni. He spared no measures to become master of the kingdom of Naples. He issued extraordinary powers to William, Cardinal of St. Eustachio, to raise money and troops for this enterprise. The Cardinal was authorized to impawn as security to the Roman merchants, the Church of Rome, all the castles and possessions of the separate churches of the city, of the Campagna and the Maritima, and of the kingdom of Sicily. He was to seize and appropriate to the use of the war the possessions and revenues of all the vacant Bishoprics; and of all the Bishoprics, though not vacant, whose prelates did not espouse the Papal cause. He had power to levy taxes, and even money throughout the realm; to confiscate all the estates of the adherents of Frederick and of his son, who should not, after due admonition, return to their allegiance to the Pope. He might annul all grants, seize all fiefs, and regrant them to the partisans of Rome. By these exertions, a great army was gathered on the frontier. From Anagni the Pope issued his bull of excommunication against Manfred, the Marquis of Homburg, and all the partisans of the house of Conrad. The Regent, the Marquis of Homburg, found that many of the nobles were in secret treaty with the Pope; he let the sceptre of Regency fall from his feeble hands, and amidst the general contempt abdicated his trust.

All eyes were turned on Manfred; all who were attached to the house of Swabia, all who abhorred or despised the Papal government, all who desired the independence of the realm, counts, barons, many of the higher clergy, at least in secret, implored Manfred to assume the Regency. Manfred, consummate in the art of self-command, could only be forced in these calamitous times to imperil his honor by taking up this dangerous post. Rumours indeed were abroad of the death of Conradin; and Manfred was the next successor, according to the will of his father Frederick. He assumed the Regency; threw a strong force of Germans into St. Germano; fortified Capua the adjacent towns to check the progress of the papal arms. But everywhere was rebellion, defection, treachery. The Papal agents had persuaded or bribed Pietro Roffo, the Regent, under Berthold of Homburg, of Calabria and Sicily, and raised the Papal standard. Berthold's own conduct indicated treachery; he sent no troops to the aid of Manfred, but roved about with his Germans, committing acts of plunder, and so estranging the people

from the Swabian rule. He retained possession of the royal treasures. Richard of Monte Negro had already, in hatred of Berthold, made his peace with the Pope; other nobles were secretly dealing for the renewal of their fiefs, or for the grant of escheated fiefs, with the Pope, who claimed the right of universal sovereign. Even in Capua a conspiracy was discovered against the power and against the life of Manfred.

Manfred was as great a master in the arts of dissimulation as the Pope himself. He found it necessary at least to appear to yield. Already the Papal agents had sounded his fidelity; he now openly appealed to the magnanimity of the Pope as the protector of the orphan; he expressed his willingness to admit the Pope into the realm, reserving his own rights and those of his royal ward. Innocent was in a transport of joy. In his most luxuriant language he dwelt on the moderation, the delight in mercy, the parental tenderness of the Roman See: he received Manfred into his highest favour. Not regarding his grant to the Frangipani, he invested Manfred (Galvaneo Fiamma, his uncle, receiving in his name the ring of investiture) with the Principality of Tarentum, with the County of Gravina, Tricarico, and the Honour of Monte St. Angelo; he added the Countship of Andrea, which he had obtained in exchange for other territories from the Marquis of Homburg; with this he invested Frederick Lancia, Manfred's other uncle. Manfred met all these advances with his consummate self-command. He received the Pope on his entrance into his kingdom at Ceperano, prostrated himself at his feet, led his horse, as he passed the bridge over the Garigliano. The pride of Innocent was at its height in seeing Naples in his power, the son of Frederick at his feet. He lavished honours on Manfred; proclaimed him Vicar of the realm as far as the Faro. Manfred persuaded the Pope to scatter his forces all through the provinces, and by their means controlled the Germans, whom he could not trust, and who began quietly to withdraw to their own country. The people hailed Manfred as Vicar of the Pope. They enjoyed again, and under a Swabian Prince not environed by German soldiery, their full religious ceremonies.

The Pope entered the kingdom as though to take possession of the realm: after a short delay at Theano from indisposition, he entered Capua in state; he entered Naples in still greater pomp. His nephew, William Fiesco, Cardinal of St. Eustachio, his Legate, received the homage of the prelates and the nobles, with no reservation of the rights of the King or of the Prince, but absolutely in the name of the Pope, to whom had devolved the full sovereignty. Manfred himself was summoned to take the oath of allegiance. In his deep dissimulation he might have eluded this trial; he was perhaps awaiting the death of the Pope, now old and in bad health; but an accidental circumstance compelled him prematurely to throw off the mask. Borello d' Anglone, as the reward of his revolt to the Pope, had received the grant of the county of Lesina, an under-fief of Manfred’s principality. Manfred summoned him to do homage; Anglone, confident in the Pope's favour, returned a haughty denial. Manfred appealed to the Pope. The oracle spoke with his usual cautious ambiguity, he had granted to Borello none of the rights of Manfred. Berthold of Homburg was on his way to do homage to the Pope; Manfred withdrew, lest he should encounter him in Capua; his guards fell in with those of Borello; strife arose, Borello, unknown to Manfred, was slain. Manfred sent his messengers, declaring himself ready to prove himself before the Pope guiltless of the death of Borello. He was

summoned to answer in person. He received secret intelligence from his uncle Galvaneo Lancia, that the treacherous Berthold of Homburg, instead of espousing his cause, had secretly betrayed it; that his liberty at least was threatened, if not his life. He mounted his horse, with few followers; after many wild adventures, he reached the city of Lucera, occupied chiefly by the Saracenic allies of his father. In despite of the German knights who commanded in the city in the name of Berthold of Homburg, he was received with the loudest acclamations. He was proclaimed Prince and Sovereign. Before the people he swore to maintain and defend the rights and title of the King his nephew, and his own, the liberty and the good estate of the realm, and of the city.

In a short time he was master of Foggia, had gained a brilliant victory over the Papal troops, and those of the Marquis of Homburg.

Innocent had already entered into negotiations with that enemy afterwards so fatal to Manfred. He had once sold the realm of Sicily to Edmund of England, and received at least some part of the price; he had now, regardless of his former obligations, Dec. 1254, or supposing them forfeited by the inactivity or less lavish subsidies of England, offered the realm to Charles of Anjou, the brother of the King of France. All his solemn engagements were, to Innocent IV, but means to advance his immediate interests. He might seem as if he would try to the utmost his own power of absolution, to release himself from the most sacred obligations.

But death, which had prostrated the enemies of Innocent before his feet, and had reduced the house of Swabia to a child and a bastard, now laid his hand on Innocent himself Dec. 7. 1254. He died master of Naples, the city of his great adversary, in the palace of Peter de Vinea, the minister of that adversary. He left a name odious for ambition, rapacity, implacable pride, to part, at least, of Christendom. In England, where his hand had been the heaviest, strange tales were accredited of his dying hours, and of what followed his death. It was said that he died in an agony of terror and remorse; his kindred were bitterly wailing around his bed, rending their garments and tearing their hair; he woke up from a state seemingly senseless, “Wretches, why are ye weeping? have I not made you all rich enough?” He had been, indeed, one of the first Popes, himself of noble family, who by the marriage of his nieces, by heaping up civil and ecclesiastical dignities on his relatives, had made a Papal family. On the very night of his death a monk, whose name the English historian conceals from prudence, had a vision. He was in Heaven, and saw God seated on his throne. On his right was the Holy Virgin, on his left a stately and venerable matron, who held what seemed a temple in her outstretched hand. On the pediment of this temple was written in letters of gold, “The Church”. Innocent was prostrate before the throne, with clasped and lifted hands and bowed knees, imploring pardon, not judgment. But the noble matron said, “O, equitable judge, render just judgment. I arraign this man on three charges: Thou hast founded the Church upon earth and bestowed upon her precious liberties; this man has made her the vilest of slaves. The Church was founded for the salvation of sinners; he has degraded it to a counting-house of money-changers. The Church has been built on the foundation-stones of faith, justice, and truth; he has shaken alike faith and morals, destroyed justice”. And the Lord said, “Depart and receive the recompense thou hast deserved”;

and Innocent was dragged away. “Whether this was an unreal vision, we know not”, adds the historian, “but it alarmed many. God grant it may have amended them.”

Nor was this all. The successor of Innocent was himself warned and terrified by a dream of not less awful import. In a spacious palace sat a judge of venerable majesty; by his side a stately matron, environed by a countless company. A bier was carried out by mean-looking bearers; upon it rested a corpse of sad appearance. The dead arose, cast himself before the throne, “O God of might and mercy, have pity upon me!” The judge was silent, the matron spoke: “The time of repentance is passed, the day of judgment is come. Woe to thee, for thou shalt have justice, not mercy. Thou hast wasted the Church of God during thy life; thou hast become a carnal man; disdained, despised, annulled the acts of thy holy predecessors; therefore shall thine own acts be held annulled”. The severe judge uttered his sentence! The bier was hurried away. The dead, sent to a place which the Christian may charitably hope was Purgatory. Pope Alexander tremblingly inquired who was the dead man. His guide replied, “Sinibald, thy predecessor, who died of grief, not for his sins, but for the defeat of his army”. The affrighted Alexander, when he awoke, ordered masses and alms to mitigate the purgatorial suffering of his predecessor; he endeavoured to retrieve Innocent's sins by cancelling some of his acts; to one who offered rich presents to buy a benefice, the Pope replied, “No, my friend, he who sold churches is dead”.

Such were the current and popular tales, which showed that even the Pope could not violate the great principles of Christian justice and generosity and mercy, with impunity, or without some strong remonstrance finding its expression. If Innocent, indeed, had not trampled on the rights of the clergy, these murmurs had not been so deep and loud: it was this that impersonated, as it were, the Church, to demand his condemnation. It was not Imperialist or Ghibelline hatred, but the hatred of churchmen which invented or propagated these legends.

In England, indeed, not only after his death, but during his life, the courageous English spirit had allied itself with the profoundest religious feeling to protest against the rapacity and usurpation of the Italian Pope. It had found a powerful and intrepid voice in Robert Grostete Bishop of Lincoln. Robert Grostete, during his life, had manfully resisted and fearlessly condemned the acts of the haughty Pontiff: after his death he had been permitted, it was believed, to appear in a vision.

Robert Grostete was of humble birth: at Oxford his profound learning won the admiration of Roger Bacon. He translated the book called the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. He went to France to make himself master of that language. He became Archdeacon of Leicester, Bishop of Lincoln. As Bishop of that vast diocese he began to act with a holy rigour unprecedented in his times. With him Christian morals were inseparable from Christian faith. He endeavoured to bring back the festivals of the Church, which had grown into days of idleness and debauchery, to their sacred character; he would put down the Feast of Fools, held on New-Year’s Day. But it was against the clergy, as on them altogether depended the holiness of the people, that he acted with the most impartial severity. He was a Churchman of the highest hierarchical notions. Becket himself did not assert the immunities and privileges of the Church with greater intrepidity: rebellion against the clergy was as the sin of witchcraft; but those

immunities, those privileges, implied heavier responsibility; that authority belonged justly only to a holy, exemplary, unworldly clergy. Everywhere he was encountered with sullen, stubborn, or open resistance. He was condemned as restless, harsh, passionate: he was the Ishmael of the hierarchy, with his hand against every man, every man's hand against him. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln were his foremost and most obstinate opponents; the clergy asserted their privileges, the monasteries their Papal exemptions; the nobles complained of his interference with their rights of patronage, the King himself that he sternly prohibited the clergy from all secular offices; they must not act as the King's justiciaries, or sit to adjudge capital offences. His allies were the new Orders, the Preachers and Mendicants. He addressed letters of confidence to the generals of both Orders. He resolutely took his stand on his right of refusing institution to unworthy clergy. He absolutely refused to admit to benefices pluralists, boys, those employed in the King's secular service, in the courts of judicature or the collection of the revenue; in many cases foreigners; he resisted alike Churchmen, the Chancellor of Exeter; nobles, he would not admit a son of the Earl of Ferrars, as under age; the King, whose indignation knew no bounds; he resisted the Cardinal Legates, the Pope himself.

As a Churchman, Grostete held the loftiest views of the power of the Pope: his earlier letters to the Pope are in the most submissive, almost adulatory tone; to the Cardinals they are full of the most profound reverence. The Canon Law is as eternal, immutable, universal as the law of God. The Pope has undoubted power to dispose of all benefices; but for the abuse of that power hell-fire is the doom. The resistance of the clergy to their Bishop involved the bishops and themselves in vast expense; there was a perpetual appeal to Rome. Twice Grostete appeared in Lyons: the second time he was received with respect and courtesy by the Pope and Cardinals. The Pope even permitted him to read in his own presence and in the full consistory, a memorial against the abuses of the Court of Rome (the Curia), of its avarice and venality, its usurpations and exemptions, hardly surpassed in its rigorous invective in later times. Grostete returned to England with a decree against the refractory Chapter of Lincoln, ample powers to reform his diocese, and the strong support of the seeming favour of the Pope. The Pope even condescended to limit to some extent the demands of the Italian clergy on English benefices. Yet on his return even the firm mind of Grostete was shaken by the difficulties of his position: he meditated retirement from the intractable world; but he shook off the unworthy sloth, and commenced and carried through a visitation of his diocese unprecedented in its stern severity. The contumacious clergy were compelled to submit, and accepted his conditions; the monasteries opened their reluctant gates, and acknowledged his authority. In the convents of nuns he is said to have put their chastity to a strange and indelicate test, which shows at once the coarseness of the times and the laxity of morals. Yet he extorted from the monkish historian, who perhaps had suffered under his rigour, the admission that his sole object was the salvation of souls.

On Innocent's triumphal return to Italy he had become, as it were, wanton in his invasions on the impoverished English Church. It was rumoured, incredible as it seems, that he demanded provision for three hundred of the Roman clergy. Robert Grostete was summoned to the test of his obedience to the See of Rome. He had ordered a calculation to be made of the ecclesiastical revenues possessed by strangers in England. It

amounted to 70,000 marks: the King's income was not one third of the sum. Grostete received command, through his Nuncio, to confer a canonry of Lincoln on the nephew of Innocent, a boy, Frederick of Louvain. Grostete was not daunted by the ascendant power of the Pope. His answer was a firm, resolute, argumentative refusal: "I am bound by filial reverence to obey all commands of the Apostolic See; but those are not Apostolic commands which are not consonant to the doctrine of the Apostles, and the Master of the Apostles, Christ Jesus. The most holy Apostolic See cannot command that which verges on the odious detestable abomination, pernicious to mankind, opposed to the sanctity of the Apostolic See, contrary to the Catholic faith. You cannot in your discretion enact any penalty against me, for my resistance is neither strife nor rebellion, but filial affection to my father, and veneration for my mother the Church".

It was reported in England, that when this letter reached the Pope, he cried out in a passion of wrath, "Who is this old dotard who presumes to judge our acts? By St. Peter and St. Paul, if we were not restrained by our generosity, we would make him a fable, an astonishment, an example, and a warning to the world? Is not the King of England our vassal, rather our slave? Would he not, at a sign from us, throw this Bishop into prison and reduce him to the lowest disgrace?" With difficulty the Cardinals allayed his wrath: they pleaded the Bishop's irreproachable life, his Catholic doctrine; they more than insinuated the truth of his charges. The condemnation of Grostete might revolt the whole clergy of France and England, "for he is held a great philosopher, deeply learned in Greek and Latin letters, a reader in theology, a devout preacher, an admirer of chastity, a persecutor of Simoniacs". The more moderate or more astute counsels prevailed. Papal letters were framed which in some decree mitigated the abuses of these Papal provisions. The Pope acknowledged, almost in apologetic tone, that he had been driven by the difficulties of the times and the irresistible urgency of partisans to measures which he did not altogether approve. All who possessed such benefices were to be guaranteed in their free enjoyment, all who had expectancies were to be preferred to other persons, but these benefices were not to go down, as it were, by hereditary descent from Italian to Italian: on decease or vacancy the patron, prelate, monastery, or layman, might at once present.

On Grostete's death it was believed that music was heard in the air, bells of distant churches tolled of their own accord, miracles were wrought at his grave and in his church at Lincoln. But it was said likewise that the inexorable Pontiff entertained the design of having his body disinterred and his bones scattered. But Robert Grostete himself appeared in a vision, dressed in his pontifical robes before the Pope. "Is it thou, Sinibald, thou miserable Pope, who wilt cast my bones out of their cemetery, to thy disgrace and that of the Church of Lincoln? Better were it for thee to respect after their death the zealous servants of God. Thou hast despised the advice which I gave thee in times of respectful humility. Woe to thee who hast despised, thou shalt be despised in thy turn!" The Pope felt as if each word pierced him like a spear. From that night he was wasted by a slow fever. The hand of God was upon him. All his schemes failed his armies were defeated, he passed neither day nor night undisturbed. Such was believed by a large part of Christendom to have been the end of Pope Innocent IV.

EL VENCEDOR EDICIONES